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18世紀英国女性にみられる  
〈弱者〉との関係の文化史的研究—  
慈善と母子関係を中心に

静岡大学附属図書館



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## はしがき

本研究の目的は、18世紀の個人の出版されていないマニュスクリプトの資料を核にして、他に文学テキストや出版された歴史資料などを使って、18世紀イギリスの女性の文化的活動と自己認識を考察することである。社会的な大流行でもあり、文学上でも際立った特徴となった「感受性」`sensibility`の時代といわれる時期に、弱者に対する配慮がケアを与える側・与えられる側双方にとって、どのような意味をもったかという点に関し、1) 慈善活動の場で、2) 母子の関係の上で、というしばしば女性の自己実現の場と位置付けられる分野について注目し、主に慈善に注目した。

研究期間中の2003年夏期休暇を利用して、大英図書館の資料を読むことができたことにより、慈善活動については、個人の慈善と組織的慈善の両方について研究を進めることができた。スペンサー伯爵夫人 (Georgiana, Countess Spencer) の膨大な書簡・日記 (未出版マニュスクリプト) の研究には、長期のロンドンでの手稿資料閲覧期間が必要となるが、2003年の一ヶ月しかそれにあてることができなかつたので残念であるが、集中的に読んできた部分については非常に興味深い事例を引き出してくることができた。組織的慈善に関する文献では、18世紀半ばに設立された売春婦更生のための慈善施設 (The Magdalen House/Hospital) に関わる出版物 (出版されたもの以外は失われている) 及びその設立に関わった人物の出版物を同じ滞在中に読み、論文集に載せる論文を仕上げるための資料確認を行うことができた。

## 研究組織

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## 序章

### 1) 慈善活動についての研究動向と本研究

個人の時に応じた慈善から、組織だった慈善へ、そして福祉国家へという大枠（18世紀の貿易などで成功した人々が中心となって行われていた慈善組織は特に興味深く、組織化された慈善には、社会的国家的要請や商人のセンスがとりこまれて、その点でも注目に値する）はあるが、その発達形態をたどるよりも、多様性と、新旧混在の在りかた、個人的努力と組織的運動の相互関係や共存に関心が寄せられている。

このような多面的な動きをみせる慈善活動のなかで、個人の努力は、資料が残りにくいので、その実態を把握するのが困難であるが、より深い研究が必要とされる。個人の領域での慈善における助ける側と援助を受ける側の間の関係を考察することがこの研究のひとつの目的である。これを考える場合に、前近代の慈善においては、与える側の意図に重点があり、近代の慈善では、与えられる側に重点があると言われている。与える側の心理的・宗教的満足から、与えられる側の道徳的改善による実益の確保に重点が移ったというのである。与える側が自らの心の問題としてのみ捉えていた慈善が、与えられる側の生活や道徳への監視・介入を伴うようになるということだ。与える側から見た受益者であれ、監視・評価・介入の対象としてではあれ、与えられる側への関心・注目が生ずるということになる。この流れの中で残ってきた資料を参照することで慈善の実際を探ってみよう。

この研究で扱う資料は、スเปนサー関連では、大英図書館所蔵のオルソープ文書コレクションに収められているスเปนサー伯爵夫人がのこした書簡の中の、慈善に関する手紙及びバースでの夫の療養時に彼女が友人のハウ夫人と交わした手紙、さらに出版された書物としては俳優ギャリックとの書簡集、娘のデヴォンシャー公爵夫人との間の書簡集である。その他の慈善関連では、出版されたフィクションの他に、慈善施設創設への寄付をよびかけるための冊子、慈善施設での説教を出版したもの、慈善施設の運営報告書などの出版物や、私的ネットワークを頼ってバースで晩年を過ごしたセアラ・フィールディングについての記述を含むエリザベス・モンタギュの書簡資料などである。

手稿資料のなかでも請願書が保存されたものは、18世紀の貴族と困窮者との間に存在した私的な慈善の領域について多くを語ってくれる貴重な資料である。慈善を必要とした人々が何を要求し、そしてどのような態度をみせたのか、貴族はそれに対してどのような対応をしたのか、両者の間にはどのような相互関係があったのか、ということ考察する。スเปนサーの資料には、多くの人々からの慈善を請う手紙が整理されて保存されている。

そして、その人々の中の一人、メアリー・ジャクソンに特に焦点をあてて、第二章でとりあげることにしよう。この研究の中で最も注目すべき人物は、このジャクソンである。彼女は、有名人でもなく出版物のあった著者でもなく、単に慈善を請うた経済的に困難な状況にある一女性である。大多数の請願者が、数通の手紙を出して終わってしまうのに対し、このジャクソンは、100通を超える手紙を書き送っている（表1参照）。その数だけ

でも注目に値するが、それ以上に興味深いのは、書かれている内容である。1782年から1800年の間に彼女が一人の富裕な貴族夫人に送った手紙が見せてくれるのは、慈善の場で交わされていたコミュニケーションの豊かさであり、普通ななかなか資料として残らない慈善を受ける立場の人が発する情報である。

この二人は、主に手紙で結ばれている。時折顔を合わせ、話をしたことも記録されている。勿論、彼女たちは友達同士というのではなくて、双方ともに、この関係というのが、名士とそれに依存する困窮者という伝統的な領主と被支配者の関係に準じているという了解がある。支配者の伝統的父権的な権威と守護、被支配者の服従と尊敬に基づき、社会階層秩序を支えるシステムの一部としての庇護関係である。18世紀半ばの人々の日常を書きとめる欲求、コミュニケーションへの渴望、書かれたものへの愛着、交信を可能にした配達ネットワークの整備を象徴する手紙という媒体自体非常に興味を集める。明白な上下関係をもつこの二人の間に成立している手紙の世界は、ジャクソンの尊敬と感謝と賞賛に満ちた表現によく表れている。しかし、それだけでは済まない世界を手紙をという媒体は作り上げた。明白に不平等な関係にあるはずであるのに、ジャクソンが書く手紙は、時折同じ価値観をもった人々が形成するコミュニケーションの結束の場を作りあげる。スペンサー伯爵夫人は、読書量豊富な文化人である。ジャクソンは、そのスペンサーを愉しませる文学的力量を自分も持っていることを知っていて、同等に話しかけて構わない場として文学的領域を作り上げる。これを可能にしているのは、手紙という媒体の特殊性と、感受性の文化である。18世紀の社会が可能にした私的な慈善の場は、富裕者と貧困者の間の会話の場である。そしてその会話は、両者の間の直接の手紙の遣り取りで保たれる。手紙という媒体が作る場で、ジャクソンは、物乞いの言葉を凝った物語へと発展させることができた。皮肉にも、上下関係の強い個人的関係の場が、豊かなコミュニケーションの場を提供し、社会的秩序の維持に貢献する手段であったものが、平等な会話の場となっていた。社会的にも経済的にも遠く離れた者同士が、かなり親密な関係を築くにあたって手紙が果たした役割は大きい。

ジャクソンは、ある程度以上の教育を受け、そして生活をしていた女性で、夫を亡くしてから困窮した。そのため、資産をもたないことの苦しみをより深く感じたであろうが、未亡人となつてからの苦難をより強く訴えることができる手段をもっていた。彼女の経済的困難は、他の困窮する多くの人に比べればたいしたことはなかったかもしれない。しかし、苦しみを主観的にとらえることに了解のある社会で彼女はその落差の大きさを非常に感じ、そしてそれを文書の形に書き表すことができた。彼女が慈善の対象となることができたのは、主観を重視する文化と、同情を重視する文化、そして彼女個人の文学的才能により、彼女の現実の生活を支えたのは、文学と文学を介して多くの人に共有されていた文化である。

2) 与える人： スペンサー伯爵夫人

第一章で詳しく述べるが、マーガレット・ジョージアナ、スペンサー伯爵夫人(1737-1814)は、スティーブン・ポインツ(1685-1750)とアナ・マリア(-1771)の娘として生まれた。ポインツは、職人の家の出であったが、大学教育を受け、貴族の秘書などを勤めた後に外交官として成功した人物であり、妻は当時評判の美人であった。1755年、ジョージアナは、21歳の誕生日直後のジョン・スペンサー(1734-83)と結婚した。彼は、スペンサー家だけでなく、モールバラ家の財産(セアラ、モールバラ公爵夫人が彼に残した財産)も相続した大金持ちで、また結婚から10年後には、伯爵となった。

キャサリン・トールボットがエリザベス・カーターに次のように言ったとき、カーターの答えは「スペンサー夫人」であった。「優美さと肩肘張らない身のこなしに、節度と判断力とかかわいらしさと元気と無垢と誠実さを混ぜた表情、それに生き生きとして面白い物腰を合わせたら、誰になる?」、誰もがその意見を尊重する賢いカーターに、このように才色兼備で愛嬌がありしかも面白い人物として名前をあげてもらえる幸運に恵まれた女性はなかなか見つからないであろう。スペンサーは、危なげなく人生を謳歌している人物であり、自分の善行を人に知ってもらうことにも余念がなかった。特に、晩年は、「人々のために善行を行う」ことに専念し、「自らの立場をわきまえて模範的に義務を果たし」、「善意と敬虔からの行動を決して忘れるようなことはなかった。」と死亡記事には書かれ、彼女の慈善活動が称えられた。

彼女の慈善活動は、まずキリスト教徒としての基本的な心得からきているといていいであろう。彼女は、日々の生活で宗教的であることを特に強調することはないが、キリスト教を堅持し、自分の立場に満足しながら、自分の役割について深く考えることもしばしばだった。彼女が宗教的な事柄について相談した人のなかには、カーターがいた。カーターには、「私は、幸いなことにキリスト教について根本的な疑いをもったことはありません」と書いている。しかし、不安になることもあった。それは、日々の用事に追われて、瞑想的な静かな生活をしていないという認識によるものだった。「私は、世俗的な事柄に対して強い愛着をもっており、宗教的な義務については無関心だと思います。それで自分の状況のことを考えると恐ろしくて震えずにはいられないのです。」と彼女はカーターに不安を告白している。それに対して、カーターは社交的な生活をやめるようにだとか、無理なことは強はず、彼女ができることに専心して安心することを助言する。

あなたは、「生活しているとあまりにもたくさんの仕事があつて、本来必要であるひとつのことに関心を向けていただけません」とおっしゃいます。そういう仕事を正しく行うことこそが、必要であるひとつのことそのものです。あなたの義務は、孤独な隠遁者の抽象的な沈思ではなく、世の中の公の劇場で重要な役割を果たすようにと神によって割り当てられた人が負う義務です。神の是認が得られるように常に努め、常に神の助けを求めてこの役割を忠実に果たしていくよう努力すれば、すべてはうまくいくのです。

カーターはこのように、裕福な人の日常生活を是認しながら、宗教的義務を果たすことができる心得を伝授している。公の場で彼女が行うことができる最善の仕事は、慈善であり、それを行うことは、彼女の不安と恐れに対処することでもあった。

「世の中の公の劇場」で、彼女は注意深く自分を提示するのを知っていた。肖像画を描かせるということの意味、そして肖像画ではどのように描かletたいか、彼女は熟慮して自分のイメージを作成させてようだ。若いころのポンペオ・バトーニによる肖像画では、教養ある多才な知的に活発な女性として、レノルズによるものでは、子供を守る母親として、そしてゲインズバラによる肖像では、地味で穏健な未亡人として描かれている。そして、肖像画のみにて自分のイメージを残そうとしたのではない。画家の手を借りて自分の姿を残そうとした裕福な人は多いが、彼女はそれ以上のことをした。彼女の夫が財産を相続したモールバラ公爵夫人も、彼女の娘のデヴォンシャ公爵夫人も、政治の世界で光を浴びる活躍をしたが、彼女はそれは選ばなかった。政治について関心をもち、手紙に書くこともしばしばであったが、「政治のことは生来嫌いで、政治について書くのは面白くありません。個人的なことでも、公のことでも、私は平和と静謐の方に向いてしまいますから」と彼女は述べ、夫のジョンがそうであったようにその世界に躍り出ることはなかった。彼女が舞台として選んだのは、慈善活動であり、しかも彼女はその記録を大切に保管した。

19世紀の女性と慈善について語るときには、慈善の半ば公的なスペースがヴィクトリア朝の女性に与えた特殊な活躍の場としての特性が注目される。奉仕活動は、家庭の女性に、家庭の延長としての性格を保ちながら社会の組織である慈善団体や慈善組織での仕事を与え、それが他の公の仕事への道を確保したという見方ができる。19世紀の場合、公的組織としての慈善団体、公の領域とのつながりをもつものとしての慈善の性格が注目される。スペンサーの場合はどうか。彼女は、女性慈善会の重要なメンバーの一人で、組織のなかでの役割も担っていた。しかし、彼女の慈善の中心は、そのような組織の中での活動ではなくて、個人的な場で行われるものであった。彼女にとって、弱者のケアは、土地所有者の夫を持ち、土地の経営に関与する女主人の義務の一部であった。貴族の女性は、普通、土地経営、地元の教会や学校の運営、慈善、パトロネッジに関与していた。彼女たちは、お飾りの人形のように家の中に座っていればよいのではなく、社会での役割を果たしていくことを期待されており、女性が家庭の中のことに専念するものであるとしたら、貴族女性の日常は、女性であることによって規定されるのではなくて、貴族であるという階級によって規定されていた。彼女たちはまた、上流の者の集まりに参加するだけでなく、困窮した人々と直接の接触をもつ存在だった。

慈善がさかんに行われた時代でもあり、貴族女性の当然の行動と言えても、それが顕著になると、やはり世間はその行動にたいして多少意地悪なコメントを付した。人々はその善行を賞賛しながら、含みのある発言をしている。「[グレンヴィル夫人]が、[スペンサー]の良き性質を並べ挙げたリストを読み返しておりました。そして彼女は、スペンサー夫人

は、慈悲深くて、それが過ぎると言っていらいです」などと述べている。

手紙を読みそして書いて過ごす時間、請願者の話を読み、判断する時間は、スペンサーにとって大切な時間だった。請願者の手紙は、組織的に保存され、名前のアルファベット順に並べられている。手紙の端には、スペンサー自身の筆跡で、いくら渡したとか、これは怪しいとか、手紙に対する対応のメモがとられている。また、彼女が書いた返信の写しははさまれていることもある。

裕福な夫人の私的慈善活動は、訪問というかたちで行われて、文字となって記録として残ることが多くないが、スペンサーの場合、遠隔地からの申請も受け入れるという事情で、手紙を介する機会が多く、記録が残る可能性があった。その可能性を確かなものにしたのは、彼女自身の記録管理を好む傾向と、自らの慈善への傾倒を記録として残したいという意図である。

手紙を書き、読み、それを確実に保存することによって、彼女は日々の自分の生活を管理して自分に対して働きかけ、自分の恵まれた環境に是認を与え、そして後世に生きる私たちに対して彼女の人生の軌跡をたどるようにと働きかける。

### 3) 慈善と物語

この時代の慈善は、物語に依存していた。請願者たちは、自分の過去、特に不幸にも困窮生活に陥った理由、いかに自分が温情をうけるに相応しく、救われるに値するか、をとくとくと語り、人生の物語を語ることが重要だった。売春婦更生慈善施設創設の際にも、そこに収容された女性がどんなに不幸な身の上から救われたかということ語る人生の物語集が出版され、自分の不幸な体験と救われた者の喜びと感謝を一人称で語ったものを一般読者に提供して、施設の有効性を訴え、共感と同情心を誘って更なる寄附を集めることが重要であると考えられていたことがわかる。

物語には常に虚偽の危険があり、特に慈善の場で語られる物語はその危険が直接露見した。あとになって金銭を騙し取られたことがわかったり、調査が功を奏して援助を差し向けることを控えたりすることもあった。請願を受ける人々は、真偽のほどを確かめる人を使い、聖職者の未亡人のリストを調べさせたり、描写してある地域に派遣して、近所での評判を確かめさせたりした。

そんななかで、メアリー・ジャクソンは、請願書の手紙をスペンサーに書き送った何百人のなかの一人である。彼女の存在がスペンサーに知らされた際にも、スペンサーはドッド夫人を派遣して、手紙に書かれている情報が本当であるかどうか確かめさせている。彼女の場合、物語を語る力が特に優れていて、スペンサーとの間に特殊な関係をつくっている。ジャクソンは、特にスペンサーと地域的なつながりがあるわけでもなく、彼女の立場が際立って特別だったわけではない。彼女の手紙の面白さ、雄弁に語られる物語、語られる物語の多さ、そしてその頻度を見ると、それで納得することができる。

メアリー・ジャクソンについては詳しくは第2章で述べるが、紹介者の手紙を見てみよ

う。「スペンサー伯爵夫人へのこの手紙の筆者は、自ら望んで[ジャクソンのために]奉仕したく、一家は自分の名前も人物も知らないのです」と自己紹介し、「最も剛健な人々でさえも絶望の深みに沈めてまだ余りあるような大きな積もっていく悲惨な悲しみの悲しい運命のもとで奮闘している美德と功德を助けるために」請願すると述べる。ジャクソン一家の状況が語られる。しかし、一家にとって未知の人が一家のために請願するというこの人物関係はかなりおかしい。フィクションでよく使われる傍観者としての立場に徹しており、不自然である。ここに書かれている状況が現実であるということがスペンサーのエージェントによって証明され、関心はジャクソンに移ってってしまうので、この手紙を誰が書いたのかということについては調査などが行われた形跡はない。ただ、この手紙の作者は、スペンサーの注意をジャクソンに向けさせるという目的を達して、記録から去ってしまう。

ジャクソン自身の署名がある手紙が書かれ始める。はじめは理性を強調した分析で、自分の状況を客観的に伝えているということを前面に押し出した手紙である。その後、慈善の対象者となり、感謝の涙を流し、心を強調した手紙に以降するが、ドッド夫人が手紙に書かれていることが事実であるということを証明するまでに書かれた約 20 通では、分析と心情の吐露を織り交ぜて書いている。信用することができ、慈善の対象者として適格であることが認められて、両者の関係確立の後には、親密でなれなれしすぎるのではないかとと思われるような、崇拜の手紙が連なる。例えば、スペンサーはジャクソンにとって「守護天使」であり、「すべて」であり、「世界」であって、「奥様の服の裾を少しだけないでしょうか？以前、聖ウイニフレッドの耳だと言って聖遺物を私に渡そうとした人がいたのですが、それ以上に私はあなたからいただけるものに信仰をもっています」と言って崇める。また、「24 時間のうち少なくとも 18 時間はあなたのことを考えています。毎晩夢であなかに会う幸せのことは除いても」と熱烈な恋をしている者のような口もきく。

そこで興味深いのは、スペンサーの反応である。不思議なことにスペンサーは嫌がらない。嫌がらないどころか、ジャクソンの耽溺を奨励するような節もある。スペンサーにとって、ジャクソンの手紙は楽しみであったのだ。ジャクソンは、文学的素養をもとにして、知的な愉しみを与える手紙を書いており、スペンサーはそれをたきつける。スペンサーが作家になるのはどうかと提案してくれているが、想像力を駆使する作家だったらなれるように思われるので、努力してみるという返事をジャクソンは書いた。また、14 歳からフィクションを書いているということ、スターン流に書くことができるということも彼女は主張している。

実際、ジャクソンの筆の力を身内が警戒する。身内であるワイバーン夫人は、「彼女のものを書く才能で私は苦しめられてきています」と筆の力で人を魅了してしまうジャクソンのことを指摘し、「熱し易い気性をもっていて、彼女が言うことは厳密な真実に限らない」と言って、ジャクソンの想像力及び創造力を警戒するようにスペンサーに訴えている。スペンサーはこのような手紙を受け取ったが、警戒するどころか、書く才能を発揮するようにけしかけた。しかし、才能のないような人々がたいしたことのない作品を出版すること

が可能になって、そのような人々が我がもの顔にのさばっている文学界を批判し、作家には結局ならなかった。

そして、ジャクソンは、スペンサー家の書記にならせてくれないかと申し出る。書記であれば、側にいることができ、また、スペンサーの長男の書記であれば、一家の手紙の遣り取りの中枢に入り込んで、ジョージアナの手紙を読み、ジョージアナに手紙を書くことができると考え、男性に女の書記をつけることを案ずるかもしれないが、「老婆なので性別は関係ない」であろうから大丈夫だと余計な心配を自分で想像し、そしてそれに対する答えも予め用意するという周到さも付け加えた。この申し出はしかし却下されたようだ。

ジャクソンが選んだのは、自分の書く才能によってスペンサーの個人的好意と援助を得ることである。彼女の手紙は、かなりの期間定期的で、まるで月刊報告か、雑誌の連載のように頻繁に送られている。彼女は、出版することによって「ペンで生きる」ことはしなかったが、慈善の場で「ペンで生きる」ことを選び、一般大衆ではなくて、知的で慈悲心に富んだただ一人の人、自分が絶大な尊敬を向けることができるただ一人の人を自分の書き物の読者としたこの上なく幸せな著者だった。反対にセアラ・フィールディングは、互いに理解することができる小さなコミュニティを希求しながらも、出版によって書いたものを一般の人々に提供し、一時は人気を集める作家となったが、結局は生涯樂ができるほどは金銭を得ることはできず、親しい人々を次々と失い、バースでの女性の集まりの中心になっていたエリザベス・モンタギューには時折親切にされながらも距離をとられ、寂しい晩年を迎えた。

慈悲心に訴える文学は、繊細になりたい人々に、どういうことに心を動かし、感動し、涙を流すか、どうやって慈悲心のある文化人になることができるかということを教えた。メアリー・ジャクソンのような人物は、どうしたら自分がその文化を共有していて、自分が関心と慈悲の対象として相応しい人物であるかということに訴える術を、センチメンタル文学だけでなく宗教的なもの、風刺、ゴシック小説、人生物語、その他可能な限りの文学的コンベンションから学んで、活用していた。

文学的流行に影響され、そしてそれを利用していたのは個人ばかりではない。慈善組織の活動にあたってこれは大きな意味をもった。人間関係をどのようにとらえるかということは、助けの手を差し出す側と助けの手を求める側というふたつの役割がはっきりしている人々がいて、相互に関わりを求めることで生ずる場である慈善の場では、日常生活の場よりも直接的に鮮明に表れてくる。物語や文学と慈善の関係を組織的慈善の場で、ジャクソンの場合とは違った視点から考察したのが第6章である。

#### 4) 構成

報告書前半部分では、ジョージアナ、スペンサー伯爵夫人と慈善、つまり家族以外の者との関係を、そして彼女が家族の中でケアを与える立場になったときの状況を分析する。第2章は、*'Mary Jackson, a petitioner and her "esteem'd & Ever below'd*

Benefactress”’, 『静岡大学人文学部人文論集』53-1(2002):163-74 をもとにして拡大発展させたものである。第3章は、研究分担者として加わった研究「生命ケアの比較文化論的研究とその成果の基づく情報の集積と発信」平成15~17年度基盤研究(B)(2)研究代表者・松田純、課題番号15320002の研究成果報告書に発表した論文のもとになっている。後半部分では、まず慈悲心や他人への親切についての18世紀半ばの考え方を概観し、そして請願するほど困窮してはいなかったが、決して豊かな暮らしをしていたわけではなかったセアラ・フィールディングが女性たちの助け合い輪のなかでどのように振る舞いどんな待遇をされていたのかということを考える。そして最後に、組織的慈善で、女性たちの寄附も多く集めたマグダレン・ハウスの場合をとりあげ、18世紀から19世紀にかけて、女性はこうあるべきであるとか、女性に対して期待するものが大きく変わっていく中で、慈善の対象として、かなり特殊な立場に立った女性たちが、どう規定されていくのかということを見ていく。第4章は、‘The Vicar of Wakefield and Benevolence’, 『静岡大学人文学部人文論集』52-1(2001):211-21をベースにしている。第5章は、‘Bath and the Care of a “Poor” Woman’, 『静岡大学人文学部人文論集』55-1(2004):115-29、第6章は、「不運な女」と「堕ちた女」——十八世紀から十九世紀の慈善と売春婦、『身体医文化論3 腐敗と再生』小菅隼人編(慶應大学出版会、2004):208-28として発表した論文を若干加筆した。後半では、慈善やケアの場での男性・女性、男性的なもの・女性的なものが一つのテーマとなる。この研究の当初計画では、慈善と母子関係を中心とすることになっていたが、母子関係については、スペンサーとデボンシャの母子が少々登場するだけで、詳細な検討をするには至らなかった。スペンサーについてこれを行うには、長期ロンドンに滞在し、手稿資料を更に読む必要があるがそれが叶わなかった。今後のテーマとしていきたい。付録にはキーワードのリストを載せ、そのキーワードが登場する18世紀の散文作品の抜粋をCD-ROMに記録した。

## 1. Lady Spencer's 'life in such exercises of active charity & zeal'<sup>1</sup>

### 1) A motherly figure

Margaret Georgiana, Countess Spencer (1736-1814) was a daughter of Rt. Hon. Stephen Poyntz and his wife, a renowned beauty and maid of honour to Queen Caroline, Anna Maria Poyntz. She married John Spencer, afterwards created Earl Spencer. One of their children was Georgiana, 'the celestial Duchess' of Devonshire, a friend of the Prince of Wales (later George IV) and Whig political hostess, 'the head of *opposition public*'.<sup>2</sup> Lady Spencer's circumstances allowed her to be cultivated by conversation in society and extensive reading. When Catherine Talbot told Elizabeth Carter to 'Join to elegance and *leggiadrezza* of form a countenance mixed up of modesty, sense, sweetness, spirit, innocence, and sincerity, and a manner equally lively and engaging' and guess who it was, Carter's answer was 'Mrs. Spencer'.<sup>3</sup> Portraits by Batoni and Reynolds show her as a graceful, charming, affectionate, sober, and intelligent person. She was not an author, but a remarkably prolific letter-writer.

She was a matriarchal figure to rely on. Correspondence between the mother and the daughter is well known, where Duchess of Devonshire seeks for her maternal tenderness and fears her for her authority. The Duchess addresses her mother affectionately and respectfully: 'I love you, Dearest M. as an ador'd mother, as a darling friend' and 'Indeed, D<sup>st</sup> M., nothing encourages me like your letters'.<sup>4</sup> Horace Walpole represented her as,

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<sup>1</sup> Spencer's correspondence with various people has survived. This paper is based on a part of the papers in the manuscript collection in the British Library.

<sup>2</sup> The Roxburghe Club, et al., *Letters of David Garrick and Georgiana Countess Spencer, 1759-1779*, ed. by Earl Spencer and Christopher Dobson (Cambridge: for the Roxburghe Club, 1960), p. 39; Curtis D. Cecil and Althea Douglas Joyce Hemlow, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), I, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Carter, Catherine Talbot, and Elizabeth Vesey Vesey, *A Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from the Year 1741 to 1770 ; to Which Are Added, Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey, between the Years 1763 and 1787*, Published from the Original Manuscripts in the Possession of the Rev. Montagu Pennington, M.A (New York: AMS Press, 1975) II, pp. 323, 324-25. The letters were written in 1760, when Georgiana Spencer was 'Mrs' Spencer before becoming a viscountess in 1761 and a countess in 1765.

<sup>4</sup> Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire Cavendish and Vere Brabazon Earl of Bessborough Ponsonby, Georgiana. Extracts from the Correspondence of

however sarcastically, 'the goddess of wisdom'.<sup>5</sup>

Some point out that she was a hypocrite, referring to her own strong attachment to gambling and her admonition in her letters to the Duchess of Devonshire concerning the follies of gambling and debts.<sup>6</sup> It is true that she played while she advised her daughter, but she was not a hypocrite who assumed innocence. She persuades her daughter to stop losing a large sum at the gaming table by accusing herself and appealing to her filial sentiments:

You & I must have some serious conversation and make some firm resolutions upon the subject of gaming. I cannot do it without wounding my conscience, but your doing it wounds it doubly, as it reproaches me with what I can never make myself easy about, the bad example I have set you and which you have but too faithfully imitated.<sup>7</sup> Pray, my dearest G. take care about play ... and deserve to be what I doubt you are, whether you deserve it or not, the idol of my heart.<sup>8</sup> I must look upon it, as indeed it is, a heavy punishment upon myself which I have so much invited by my former imprudence in this pernicious vice. ... Could I recall past times and begin your education again my first care should be to teach you and your sister to know the use and shun the abuse of money, for in not doing that I cannot but see myself the cause of all the distress and anxiety you undergo.<sup>9</sup>

She is an adoring mother, conscious of the maternal duties that should have been fulfilled during the early education of her daughters. Profoundly she thinks of and strongly she feels the responsibilities of a person in charge of minors.

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Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. Edited by the Earl of Bessborough. [with Plates, Including Portraits.] (pp. x. 307. John Murray: London, 1955) pp. 145, 113; also see for the intimate relationship between them, Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1998) pp. 4, 36-7, 103-9, and passim.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to the Earl of Stafford, quoted in *Extracts*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Letters of David Garrick and Georgiana Countess Spencer 1759-1779, xv; Foreman assumes that the Spencers lost considerably in gambling (*Georgiana*, pp. 134-35).

<sup>7</sup> *Extracts*, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> *Extracts*, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Extracts*, pp. 84-5.

2) the Duties of each station

Although it does not fail to remind that she pursued 'a due enjoyment of the pleasures' that seem to include gambling, her obituary remarks that 'she fulfilled exemplarily and exactly the duties of each station' of her life and 'she never had forgotten the offices of benevolence and piety'.<sup>10</sup>

Lady Spencer's care for the distressed was extensive. The Duchess of Devonshire praises her mother's way of charitable work and reports another person's perception of it which she regards as a slander; her company 'were talking of the charming way in which you did the honours of y<sup>r</sup> house, and [Mrs Grenville] was running over a list of your good qualitys, and then she s<sup>d</sup>: L<sup>y</sup> Spencer is so charitable you know, even to an excess'.<sup>11</sup> It is surprisingly wide-ranged and unmatched in a sense. What distinguishes her benevolence more than its extent is that it was recorded at all; the application letters have been kept and systematically arranged in an alphabetical order. Often the reaction taken to the application is recorded by her own hand and some copies of her reply letters have survived. In the common form of personal charity, a lady pays visits to the unfortunate in the neighbourhood and it is not charted in writing. However, Lady Spencer chose to accept letters of solicitation and keep them; she clearly intended her charitable activities should not be ephemeral but registered. The marginal notes to these letters were written down for her own use and eventually for her posthumous reputation.<sup>12</sup> By this record-keeping, she chose to represent herself as a compassionate pious protector of the needy and useful member in society.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 84, 1814, p. 308.

<sup>11</sup> Extracts, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Reynolds writes that in the papers examined the survived information is patchy and there is no record of the outcome of the applications (p. 109); for gendered spheres of oral ephemeral social activities and written records, see for example, Katharine A. Jensen, 'Male Models of Feminine Epistolarity; or, How to Write Like a Woman in Seventeenth-Century France', in Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, ed., *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature* (London: Pinter, 1989), 25-45.

<sup>13</sup> What she meant to do by her charitable activities is still to be analyzed. For the importance of examination of the subjective experience of individual donors along with the understanding the existing studies essentially offers of charity as a response to the needs of the poor, focusing demographic and economical factors, see Sandra Cavallo, 'The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity', in Jonathan Barry and

Fanny Burney describes Lady Spencer's devotion to charity in her admiring and characteristically innocent-looking sarcastic terms:

she spends her life in such exercises of active charity & zeal, that she would be one of the most strikingly exemplary women of Rank of the age, had she less of shew in her exertions, & more of forbearance in publishing them. My dear *Oracle*, however, once said, Vain Glory must not be despised or discouraged, when it operated but as a *human* engine for great or good deeds.<sup>14</sup>

While Burney is critical of the publicity Lady Spencer pursues over her benevolence, she testifies to her assiduous charitable activities. In fact, the next time, two days later, she saw her she accompanied her, not for any other attraction at Bath, but for a visit to a Sunday School which 'Lady Spencer has taken ... under her own immediate patronage'.<sup>15</sup> In one analysis of Burney's novels, charity is an act that requires women of more complicated attitude. Here a female benevolent mind must be charitable and at the same time, modest, prudent, and chaste; charitableness, that is, openness, trust, and generosity, should be compatible with reserve, prudent suspicion, and self-guard.<sup>16</sup> Thus charity should be a delicate act that holds itself between the contradictory tensions.

As Burney remarks, Lady Spencer's charity was well known. She accepted petitions by mail, so her benevolence was open to anybody who could write or knew someone who could write on their behalf. Usually aristocracy's personal charity was offered when there was direct personal knowledge and contact, in their country estate.<sup>17</sup> Of course Lady Spencer's petitioners included those known to her; one Eliz Wynne living in St Albans, where Lady

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Colin Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State, Studies in the Social History of Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1991), 46-62.

<sup>14</sup> Joyce Hemlow, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, I. p. 38.

'Oracle' refers to William Locke.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., I. p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Sharon Long Damoff, "The Unaverted Eye: Dangerous Charity in Burney's *Evelina* and the Wanderer," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 26 (1998): 231-46.

<sup>17</sup> As for the contrast between aristocratic personal charity and middle-class organized charity, see Reynolds, esp. pp. 102-4.

Spencer resided, mentions a contact with her and 'the tender command to lay my distress before your Ladyship's kind Compassionate Eye'.<sup>18</sup> Because of the publicity and openness, Lady Spencer attracted various stranger petitioners. One Ann Burke wrote:

Nothing but the account I have heard from common fame, of your possessing a heart full of Benevolence, and compassion, could prevail with me to take this liberty, but encouraged by the goodness of your Ladyship's character, I venture to lay before you my unhappy case.<sup>19</sup>

There is no need to regret the absence of personal knowledge, but here it only works in compliment to the permeation of Lady Spencer's fame as a charitable donor.

On the side of the beneficiaries, analytical eloquence rather than reverential silence was what they deployed. Petitioners felt need to tell their life stories in detail. One Mary Ann Campion, a stranger to Lady Spencer, begins her story like this: 'The first favour I will beg you is to read this melancholy letter notwithstanding it is so long that I am afraid it will tire your patience.'<sup>20</sup> It is partly because Campion was not acquainted with Spencer that she feels the need to tell her situation and all about her life despite her concern about the prolixity. And because appealing to sensibility and arousing compassion by one's life story was one step forward for being relieved.

Although the prominent vogue of sentimental literature was on the decline and attack of sensibility was more in power in the world of literature at the end of the eighteenth-century, when these application letters were written, actual petitioners at this time resorted to the techniques deployed in the sentimental works.<sup>21</sup> Todd points out the didactic nature of

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<sup>18</sup> Althorp Papers 75732.

<sup>19</sup> Althorp Papers 75703.

<sup>20</sup> Althorp Papers 75703.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, as for the cult of sensibility in literature, Janet M. Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986); for the dominance of sensibility in domestic life and social world as well as literature, G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); for the role of the sentimental novel as an engine for political controversies, Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility:*

sentimental works and the writers' emphasis on instruction, based on the assumption the literature offers of the close relationship between literature and real life.<sup>22</sup> Here as well as Ellis's study the instruction is mainly focused on the side of the recipients of the narrative; the sentimental work shows how to respond to the touching story and how to behave, how to be a compassionate person. However, the instruction must have reached the other side. The needy must have learned how to address to the respectable who were said to have most delicate sensibility and how to move them. Spencer's charity papers include those letters from the barely literate with numerous misspellings and grammatical mistakes, but there are substantial amount of letters which emulate the style of literature. Applicants included those who had moderate or good education and probably had chance to read, then reduced to distress and poverty. Those who are at present devoid of proper clothes, bread, or coal appeal in a language of literature.

### 3) Applicants telling their story

Applicants tell their stories as if they were story-telling agents a little detached from the reality so as to present the narrative seemingly neutrally and at the same time involved in the misery. They insist on their telling the bare facts, which should be naturally pitied. One Sarah Evans writes: 'to entreat the honour of your attention for a few moments to *the relation of facts* which reduces me to the alternative of endeavouring to obtain assistance from the truly humane and generous...' [my emphasis].<sup>23</sup> Eliza Clarke begins her letter by these lines: 'How shall I who has been so faulty in my conduct address your Ladyship whose whole life has been a Pattern of Virtue etc. - but as *the truth is always the best advocate*, upon that I will depend,...' [my emphasis].<sup>24</sup>

Some are very good at writing. M. Douglas, who claims she was deserted in an early stage of pregnancy without any provision, even uses the tone of argument in articles or the novel writer's preface to a life story of an unfortunate person:

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*Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> Todd, *Sensibility*, esp. pp. 4, 70-7.

<sup>23</sup> Althorp Papers 75706.

<sup>24</sup> Althorp Papers 75704.

it has long been the privilege of Liberal & good Minds to pity the unfortunate & lessen the Calamities of the distressed, but to exercise that privilege in all its refinement has left for your Ladyship as an exalted proof of your superior goodness & Understanding. Convinced that to a Mind like your Ladyships Nothing would be more painful, then reducing one whose feelings the Wounding hand of adversity has rendered to a degree of Sensibility extremely painful to the sad task of reciting sorrow & dwelling on a subject of Woe.

She is one of the abandoned women frequently sentimentalized in fiction: well-born but reduced by misfortune to trust a man who turns out to be a villain. She applies for help 'with a heart bleeding with the remembrance of my former respectable situation & present humiliating one'. An acquaintance testifies that 'she has behaved strictly virtuous and prudent ... she is very much the gentlewoman: has good sense and education. she also belongs to a respectable family, whose favour and protection she has forfeited for a man, whose conduct to her has been from what I can know, shamefully cruel'. Lady Spencer believed her story and helped her, putting down 'in favour of Mrs Douglas, a good deed was done for her', and Douglas wrote an acknowledgement: 'I express the very highest Sense of your Ladyship's benevolent intention towards me, when I say it is perfectly like yourself liberal humane & Noble'.<sup>25</sup>

Lady Spencer's petitioners resorted to such sentimental style to attract attention and compassion. On the other side of charity, Countess Spencer had her own strategies to balance openness and reserve. Firstly, she hides herself behind the name of Lord Spencer. She was responsible for handling petitions asking for charity and patronage. Petitioners knew it and addressed their letters to her ladyship and above all most of the letters accumulated were received after her husband's death. Remarkably she read the huge amount of petitioning letters and marked by her own hand in most of them how she reacted to them. It is apparent that she was in charge. Still, in a prefatory note, she puts her husband's name first: she keeps the letters 'as a Cordial to remind me of my Lord's never failing generosity

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<sup>25</sup> Althorp Papers 75706.

& Humanity & of the earnestness with which I executed & sometimes endeavoured to imitate his benevolence'.<sup>26</sup>

Secondly she knew she was in the danger of being susceptible to fallacy in created stories and needed self-protection not to be too credulous and open. Judgment whether the distressed person is worth assisting or not is thought crucial in a benefactor. Whether the applicant is a virtuous person deserving a compassionate and benevolent response is a question always asked. Spencer mobilized capable agents, when necessary, for enquiry into the veracity of the narrative. She knew to whom she should direct her probe and could make use of the network, agents of which were ready to examine for her. When Mary Field claimed that she was the widow of a clergyman, old and weak, Mr Topham went over the list of widows of the clergy, where he did not find her name and accordingly he reported the result of his investigation. Lady Spencer wrote down that 'not found at the place named - not on the list of the Widows & Sons of the Clergy - tho I promised the Daughter a guinea she has never returned' and there is every appearance of an imposter.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes she realized she was deceived after giving some money. She gave five guineas to Mansel Gwynn, who wrote to her seven times after that. On the fifth letter she put down: 'was probably impos'd upon by him - so sent no Ans'. When she received the seventh letter, she is certain: 'has applied several times tho' he knows I have discovered him to be an imposter'. Most of those who was labeled as an imposter did not persist in asking.<sup>28</sup>

Applicants should expose themselves to the inquisitive eye of the informants. When the petitioner looks like purposefully avoiding

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<sup>26</sup> Althorp Papers 75701.

<sup>27</sup> Althorp Papers 75707.

<sup>28</sup> There was one pathetic case. One Mr Fryth sent letters of gloom to both Lady Spencer and the Duchess of Devonshire. His tone is not of appealing but of threat: 'The Die is cast - the dreadful sentence past - all is impenetrable darkness, and the Inroads of Death is begun' and 'so Close has the Gloom of Dispair drawn her Curtains round me, that this Week I shall seek for that shelter in the wide expanse, which Man denies me. You have my sincere Blessing & give me leave for the Last time to sign myself'. Lady Spencer did not offer assistance on the ground which she rarely applies to. She justifies her refusal by insisting on her duty to put her own tenants first: 'she has no influence & if she had, has so many tenants who look up too her for assistance she is unable to give, that they would have reason to complain if she was to prefer this distress however great of a stranger to theirs'. He sent back a letter of criticism against her argument (Althorp Papers 75707).

confirmation of the story or exposure of fallacy, Lady Spencer refused to help. H. Douglas made an access by extolling Lady Spencer's charity: 'A lady ... said your Ladyship was one of the first characters in Europe, for Benevolence', but Lady Spencer regarded every circumstance she describes as evasive of enquiry. She does not name the person who told about the renowned character of Lady Spencer; she claims she is a native of West Indies, who married an American surgeon who had friends in England but died on their way to England and she is surrounded by complete strangers. Lady Spencer shows no more compassion than writing a reply. She puts a note: 'wrote word how sorry I was I would not assist her as a plan of enquiries seemed purposely avoided'.<sup>29</sup>

The distressed knew they need evidence and witnesses to confirm their claim, so some of them in advance offered the name and address of certain credible people who could speak for them. They knew their life depended on the informants' comments, and consequently some were over-sensitive and over-suspicious about what their neighbours and acquaintance say of them. Mary Jackson, who wrote 120 letters between 1782 and 1800, each considerably substantial, to Lady Spencer, is at first confident that she should be believed: 'As Hearing, seeing & Judging from the naked Truth are the best evidences in opposition to Fraud & Imposition any Person deputed by Her Ladyship to enquire, will find at a Mr Green's No 21 Marsham Street, Westminster, a very worthy family'.<sup>30</sup> However, she becomes worried and imagines she is an object of slander. Spencer pacifies her: 'I have often told you that you have no enemy but yourself which is a truth you will not believe. be assured nobody has ever indeavoured to injure you in my opinion tho' y<sup>r</sup> letter too frequently insinuate the mischief your Enemies are doing you, if you have any I protest I do not know them.'<sup>31</sup>

The collection of the soliciting letters includes those from a friend of Sarah Scott, an organist of the Magdalen House, a widow of a betrayed and impoverished author, a writer who requests her to accept her dedication, a school master in charge of one of Lady Spencer's charitable schools, those who seek patronage for promotion and subscription, numerous widows, deserted mothers, the old, the sick, and so on. Each presents an interesting case

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<sup>29</sup> Althorp Papers 75706.

<sup>30</sup> Althorp Papers 75709.

<sup>31</sup> Althorp Papers 75710.

and deserves further investigation and analysis. Lady Spencer's memoranda, which record the response and giving, for example, 'pension of 52 guineas a Year', 'sent her 1£', and 'would have got him a Lieut<sup>cy</sup> but his Mother ... declined it', are themselves an important source for this research; but other boxes which contain her correspondence with her equals will be as important in order to explore her character and moreover the fruits of recent studies around her, on charity and on literature should be still consulted.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Althorp Papers 75705 ; 75707; 75708.

## 2. Charity and Writing: Countess Spencer and Mary Jackson, a Petitioner

### 1) Introduction

Care for the weak has attracted renewed attention. Recent works on philanthropic activities throw light from various perspectives, with reconsideration of the assumption of the linear progress from personal benevolence and endowment to organized charitable societies and then to welfare state.<sup>33</sup> The current research emphasis is on the diversity, interplay, and network of old and new, private and public, heterogeneous commitment to help.<sup>34</sup> The eighteenth century saw remarkable instances of voluntarism, as John Potter remarked in 1762 that "It is an age of charity".<sup>35</sup> Philanthropy drew on people's shared concern for the distressed and what the fortunate could do for them. Thomas Coram and Jonas Hanway were among the famous individuals for their philanthropic initiation and involvement. The Foundling Hospital and the Magdalen House were most well-known examples among those which were supported by donations from wide range of people. In fact, the new type of institutional charity in the eighteenth century was remarkable and deserves much attention. Donna T. Andrew's work on eighteenth-century London charity perceptively reconsiders humanitarianism, finding "commercial sense" as well as social and national reasons for the

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<sup>33</sup> See for example, Barry and Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*; Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Women, Philanthropy, and Civil Society, Philanthropic Studies*; V. 18 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

<sup>34</sup> Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Royal Historical Society the Boydell Press, 1999), p. 7; see also Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, eds., *Charity, Philanthropy, and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 2; Joanna Innes, "State, Church and Voluntarism in European Welfare, 1690-1850", in Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, ed., *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from 1690s to 1850*, 15-65; Sandra Cavallo, "The Motivations of Benefactors: an Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity" in Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, ed., *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State*, 46-62.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798, The Ford Lectures*; 1990 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 492.

prevalence of charitable zeal in associated philanthropy.<sup>36</sup>

Private efforts, though elusive, invite closer investigation as an important factor in multi-faceted forces, not simply as what to be superseded by organized bodies. Examination of personal relationship will illuminate binary effects on both sides of care. As Andrew's overview of philanthropy shows, there was a transition from pre-modern to modern charity, that is, from the emphasis on the intention of the giver to the involvement of attention to the recipient's moral, backed by concerns about national prosperity. Thus the recipients, though mainly as potential source of power in the view of the giver's side, grew in importance in the discussion of philanthropy. This attention fostered concern about moral, personal, and everyday details of the recipients' life. This paper attempts to analyse the relationship between the benefactress and the benefited in the scene of personal charity. It brings to attention the motivation of the wealthy countess, the demand and adjustment of the needy and the contextual forces which fostered the dialogue between the privileged and the unfortunate. The sources my paper relies on are the record of charity kept by Georgiana, Countess Spencer, part of Althorp Papers in the British Library.<sup>37</sup> My focus is on the case of Mary Jackson, one claimant of benevolence from her. Table 1 shows the number of letters concerned with Jackson. The bulk of the letters from Jackson to Spencer is impressive. Between 1782 and 1800 she sent more than one hundred epistles, each considerably substantial. There, the receiving side of the charity, usually difficult to investigate because of the lack of written materials, is available or rather loquacious as the communication initiative was undertaken by the petitioner.<sup>38</sup> Although information I focus on in this

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<sup>36</sup> Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police : London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J. ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1989); Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility : Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* , esp. pp. 170-77; Stanley Nash, "Prostitution and Charity: The Magdalen Hospital, a Case Study," *Journal of Social History* 17 (1984): 617-28.

<sup>37</sup> Charity and patronage papers are alphabetically arranged by the petitioner's name in Althorp Papers in the British Library Manuscript Collection: 75701-75734.

<sup>38</sup> The papers in Peter Mandler, ed., *The Uses of Charity : The Poor on Relief*

paper is quite limited to one case of personal care, it is a rich mine of details, especially of the one who received charity.

The benefactress and the petitioner above all were connected by letters, and occasionally saw each other and talked to each other. The basic assumption in their relationship is ancestral lordly care of a dependant. It involves the social superior's traditional paternalistic authority and protection, and deference and submission from the dependant, which means consequent maintenance of social order.<sup>39</sup> Within such a structure the primary concern of the one who asks for help and successfully gets some benefit centres on personal behaviour and attitude, whether she sufficiently shows her gratitude. In this hierarchical personal relationship, the lack of gratitude is regarded as a crime. Though their relationship depended fundamentally on their different status, Spencer and Jackson constructed temporarily equal communicative bond on that uneven footing. Spencer was cultivated by conversation in society and by extensive reading. Jackson tried to meet the literary standard of the benefactress. Their communication depended on their shared literary knowledge as well as the culture of sensibility.

One of the significant factors in this kind of personal charitable relationship is the dialogue, mediated only by letters, between the rich and the needy. This literary media constructed a complex and rich world between Spencer and Jackson. In the letters, Jackson developed the language of begging and asking attention into detailed and elaborate narrative of a life story, appealing how she should be thought to deserve compassion.

This paper is concerned with literary devices employed in the milieu of charity offered in the wake of the cult of sensibility. The case is one answer to the problem of the relations between writing and experience. Jackson's appeal for help was made valid with the help of

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*in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis : Symposium Entitled "Down and out in Paris, London and New York: Charity and Welfare in the Metropolis, 1700-1900" : Papers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) point to the omission of the relieved and attempt "a social history of charity from below" (p.1).

<sup>39</sup> Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 57-61; M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty : An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 447-59, 467-71.

the shared reliance on subjective perception of sufferings, which was put in writing by this particularly talented observer-writer. Her circumstances allowed her to be educated and delicate enough and the cult of sensibility let her express as well as feel her misfortune intensely.<sup>40</sup> The trend in fiction contributed to the surge of interests as well as bore resonance of the society's concern. Compassion and benevolence for the unfortunate were almost ubiquitous topics in sentimental novels, and on the other hand charity seekers drew on literary mode. Some recent studies have examined the close connection between the actual and the fictional concerning benevolence and charity, mainly focusing on fictional works.<sup>41</sup> Mine is to supplement and support their argument by examining the records of charity which involve literary discussions. Narrative devices in fiction permeated the context of actual benevolence seeking. Spencer's encouragement as well as Jackson's ingenuity and talent in writing was crucial in forming this peculiar relationship.

Thus, the personal arena proved to be a space for rich communication. Ironically, the instrument of prolongation of social order was hued overwhelmingly with personal and equal communication. Although it was based on the class and financial distinction, it was open to personal advance and close relationship by virtue of the media of letters and the culture of sensibility.

## 2) The Benefactress: Georgiana, Countess Spencer

Margaret Georgiana, Countess Spencer (1737-1814) was a daughter of Stephen Poyntz and his wife, Anna Maria Poyntz, a celebrated beauty. In 1755 Georgiana married John Spencer, afterwards created Earl Spencer.

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<sup>40</sup> For discussion of fiction and reality within the context of the culture of sensibility, see for example, Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility : Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* ; Barbara M. Benedict, *Framing Feeling : Sentiment and Style in English Prose Fiction 1745-1800* (New York ; [London]: AMS Press, 1994); Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility : Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* .

<sup>41</sup> See for example, Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House : Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England, Victorian Literature and Culture Series* (Charlottesville ; London: University Press of Virginia, 2002).

She was a surefooted confident person, who consciously attempted to register her virtues supposedly in an unostentatious way. In her later years she was renowned for her devotion "to the task of doing good to others". Although her obituary does not fail to remind that she pursued "a due enjoyment of the pleasures", it remarks that "she fulfilled exemplarily and exactly the duties of each station" of her life and "she never had forgotten the offices of benevolence and piety."<sup>42</sup>

As expected, Spencer's charity was first of all motivated by her Christian sense of duties. Her belief in Christianity was steady, supported by serious consideration. One of the important counsellors on religious subjects she depended on was Carter, who occupied a special position of a spiritual and intellectual mentor and friend. Spencer's thoughts and misgivings were earnest and serious enough to invite Carter's sincere advice. Usually Spencer felt comfortable with her piety: "I have been so happy as never to have experienc'd [any doubts about the truth of Christianity]." When she was worried, what disturbed her was the lack of quiet cogitation and her busy involvement in society: "I have such terrible strong attachments to the World, & such an indifference about all the Duties of Religion that I can not help trembling at my situation." Carter gave a reassuring answer to this concern and her answer worked as an impetus to her charity:

You say that you 'have too many occupations in Life, which prevent your attending to the one Thing necessary.' - A proper discharge of those occupations is the one thing necessary. Your Duties are not the abstracted Contemplations of a solitary Recluse, but of a person appointed by God, to fill an important part on the public Theatre of the World, & if you faithfully Endeavour to perform this part with a perpetual view to his Approbation & a perpetual Recourse to his Assistance, all will be well.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine* vol.84, jan-june, 1814, p. 308.

<sup>43</sup> Althorp Papers 75696. There are 22 letters from Carter to Countess Spencer and three letters in answer. The letters includes those on a charitable society to help the poor they both were involved in and Carter sends reports on the committee meetings. In some of the letters Carter is grateful for Spencer's patronage of her nephew.

Thus Carter offers a prop to think positively about her life in society, giving sanction to her public activities. Among public activities she was necessarily involved in, charity was a tangible realization of her piety and an antidote to her anxiety.

On "the public Theatre of the World", she carefully made her way. Her portraits suggest deliberate choice in terms of how she should be viewed. She preferred being depicted as a cultured young lady (by Pompeo Batoni), as a protective mother (by Sir Joshua Reynolds) and as a sober dowager (by Thomas Gainsborough). The portraits are not the sole source of her image. She did more than other privileged women did who could afford to leave their image in the artists' brush. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, whose vast property the father of John Spencer inherited, stepped forward in politics; a daughter of Spencer, Duchess of Devonshire, later played an active role as a political hostess. Although chatty in political gossip, Lady Spencer avoided the political limelight - so did Lord Spencer --: "I do naturally abominate Politicks so much that I cannot write upon them with any pleasure - my inclinations in publick affairs as well as in private tend all to peace and quietness."<sup>44</sup> She opted, instead, to engage herself in charitable activities and kept them recorded. What she chose was to leave her mark in philanthropy and in the records of charity.

The importance of philanthropy's quasi-public space in more or less limited women's lives, later, especially in the nineteenth century has been called to attention.<sup>45</sup> These studies make much of women's

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<sup>44</sup> To Mrs. Howe, Jan 4 1780, Althorp Papers 75614. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough left her fortune to Hon. John Spencer with the condition that he and his son should not embark on a political career (Foreman, *Georgiana*, , p. 6).

<sup>45</sup> See for example, Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-3; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850 : The Emergence of Separate Spheres?, Themes in British Social History* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 209-33, 238-48; Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp. 162-77; McCarthy, ed., *Women, Philanthropy, and Civil Society*; K. D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain, Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), esp. 1-7, 9-28.

voluntary work in philanthropic societies and institutions, which is, as an extension of women's domestic work, thought to have paved their way to gain access to other public activities. Spencer was an influential member of Ladies' Charitable Society, but her charity centred on personal and occasionally face-to-face undertaking rather than involvement in institution. For her the care of the dependants was part of the duties of the mistress of the estate. Aristocratic women were usually involved in management of estates, local churches and schools, and in patronage as well as personal and organized charities. K.D. Reynolds shows that for aristocratic women, experiences were framed foremost by their class and not by their gender and that they were not confined to domestic arena but were active responsible agents in society, contrary to the ideal of passive femininity and to the negative image of them as leisured decorative dolls.<sup>46</sup> As Lawrence Klein maintains, the association of public/private dichotomy with gender, that is, the publicity of men and the privacy of women, is not a very useful instrument of analysis, and especially too simple in examining eighteenth-century privileged women.<sup>47</sup> Their social role required them to participate in various events and activities, including contact with those in need of help.

However, taking the antidote of charitable activities exposed her to scrutiny and jeering. Though it was an age of charity, women's involvement in charity was not unproblematic. Spencer's attentiveness for the distressed was so extensive as to be regarded as extraordinary: "[Mrs. Grenville] was running over a list of [Spencer's] good qualities, and then she said: 'L<sup>y</sup> Spencer is so charitable you know, even to an excess.'"<sup>48</sup> Fanny Burney testifies to Spencer's ardent charitable activities, but

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<sup>46</sup> Her study focuses on Victorian Britain, but stresses the continuity since the Glorious Revolution. See Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*.

<sup>47</sup> Lawrence Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions About Evidence and Analytic Procedure," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1995): 97-109; Lawrence Klein, 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere', in Judith Still and Michael Worton, eds., *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 100-15.

<sup>48</sup> *Extracts*, p. 72.

her praise is accompanied by a disapproving subjunctive condition: "she spends her life in such exercises of active charity & zeal, that she would be one of the most strikingly exemplary women of Rank of the age, had she less of shew in her exertions, & more of forbearance in publishing them."<sup>49</sup> Here Burney is critical of the publicity Spencer pursues over her benevolence.<sup>50</sup> In one analysis of Burney's novels, charity is an act that requires women of more complicated attitude. Here a female benevolent mind must be charitable and at the same time, modest, prudent, and chaste; charitableness, that is, openness, trust, and generosity, should be compatible with reserve, prudent suspicion, and self-guard.<sup>51</sup> Thus charity should be a delicate act that holds itself between the contradictory tensions. In the eye of Burney, Spencer failed.

Still, charity provided Spencer with confirmation of her social identity, and she needed endorsement personally and socially. As the tie of the extended kinship weakened and the smaller family life gained importance, Lady Spencer had to seek for her standing in the changing society. She was a wife of a newly-created earl; she herself came from a wealthy but non-titled self-made man's household. She imposed on herself the inheritance of the substance and illusion of the remnant of the tradition of extended kinship. It was not exactly the lordly magnanimity and protection, but the ladylike nurturant care exerted in the topos of the afterimage of lordly extended protection. She had to search for the path she was to tread. She had her own strategies to balance openness and reserve. One of the strategies was to hide herself behind the name of Lord Spencer. She was responsible for handling petitions asking for charity and patronage. Petitioners knew it and addressed their letters to her ladyship and, above all, most of the letters accumulated were received after her husband's death. Remarkably she read the huge amount of petitioning letters and marked in most of them how she reacted to them. It is apparent that she was in charge. Still, in a prefatory note to the philanthropy record, she puts her husband's name first: she keeps the letters "as a Cordial to

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<sup>49</sup> Joyce Hemlow, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, I. p. 38.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I. p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> Damoff, "The Unaverted Eye: Dangerous Charity in Burney's *Evelina* and the *Wanderer*," 231-46.

remind me of my Lord's never failing generosity & Humanity & of the earnestness with which I executed & sometimes endeavoured to imitate his benevolence."<sup>52</sup>

What distinguishes her benevolence more than its remarkable extent is that it was recorded at all; the application letters have been kept and systematically arranged in an alphabetical order. Often the reaction taken to the application is recorded in her own hand and some copies of her reply letters have survived. In the common form of personal charity, a lady pays visits to the unfortunate in the neighbourhood and it is not charted in writing. However, Spencer chose to accept letters of solicitation and keep them; she clearly intended her charitable activities should not be ephemeral but registered. The marginal notes to these letters were written down for her own use and eventually for her posthumous reputation.<sup>53</sup> By this record-keeping, she chose to represent herself as a compassionate pious protector of the needy and useful member in society.<sup>54</sup> Petitioners' letters were evidence to making of a benevolent countess.

Neat record-keeping was not simply intended as her mark in history. It was foremost part of discipline she imposed on herself. Some eighteenth-century men and women puzzle us with the sheer quantity of their writings. We wonder why they wrote so much. It seems that they were engined by the insatiable desire to record what course one's life

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<sup>52</sup> Althorp Papers 75701.

<sup>53</sup> Reynolds writes that in the papers examined the survived information is patchy and there is no record of the outcome of the applications (p. 109); for gendered spheres of oral ephemeral social activities and written records, see for example, Katharine A. Jensen, "Male Models of Feminine Epistolarity; or, How to Write Like a Woman in Seventeenth-Century France," in *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature*, ed. Elizabeth C. Goldsmith (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 25-45.

<sup>54</sup> What she meant to do by her charitable activities is still to be analyzed. For the importance of examination of the subjective experience of individual donors along with the understanding the existing studies essentially offers of charity as a response to the needs of the poor, focusing demographic and economical factors, see Sandra Cavallo, "The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, ed. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (London: Routledge, 1991), 46-62.

led. Some were letter devotees. They could not do without writing and reading letters. Spencer was one of them. The charity letters are just a part of her papers; she exchanged letters with scores of people, some of whom were frequent correspondents. Her extraordinary commitment to letter-writing and reading is part of her efforts to prove for herself and assure herself that she is a worthy mistress of herself. Letters were not only the direct record of her emotional life, but also the active agent to work on her: a soothing tool to invite her to get control of herself as well as a channel of indulgence in otherwise secret sensations. Consequently, reading and writing letters served her to discipline herself and justify her privileged comfortable situation to herself. It was primarily important to prove it to herself. Eventually not only to herself but also to the posterity who read her documents do her records prove her devotion and interests.

### 3) The Petitioner: Mary Jackson

Spencer was renowned for her generous charitable activities, attracting a number of petitioners from various parts of England and even in France. This charity was based on narratives, with each petitioner presenting their account to Spencer. She knew it was susceptible to fallacy and she needed self-protection against created stories. Indeed, reading petition letters required judgment. Judgment whether the distressed person was worth assisting or not was thought crucial in a benefactor. It was always considered and examined whether the applicant was a virtuous person deserving a compassionate and benevolent response. Spencer mobilized capable agents, when necessary, for enquiry into the veracity of the narrative. She knew to whom she should direct her probe and could make use of the network, agents of which were ready to examine for her. When Mary Field claimed that she was the widow of a clergyman, old and weak, Mr. Topham went over the list of widows of the clergy, where he did not find her name and accordingly he reported the result of his investigation. Spencer wrote down that "not found at the place named - not on the list of the Widows & Sons of the Clergy - tho I promised the Daughter a guinea she has never

returned."<sup>55</sup> Sometimes she found out fraud after giving some money. She gave five guineas to Mansel Gwynn, who wrote to her seven times after that. On the fifth letter she put down: "was probably impos'd upon by him - so sent no Ans<sup>r</sup>." When she received the seventh letter, she was certain: "has applied several times tho' he knows I have discovered him to be an imposter." Most of those who were labeled as an imposter did not persist in asking.

Mary Jackson was one of the remarkable petitioners who heavily depended on her ability in recounting the story of her life and sentiments. The existing documents include 114 letters from Mary Jackson to Spencer. In addition to this enormous bulk, there are four from Spencer to Jackson, one introductory letter by an unknown writer, one about Jackson written by Mrs. Dodd, who worked as an investigating agent for Spencer -- she was also an investigator for the Ladies' Charitable Society --, and another letter about Jackson by Mrs. Wyburn, Jackson's sister (Table 1). Jackson was not among the tenants or local residents who usually get benevolence from the benefactors. However, she was fortunate enough to be given Lady Spencer's lavish attention. Spencer let her be a resident of her charitable apartments, gave her in the end as much as £50 a year, saw her personally when possible, and wrote to her. And above all, she was not reluctant to receive Jackson's letters, or rather she encouraged Jackson to write to her. What helped her to appeal to Lady Spencer to such an extent? She was a widow; widows were among the first to attract benevolence. Her husband had been involved in the naval service; Spencer was favourable to navy. She had a good education, she lost a lot and she was disabled; yes, she deserved pity from the privileged. But beyond anything else, she was a very good writer. Her letters were engaging, eloquent, and frequently written. It is worth focusing on her writing ability that contributed much to provide Jackson with Spencer's care.

The facts about Mary Jackson are not easy to collect and ascertain, except for what the bulk of letters tell. Jackson was introduced to Spencer by an anonymous writer in 1782. Jackson herself began to write on 2 September 1782. Between this September 1782 and June 1791, for nearly ten years, Jackson wrote quite frequently; the last one of this

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<sup>55</sup> Althorp Papers 75707.

succession was dated 29 June 1791, her 110<sup>th</sup> letter. Then, she wrote sporadically, in January and July 1795, in December 1798, and her 114<sup>th</sup>, her will, was delivered in March 1800. During the dense nine years she wrote uncommonly regularly. It seems like a monthly report (Table 2). But it is not her punctuality that is most impressive. It is her enthusiastic profusion of writing that distinguishes her from other petitioners.

From the information given by the first anonymous petitioner and confirmed by Mrs. Dodd's investigation, Mary Jackson was the widow of Lieutenant or Captain Jackson, who worked for the East India Company. Her husband's name is not reported but he might have been a John Jackson, who was Lieutenant in 1756, became Captain in 1770, and died in 1778. After the husband's death, she had four children to support with a pension of 19£ a year. Both the first petitioner's description and Mrs. Dodd's report support her claim of being an unfortunate gentlewoman; she is described as "much respected," having "much Delicasey[sic] in her."<sup>56</sup>

The first petitioner for Mary Jackson claims that he/she is writing the petitioning letter without letting her and her sister's family know about the very letter. Moreover, the person even claims that "the Author of this address to the Countess of Spencer a Volunteer in their Service whom they do not absolutely know by name or Character." It is not unusual that the letter writer claims that they are writing without the person's knowledge in order to impress the needy's modesty, but it is a little unnatural that the person is not known "by name or Character" to the people concerned. Here the writer places himself/herself as a person who knows the family's situation very well, but hidden from the family; thus the writer establishes himself/herself as a narrator. If this were fictional, it is a perfect beginning of a touching story which is narrated by a detached narrator who is not involved in the affliction and supposed to be able to report the distresses of the unfortunate objectively enough and affectingly enough to invite the reader's pity and benevolence. Thus the mysterious anonymous writer is able to use a narrative device of sensibility.

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<sup>56</sup> A letter on behalf of Mrs. Jackson sent in 1782; Mrs. Dodd to Countess Spencer dated 12 March 1784 (Althorp Papers 75609); *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660-1815* 3vols.

Although the hand is different, it is possible that Mary Jackson herself was involved in composing this eloquent letter which is claimed to be written "in aid of Virtue & merit struggling under the sad fatality of a series of accumulated misery & Woe, more than adequate to sink the greatest Fortitude into the depth of Despair."

Usually the sentimental novels focus on the reaction of the delicate joining their tears with the unfortunate's after the stories of the helpless move the hearts. Real petitioners have to make their distresses understood convincingly, first. For this purpose, their suitable model is the life-story tellers frequently found in the interpolated narrative in the novel. Applicants tell their stories as if they were story-telling agents a little detached from the reality so as to present the narrative seemingly in a neutral way. They have to prove that they are the deserving poor, so they take this stance. They insist on their telling the bare facts, which should appeal to the sensitive mind and with which they should be naturally pitied.

In Mary Jackson's letters, the transition of emphasis, from emphasis on the rational analysis then to the prominence of the language of the heart, is distinctly present. She at first describes her situation in detail. What is repeated is her "distresses of mind," and what she fears most is "the loss of Reason" resulting from the extreme affliction. Her immediate concern is her head and mind, for example:

... as My Head will not bear the least encrease of Affliction, and the most distant hint of it to them wou'd occasion such an Addition to my present distress of Mind...<sup>57</sup>

My Mind is in the most Exquisite distress, I am not well, & the certainty that None to interest themselves in the preservation of My life, or Senses, will infalliable deprive Me of the latter.<sup>58</sup>

It is after sending the report of her situation and getting response from the countess that Jackson indulges in tears, in writing about her heart. When she writes a letter of gratitude, the "heart" is repeatedly emphasized: in her first thank-you letter, though her mind is also

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<sup>57</sup> Sept 2 1782, Althorp Papers 75709.

<sup>58</sup> Sept 27 1782, Althorp Papers 75709.

present, it is superseded by the heart both of her own and Lady Spencer's: Lady Spencer's is "a Heart replete with goodness, & alive to all the finer feelings of Humanity"; Jackson begs pardon for "the effusion of a Heart." Jackson repeats descriptions of her heart: "My Heart is now at ease," "out of the Abundances of the Heart &c. ... with every sentiment a gratefull Heart is capable of feeling." All these phrases are in one single letter.<sup>59</sup> In another letter, after apologizing for her "seeming familiarity," she adds that it is not on account of the lack of respect but "my Heart overflows with the tenderest gratitude. Will your Ladyship allow me the Expression, I must speak the language of my Heart, or be silent."<sup>60</sup> About twenty letters were written while Jackson is an object of Lady Spencer's occasional charity, that is, before Mrs. Dodd's report to witness the situation and support Jackson's claims was sent to the countess. Through these letters, she gradually establishes and ensures the steady footing as the benefactress's favoured one, by resorting alternately to rational discourse of appeal and to heart-felt gratitude.

After Jackson gets established as a favoured, the relationship between these two women is curious. Jackson idolizes Spencer; "You alone Madam fill every Avenue of my Heart"; she goes as far as to consecrate her:

I salute the Church in your House, & take the liberty to kiss the fair Hands of all the saints at Holy well Mrs. & Miss Points in particular, & beg a Bitt of the Border of your ladyship garments for a Relick, which I shall have more faith in, than in St Winifreds Ear, which was once offerd me.<sup>61</sup>

Of course Jackson pays due respect, and Spencer's attitude to her is not too friendly, but Spencer allows Jackson to indulge in rather presumptuous approaches in letters. Now, the countess is Jackson's guardian Angel, and every thing, the world to her. Not only Jackson asks to let her live near the countess, but also does she mention that

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<sup>59</sup> October 4<sup>th</sup> 1782, Althorp Papers 75709.

<sup>60</sup> Sept 9<sup>th</sup> 1783, Althorp Papers 75709.

<sup>61</sup> Sept 9<sup>th</sup> 1783; June 20 1785, Althorp Papers 75709.

she is thinking of her all day and dreaming of her at night: the countess's goodness is on her mind "at least eighteen hours out of the four & twenty, to say Nothing of the happiness of seeing you almost every night."<sup>62</sup> Jackson cherishes Spencer keeping a letter from Lady Spencer under her pillow. Her attachment to the countess is so fervent that her spirit repeatedly travels from her. Jackson haunts the countess and her daughter the Duchess of Devonshire:

My spirit is sometimes Hovering over your Bed when I take Care that not a Zephine Breathes too badly on you, from thence I take my flight, & in a Moment am perch'd on her Graces pillow when after Creating a thousand pleasing Images to play before her fancy & prolong her Slumber, I Return to my first dearest Charge, & Waiteh till the Envious Morning star, Reminds me that all spirits must vanish as its approach ...<sup>63</sup>

Jackson's obsession seems to be excessive, and she designates herself like a stalker before the name. However, as far as is known in the letters by Spencer as well as Jackson herself, Spencer did not reject her but instead, encouraged her. For Jackson, to style herself as a hovering spirit is a means to prove that she can participate in playing with literary allusions, sharing literary culture with the countess. One immediate reference is easily found: Jackson mentions "Sylph", which is the title role of Duchess of Devonshire's fiction: "some times I take my flight to Devonshire House in the Charracter of a Guardian Sylph...."<sup>64</sup> As the enigmatic Sylph protects the heroine in the novel, so Jackson appoints herself the role of a mysterious guardian spirit.

Reference to literature thus provided her with a means to getting closer to Spencer. So did her literary ability. Her letter writing ability was for her the only resource to depend on, if we put aside her dexterity in needlework. The potentials of her writing were acknowledged by her sister and Spencer. Though they lived together and

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<sup>62</sup> January 7<sup>th</sup> 1784, Althorp Papers 75709. "Points" refers to Spencer's maiden family name "Poyntz".

<sup>63</sup> March 9 1785, Althorp Papers 75709.

<sup>64</sup> July 16 1784, Althorp Papers 75709. Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire's novel *The Sylph* was published anonymously in 1779.

helped each other for a certain period, Jackson and her sister got on difficult terms. It was on account of Jackson's pen. Mrs. Wyburn is vigilant over "her talent at writing by which I have been a sufferer," pointing to the allure of her engaging pen. She bitterly points to Jackson's creativity: "the warmth of her temper, ... does not always permit her to confine herself to the strictest truth."<sup>65</sup> Regardless of Mrs. Wyburn's complaints, the countess seems to have encouraged her to write and even to become an author. Spencer's suggestion letter is still to be looked for, but Jackson's reply to her advice is telling that Spencer appreciated Jackson's adeptness:

Your Hint Madam, of setting about some Work, has employd My thoughts ever since, as to Works of genious or Judgment, I have not courage to attempt or Vanity to think I shou'd succeed, as to those of fancy I shall endeavor, before I have quite lost the Use of my Hands,<sup>66</sup>

Although her pen seems to be running smoothly even when she begs money, she claims to prefer writing without any practical purpose: "if your ladyship will order me to write a treatise on Nothing, ... I shall shine without a foil."<sup>67</sup> She confides that she began to write fiction at the age of fourteen. She tells that she might do it a la Sterne.<sup>68</sup> But in the end she takes pride in her modesty of abstaining from publication. In receding from the publication, she does not do it silently, but offers her negative opinion of the literary market of the day. She is critical of the quality of the products in the facile literary market: "everyone writes, & to have wrote a Book, No matter what Noncense it Contains, is sufficient to establish a Reputation." She also knows how to be sarcastic towards authors' custom. She denounces the dedicators' impertinence. If she should publish, she will "dedicate them to the Men in the Moon, to avoid the Errors of some late Scribbles who have

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<sup>65</sup> Mrs. Wyburn to Lady Spencer, Dec 3 1782, Althorp Papers 75733.

<sup>66</sup> November 25 1787, Althorp Papers 75710.

<sup>67</sup> June 20 1785, Althorp Papers 75710.

<sup>68</sup> Laurence Sterne inscribed the story of Le Fever in *Tristram Shandy* to Lady Spencer.

dedicated their Absurditys to the Most respectable Characters." <sup>69</sup>

In this way this potential author takes only a side glance at the publishing world. It was her choice not to become a professional writer. Rather, she earned Spencer's benevolence by her pen. She was in her way "living by the Pen": instead of exchanging her text and money in the book market, she chose to offer her writing in exchange for the allowance and attention in the site of personal charity. My assumption is that this is why Mary Jackson kept writing substantial letters regularly as if in monthly instalments. Stopping writing was not just negligence or ingratitude but it meant abandoning her pseudo-writing-profession.

However, she knew that her writing was, as a letter, too long: in her words, "one of the Excellences of writing is to comprise much in a few Words, which to your ladyship regret perhaps is not often the case with me, I usually multiply words."<sup>70</sup> Her writerly desire to write was in conflict with her self-control of a charity-seeker, and she often begs pardon for her prolixity. When she considers how to be near the countess, she first offers to be a cook but immediately rejects the idea herself, and then a fool, and she denies it again. She realizes the point is not the physical closeness. What she thinks of as a solution to this problem is, ingeniously, to be a scribe. First she thinks of working as a scribe to her son: "As an old soul like me, you know Madam, is of no Gender, I may with propriety offer my service if his lordship wants a faithful confidential scribe..."<sup>71</sup> A scribe would be confidentially involved in the family matters and would have to write, write, and write, to his mother, her beloved benefactress, without feeling guilty of writing too much. Then, she offers to be a scribe to Spencer herself. She is fascinated with this idea of becoming a scribe-confidante: "I think I shall be found to have Witt Enough to Write, if you will have the Goodness to dictate to me, that pleasure to transcribe your thoughts, will your ladyship think of that or something else for me, let me be Useful in some shape."<sup>72</sup> No reply to these offers is known, unfortunately. After all, the old letter writer remained as a letter

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<sup>69</sup> May 8 1789, Althorp Papers 75710.

<sup>70</sup> April 6 1789, Althorp Papers 75710.

<sup>71</sup> February 13 1789, Althorp Papers 75710.

<sup>72</sup> July 6 1789, Althorp Papers 75710.

writer.

#### 4) Conclusion

Spencer's charity papers include those letters from the barely literate who wrote with uncertain spellings and grammar, but there are substantial amount of letters which emulate the style of literature. Applicants included those who had moderate or good education and probably had chance to read much, then reduced to distress and poverty. This kind of people who are at present devoid of proper clothes, bread, or coal appeal in the language of various types of literature, among which the voice and style of the virtuous and grateful weak were ubiquitous understandably because they could easily identify themselves with the unfortunate in the novels who appeal to the sensibility of the reader as well as to the listener's compassion within the work. Moreover, they write on the assumption that the unfortunate and the privileged can communicate and share experience through the common language. Although the attacks on sensibility were more in power in the world of literature at the end of the eighteenth-century, when these application letters were written, actual petitioners at this time were ready to resort to the sentimental techniques borrowed from novels when effective. It has been pointed out that the didactic nature of sentimental works and the writers' emphasis on instruction were based on the assumption of a close relationship between literature and real life. In discussing this, the instruction is mainly focused on the side of the recipients of the narrative; the sentimental work shows how to respond to the touching story and how to behave, how to be a compassionate person. However, the instruction must have reached the other side. The needy must have learned how to address to and move the respectable who were said to have most delicate sensibility. Mary Jackson was one example of those who had acquired the exceptionally proficient narrative techniques and used it to earn her livelihood. Her resourceful literary stock included religious, satiric, sentimental, Gothic, and others, and she could deploy well whatever was available to her. Jackson was clearly an exceptional individual and eighteenth-century culture of charity and sensibility set the stage for her to shine in her way.

Table 1: Jackson letters in Althorp Papers 75709 and 75710

	Jackson to Spencer <sup>a</sup>	Spencer to Jackson	Others	Total
1782	4		1 <sup>b</sup>	5
1783	8			8
1784	23		1 <sup>c</sup>	24
1785	18			18
1786	15	1		16
1787	11	2		13
1788	8			8
1789	11	1	2 <sup>d</sup>	14
1790	7			7
1791	4			4
1795	2			2
1798	1			1
1800	1			1
	113	4	4	121 <sup>e</sup>

a. Another letter from Jackson to Spencer dated May 28, 1786 is in 75733.

b. anonymous to Spencer on Jackson

c. Mrs Dodd to Spencer on Jackson dated March 27, 1784

d. Mrs Wyburn to Spencer; Mr Wyburn to Spencer

e. In addition, there are two forwarded letters in 75710.

Table 2: Jackson's letters, month by month

	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	total
1782									**	*	*		4
1783	***			*					**		*	*	8
1784	****	***	**	*****	*	*	**			**	*	*	23
1785		**	***	***	*	*	**	*	**	*		**	18
1786	*	**	**	*	**	*	*	*****		*		*	16
1787		*		*	*		*	***	*	*	*	*	11
1788	**		*		*		*	*		*		*	8
1789		**		*	**		*	*	*	*	*	*	11
1790			*	**		*		*	*	*			7
1791	*	*			*	*							4
1792													0
1793													0
1794													0
1795	*						*						2
1796													0
1797													0
1798												*	1
1799													0
1800			*										1
													114

### 3. Bath, Spa Water and Care

#### 湯治都市バースの鉱泉とケア

##### 1) はじめに

18世紀の湯治娯楽リゾートバースの興隆は、療法・旅行・娯楽の商業化を示す顕著な例であるのは、よく知られている。バースを訪れた人々は、商業主義にのせられた消費者でもあったが、彼らをひきつけたのは、華やぎや消費欲だけではなかった。鉱泉娯楽都市バースでの治療と療養は、原則的に古来からの書物で学んだことに頼る医学及び古典の教養を身につけた医者への信頼と不信、新しく実験的な、ときに科学的なと称する実証的なものに支えられた流行の療法への依存と懐疑の微妙なバランスの上に成り立つものだった。<sup>73</sup> ここでは、バースの鉱泉を通して、健康観や医療専門家との関係を、一人の女性の記録から考察してみる。そこに現れてくるのは、教養ある人間の知識・情報への対処のしかたと、身近な人の衰弱と死を受けとめようとする人間の恐れと悲しみの制御のしかたである。

マーガレット・ジョージアナ、スペンサー伯爵夫人(1737-1814)は、外交官となって成功したスティーブン・ポインツとその妻、美人の誉れ高いアナ・マリアの間に生まれた。彼女は、莫大な財産を相続し、成人して間もないジョン・スペンサー(1734-83)と1755年に結婚した。彼は、幼少のころより身体が弱く、周囲の人々は、彼が大人になるまで生きていられるかどうか危ぶんでいた。そんな彼は成人し、妻を迎え、その後28年生きるということになるが、健康に過ごしたというわけではなかった。特に30歳を過ぎてからは、胸の痛み、腹痛、痛風、高熱などに悩まされることがしばしばであった。それで、スペンサー夫妻は、たびたび湯治場として名高かった国内のバースやスカーバラ、そしてベルギーのスパを訪れていた。特に、ジョンの晩年には、バースで過ごす時間が長くなり、結局彼はバースで1783年10月31日に亡くなった。

ジョン・スペンサーの面倒をみたのは、妻であるジョージアナであり、彼女は自分のことを「優れた看護人」であると自負している。彼女は、しばしば自分が本当に愛することができる人と結婚することができたことを幸せに思うと書き記しており、その彼に常に注意を向け、彼の健康と幸福に気を遣い、彼の健康がすぐれないときには不安に思うというのが彼女の日常だった。夫の健康を気遣う生活が長いせいか、彼女が娘に対して忠告を授けるときに、「健康と評判は、人生における最も貴重な恵みです。健康と評判をないがしろにしないようになさい」と言っている。ここでどちらも「細心の注意を払わないと傷がつき、あるいは失われてしまう」ものであり、「失われた評判は特に回復不能である。」とも言って、注意を促している。評判を保つために必要なのは、「常に自分の行動を見張ること」

<sup>73</sup> 古来の医学を学んだ学識ある医者たちと新しい療法をもちこもうとする野心的な療法師の医療市場での対峙については、例えば、Peter Elmer, ed., *The Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 371-78.

であり、日頃から自分を観察する目を持ちなさいと言っている。<sup>74</sup> この夫妻の闘病生活にあたって、バースと医者ウォレンが重要だった。これらの要素を順にみていこう。

## 2) 湯治都市バース

バースは、18世紀に特に繁栄した湯治リゾート都市である。<sup>75</sup> 1987年には世界遺産文化遺産として登録されており、ローマ時代からの水浴場と、中世の毛織物産業の中心地としての役割を経て、18世紀にパラーディオ様式の建物が建てられて、それがローマ時代の遺跡とよく調和していることが評価され、「人類の歴史の重要な段階を物語る建築様式」の見本として認められた。<sup>76</sup> このバースの紹介を見ても、ローマ時代の遺跡があるというだけではなくて、18世紀のこの都市の発展のしかたが重要であったことがわかるであろう。そしてまた、都市計画という面だけでなく、都市の構造の中身がバースを特筆すべき存在にしている。<sup>77</sup> 水がもつ治癒の力には常にある程度の信頼があるが、宗教的・文化的要因により流行の波がある。中世には様々な聖人と結び付けられて(Holywellとか、St Lucyに捧げられた水など)、その効能が信じられていた。<sup>78</sup> 16世紀から18世紀には、水を科学的あるいは宗教的監視のもとにおこうという努力が払われた。16世紀以降は、専門家が仲介して、水の使用が行われるようになった。<sup>79</sup> この専門家の仲介が18世紀の鉱泉、バースの街の発展にとって大きな意味をもった。科学的見地の重視という点では、17世紀か

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<sup>74</sup> *Extracts*, p. 22.

<sup>75</sup> バースが満たしたとされる世界遺産文化遺産の要件は以下の3点である。「人間の創造的才能を表す傑作である」「ある期間、あるいは世界のある文化圏において、建築物、技術、記念碑、都市計画、景観設計の発展において人類の価値の重要な分流を示していること」「人類の歴史の重要な段階を物語る建築様式、あるいは建築的または技術的な集合体、あるいは景観に関する優れた見本であること」。

<sup>76</sup> Andrea Palladio (1508-1580)はヴェニス近郊のヴィツェンツァで活躍し、彼の古典をベースにしたスタイルは、17世紀に一時的に、そして18世紀前半にイギリスで大いにもてはやされた。

<sup>77</sup> バースが最近また複雑なかたちで注目を集めている。観光客が減っていることを受け、新たなツーリズムを巻き起こそうと大きなプロジェクト New Spa project を立ち上げ、National Lotteryからの莫大な資金を得て市民及び旅行者向けの健康増進施設を建設している。ところが、開業予定をはるかに過ぎているにも関わらず、いつ開業できるか未定となっている。

<sup>78</sup> Elmer, 289.

<sup>79</sup> David Harley, "A Sword in a Madman's Hand; Professional Opposition to Popular Consumption in the Waters Literature of Southern England and the Midlands, 1570-1870," in *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, ed. Roy Porter, *Medical History, Supplement* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1990), 48-55.

ら 18 世紀には、水の化学的成分分析がさかんに試みられ、数字をもって、ある鉱泉の効能を実証すること、あるいは他の鉱泉の効能が期待できないことを実証することに多大な努力が払われ、宣伝・論争パンフレットが盛んに出版された。<sup>80</sup> 19 世紀から 20 世紀は、バースをはじめとするスパ都市が文学文化の舞台でスポットライトを浴びることの少ない時期である。温泉治療学 (balneology、水浴や薬用鉱泉についての科学的医学的研究) や温泉療法 balneotherapy という言葉は、19 世紀末から使われるようになったが、20 世紀にその研究や療法が隆盛するというわけにはいかなかった。1988 年 4 月 22 日にロンドンウエルカム医学史研究所にて学会が開かれ、ここでは水の治癒力への信頼やスパ文化が英語圏では衰退したという認識が共有されている。<sup>81</sup> 実際、1970 年代には鉱泉地の人気が目に見えて衰えていた。また、研究分野としてもスパ都市やスパでの生活については、注目からはずれた。バースをはじめとする鉱泉地の街の盛衰は、鉱泉の効能への信頼やホリスティックな身体観に対する態度を反映している。しかし、1988 年にこのような学会が開かれたこと自体、そしてまたバースでの新たなプロジェクトの進行は、近現代西洋医学の絶対視から、代替医療への注目、医療の多様化への流れを映し、身体観やケアのありかたの傾向の推移を示して、18 世紀の鉱泉リゾートに再び注目することは意味があると思わせる。

バースは訪問者をひきつけた。様々な人々をひきつけ、ロンドンとは一味違った魅力をもつ地方都市のなかの一例として、イギリスの地方都市の隆盛の一環にあるという面をもつが、その中でも特に際立った発展をした。その訪問者たちの需要を満たすために住み始める人々が 17 世紀後半から増加し、人口は 17 世紀半ばからの 100 年で 1500 人から 6000 人 (訪問者を除く) となった。まず第一に、医療の場としてバースは人々をひきつけたのであるが、そこに娯楽が付随し、社交の場としての発展を遂げて、病人とその付き添い人が、コンサートあり、ダンスありの日々を楽しむことができるリゾート地となっていったことが、娯楽を肯定的に受け入れ楽しむことができた 18 世紀の特徴をよく表している。病気の苦難を癒すための場が、美しく着飾った人々を見、おしゃれした姿を見せにいく場としての役割も担い、病める老若男女は健康で陽気な老若男女と同じ場所を目指してつめかけることになったのだ。<sup>82</sup> 文学に登場するときには、たいてい軽薄な人間が軽薄な楽しみを追い求める場としてであり、金持ちの娘、息子を狙う若い人々やもう若くない人たちが出合いを求めてやってくる場、それぞれが、自分の着飾った姿を見せる場として描かれる。

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<sup>80</sup> Noel G. Coley, "Physicians, Chemists and the Analysis of Mineral Waters; 'the Most Difficult Part of Chemistry'," in *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, ed. Roy Porter, , 56-66; Christopher Hamlin, "Chemistry, Medicine, and the Legitimization of English Spas, 1740-1840," in *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, ed. Roy Porter, 67-81.

<sup>81</sup> Roy Porter, ed., *The Medicinal History of Waters and Spas* 参照。1988 年 4 月 22 日に行われた学会をもとにこの論文集は編まれている。

<sup>82</sup> Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Clarendon Press, 1991)

我儂な妻たちは、ちょっと身体の調子をくずして、医者にはバースに行きなさいと言ってもらいたくてうずうずしている。文化人たちは、揶揄嘲笑的としてバースやバースに行きたがる人々を描いたが、本人たちこそバースに群れ急ぎ、ロンドンで生まれた文化人のネットワークはそのままバースで継続された。バースとロンドンの間は、郵便サービスが充実し、手紙が迅速に安全に運ばれ、ロンドンの新聞が届けられ、知的情報に不自由しない環境が整えられた。

人々のバースに行きたい欲求を刺激したのは、口コミと出版物であり、鉱泉は、付加価値を付けられて健康リゾートとなり、宣伝する価値のある大きな市場となった。王侯貴族愛顧を得、有名人が好んで訪れることが17世紀末以来知られるようになり、あとは放っておいてもそれに倣いたい人たちが先を争った。健康に恵まれないことに悩んだアン女王(1665-1714)が医者 の勧めで訪れ、モールバラ公爵(John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, 1650-1722)が発作のあとの治療のために公爵夫人をはじめとして供の者たちを伴ってバースで過ごした。<sup>83</sup> ピープス(Samuel Pepys, 1633-1703)、ポープ(Alexander Pope, 1688-1744)、フィールディング(Henry Fielding, 1707-54)、ジョンソン(Samuel Johnson, 1709-84)、ギャリック(David Garrick, 1717-79)、バーク(Edmund Burke, 1729-97)、モンタギュ夫人(Elizabeth Montagu, 1720-1800)、マルサス(T.R. Malthus, 1766-1834)、スコット(Walter Scott, 1711-1832)、ジェイン・オースチン(Jane Austen, 1775-1817)、錚々たる顔ぶれがバースでの時を楽しみ、あるいは薬にもすがる想いで鉱泉を試した。新聞・雑誌の記事や広告が消費意欲を刺激した。出版された観光ガイドとしては、たとえば、Robert Pierce, *The History and Memoirs of the Bath* (1687; 1713再版)があり、これにはバースの水が効き目をもつといわれるあらゆる病気について解説がついている。*The Bath and Bristol Guide: or, the Tradesman's and Traveller's Pocket Companion* (1742)や、Christopher Anstey, *The New Bath Guide* (1766)も注目された。また、非常に重要な役割を果たした出版物には、John Woodの*Description of Bath* (1742-3; 1749改訂; 1765再版)があり、これはかなり癖のある歴史ではあるが、バースの街の歴史とその魅力を語り、街の計画について明確なヴィジョンを提供した。ウッドは、親子で街作りに貢献した建築家で、実際の建物・街を構築することに多大な貢献をしたが、こうして出版物で人々にバースの魅力を訴えるという大きな貢献もしている。

スペンサー夫妻の場合、長年各地の鉱泉地を回り、バースの水に妄信的絶対的信頼をおいているわけではない。試してみないとわからないと言って何度も試す。経験により効能を確かめようとするが、効き目がみえなくても使い続けるという状態だった。時折、ロンドンを去ったときに比べて良くなっているわけではないということを実感して、転地療養を疑問視するが、友人からの「暖かい土地にいるのが一番良いのです。すべての医者と

<sup>83</sup> Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 56-7, 95-7, 161-2.

彼らが出す胡散臭い薬よりも、ご主人の健康に良いのは水です」というアドバイスを受けて、また考え直したりした。<sup>84</sup> 病人本人も、「水は最後の望みだ」と言って、療養を続ける意向を示していた。<sup>85</sup>

### 3) 医者との関係 ——ウオレン

ロンドンには多くの内科医・外科医・医者を騙る者がいた。健康と娯楽のために人々が集まる鉱泉リゾートにも医者が集まった。「市のたつときにスリが集まるように医者たちが群れてきている」と儲け口を求めて集まる医者たちが描写された。バースでは、パリー先生が歩くとすぐわかる、ポケットにギニー金貨をジャラジャラいわせながら歩くから、とバースでの金銭的に恵まれた医者の存在が噂された。<sup>86</sup> また、「上流の人々は、医者への勧めなしには、食べることも、飲むことも、[排泄することも]しないのだ」と裕福な人々の医者への依存状態が評された。<sup>87</sup> 依存するとともに、彼らは選択し、大勢のなかから「カリスマ」医者をつくっていった。

バースでスペンサーを診ていたのは、まず、ガスタート (Dr Gusthart, fl. 1785) だったが、夫妻は彼に対してはかなり懐疑的だった。ジョージアナは、心配から解き放されることは大いに歓迎したが、それでも楽観的なガスタートの言うことを頼みとすることはできなかった。ガスタートは、ヒューム (David Hume, 1711-76) がバースで末期癌に苦しんでいる際、その状態は、バースの水が治癒するにぴったりの症状であるので、「あなたほど回復の望みがある患者を私は他にみたことがない」という診断を下した医師であった。その二ヶ月後にヒュームは亡くなった。<sup>88</sup> それを知ってか知らずか、いや、恐らく知っていたのであろう。スペンサー伯爵夫人は、「ガスタート先生は、この症状はとても不愉快ではあるでしょうが、危険なものではありませんと言うのです。彼の言うことを信ずることができさえしたら、どんなに良いでしょう」と彼の診断が気休めにならないことを指摘している。<sup>89</sup> 1783年10月には別の医者が登場する。チャールトン (Dr [Rice] Charlton) だった。彼の応対ぶりは気に入ったようであるが、信頼して頼るといふまではいかなかった。

スペンサー夫妻にとって、信頼すべきは、リチャード・ウオレン (Richard Warren, 1731-97) で、これは揺るがない。彼は、王侯貴族に絶大な人気を誇り、ジョージ3世の侍医でもあった。<sup>90</sup> 有名人好きのボズウエル (James Boswell, 1740-95) も妻の病の

<sup>84</sup> Mrs Garrick to Lady Spencer, Adelphi, May 26 1780.

<sup>85</sup> Dated 6 Oct 1783, 75619.

<sup>86</sup> Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Polity, 1989), p. 130.

<sup>87</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>89</sup> Dated 25 May 1780, 75616, Althorp Papers.

<sup>90</sup> ジョージ3世が狂気に陥っていることを 'Rex noster insanit' と彼が書き送ったのは、スペンサー伯爵夫人への手紙だった (1788年12月12日)

際にウオレンの診察を受けた。ただ、彼の場合は、ウオレンを「洒落物男」と呼んで、すぐに別の医者に変えた。<sup>91</sup> 他にもウオレンと合わないことを記している人々はいたが、スペンサー一家はウオレンを好み、娘たちも彼の診断を仰いだ。彼は、ケンブリッジ在学中にラテン語コンテストで賞を得た教養人で、「類稀なる頭の良さと堅実な判断力をもっていると評判」だった。<sup>92</sup> 彼のエレガントで気さくで自然な会話に人々は魅せられた。手の施しようがない患者は、彼と会話を交わすことでなぐさめられ、彼と一緒にいると、心配事も不安も恐れもなだめられたという。<sup>93</sup> スペンサー伯爵夫人は、「ウオレンがいてくれたらいいのに。主人の具合が悪いときに私をしっかりさせてくれるのは、彼だけなのだから」と書いている。<sup>94</sup>

何故、ウオレンの不在をひどく歎かなければならない状況にあるのか？ウオレンはロンドンにおり、スペンサー夫妻はバースにいるからである。頼りにする医者はロンドンにいるが、それでもその医者から離れて彼らは鉱泉都市を選択した。これは、バースの水への信頼のためでもあるが、医者には手紙で連絡して処方してもらえば良いという前提があるからである。

#### 4) 描写・物語

医者は実際に会って患者の身体も診るが、患者本人あるいは家族による描写、記述を頼りに処方する。描写や観察は直接聞いてもいいし、手紙を介しても構わない。バースとロンドンの間の通信状態は良好で迅速だったので、たとえば、10月15日付けのスペンサー伯爵のウオレンへの相談の手紙に対して、18日には夫人が友人への手紙で既にもらったアドバイスに触れている。それ以前にも夫人はウオレンに連絡をとりたくてしかたがないのであるが、本人は冷静に判断してウオレンに伝えるほどの変化はないのであるから、手紙は書かなくてよいと言ってあった。彼女は、ウオレンに手紙を直接書くことは控えるが、友人のハウ夫人に夫の様子の詳細を伝え、ウオレンに伝えてもらっている。観察のポイントは、身体全体にわたる体液説に基づいたもので、全身のバランスや、熱のもちかたに重点がある。彼女がハウ夫人を仲介者としてウオレンに伝えた情報は、次のようなものである。

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<sup>91</sup> Porter and Porter, *Patient's Progress : Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 64.

<sup>92</sup> DNB.

<sup>93</sup> William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Comprising Biographical Sketches of All the Eminent Physicians, Whose Names Are Recorded in the Annals from the Foundation of the College in 1518 to Its Removal in 1825 from Warwick Lane to Pall Mall East*, vol. II (London: The College, 1878), pp. 242-47.

<sup>94</sup> Dated March 22 1780, 75615.

キングスゲイトにいたときよりも食欲が落ちているということ以外には、いかなる点においても本質的に悪くなっているとは思えません。また、よりしっかりと歩けるようになったということ以外には、よくなっているということもありません。ワインも水で割ったワインも量を減らしました。バースの水を少し飲んでいますが、これはお腹に心地よいらしいです。めまいはしないかほとんどしないし、寒気もしないかほとんどしないようです。けれども身体内部の熱があるのは確かだそうです。彼は肺が悪いのではないかと考えています。彼の舌（舌の奥の方です）はいつも白くて、何度か脈をとって見たところ、時によって、しっかりしているときもあれば、弱いこともあります。常に早いです。・・・<sup>95</sup>

彼女は、自分のこの描写が、「夫の現在の状態に関して私が提供することができる最も正確で完全な報告」であるので、これをウオレンに伝えて、ウオレンが何と言うか教えて欲しいと頼んだ。彼女の観察と、患者本人が言っていることを織り交ぜたこの描写に表れるのは、食欲、歩くときの様子、ワインの量、バースの水をどう感じているか、めまい、あつかつめたいか、舌の様子、脈の様子であり、本人は肺に疑惑をもっているが、看護人が注意を傾けるのは、食欲、歩き方、何をどれだけ口にしたりしたか、熱、脈である。彼女は、毎日夫の様子をつぶさに観察し、それに一喜一憂していた。あまりに夫の調子に左右されるので、自分のことを「スペンサー計」であると言うくらいだった。<sup>96</sup>

チャールトンに診てもらい始めるときにも、本人や家族が描写することがいかに重要であったかということがよくわかる記録を彼女は残している。「気持ちが悪くなるので、アヘンチンキを省かざるを得ず、ほとんど何も食べられず、うたたねばかりしていて、せきをし、痰が多く、手が熱い」という「あらゆる面において悪い」状態に陥ったので、新しい医者に会うことにした。<sup>97</sup> まず、彼女がウオレンからの手紙をみせ、そして夫の様子を話した。彼女は、彼の聞き手としての様子は気に入った。こんなことを記録しているのは、医者への聞き手としての役割が大きかったからである。彼の診断では、この症状は「痛風がこもってしまっている」のであって、バースの水を続けるのが何よりよいということだった。翌日に、夫がこの医者与会った後、調子が悪くなり、それはこの医者により夫があまりに一生懸命に自分の状態について話したからだと言われ、彼女は解釈した。<sup>98</sup> 順番に注目しよう。医者はまず病人を診るのではなくて、看護人がまず会いにいき、信頼する医者の手紙を見せて、病人の様子を語った。ウオレンが語ること、そして夫人が語ること、それが済んだから、病人が医者に会う。本人及び医者が行ったもっとも大きなことは、本人が語り、医者が聞くということである。病人は、身体の調子を崩してまで医者に語り、話をきいてもら

<sup>95</sup> Dated Oct 4 1783, 75619.

<sup>96</sup> Dated April 2 1780, 75615.

<sup>97</sup> Dated Oct 20, 1783, 75620.

<sup>98</sup> Dated 23 Oct 1783, 75620.

いたかったのだ。

看護する人は、病人の症状、感情、態度、所作に注意を払い、そして描写することが必要だった。病人の全状態を観察し描写するにあたり、あまりに日常的で些細なことでも、書き留めておき、ジョージアナの場合は、それを自分のところに留めておくだけではなく、友人に手紙で報告している。18世紀には、「こんなに書いていたら暮らしている暇がない」とまで言われた『パミラ』の流行とその模倣に見られるように、日常の詳細を逐一書き取った手紙が小説の題材となり、そして実際にも書かれ交わされたが、長い手紙は冗長さを謝罪する文句を伴うものであった。しかし、スペンサー伯爵夫人が夫の状態についてハウ夫人に書く場合には、そんな言い訳も必要とせず、彼女は観察と描写を思うままにいくらかでも書くことができた。描写が「20グレインのフィロニウム」と微細になろうが、「チキンとアンチョビーのサンドイッチ」と食べ物やのメニューのようになろうが、「フィールディングとリチャードソンは読んだ」「最近ホラチウスを読んでいなくて、これは調子が悪い証拠だ」「ギャリックの伝記を読んだ」と読書記録になろうとも、それが夫の状態を何らかの形で伝える材料になるのであれば、遠慮なく書き記した。<sup>99</sup> 観察しそして記録する看護人は、その行為によって病人の様子を離れた人に知らせるとともに、自分自身も支えていた。彼女は、自分の性格について、次のように分析している。「私は他の人たちに比べて敬虔であるというわけではありませんが、普通の人と比べて宗教心が足りないというわけでもありません。なのになぜこんなに感情を制御することができないのでしょうか。・・・思っていたより私は激しい感情の持ち主なのかもしれません。今までそうは思わなかったのは、自分の性向と戦わなければならないような状況に置かれることがなかったという幸運に恵まれたただけだったのです。」<sup>100</sup> 穏やかにみえるが、実は激しい情念の持ち主で、それが現れなかったのは、これまでは幸運であったためであるということ、環境が良かったせいで、制御する必要がなかったと言っている。そして、病人のために不安にかられ、大きな感情の起伏を経験している今の自分にとっては、大切なのは、それを自分で制御することであると彼女は分析する。その分析を受け取ってくれるのはハウ夫人で、夫の状態が悪くなってきて苦しい想いをしているときに、スペンサーは「友人というのは人生の薬だ」と言ってハウ夫人の存在が彼女を慰め励ましていることを感謝している。<sup>101</sup>

1783年10月31日、ジョン・スペンサーが亡くなると、ジョージアナはひどく悲しんで呆然とし、しかもアヘンチンキで朦朧とした日々を送る。執事がハウ夫人に死の知らせの手紙を送った。「時折妙に冷静な気持ちになるときがあつて」、そういう時を利用して、11月2日にはハウに短い手紙を自分で書いた。<sup>102</sup> これまで毎日細心の注意と愛情を傾けた対象を失って彼女が行ったのは、自分自身を観察するという、日記を書くというこ

<sup>99</sup> 20 grains = 1 scruple = 1.296 grams; フィロニウムは、アヘンや香料などを含む薬; 75616.

<sup>100</sup> Dated April 2 1780, 75615.

<sup>101</sup> Dated 11 Oct 1783, 75620.

<sup>102</sup> Dated 2 Nov 1783, 75620.

とである。1日、2日、3日、9日、11日で2枚であるので、彼女としては少ないが、次第に観察者の立場を取り戻していく様子が見受けられる。最初の日は、「ほんのわずかでも神の慈悲をみつけようと努め」、「私のことを気遣ってくれる人たちに感謝することができるように努め」た。翌日の夜、「私を支えてくれる別のものを見て」、「しっかりすることができるように決意をふるい起こした」かのように思ったけれども、「理性にほとんど見捨てられて、半分狂人のようになり」、身内の男性たちに引きずられて馬車に乗った。3日の夜、初めてこれからの生活に目を向けた。9日目、「落ち着いて埋葬に臨めたことを神に感謝」し、激しく泣いた。11日、執事のどんな条件でも今後も変わらず仕えますという言葉聞いて、泣いた自分に関して、「このような効果をもっているものがいかに少ないかを考えると不思議である」と分析して、冷静な観察者が帰ってきていることを感じさせる。<sup>103</sup> こうして、彼女が夫の死のショックから立ち直す手助けをしたのは、書くという行為であり、夫の療養中に身につけていた人の行動・感情・動作を観察し、自分の感情を制御するために自分の中に自分を観察するエイジェントをもつという習慣である。スペンサー夫妻がウオレンを好んだのは、観察者・語り手としての病人とその家族の役割を彼が尊重することができ、教養と文化を共有しているということを確認できたからである。

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<sup>103</sup> Althorp Papers, 75609.

#### 4. Benevolence

##### 1) Dr Minor

Although it is a distortion, Oliver Goldsmith (1730?-74) was and has been known as a lesser Johnson, a figure to be eclipsed by Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) or a person to illustrate Johnson's greatness. Goldsmith himself acutely knew the comparison and among others, James Boswell made fun of it. In his *Journal of a Tour to Hebrides* Boswell sneeringly records Goldsmith's humiliation as 'a good story of Dr. Goldsmith'. Rev. George Graham spoke to 'Doctor' and Goldsmith answered. To this response Graham said: 'No, ... 'tis not you I mean, Dr. *Minor*; 'tis Doctor *Major*, there.' Thus called as 'Dr Minor' against Johnson as Dr Major, Goldsmith 'afterwards spoke of it himself. "Graham, (said he,) is a fellow to make one commit suicide."' <sup>104</sup> Johnson's overwhelming calibre influenced his psychology in various ways, for better or worse in steering his literary career. It must have been overall beneficial <sup>105</sup>, while it presents Goldsmith's place somewhat pathetic.

What makes his life still more pathetic is his thwarted ambitions. He aspired to be a physician. Unfortunately he failed to take a medical degree at Edinburgh; 'Doctor' was the courtesy title. He aspired to go to Madras as a physician and surgeon, investing some money. He failed to meet the requirements to get a license. <sup>106</sup> Later in his literary life, he aspired to edit an encyclopaedia (was this his ambition to square with Johnson's dictionary?). His plan was star-studded: Johnson writing on ethics, Sir Joshua Reynolds on painting, Charles Burney on music, and David Garrick on the theatre. If his plan had been realized, it would, not only have enlightened the contemporary purchaser of the book, but also illuminate, on behalf of students today, the intellectual

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<sup>104</sup> George Birkbeck Hill and L.F. Powell, eds., *Boswell's Life of Johnson Together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales*, Rev. and enl. ed., vol. V (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 97.

<sup>105</sup> Johnson helped Goldsmith in various ways; for example, the manuscript of *The Vicar of Wakefield* was sold by Johnson to make some money for Goldsmith in penury; Johnson is said to have helped him in finishing his major poems; Johnson composed a Greek epitaph for him after his death.

<sup>106</sup> John Ginger, *The Notable Man : The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith* (London: Hamilton, 1977), pp. 106-7, 111-12.

world of the prominent men in their fields as well as eighteenth-century arts and culture.<sup>107</sup> Thus even a cursory look at his life suggests, if putting aside the comparison with Johnson, pathos and frustration. Even after his success in literature, it did not make his life easy. He was not a worldly-wise kind of man who managed things to his best convenience. A Goldsmith by John Hawkins goes like this: Goldsmith told the Earl (later Duke) of Northumberland that he preferred booksellers to dependence on the aristocratic patron. Considering the writers' struggle in the transition of production of literature, this sounds like a very high-minded statement of a modern writer. However, the heroic refusal of benefit inspired in Hawkins not admiration but pity for his naïvety.

Johnson summed up his distress when he died:

He died of a fever, made, I am afraid, more violent by uneasiness of mind. His debts began to be heavy, and all his resources were exhausted. Sir Joshua is of opinion that he owed not less than two thousand pounds.

He records the miserable state of a writer oppressed by debts. Johnson, who did much to elevate the status of writers, did not forget to add one more sentence to this report: 'Was ever poet so trusted before?'<sup>108</sup> So, he mentions both the writer's financial distress and the credit Goldsmith enjoyed. Yes, Goldsmith was favoured with confidence worth 'not less than two thousand pounds'. Though his aspiration for a medical career was frustrated, his achievement in literature was considerable, bringing him fame, patronage, and some money.<sup>109</sup> It is beyond question that he deployed remarkable versatility in a variety of literary genres: poetry, essay, novel, biography, and play.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Lars E. Troide, ed., *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol. I (Oxford : Clarendon, 1988), p. 271. Charles Burney actually wrote for his entry and let Garrick read it.

<sup>108</sup> Bruce Redford, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 146

<sup>109</sup> *The Traveller* (1764) earned him Lord Clare's patronage; he was one of the original members of the Club, a select group of the culturally prominent.

<sup>110</sup> Goldsmith's poetical works include *The Traveller* (1764) and *The Deserted Village* (1770); he wrote for Smollet's *Critical Review*; he wrote biographies

## 2) the Vicar

However, as far as his novel is concerned, Goldsmith's place is rather problematic. It can be surmised by the apologetic tone of the editor of a recent popular edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (first published in 1766), who attempts to justify the awkwardness of Goldsmith's techniques in novel writing.<sup>111</sup> He points out, for example, that the writer does not manage the digressions well; the improbable plot requires too many coincidences to make up the denouement. It derives, of course, not from the misunderstanding of the editor, Arthur Friedman, but from his sympathetic defence of Goldsmith. Although the author himself begins his advertisement with 'There are an hundred faults in this Thing', the introduction to this edition admits the technical faults of his writing too readily, leading the reader even to wonder why such a flawed story is worth reading. After reading the text, Friedman's intention can be understood as an invitation to the reader to feel the pleasure of reading Goldsmith and overwhelm the dissatisfaction caused by the imperfections, by means of foretelling the reader what faults criticism has found in it.

Writers and critics have tried to interpret and explain why this fault-laden story gives such a pleasure of reading. Henry James admired its 'amiability'. Goethe juxtaposed Goldsmith with Sterne in analyzing what had framed his view of life; for him, they represented 'high, benevolent irony':

This high, benevolent irony, this just and comprehensive way of viewing things, this gentleness to all opposition, this equanimity under every change, and whatever else all the kindred virtues may be termed, - such things were a most admirable training for me, and surely, these are the sentiments, which in the end

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of Voltaire and Richard Nash; his *She Stoops to Conquer* was a success at Covent Garden. Samuel H. Woods, Jr. reviews Goldsmith scholarship, beginning with the difficulties scholars face: subtlety and complexity of his works, biased biographical information, and his versatility to stride over various genres ('The Goldsmith "Problem"', *Studies in Burke and His Time* 19 [1978]: 47-60).

<sup>111</sup> Arthur Friedman's introduction to *The Vicar of Wakefield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), vii-xvii.

lead us back from all the mistaken paths of life.<sup>112</sup>

The degree of sincerity and irony in Goldsmith's language has always been the question. Hopkins in *The True Genius of Oliver Goldsmith* argued the story is consistently satiric. Finding his emphasis on satire too thorough, Martin Battestin searched for a different reading, recognizing satiric force to a certain extent, not so comprehensive. Showing a careful parallel between Goldsmith's story and the Book of Job, Battestin found Goldsmith's sophisticated technique to fabricate a comedy that involves the assertion of religious concerns. James Lehmann questioned the degree of sincerity in the Job analogy. He brought to light Goldsmith's handling of the new way of reading the scripture.<sup>113</sup>

Thomas Preston also places the fiction in conversation with religious discourse, regarding it as 'a kind of mock moral apologetic or comic antiparable about the downside of following a Christian moral life'<sup>114</sup>. Analyzing the description of the gap between the religious ideal and the human reality deriving from Goldsmith's view of the fallibility and imperfection of human nature, Preston argues that the vicar's story contests and subverts the commonplace religious moral discourse and, further, the optimistic view of possibility in human moral achievement:

The vicar's story is not, then, a parable about the ease of the Christian moral life and the likely interposition of Providence to relieve distressed virtue, but about the failures of the Christian moral life, its occasional moral and worldly but always deficient triumphs, its endless deferral of moral and spiritual

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<sup>112</sup> George Sebastian Rousseau, ed., *Goldsmith: The Critical Heritage*, (Critical Heritage Series.) (London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 68, 278.

<sup>113</sup> Martin C. Battestin, *The Providence of Wit : Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and the Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 193-214; James H. Lehmann, "The Vicar of Wakefield: Goldsmith's Sublime, Oriental Job," in *Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), 73-89.

<sup>114</sup> Thomas R. Preston, "Moral Spin Doctoring, Delusion, and Chance: Wakefield's Vicar Writes an Enlightenment Parable," in *The Age of Johnson: A Scholarly Annual*, ed. Paul J. Korshin and Jack Lynch (2000): 237-81; this quotation from p. 238.

perfection and the always impending reward for moral striving, hardly an endorsement of Enlightenment moral progress.<sup>115</sup>

The story is told by the Vicar of Wakefield, Doctor Primrose. He begins with his misfortune of losing his fortune. His family, moving to a rented farm, meet a Mr Burchell, who is benevolent though somewhat mysterious. Another new acquaintance, Mr Thornhill, their landlord, quickly carries favour with his wife and one of his daughters, Olivia, with his suave manners. He turns out to be, quite expectedly, base, unprincipled and dissolute. Meanwhile the family is attacked by misfortune after misfortune: their daughter's disappearance just before her planned marriage, a fire, an abduction of the second daughter, the detention in the debtor's prison, etc. The wickedness of their landlord adds to their affliction.

The reader expects the virtuous vicar will be relieved somehow or other. Going forward, the reader comes to be suspicious of his relief in this world, as the expectation of his happiness is discouraged again and again. Indeed, his misfortune succeeds one another, making the reader foresee another misfortune lying ahead. The reader is at the end surprised to see all is suddenly changed to make the vicar happy in this world. Towards the end, the eccentric and kind Mr Burchell turns out to be Sir William Thornhill, Squire Thornhill's uncle, who works as *deus ex machina*.

Raymond Hilliard argues that this fiction describes the trouble and affliction of a paterfamilias placed in a difficult position in the changing relationships in a family in the eighteenth century. The tension between authoritative patrimony and 'affective individualism' found descriptions in novels with such themes as discordance in a family, especially daughters' dilemmas in her choice between filial obedience and personal attachment. The anxieties of fatherhood are focused on in the Goldsmith's work as the vicar behaves ineffectually and inconsistently. The vicar's first-person narrative is a skilfully chosen method of telling the distressed mind of a father in a family.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Preston, pp. 273-74.

<sup>116</sup> Raymond F. Hilliard, "The Redemption of Fatherhood in the Vicar of Wakefield," *SEL* 23 (1983): 465-80. Harold Bloom regarded this choice of the narrator as 'singular audacity' in the Introduction to *Oliver Goldsmith*,

David Murray's analysis also highlights fatherhood. In his argument, with the general tendency of private personality invading the public realm, the father's role changed from an authority based on the property transactions (a patrimonial father) to an emotional and ethical stay (a paternalistic father). Following this pattern, in Murray's reading Dr Primrose transfigures himself from a patrimonial paterfamilias to a paternalistic father through the misfortunes.<sup>117</sup> Although the story can be placed in the alteration of patrimony, his claim of the vicar's establishing himself as a paternalistic fatherly figure is unconvincing. Murray's ground of finding a new paternal role in Dr Primrose lies in the vicar's role in his prison reform, instead of his role in his family. A question remains if Dr Primrose becomes affectionate enough to justify the change in his attitude toward his family member.

### 3) benevolence and tears

Rather than bringing into focus the fatherhood or relationship within a family, my reading focuses on virtues in society. My emphasis is on Goldsmith's attempt to describe a benevolent manly hero who is without the sentimental tears. Although the virtuous heroines, such as Pamela and Clarissa, expressing themselves in the first person, achieved remarkable successes, even Richardson could not make his worthy hero Sir Charles Grandison as popular as Pamela or Clarissa. Pamela to a certain extent and Clarissa could do it, winning the readers' sympathy and admiration, but as Bloom puts it, 'No one proclaims his own virtues without alienating us, and no one recites his own sufferings without embarrassing us.'<sup>118</sup> In the fictional world at least, a virtuous heroine could appeal to the reader, while an upright man of virtue had some difficulties.

In the literary domain in the mid-eighteenth century, the association between women and virtues was promoted and reinforced. In his examination of the cult of sensibility in the eighteenth century, G.J. Barker-Benfield spotlights the connection between material changes

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p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> David Aaron Murray, "From Patrimony to Paternity in the Vicar of Wakefield," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9 (1997): 327-36, esp. 329-32.

<sup>118</sup> Bloom, p. 3.

in society such as the rise of consumerism and the restructuring of feelings and manners conducted by women's consciousness. Following Norbet Elias's vision of women's reformation of men's manners in the civilizing process, he emphasizes women's role in defining the culture and also its ambivalent legacy to women.<sup>119</sup> Drawing on wide range of literature and various kinds of writings, this study reveals the central role of women and feminization of culture; instead of somewhat barbaric masculinity, the distressed but virtuous femininity was in fashion.

Considering this, Goldsmith's endeavour is as daunting and ambitious as his enterprise of the aborted encyclopaedia. In other words, Goldsmith tries to resist the feminization of heroes, and furthermore resist the feminization of virtues by creating a composed hero who writes about his own sufferings in the first-person narrative, making parallel with the celebrated heroines. The choice of the vicar as the narrator causes annoyance to some, but it is a calculated challenge.

In Goldsmith's text, 'sensibility', which was so much in fashion during his time, appears only four times.<sup>120</sup> When he describes Miss Arabella Wilmot, who was about to marry George Primrose but separated for the unfortunate turn of fortune in Primrose family, he uses the word twice: she has 'an happy sensibility of look' and 'too much sensibility'.<sup>121</sup> Sir William's susceptibility to the unfortunate in his youth is described as influenced by 'a sickly sensibility of the miseries of others' in a detached analysis by Mr Burchell. Another 'sensibility' is referred to in the prison scene, but it is not used to describe Dr Primrose.

Not only sentimental heroines but heroes of feeling are inundated with tears, but the vicar is not. 'A tear' or 'tears', appearing eighteen times together, are not shed by the vicar. His wife, Olivia, and Sophia are easily affected and helpless in tears. The people surrounding Dr Primrose, not only the female part of his family, are in tears, but the vicar is not. The most telling scene to illustrate the vicar's

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<sup>119</sup> Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility : Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* , esp. pp. 79-83, 287-89.

<sup>120</sup> I depend on 'Eighteenth-Century Fiction' CD-ROM in counting the frequency of this word and the following few words.

<sup>121</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, pp. 14, 100.

uniqueness is in chapter 17, where the topic is Olivia's disappearance just before her planned marriage to farmer Williams. The wife is molested and upset, 'who could scarce speak for weeping'.<sup>122</sup> The vicar reaches for pistols. Instead of weeping or crying in inaction, he is quickly determined to revenge her. His passion of anger against the villainy of the abductor is so violent that his son tries to appease him, saying that 'your rage is too violent and unbecoming. You should be my mother's comforter, and you encrease her pain. It ill suited you and your reverend character thus to curse your greatest enemy: you should not have curst him, villain as he is.'<sup>123</sup>

In this work women are conspicuously degraded. The vicar markedly looks down on women. Though he claims that 'we loved each other tenderly, and our fondness encreased as we grew old', his wife does not seem to deserve his affections; his claimed fondness for her is condescending. In his view women are those devoid of integrity because of their poor education. Dr Primrose regretfully tells the reader about his wife's poor taste, mentioning that his wife 'could read any English book without much spelling', insisting on calling their first daughter 'Olivia' resulting from her fascination with romances during her pregnancy and overruling the vicar's intention to give her the name of 'Grissel' after her aunt.<sup>124</sup> When his daughter, Olivia, is fascinated by Mr Thornhill's attractive but superficial conversation, the vicar remarks: 'It is not surprising then that such talents should win the affections of a girl, who by education was taught to value an appearance in herself, and consequently to set a value upon it in another.'<sup>125</sup> The harmony in the family is not supported by mutual esteem and respect among its members, but sustained by Dr Primrose. Always he is a man of righteousness; his wife is a mean coward who is easily overwhelmed by money and power, however immoral and inhumane its holder is, whether favoured or terrorised. Fanny Burney, who in the end sobbed over the book, formed a negative response to it drawn by the contemptuous description of women. Her overall assessment is: 'There is but very little story, the plot is thin, the incidents very rare, the sentiments

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<sup>122</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 89.

<sup>123</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 88.

<sup>124</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>125</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 36.

uncommon, the vicar is contented, humble, pious, virtuous ...' She began to read it 'with distaste & disrelish'; she continues that 'the beginning of it, even disgusted me -- he mentions his wife with such indifference -- such contempt...'<sup>126</sup> The idyllic happiness of the family at the beginning and the vicar's fortitude through his misfortunes would not have been undermined by a supportive virtuous wife, who would not have alienated Burney from a more sympathetic reading, but Goldsmith chose to describe a man's isolated battle. Women are, for him in this work, a foil to the vicar's virtues.

Among man's virtues, benevolence is repeatedly underscored. The word 'benevolence' appears eleven times in the text, mostly in crucial moments. It represents the character shared by the vicar and Sir William Thornhill (alias Mr Burchell). Dr Primrose has won respect and gratitude among the poor. Because of his charitable deeds, the vicar is popular among the poor; when he has to leave Wakefield for the unlucky loss of his fortune, 'the poor, who followed us for some miles, contributed to encrease' the family's apprehension for their future.<sup>127</sup> The vicar has heard of Sir William as 'a man of consummate benevolence'. In his reply to this admiration, Mr Burchell self-critically assesses his former behaviour: 'Something, perhaps, too much so, ... at least he carried benevolence to an excess when young; for his passions ... led it up to a romantic extreme.'<sup>128</sup> What draws Primrose and Mr Burchell together when they first meet is the issue of benevolence. Burchell, who paid for an old soldier, now wants money. On knowing the distress of the kind man, Dr Primrose offers his money to Burchell, who appreciates his goodness by saying, 'I take it with all my heart, Sir, ... and am glad that a late oversight in giving what money I had about me, has shewn me that there are still some men like you.'<sup>129</sup> When the author mentions a bookseller (whose model is John Newberry), he is introduced as 'the philanthropic bookseller in St. Paul's church-yard', and as 'the friend of all mankind'.<sup>130</sup> George, one of Primrose's sons, asks for a nobleman's patronage, but the rich aristocrat is inundated with petitions of the

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<sup>126</sup> Troide, ed., *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>127</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 18.

<sup>128</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 20.

<sup>129</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 19.

<sup>130</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 91.

poor and he is unsuccessful. George's experience illustrates the slyness of the petitioners as well as their difficulties.<sup>131</sup> The villainous Thornhill, before his character is fully revealed, claims his own benevolent nature: 'I desire no other reward but the pleasure of having served my friend'.<sup>132</sup> In contrast with the rich's callous behaviour, the kindness of the simple and honest neighbour after the disastrous fire is appreciated as 'untutored benevolence'.<sup>133</sup>

As Carolyn Williams examines in her paper, benevolence was concerned with adult males, mostly well-off and well-educated men.<sup>134</sup> While benevolence has been analyzed as part of political manoeuvre by the privileged for the purpose of maintaining the status quo, it was referred to in the context of politics as well as religion. Benevolence is represented as a manly virtue in *The Spectator*, first published in 1711 and very popular through the century. For example, it is a virtue expected to work in solving the party struggle: 'it shall be the chief Tendency of my Papers to inspire my Countrymen with a Mutual Good-will and Benevolence.'<sup>135</sup> Benevolence appears in the discussion of management of politics: 'Half the Misery of Human Life might be extinguished would Men alleviate the general Curse they lye under, by mutual Offices of Compassion, Benevolence and Humanity.'<sup>136</sup> It is a significant characteristic of *The Vicar of Wakefield* that benevolence, with its masculine political charge, not sensibility or tears, gets such an attention.

Thus, Goldsmith's purpose in this novel is to create a hero, different from other sentimental heroes, a person not drowned in tears and always armed with fortitude and a character who is not numbed into inaction because of too much sensibility but can take action in adversity. Here again, Preston's elaborate and persuasive examination of *The Vicar of Wakefield* is useful in its interpretation; Goldsmith's attempt is exploring how to achieve benevolence within the limitation of imperfect

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<sup>131</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>132</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 118.

<sup>133</sup> *The Vicar of Wakefield*, p. 127.

<sup>134</sup> Carolyn D. Williams, "the Luxury of Doing Good': Benevolence, Sensibility, and the Royal Humane Society," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), 78-9.

<sup>135</sup> *The Spectator*, No. 556 (IV 501)

<sup>136</sup> *The Spectator*, No. 169 (II, 165)

human nature. The susceptibility to deception and imprudence of both Sir William Thornhill and Dr Primrose caused by their intention of exercising benevolence is not described to no avail or for thoroughly satiric purpose, but it can be understood in this context. Whatever the reality in society, Goldsmith's scheme to resist the feminization in fiction had a significant meaning.

## 5. Bath and the Care of a 'Poor' Woman

### 1) Bath network

Bath re-established its name as a fashionable spa in the eighteenth-century.<sup>137</sup> Its prosperity was part of 'the English urban renaissance', as Peter Borsay put it, and still, Bath's rise was conspicuous.<sup>138</sup> About a hundred years from mid-seventeenth-century saw a remarkable increase in population from 1,500 to 6,000, excluding seasonal visitors.<sup>139</sup> Bath was an alternative to London, where the powerful could steer and find the retinue to exert their influence on. Queen Anne (1665-1714), who always suffered from poor health and went through pregnancies real and false, visited Bath, willingly following her physicians' advice for her own health and her husband's. She left London for Bath when her Catholic step-mother, Mary of Modena, gave controversial birth to a son in London.<sup>140</sup> When the Duke of Marlborough went to Bath seeking for cure after the strokes, his entourage followed him and Sarah, his formidable wife; she governed there. These two influential women were not alone in their partiality to Bath. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), Alexander Pope (1688-1744), Henry Fielding (1707-54), Samuel Johnson (1709-84), David Garrick (1717-79), Edmund Burke (1729-97), Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800), T.R. Malthus (1766-1834), Walter Scott (1711-1832), and Jane Austen (1775-1817), among others, all enjoyed society there. Pope, that sickly genius, attests to disappointment in the so-called panacea as well as people's susceptibility to belief in the cure by Bath's water: 'The Bath was tried after all other remedies, as a last remedy, and that has proved totally ineffectual.'<sup>141</sup>

This section examines a case of the care of an aging literary woman in Bath. Though she was a daughter of a lieutenant with wealthy relatives, she was left impoverished and unmarried. She had lost her siblings and close friends before settling in Bath in her mid-forties. This lonesome

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<sup>137</sup> Legend tells that Bath's hot springs were known well before the Romans built baths in the first century.

<sup>138</sup> Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>140</sup> Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 56-7, 95-7, 161-2.

<sup>141</sup> Quoted in Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 156.

woman with her limited income moved from London to Bath and sought care there through personal connections. Her name is Sarah Fielding (1710-68), a sister of the novelist Henry Fielding, and she was a writer on her own. She was born at East Stour, Dorset, spent her childhood in Salisbury, lived in London, and settled in Bath. Her life in Bath is better documented than that in London. In her fiction she made use of Bath, and Bristol as well, a nearby health resort where people visiting Bath used to make an optional trip.<sup>142</sup> Her decision to choose Bath as her retreat was not by chance but had reasons. The next section of this paper surveys the town of Bath, followed by Sarah Fielding's later life in Bath.

## 2) The prosperity of Bath

The making of eighteenth-century prosperity of Bath was illustrated by four figures: Beau Nash, the representative of fashionable society, Ralph Allen, of hospitality and literary interests, John Wood, of architecture, and William Oliver, of medicine.<sup>143</sup> They all contributed to make Bath a desirable and respectable town of comfort and pleasure. Pope testifies Bath's captivating attractions: '... I have Slid, I can't tell how, into all the Amusements of this Place: My whole Day is shar'd by the Pump-Assemblies, the Walks, the Chocolate houses, Raffling Shops, Plays, Medleys, etc.'<sup>144</sup>

Bath attracted the wealthy, the diseased and the cultured, offering them mineral water, doctors, games, ceremonies, balls, other entertainments and opportunities to get acquainted with various people. Even the healthy wanted to go to Bath for its pleasures as Defoe reported

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<sup>142</sup> Although the actions in *David Simple* are concentrated in London, some of the letters in *Familiar Letters* are dated at Bath. *David Simple: Volume the Last* gives an explanation that Cynthia goes to Bath for her health. Dellwyn includes scenes in Bristol.

<sup>143</sup> Introduction by Brigitte Mitchell to Brigitte Mitchell, ed., *Letters from Bath 1766-1767 by the Rev John Penrose* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), p. 7.

<sup>144</sup> George Wiley Sherburn, ed., *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, 5 vols., vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1956), p. 260.

that Bath was 'the resort of the sound rather than the sick'.<sup>145</sup> It was a resort town where pleasure and pain, life and death, men and women, the old and the young, met each other. It was the realm of medicine, 'the arena of display' and the marketplace of the nubile and the fortune-hunters. The Moseleys, elderly and sick, went to Bath in 1745 with their only daughter Elizabeth, who was seeking for a suitable husband with a marriage portion of £5,000. Arthur Collier, who according to Hester Thrale taught Sarah Fielding the classics, went to Bath in 1745, when he was in a great financial trouble. They met each other in the public rooms and walks, and eventually exchanged a promise to marry. However, she withdrew as she realized her parents were against the match. Afterwards Arthur sued Elizabeth for unfulfilled marriage contract, winning his case in the lower court and losing in the Court of Arches.<sup>146</sup>

For those who favoured urban flow of information, Bath did not lack in communication facilities and literary stimuli. Ralph Allen (1694-1764) and John Palmer endeavoured to ensure quick and safe postal service networks, especially between Bath and London. The London papers were delivered there and Bath's own newspapers were launched; bookshops including Leake's (his sister married Samuel Richardson, London printer, bookseller and novelist) were very successful there.<sup>147</sup> Bath adopted the circulating library earlier than London.<sup>148</sup>

Bath also inspired literary minds. Its connection with literature

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<sup>145</sup> Quoted in Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), p. 245.

<sup>146</sup> For his financial trouble, see Martin C. Battestin and Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 392-5; for his courtship in Bath see Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 68-77.

<sup>147</sup> A. Barbeau, *Life and Letters at Bath in the XVIIIth Century* ([S.l.]: Heinemann, 1904), p. 57; R. S. Neale, *Bath 1680-1850: A Social History, or, a Valley of Pleasure, yet a Sink of Iniquity* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 23-5.

The bookshelves of Leake's included some scandalous books and they were not thoroughly devoted to serious reading, but sermons were dominant (Neale, pp. 23-25).

<sup>148</sup> The first circulating library was in Edinburgh. In Bath a circulating library was begun in 1728 and in London, 1730.

abounds, first of all, in satirical comments.<sup>149</sup> Though the master of ceremony and others kept control of moral standards and respectability sufficiently enough to make the town attractive, its frivolity and foibles fell easy butt of writers:

Hundreds of Dames (who never out of breath,  
Wou'd talk an Army, singled out, to death)  
At Sense's Cost, divide their Time and Hearts  
Twixt Fashions, Scandal, Toys, Codrille, and Smarts.<sup>150</sup>

The Gods of Silence fled  
MODESTY retir'd with red'ning Face  
PRUDENCE dismiss  
OECONOMY was hist.<sup>151</sup>

Here Folly's prattling tongues proclaim  
What hate, or darling rage supplies;  
Ambition too invokes foul fame,  
And coward meanness whispers lies!  
Here prostituted friendship dwells—  
Villainy masked in gay decoy,

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<sup>149</sup> Bath provided subjects for verse, mostly satirical; see [Chandler], *A Description of Bath. A Poem* (London: J. Roberts, n.d.); *The Bath Miscellany. For the Year 1740*, (Bath: W. Jones at al, 1741); *The Diseases of Bath. A Satire*, (London: J. Roberts, 1737); *Bath. A Poem*, (London: Longman & Shewell, 1748); *A Poetical Address to the Ladies of Bath*, (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1775); [George Ellis], *Bath: Its Beauties, and Amusements ...* (Bath: W. Goldsmith, 1777); *Bath, a Simile*, (London: T. Whieldon, 1779); *The Belles of Bath: With a Satire on the Prevailing Passions: And a Model for Emulation. Number I. Addressed to Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq*, (Bath: 1782). Among a variety of prose fiction satirically dealing with Bath, see Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*. As for fashionable society there, see Oliver Goldsmith, *The Life of Richard Nash, of Bath, Esq; Extracted Principally from His Original Papers* (London: J. Newbery; Bath: W. Frederick, 1762); Lewis Melville, *Bath under Beau Nash* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907). As for descriptions with an emphasis on the literary importance of Bath, see Joseph F. S. A. Hunter, *The Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England* (Bath: R.E. Peach, 1853); G Monkland, *The Literature and Literati of Bath; an Essay, Read at the Literary Club, November 13, 1852* (Bath: R.E. Peach, 1854).

<sup>150</sup> *The Diseases of Bath. A Satire*, p. 16.

<sup>151</sup> *Bath. A Poem*, p. 29.

Which deeply fraught with magic spells  
With Smile - and smile - but to destroy.<sup>152</sup>

For writers Bath was a convenient place to observe characters and make sketches: 'We shall find there at all times, Beauties of all ages who come to show off their charms, young Girls and Widows in quest of Husbands, married Women who seek Solace for the unpleasant Ones they possess...'<sup>153</sup> It flourished as a very fashionable health and amusement resort, which was regarded as an epitome of the world, where one could see every kind of character.<sup>154</sup> Writers established a literary stereotype of Bath as a vicious city of pleasure for thoughtless people. Its conspicuous materialism provided a convenient literary theme. Literary people criticized Bath, declaring how loathsome its fashionable vices were. In particular women visiting Bath were easy butts for ridicule on account of their supposedly giddy way of life.

Nevertheless, while criticizing the vices of Bath, writers were attracted to the city and actually numerous writers visited it, enjoying its social life and describing its people. Sarah Fielding was one of those writers who criticized the urban milieu and frivolity and yet never detached herself completely from urban sophistication; she was one of those who chose to live in Bath. She did not prefer living in a remote province or in the middle of wild nature, but placed herself not far away from urban life. Bath provided the society with a central point, where all could meet each other, unlike London which had multiple cultural meeting points. Residence in Bath enabled her to call on and be visited by other literary figures including Elizabeth Montagu, Sarah Scott

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<sup>152</sup> *The Belles of Bath*, p. 13.

<sup>153</sup> The Abbé Prévost, 'Pour et Contre' (1734) no. 38, p. 173, quoted in Barbeau, p. 80.

<sup>154</sup> Barbeau, Chap. IV; Neale, Chap. II; Borsay, Chaps. 9 and 10. For description of prosperity of Bath, see for example, Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (London: J.M. Dent, 1943), pp. 32, 36, 37; John Wood, *A Description of Bath* (London: W. Bathhoe, 1765), p. 446; MO 293, Montagu to the Duchess of Portland, 4 Jan. 1740 (The Montagu Collection, The Huntington Library).

(1723-95), and Frances Sheridan (1724-66).<sup>155</sup>

### 3) Sarah Fielding's life in Bath

Sarah Fielding did not live a comfortable life especially in her later years after she lost her siblings and intimates between 1750 and 1755.<sup>156</sup> Her straitened circumstances are illustrated by her borrowing from Samuel Richardson.<sup>157</sup> When she decided to settle in Bath in 1754, she did not have sufficient resources and had to borrow ten guineas from him.<sup>158</sup> Although she earned some money through her publications, she found it difficult to repay him her debts. She counted on the sale of Dellwyn but there was little prospect of earning enough to pay off the debts; she wrote to Richardson: 'Millar's Bill [for printing] is so high that I cannot contrive it unless it comes to a second Edition'.<sup>159</sup> Unfortunately, it did not sell well enough to justify a second edition.

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<sup>155</sup> Alicia Lefanu records Sheridan frequently visited her (Alicia Lefanu, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs. F. Sheridan* (London: F. and W.B. Whittaker, 1824), p. 95).

<sup>156</sup> Her sisters who died around 1750 were: Catherine (1708-1750), Ursula (1709-1750), and Beatrice (1714-1751). Henry Fielding died in 1754 and Jane Collier in 1754 or 1755.

<sup>157</sup> Thomas Secker also recorded giving her money (John S. Macauley and R. W. Greaves, eds., *The Autobiography of Thomas Secker Archbishop of Canterbury* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1988), p. 49).

<sup>158</sup> See Martin C. Battestin and Clive T. Probyn, eds., *The Correspondence of Henry and Sarah Fielding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 127, 128 n1, 128, 149. According to Peach, she settled in Bath as early as 1739 (Robert Edward Myhill Peach, *Historic Houses in Bath, and Their Associations* (Simpkin), II, p. 32), but it was in 1750s that she finally settled in Bath and lived there until her death in 1768.

<sup>159</sup> Battestin and Probyn, pp. 149, 150.

Indeed, Richardson offered an additional support.<sup>160</sup>

Another benefactor was Ralph Allen. Samuel Derrick, a Master of the Ceremonies at Bath, described the Allens as 'the parents of the industrious poor, the protectors of the really distressed, and the nourishers of depressed genius'.<sup>161</sup> Allen, who was a model for Allworthy in *Tom Jones* and whose virtues are praised in Sarah Fielding's *Familiar Letters*, is said to have invited her to dinner quite often at his residence at Prior Park and Claverton.<sup>162</sup> In *Familiar Letters*, Cynthia describes a virtuous and sociable man and his wife (probably alluding to Allen and his wife) and the magnificence and grandeur of their house at a small distance from where she lodged for her health:

I confess to you I am apt to imagine, wherever a great Superiority of Fortune is very apparent, that I shall be treated with a formal Ceremony, and made to feel a Restraint, which takes away the pleasure of all Conversation. But how was I surprised! when the Lady of this House received me with a good-natured Freedom, that plainly proved she was innocent of even a Thought that might offend another, and never harboured a Suspicion, that any one could have an Intention of dropping a word, that might tend in the most distant view to hurt her... And the Gentleman seemed to enjoy his Fortune, only as it gave him an Opportunity of serving his Acquaintance and being beneficent to Mankind... The Joy and Serenity that reigned in their Countenances was diffused throughout the

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<sup>160</sup> See Battestin and Probyn, p. 150 and p. 151, n1.

<sup>161</sup> [Samuel Derrick], *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, Bath* (London: 2 vol. L. Davis & C. Reymers, 1767), pp. 94-5.

<sup>162</sup> 'I dined [at Claverton] more than once with Mrs. Fielding, the author of 'David Simple' - 'The Cry', and some other works; ... Mr. Allen very generously allowed her one hundred pounds a year.' See Richard Graves, *The Triflers* (London: Lackington, 1806), p. 77. Pope's praise seems to be rather modest: 'Let low-born (in the second edition, 'humble') Allen, with an awkward Shame, / Do good by stealth and blush to find it Fame.' (*One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight*, 1:135-36).

house....<sup>163</sup>

He was one of the mediators for Sarah Fielding to socially and literally prominent people visiting Bath; his guests included Alexander Pope, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, David Garrick, Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773), and Richard Graves (1715-1804, a cleric and the author of *The Spiritual Quixote*).<sup>164</sup> But he seems to have been no more than an occasional host and benefactor to her. Although he left her £100 when he died in 1764, Elizabeth Montagu expressed something close to resentment about the sum.<sup>165</sup> She thought Allen left Fielding an undeservedly low amount in his will:

It was a great pity Mr Allen did not leave poor Mrs Fielding a decent

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<sup>163</sup> Sarah Fielding, *Familiar Letters between the Principal Characters in David Simple and Some Others. To Which Is Added, a Vision. By the Author of David Simple* (London: 1747), I, pp. 172-73.

<sup>164</sup> Peach tells that Sarah knew Allen earlier than Henry did (*Historic House in Bath*, p. 32; Robert Edward Myhill Peach, *The Life and Times of Ralph Allen of Prior Park, Bath, Introduced by a Short Account of Lyncombe and Widcombe, with Notices of His Contemporaries... With Numerous Illustrations* (London: D. Nutt, 1895), p. 133). Benjamin Boyce follows Peach, though admitting there is no documentary support. He suggests that it is possible that the Goulds, the family from which Henry and Sarah's mother came, knew Allen before, because one of them was engaged in law in Bath (Benjamin Boyce, *The Benevolent Man: A Life of Ralph Allen of Bath* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard U.P., 1967), p. 128). Battestin deduces that Henry's friendship with Allen began in 1741 (*Henry Fielding*, p. 315).

<sup>165</sup> Ralph Allen's will reads 'I give to the 3 children of Henry Fielding, esqre, deceased, the sum of £100 each, and to their Aunt, Sarah Fielding, I give the sum of £100, which said 4 last named legacies I will be paid in 12 months after my decease.' There was also a memorandum for around 1744 and 1745: 'An account of my money to be apply'd to... Mrs. Fielding, ]20'. See Peach, *The Life and Times of Ralph Allen*, pp. 236, 120; and also Austin Dobson, *At Prior Park and Other Papers* (London: OUP, 1925), p. 28; Boyce, *The Benevolent Man*, pp. 128, 159, 172, 243, 247, 270.

maintenance for life, sixty pounds a year added to what she enjoys had made her happy, for she lives retired by choice, But I know not how it is that people seldom use their last opportunity to do good.<sup>166</sup>

Elizabeth Montagu sympathized with Fielding in her difficulties, sending her wine and food, and also trying to make contact on her behalf with her half brother, Sir John Fielding (1721-1820), through Lord Lyttelton (1709-73). She also offered an annuity of ten pounds (although what she thought would make her happy was sixty pounds per year), which Fielding did not enjoy long.<sup>167</sup>

Her literary activity brought her some reward including annuities and hospitality, besides payments by the publishers, although the income does not seem to have been enough for her to live comfortably. Her earning pattern marks one phase in the transition from aristocratic (personal) patronage to commercial dealing with booksellers: the co-existence of older; intermediary, and new systems. She sought for patronage, collected subscriptions, and sold copyright to the publishers.<sup>168</sup> She dedicated *The Governess* to Mrs Poyntz (-1771), who was closely connected with the court and *Cleopatra and Octavia* to Countess Pomfret (1698-1761).<sup>169</sup> Both of them subscribed to her translation, but neither

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<sup>166</sup> MO 3155, Montagu to Carter, 1 Oct. [1765]

<sup>167</sup> Sir John Fielding helped Sarah Fielding to buy a cottage at Walcot in 1760, but when she was dying, she received no assistance from him. Montagu's care for Sarah Fielding is recorded in the letters between her and Scott: MO 5292, MO 5821, MO 5829, MO 5832, MO 5834, MO 5319, MO 5856, MO 5872. She writes to Sarah Scott about an annuity: 'Mrs Fielding is to receive ten pounds from me always at this Season, if more be necessary you will advance it & I will pay' (probably Dec. 1767) and 'I will assist in making her able to lie at Hitcham by doubling or trebling ye ten pd per ann' (MO 5872, MO 5879).

<sup>168</sup> See Turner, *Living by the Pen*, pp. 102-16, 119-21, 122-23.

<sup>169</sup> Anna Maria Poyntz (nee Mordaunt) married Stephen Poyntz who was

became her chief patroness. Among her books, *Familiar Letters*, *Cleopatra and Octavia*, and the translation of Xenophon's (c.428-c.354 B.C.) *Memoirs of Socrates* were published by subscription.<sup>170</sup> Sarah Fielding's own relatives, Allen's connections, and James Harris's helped to increase subscribers. Andrew Millar published for her, *David Simple*, *Familiar Letters*, *The Governess*, *David Simple Volume the Last*, *Cleopatra and Octavia*, *Dellwyn*, and *Memoirs of Socrates*. *Remarks on Clarissa* was printed for J. Robinson.<sup>171</sup> *The Cry* was published by R. Dodsley and *Ophelia* by R. Baldwin.<sup>172</sup> Andrew Millar was generous in his payments to authors, for example, he paid £183 for *Joseph Andrews*, for which another bookseller had offered only twenty five pounds, and £600 in advance and probably more for *Tom Jones*.<sup>173</sup> It is not certain which amount is for which work, but between 5 Oct 1750 and 6 Oct 1752 Millar paid Sarah Fielding £256.1.0 in total.<sup>174</sup> Later she sold the copyright of *Dellwyn* to Millar for 60

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influential at court. The Countess of Pomfret, Henrietta Louisa Fermor was a daughter of 2nd Baron Jeffreys, married (1720) Thomas Fermor (1698-1753), later 1st Earl of Pomfret. She was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline. She was an old friend of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was a relative to Sarah Fielding.

<sup>170</sup> William Strahan's ledgers record an amount of 10s.6d. payable by Andrew Millar for Strahan's printing of 600 subscription receipts for 'Miss F's Octavia' (BL, Add.MSS 48800, fol.77v; Battestin & Probyn, p. 137).

<sup>171</sup> Publisher, 1737-58, dealt with extensive miscellaneous literature.

<sup>172</sup> Bookseller and publisher 1749-1810, nephew and successor to R. Baldwin.

<sup>173</sup> Henry Fielding was happily surprised to be offered such an amount. See Battestin, Henry Fielding, pp. 325, 440. Boswell reports Johnson's comment on Millar: 'Johnson said of him, "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature."' James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson Together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill and L.F. Powell, vol. I *The Life (1709-1765)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), vol. I, pp. 287-88.

<sup>174</sup> Millar paid her £20 (5 Oct. 1750), £57 (5 Jan. 1750/51), £50 (7 May 1751),

guineas with a prospect of another 40 guineas if a second edition was issued.<sup>175</sup> A similar amount was paid for *The Cry*; in 1753 Dodsley agreed with Sarah Fielding to buy half of the copyright for a little more than £52. Dodsley paid for the printing and the profit was to be shared between Sarah Fielding and Dodsley.<sup>176</sup>

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), her relative, famously pitied her for having to earn a living by her pen: 'I ... heartily pity her, constrain'd by her Circumstances to seek her bread by a method I do not doubt she despises.'<sup>177</sup> Lady Mary's pity is based on incorrect attributions; she assumes that besides Sarah Fielding's own *David Simple Volume the Last*, three other works published between 1752 and 1753 were all written by her.<sup>178</sup> So she wrongly assumes Sarah Fielding's overproductivity. Nevertheless, she is right in seeing in Sarah Fielding an example of a struggling single woman writer in the eighteenth

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£50 (16 Nov. 1751), £58.1.0. (3 June 1752), and £21 (6 Oct. 1752). See Battestin, *Henry Fielding*, p. 712.

<sup>175</sup> Battestin and Probyn, pp. 144-49.

<sup>176</sup> Sarah Fielding's signed receipt is dated 19 November 1753 for £52.10.0 (Robert Dodsley, *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-1764*, ed. James E. Tierney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 31, 514).

<sup>177</sup> Fielding's grandfather, John (c.1650-98), the Archdeacon of Dorset, was a brother of William (1640-85), third Earl of Denbigh and second of Desmond, who was the grandfather of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-67), III, p. 67. Lady Mary also regrets that Henry Fielding is forced to waste his genius by being pressed by his financial difficulties.

<sup>178</sup> *The Complete Letters*, III, p. 67. The other three works she mentions are: Jane Collier's *The Art of Ingeniously Tormenting* (1753), Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote* (1752), and the anonymous *Sir Charles Goodville* (1753).

century.<sup>179</sup>

She also played a role of an agent for an author. As James Harris's busy political career had just begun and he wanted to keep his authorship of the sketch secret, she became an agent in his dealings with the publisher, Andrew Millar, whom she had opportunities to see in Bath. However, as far as we can see from the result of the negotiation, she was not competent in this kind of dealings; she did not know that Millar had already chosen an introductory essay to Henry Fielding's *Works* by Arthur Murphy (1727-1805) rather than Harris's. Although Murphy's version was unsatisfactory to Henry Fielding's friends and sister (Murphy did not know him personally), Harris withdrew his. He did not need to squeeze in literary business but could gain satisfaction elsewhere, in philosophical pursuits and his newly-begun political career.

She was not rich enough to live at the centre of the town, but instead lived on the outskirts of Bath, perhaps at Widcombe, Walcot and later Bathwick.<sup>180</sup> She lived a secluded life there and at times visited the city centre. Her reports about the city are often second-hand: 'I am told that the Bath is very full this Season, but I only know it by hear-say, for I have no Inclination to go amongst them only when my perticular friends come'.<sup>181</sup> Since she went there for her health, she took opportunities to drink spa water which was provided in the centre. She also visited acquaintances in the centre as Sarah Scott (1723-95) reports: 'One day this week, poor Feilding having an opportunity of being

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<sup>179</sup> For women writers' struggle in the eighteenth century, see for example, Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen : Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992); Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story : The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

<sup>180</sup> Neale gives examples of expenses at Bath in the second part of chapter II.

<sup>181</sup> To James Harris, Bathwick, 21 Oct [1758] (Battestin and Probyn, p. 144); see also Battestin and Probyn, p. 137.

brought to Bath came to spend it with me'.<sup>182</sup> Thus she placed herself at the margins of the convivial city, keeping in touch with her acquaintances. To be not too far away from nor too close to the eminent social gathering provided her with opportunities to socialize with people of fashion without being too involved.

This position is mirrored by her literary standpoint; she prefers the viewpoint of the moderately detached observer. In *Familiar Letters*, for example, Cynthia stays at Bath, where she spends days as many people did in Bath, going to the Pump Room, the coffee-room, and a ball, and paying visits to friends. She lets Camilla know what it is like to be in Bath and what she thinks about people there. Cynthia observes men and women at Bath, jolted by 'their lifeless Shadow, Foppery and Dress, Impertinence and Folly!'. She sees ladies wearing capuchins, bonnets, and muffs, in spite of the extreme heat, simply in order to follow the fashion. People's eagerness to join tumultuous and thronged card tables is beyond her understanding. She hears some ladies talking of the merit of putting up with crowded card-tables: 'the Variety there relaxed their Thoughts, and kept them from the Pain of Thinking, which was not good with the Waters.'<sup>183</sup> Though she hates frivolity there, she does not hate the city, and she takes pleasure in being an observer.

Although Fielding seems to have been at ease in her stance as a detached observer such as Cynthia is, it was not that she willingly separated herself from every community. There were some she wanted to join. In her works she cherishes the importance of familiar company formed by mutual understanding and stimulating conversation. Her longing for an understanding and close community increased especially after she successively lost her sisters, Henry Fielding, and her intimate friend, Jane Collier by the mid-1750s. In 1755, shortly after she lost Henry

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<sup>182</sup> MO 5317, Nov 10 [1765]. Scott tends to spell her name as 'Feilding'. On this particular occasion, Sarah Scott was indisposed and Sarah Fielding could not gratify her expectation; Scott writes: 'unluckily I was so ill I cou'd pass only part of it with her, & then in a way not to give her any gratification'.

<sup>183</sup> *Familiar Letters*, I, p. 90.

Fielding and probably Jane Collier as well, she wrote a suggestive letter to Richardson. She congratulates Richardson for what he has with him:

To live in a family where there is but one heart, and as many good strong heads as persons, and to have a place in that enlarged single heart, is such a state of happiness as I cannot hear of without feeling the utmost pleasure.<sup>184</sup>

Later, she wished to join the circle of Sarah Scott, Lady Barbara Montagu (-1765) and others.<sup>185</sup> However, just as she lived at a certain distance from the city centre, she remained at some distance from the group; they took care of her while not regarding her as an equal member of their circle. Sarah Fielding intended to join them at Bath Easton in 1757, but Elizabeth Montagu interfered with the plan. She describes Fielding's eagerness and her captious opinion of her:

She is impatient to get to Bath Easton where she intends to reside. I said all I could to divert her from ye scheme for tho she is good sort of Woman I think you & Lady Bab will not want her in a long summers day nor a long winters evening. How is ones time taxed by civility and humanity & real & artificial devoirs? I grow savage in my disposition tho social & affable in my manners, & I felt for you & Lady Bab the hours of leisure & retirement she wd rob you of.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Battestin and Probyn, p. 130.

<sup>185</sup> Sarah Scott met Lady Barbara in Bath in 1748, and after her marriage came to an end in 1752, she settled in Bath with Lady Barbara. They had one house in the centre and another in Bath Easton. Scott's ideal community of women in *Millenium Hall* (1762) is thought to be a reflection of her own life with Lady Barbara. See Janet M. Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature* (N.Y: Columbia U.P, 1980), pp. 342-44; Neale, pp. 317-20.

<sup>186</sup> MO 5766, Montagu to Scott, 9 June 1757; Elizabeth Carter agrees that Sarah Fielding is not a cheerful vivacious person, but she is more sympathetic to her reserved character: 'I am very sorry for the loss [Mrs.

Evidently Fielding's polite behaviour makes a distance and Elizabeth Montagu cannot treat her as a comfortable friend. At that time, she was prejudiced against Fielding's character as well as her work; she subscribed to *Cleopatra and Octavia* (1757) only to find that the content of the work did not interest her much: 'the pages that gave me most pleasure were those that contained the names of the subscribers.'<sup>187</sup> After all, Sarah Fielding failed to be given a secure place within the female community. Generally personal connections formed circles, which were helpful for each member, and this was a great strength of the bluestocking circle, but they could easily become exclusive.<sup>188</sup> Consequently Sarah Fielding was not accepted into the inner circle of Scott and Lady Barbara, although she kept friendly terms especially with Scott.

To Fielding's consolation, Scott remained more sympathetic to her than Elizabeth Montagu, willing to help her and often taking opportunities to see her. Presumably their intimacy grew after Scott's intimate friend, Lady Barbara, died in 1765; Scott mentions 'Mrs Feilding' more frequently in letters to Elizabeth Montagu after that year.<sup>189</sup> Sometime in 1766 Sarah Fielding spent days with Scott and a Mrs Cutts. After coming to stay

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Scott] is likely to have of poor Mrs. Fielding; though she is not a lively companion, she is a friendly and good woman, and such a character will always be tenderly regretted' (Carter to Montagu, Nov. 25, 1767, Elizabeth Carter, *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, to Mrs. Montagu, between the Years 1755 and 1800, ... Published from the Originals in the Possession of the Rev. Montagu Pennington*, ed. Montagu Pennington (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1817), I, p. 369).

<sup>187</sup> MO 5766, Montagu to Scott.

<sup>188</sup> For details of the bluestocking circle's personal connections, see Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

<sup>189</sup> Lady Barbara left Sarah Fielding an annuity of ten pounds (Montagu to Carter, quoted in Arnold Edwin Needham, "The Life and Works of Sarah Fielding," University of California, 1942, p. 357).

at Scott's partly for the waters and probably more for her longing for Scott's company, she was reluctant to go back alone to Bathwick: 'I [Sarah Scott] find she [Mrs. Feilding] does not intend returning any more to the house she is now in, finding it I believe too lonely'.<sup>190</sup> The fear of smallpox made Scott change her lodging, which luckily enabled Fielding to join Scott, Mrs Cutts, and a Miss Arnold. Sarah Fielding was getting weaker and weaker at this time, and 'she much wants revival' but she spent her days happily in this small circle of sisterhood as Scott wrote: 'she thinks herself much happier since she came'.<sup>191</sup> This temporary happiness presumably ended when the danger of smallpox subsided resulting in that Scott returned to her former abode and the cosy co-habitation came to an end.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth Montagu planned to live at Hitcham with Mrs Scott, Mrs Cutts, and Mrs Freind in 1767. The original plan did not include Sarah Fielding. Montagu was aloof and not very kind to her: 'I like vastly the thought of inviting Mrs Fielding as a Guest, seeing her happy will be a noble payment for her board & Lodging'.<sup>192</sup> On reconsideration, thinking it would be a pity to leave Sarah Fielding out 'if it were to cost that good Woman all her happiness', Montagu decided to help Sarah Fielding to join them. Yet she remained businesslike; in her thoughts about the possibility of Fielding's joining the community, practical financial considerations came first. As she knew Sarah Fielding could not afford to join in the scheme, she offers in a letter to Scott to pay the difference without letting her know her dependence, pointing out that 'my friend Fielding is too much of a Bel esprit to know a better of ye ordinary affairs of life' 'so we can cheat her as to knowledge of ye expence & let her imagine her present income equal to it I had much rather she did not know she was assisted in it'. Sarah Fielding's attachment to Sarah Scott's company was such that Elizabeth Montagu was worried about her sense of alienation if Scott left Sarah Fielding to

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<sup>190</sup> MO 531, Jan 30 [1766].

<sup>191</sup> MO 5321, Feb 9 [1766].

<sup>192</sup> Quoted in Needham, p. 359.

join the Hitcham scheme: 'I am afraid some rumors of this scheme of Hitcham sh<sup>d</sup> reach her ear & kill her'.<sup>193</sup> In the event, at this time Sarah Fielding was too ill to move houses. Montagu let Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) know about her poor health: 'Poor Mrs Fielding is declining very fast, she is at Bath. My sister sees her every day.'<sup>194</sup> Montagu took pity on her and offered to pay her medical expence if her half-brother was not available: 'Sir J: Fielding has not yet sent any Person to pay the money if Mrs Fielding in the mean time shd want any pray supply her for me, her condition must be expensive tho the generosity of her Physician saves her the great & heavy charge of sickness'.<sup>195</sup> She tried to make contact with Sir John Fielding, but she could not at least until five days before her death.<sup>196</sup> There is a tablet in her memory in the church of Charlcombe, and another by Dr John Hoadly (1711-76) in the Abbey, Bath. Hoadly describes her virtuous character together with her intellectual superiority: 'Her unaffected Manners, candid Mind, / Her Heart benevolent, and Soul resign'd, / Were more her Praise than all she knew or thought, / Though Athens' Wisdom to her Sex she taught.'

In Bath the dazzling assembly of the young and fit in the public rooms and along the walks lay side by side with the melancholy scenes of the despondent ones over their and their family members' ill health and death. Bath inimitably attracted the young and the old, the rich and the not-so-rich, so as to work as a centre that provided pleasure, care, benevolence, and all each generation and each financial situation needed. Literary and personal connections worked as a safety net for the unmarried ageing lonesome Sarah Fielding. Bath water was beneficial not only in its healing potential but also in drawing her and her benefactors together. In her youth Bath gave her materials to write about and in her later life she could see there somebody to look after her.

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<sup>193</sup> MO 5873, Montagu to Scott, 1 Jan 1768.

<sup>194</sup> Quoted in Needham, p. 361.

<sup>195</sup> MO 5881, Mar 28 1768, Montagu to Scott.

<sup>196</sup> 'No news of S<sup>r</sup> John Fielding. L<sup>d</sup> Lyttelton has been out of Town almost a Month I believe he has no connections with S<sup>r</sup> John...' (MO 5882, Montagu to Scott, 4 April 1768).

## 6. 「不幸な女」と「墮ちた女」：18世紀から19世紀の慈善と売春婦

### 1) 墮ちた女

売春婦といったときに、すぐに思い浮かべがちなのは、「墮ちた女」fallen women だろう。そしてまた、「墮ちた女」に対して、厳格な道徳観をもって非常に頑なな態度をとる（例えばギヤスケル作『ルース』のブラッドショー氏のような）ヴィクトリア人も同時に思い浮かべることができるだろう。Amanda Anderson はヴィクトリア時代の文学作品を軸にした考察において、「墮ちた女」は自己の制御、自立性、人格を失った状態として把握されると分析している。「墮ちた女」は、人間として機能することができるための自己、自律的な自己コントロールの能力が欠如した状態に陥っており、彼女たちは、自分の状況に関して、恥や罪の意識を感じることができる能力も失っている者として描かれているというのである。そのような者たちは、人格・自律性が欠如しているので、当然、再生への意思をもつこともできず、そうでない状態への再生や別の立場への復帰をすることは不可能である。「墮ちた女」は、よく言われるように、ヴィクトリア人が守ろうとした家庭の価値に反するだけでなく、自律性を失うという彼らが最も恐れる状態を体現していた。執拗なまでに意識的に溝が設けられたのは、単に硬直した道徳観をもっていたためだけではなく、「墮ちた女」に、自己から遠ざけるべき、遠ざかってほしい存在を見ていたためであるという説得力のある分析を Anderson は示している。<sup>197</sup>

売春は19世紀には道徳上の大問題として議論され、国家を支える若者を墮落させる脅威として捉えられ、厳格な統制の対象となり、同時に警察権力を強化する必要を認識させる道具ともなった。他国の都市と比べても、ロンドンがひどい状況であること、特に公共の場で誰も目につくような場で、売春婦が目にあまる振る舞いをしていることがさかんに指摘された。このような議論の上では、売春婦は「不幸な」女ではあるが、「不運な」あるいは「かわいそうな」女ではなく、怠惰を好み不幸と病気を撒き散らす汚染源である。売春は人々の困惑と心配の焦点となったが、ここで問題となっているのは、どうやって統制するか、根絶できるか、ということであり、人間としての売春婦たちは関心の焦点からはずれている。<sup>198</sup>

その売春婦は、18世紀半ば以来慈善の対象になっている。ロンドンでは、篤志家の活動が目立ち、慈善施設が次々と創設されたが、勿論やみくもに援助の手を差し伸べたわけではない。人物が慈善の対象とするに値するかどうかの評価・判断に相当なエネルギーが費やされた。その時代に、慈善に関わった人々が売春婦をどのようにとらえて再生を助けようとしたかを明らかにするのがこの論文の目的である。そのために、18世紀の売春婦観、慈

<sup>197</sup> Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces : The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>198</sup> Trevor Fisher, *Prostitution and the Victorians* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), esp. 2-6.

善施設設立のキャンペーン、18世紀後半から19世紀半ばにかけての変化の順で考察していく。この慈善運動に伴う出版物での主張は、ただの施設内で論じられる一部の孤立したロジックではなくて、文壇や人々の日常生活と問題を共有しあい、影響しあっていることが、宣伝の媒体や関わった人々の広範さ、それに女性観や人間観・社会観を映し出すその主張の内容から明らかになるであろう。

まず呼び方を手掛かりにしてみよう。18世紀と19世紀では大きな相違がある。娼婦・街娼・性的関係をもったあとに捨てられた女性について19世紀に目だって頻繁に使われる「墮ちた女」という包括的表現は、18世紀には稀である。<sup>199</sup> 18世紀はじめによくお目にかかるのは、whore, harlot, prostitute, street-woman, nightwalkerなど多様で、ひとつの呼称でまとめて括ろうという傾向がない。また、売春婦と他との間に明確な線が引かれない傾向がある。時代は遡るが、たとえば、『放浪淫売女』*The Wandering Whore* (1660)の女たちの名前リストでは、範疇としてcommon whores, wanderers, pick-pockets, night-walkersがひとまとめになっており、彼女たちは社会の秩序を乱す者の一角を占める放浪者、掏摸と明確に区別することのできない女たちである。(売春宿の狡猾な女将 *Crafty Bawds* は彼女たちとは別枠になっている。)

## 2) 18世紀はじめまで

イギリスでは売春を対象にした法律がなく、彼女たちは、街の秩序を乱す者として扱われ、規制の対象者となっていた。街の秩序に反する場合には、1730年以前には男性も女性と一緒に捕らえられた。<sup>200</sup> ここに現れる売春婦たちは、売春宿に閉じ込められて、売春宿の女将や、ずる賢いあるいは屈強の男たち (bawd, pimp, bully) に脅されて逃げることもできない状態の、孤立した囚われの無力な女性では決してない。たいてい経済的理由により身体を売っており、多くの場合拘束されることなく比較的自立的に街を徘徊し、二人であるいはグループで行動することが多かった。また、住むところを貸している大家をはじめとして近隣の人々は寛容であり、一般社会からも隔離しておらず、そこに帰ることも比較的容易だったという。<sup>201</sup> つまり、公共の秩序に反し、制御しがたく、性欲のモン

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<sup>199</sup> フィクションのなかで使われている稀な例として『クラリッサ』がある。'A fallen woman, Jack, is a worse devil than even a profligate man. The former is above all remorse...' (first edition, vol. 3, letter 63) ; 'A fallen woman is a worse devil than even a profligate man. The former is incapable of remorse...' (third edition, vol 3, letter 61). 貞潔や femininity 重視の風潮をつくりあげていくのに大きな影響を及ぼした Richardson が使っているということを指摘しておこう。

<sup>200</sup> Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution, The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 168.

<sup>201</sup> Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830, Women and Men*

ターとまで描かれる手に負えない存在として認識されながら、同列の人間としての意識をもたれているのだ。

性に関して比較的寛容なこの時代、売春婦についても人々の見解は寛容で、一部の人々にとっては自分の会話能力を高めるために、という正当化をもって臨むことさえできる存在である。<sup>202</sup> (Ryder 274; Porter 1-27; Harvey 899-916) そのような態度をとる人々でも、性病への警戒心はもっている。病気が語られる文脈では、腐敗・墮落 (corruption, rottenness) が言及される。ただし、彼女たち自身が人間として腐敗しているとは言わない。梅毒治療に水銀を使っていて、そのために腐った息をしているとか、男が、病気をもらった女を拾ったために、自分の健康を害するばかりか、妻を殺し、rottenness を子孫に伝えるといった場合である。また、「道徳心を腐敗・墮落させる」のは、彼女たちではなくて、人間の「淫らさ」である。(Gentleman's Magazine 165) 彼女たちを描写するに際して、その周辺については腐敗ということばが使われるが、彼女たち自身の腐敗が取り上げられることは稀である。

### 3) 18世紀半ば

こうした状況に18世紀半ばに変化が起こったと分析されている。その一因と考えられるのは、ロンドンへの人口の流入である。1750年以前にはロンドンの貧しい階層では、売春をやむをえないこととして受け入れる傾向があり、また家族の女性がはまりこんでしまったら、助け出すのが普通であった。1750年以降になると、人口流入に伴って、家族がロンドンにいる割合が減ったせいで、家族が女性を引き取りに来ることも減ったと言われている。また、男性は捕らえられなくなり、女性だけが規制の対象となった。こうして、売春婦は特化されて、各々孤立した存在となり、家族や地域の安全ネットが及ばないことが多くなっていった。<sup>203</sup>

18世紀半ばの動きに注目しよう。サミュエル・ジョンソン (Samuel Johnson, 1709-84) がある女性の話をもとに書いたといわれている記事には、18世紀半ばの、売春婦観のポイントと、特定の売春婦観を多くの女たちを代表するイメージにしていこうとす

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in *History* (London: Longman, 1999), 13-51.

<sup>202</sup> Dudley Ryder, *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716*, ed. William Matthews (London: Methuen, 1939), p. 274; Roy Porter, "Mixed Feelings: The Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 1-27; Karen Harvey, "The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (2002): 899-916.

<sup>203</sup> Trumbach, p. 16; Kevin Patrick Siena, "Poverty and the Pox: Venereal Disease in London Hospitals, 1600-1800," University of Toronto, 2001, 209-72. ロック・ホスピタルの設立もロンドンの人口増大が最も大きな要因であると説明されている。

る意図が随所に現れる。<sup>204</sup> ミゼッラと名乗る当の女性の一人称で伝えられる、その人生と語りは、次のような特徴をもつ。

- ① 生まれは悪くない。両親を亡くす、あるいは、何らかの事情で両親の保護下からはずれて、誘惑された。初め愛人、やがて捨てられてる。
- ② 虚栄心をくすぐられていい気になって軽はずみな行動をとった結果ではなくて、信頼と感謝を逆手にとられて苦しい目にあっている。多くの女は、たいていははじめは自分と同じように、人なら当然感じる恩義を利用して騙されたのである。彼女を預かることになった裕福な親戚が、その恩を利用して彼女に言い寄ったように、多くの女たちは人を信じすぎて災いを招いている。

今、宿屋で暴れていたり、道で凍えていたりするような連中の多くは、巧みに言い寄られて愛情をくすぐられてガードがあまくなったのではなくて、はじめから実は絵空事だったかもしれない恩恵を失うのではないかと懸念したり、怒りをかうのではないかと恐れたために悪の道にひきずりこまれている。ご主人様におどされて身をもちくずしたのもいれば、後見人への畏怖の気持ちが災いしたものもある。(139)

- ③ 勤勉に働く意図をもっているにも関わらずうまく実現できないのは、周囲の悪党のせいである。針仕事で生計を立てようとしたが、他人の悪意から仕事を失い、街娼へと身をおとす。勤勉に働く意図はあっても、周囲に悪人がいてその企みの犠牲となると、雇用主に説明・弁解をする術をもたず、街に放り出されてしまうのだ。
- ④ 生活は人の気まぐれに依存して、自分ではどうすることもできず、流されるままである。

時にはある男の愛人となり、また別のときには街の女になって通りがかりの客をとる；ある時は騙されて売春宿の女将に売られ、あるときは道端で乞食をして悪事をはたらきやつのことで飢えをしのが。愚かな奴か度が過ぎるカモをみつける以外には昼間に望みはなく、夜には罪と恐怖しか思い浮かばない。

(144)

- ⑤ 売春婦は違う世界の異なる人間ではない。多くの人は軽蔑と怒りをもって自分のよう

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<sup>204</sup> *Rambler* nos. 170 (2 Nov.), 171 (5 Nov.), *The Yale Edition*, vol. IV, pp. 135-45. *The Yale Edition*につけられた註では、「街の不運な女性の境遇を彼女がジョンソンに語り」、ジョンソンがMisellaの話にまとめたと添えられている。この記事は*Beauties of the Magazines* (1762), *London Chronicle* (1762), *Lady's Magazine* (1762)にも掲載された。See also James G. Basker, "Dancing Dogs, Women Preachers and the Myth of Johnson's Misogyny," in *The Age of Johnson: A Scholarly Annual*, ed. Paul J. Korshin (New York: AMS Press, 1990), 63-90.

な人間をみるかもしれないが、自分も以前はこういう女に対して厳しい見方をしていた人々の一員だった。今は後ろ指さされることもなく安心して穢れなさを享受している他の人も、ちょっとしたことで自分と同じ立場になりうる。

- ⑥ 飢えをしのぐため必要に迫られて、望まない行動に駆られる。飢えているときに声をかけられると、「必要はほどなく私の慎みと誇りをうちまかしてしまい」(142)、「もう男を拒絶する意思の強さを失ってしまっている」。(144)
- ⑦ 女性との関係を手柄であるかのように思っている男性にたいして批判を述べる。男性側は、何ら自慢できるような技巧をつかって女性を陥落させているのではなく、立場上抵抗できない状況に追い込む手口を使っている下劣な人間(reptiles)である。
- 男性たちは女性に言い寄るにあたって、豊かな想像力を使っているわけでも理性の力を使っているわけでもない。言い寄るテクニックも、お世辞の上手さも、優雅な物腰も、口のうまさも、虚栄心を満足させるにあたらぬ。…彼らは抵抗できないひとに攻撃をしかけているだけである。(139)
- ⑧ 社会復帰に強制力を必要とする者もいるであろうが、状況をちょっと変えてもらえれば喜んでこの生活からのがれようと思う者もいるであろう。
- ⑨ 自己認識はしっかりもっている。教えを蔑ろにした生活をしてはいるが、信仰を忘れたわけではない。自分の状況をしっかりと把握することができていて、罪の深さを知っている。誘惑者が自分の信仰を断ち切ろうとする試みには必死で抵抗しており、心を腐敗させない決意は堅い。

隠れ住んだところにもっていった本は、読むと自己嫌悪を強める類のものであった。なぜなら、私は自分から進んで墮落へと身を沈めるほどにはおちぶれていなかったし、自分の罪の大きさを自分の意識から隠し去ろうと努めるほど道はずれてはいなかったからである。(140)

彼は反宗教のアヘンで私の良心を眠らせようとし始めた。・・・彼は自責の念にかられてかえって信仰の錨を打ち切る人物である。(141)

そうであるので、救われる希望をもちつづけている。「私の母は私の究極の幸福のために祈ってくれた。その祈りがかなえられると私は今でも望んでやまない。」(136)

このように、盗みをはたらき、酔っ払って暴れ、生きていくために売春し、乱れた手に負えない生活をして、公共の秩序に反する女である「ミゼッラ」に関して、表面に現れる無秩序はどうあれ、彼女は善悪を判断する意識を堅持して、信仰を失っていないこと、救われる希望をもった真つ当な人間であることが強調される。また、②③④⑥を述べるときにはとくに、自分の話しをしながら、これは自分に特異な孤立した事情であるわけではなく、多くの同類の女性たちに当てはまることであると主張する。さらに⑤では、今は立場を異にしているけれども誰もがそうなる危険性を共有しているのだということ、昔は自分も安全であると思っていたと言って示している。こうして他の多くの女性の事情が自分が示す類型

にあてはまるものであることを「ミゼッラ」自身が印象づけながら話しを進めていく。そして、街の女を同情に値する存在として認めていく動きは一方で具体化して施設の形をとり、また、人々の感受性に訴えてよく使われるモチーフとなった。この類型は人々に受け入れられて、フィクションや体験記の体裁をとる出版物で「不幸な女性」の境遇は多くの要素を共有する。<sup>205</sup> 実際、②に引用した部分は、文章表現の一字一句まで同じかたちで『更生売春婦、あるいはあの慈善施設に最初に収容された悔悛者の物語』*The Magdalen, or History of the First Penitent received into that charitable Asylum* (1780)に使われている。

この文書のなかで、「ミゼッラ」は、フランスで実行されているという女性たちの植民地への送り込みの例に倣って、ロンドンの女性たちにも機会を与えてくれさえしたら、立ち直りに手間はほとんどかからないと訴える。彼女が求めるような、やましいところのない平穏な生活取り戻すための手段は、国外ではなくて、国内で、それもロンドンで現実となった。彼女のような人々をもといた社会に帰そうという試みが、売春婦更生チャリティである。

#### 4) 更生施設

イギリスで初めての試みとなる売春婦更生施設についてその概略をまず述べておこう。(Pearce, Nash 参照) マグダレン・ハウス(後にマグダレン・ホスピタルと改称する)は、1758年8月10日に慈善施設として開設されて、まず8人を受け入れた。この人数をみるとさほど大がかりな施設ではないように感じられるが、その後100名程度の入居者をかかえる規模を維持することになる。開設にむけての宣伝活動は、出版物を利用して効果的に行われた。1758年3月に提案書、7月に計画書が出版されて、それまでに寄付を約3600ポンド集めている。寄付した人々のなかには、貴族や著名な篤志家に混じって文化的著名人の名前も見受けられ、文化・出版関連の人脈も巧みに使った(おそらくこの人たちの会話や私信・出版物の筆の力も借りた)説得と資金集めがされたことが伺える。<sup>206</sup> 開設以降も、チャペルでの説教が人気をよび、訪れる人々への直接の呼びかけだけでなく、説教を出版してチャペルを訪れたことのない読者への訴えかけにも余念なく、この試みが意義のあるものであることを印象づけ続けた。会長は代々男性が務めたが(1891年からはカンタ

<sup>205</sup> たとえば、Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village* (1770)。またこの詩の325~336行は、マグダレン・ホスピタルに以前に世話になっていたという女性、Mary Smithのために出版された*Observations* (1808)の表紙に添えられている。

<sup>206</sup> Duke of York, the Earl of Hertford (the President), Jonas Hanway, Ralph Allen, the Earl of Bute, the Countess of Bute, Lord Chesterfield, Thomas Sheridan, Horace Walpole, Saunders Welch、文学者関連では、Lady Bradshaigh (Richardsonの文通相手), Lady Echlin (Lady Bradshaigh's sister), Lady Barbara Montagu (Sarah Scottの親友), the Countess of Pomfret (Sarah Fieldingが作品を献辞), Mrs Poynts (同じく) Samuel Richardson, Mrs Scott (小説家。Elizabeth Montagu's sister)といった名前が見られる。

ベリ大司教)、1765年からシャーロット王妃をパトロネスとし、以後女性の王室関係者を頂く施設になった。<sup>207</sup> 計画書によれば、受け入れられるためには毎月第一木曜日に開かれる委員会に申請することが求められ、委員会が適当と認めたものが入所することができた。<sup>208</sup> 運営の方針には、収容する人数をコントロールし、ひとりひとりに対するケアを充実させて、ある程度以上の成功の実績をあげる意図がみえる。そんなわけで毎月20人から30人の申し込みがあったようであるが、受け入れられる数は限られた。妊娠している者、性病をもっている者については、それぞれ目的を特化した施設がロンドンには既に創設されていたので、そのような者たちは対象からはずされた。収容者の年齢はだいたい15歳から20歳くらいの若い女性を主とした。施設内では、独房ではない集団生活であったが、規則正しい生活や労働が重視され、外部との通信の制限される監視施設の一つであった。しかし、篤志家の寄付に依存する組織であり、規律や罰則よりも、純粋に人道的善意の意図を実現させる工夫が随所に現れるよう整えられた。そこで教えられたのは、社会にでてから生きていくのに困らないための生計を立てる手段となりうる糸つむぎ、編み物、小物づくり、服を縫うといった繊細な技術を使う手仕事などであった。また、文盲の女性たちには字を教えた。このように、労働が重視されるといっても、罰としての重労働ではなく、技能を身につけさせるための訓練が採用された。退所後に向けての一般及び職業教育の場

<sup>207</sup> Magdalen-houseの慈善を作品中に登場させているHenry Brooke, *The Fool of Quality; or, the History of Henry Earl of Moreland, Etc* (Dublin: for the Autor [sic] by Dillon Chamberlaine, 1765), vol.4, chap 1(268-69)では、女性はこの活動に同調しないであろうという記述がみられるが、実際の施設の寄付者にも訪問者にも女性が多く含まれている。氏名がわかっている女性たちの他に、「匿名の女性」`a lady unknown'からの寄付も多く、1762年の約760人の寄付者のリストでは、女性とわかる寄付者は全体の20%程度である。

<sup>208</sup> 1821年の出版物には、申請書の様式が添えられている。それによると、文面は以下のよう  
に定まっており、申請者は、名前と年齢、出身教区を記入すればよかった：

`To the Committee of the Magdalen Hospital.

The humble Petition of \_\_\_\_\_ aged \_\_\_\_\_ years, of the Parish of \_\_\_\_\_  
in the County of \_\_\_\_\_

Shewth,

That your Petitioner hath been guilty of such misconduct, as renders her  
a proper object of the protection of this Charity:

Your Petitioner is truly sensible of her offence, and humbly prays that  
she may be admitted into this House, solemnly promising to behave herself  
decently and orderly, and to conform to all the rules of the Institution:

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

N.B. this Petition is given gratis to every woman, whether recommended or  
not, who applies for it to the Clerk, at the Hospital, in St.  
George's-Fields.' (*By-Laws and Regulations of the Magdalen Hospital*,  
(London: 1821), appendix).

としての認識があったのである。彼女たちの時間の使い方についての方針は、次のことからも垣間見ることができる。設立前には、洗濯仕事をやらせるのが良いという意見があった。しかし、女性が就くことができる仕事のなかでも最も重労働でつらい洗濯仕事案は採用されなかった。これが1790年ころに加えられるので、方針の転換があることになるが、それでも後からできた類似の諸施設に比べると収容者の労働からあげる収入はマグダレン・ホスピタルの場合かなり低いままで、他施設からの批判を受けるほど鷹揚であった。食費をみてもマグダレン・ホスピタルは後続の諸施設よりも費用をかけており、日常生活で人道的配慮を示すことを選んだこと、またそれを支える収入が寄付から十分に得られていたことがわかる。3年ほど施設にとどまり、結婚や仕事の口を見つけるとか、家族・友人にひきとられていくなど「まっとうな」生活ができる術を得て女たちは社会に帰っていった。施設の中で3年間素行良好で過ごした場合、出納係りか会長、あるいは委員会のメンバーによる証明書が与えられた。また、退所後のフォローも用意されていた。職について1年後、その職の主人が満足するような成果をあげている場合には2ギニー以下を与えることが決められ、他に、委員会を納得させるかたちで結婚した者や商売で身を立てた者に、報奨金を与えることがあった。

発表された数字を参考までに挙げておこう。1758年8月から1762年3月11日までに受け入れたのは391人、施設内にいる113人を除いた278人のうち38人はもとの友人のもとへ。119人奉公人としての仕事について。狂人となったもの、5人病気で他に移され死亡。24人本人の希望で退所、16人病気治療のために病院に移されたが帰ってこなかった。57人が素行不良のため退所を命じられる。1758年から1829年までに、5558人を受け入れ、3808人が家族友人のもとへ帰るか仕事についている。(942人自分から出る。604人退去を命じられる。104人狂人、100死亡)。多少の上下はあるが、施設の目的を達したとみなされる「家族友人のもとへ帰る、あるいは仕事につく」結果を得た者は、全体の6割から7割を占めた。自分から望んで入所を申し込んだ者のなかから選考した上で受け入れた女性たちを母体とすることを考えると、この数字は必ずしも高いとは言えない。また上に述べたように後続の諸施設よりも待遇が良かったことを考えると、自主的にであれ、強制的であれ、退所した者の数は少ないとはいえない。しかし、発表されるときには必ずそれが満足を与える数字であることが言い添えられて、成功している慈善であると人々に印象づけている。

それでは、売春婦更生慈善施設設立にむけてのキャンペーンと、開設後に施設つきの牧師にこそならなかったが、熱弁をふるって人々の涙をさそい財布のひもをゆるめさせたドッドの説教をみてこの施設の顕著な特徴を詳しく観察しよう。

マグダレン・ハウス 計画案に添えられたロバート・ディングリー (Robert Dingley, d. 1781) をはじめとする協力者たちに宛てた前書きは、この慈善は、体制の不備を認識している多くの人々の総意で創設されたものであるということをはじめに主張する。つまり、これは、政治制度上の欠陥を補い社会を改善する気風が結晶したもので、時代が求める施

設、当然あってしかるべき施設だというのである。それに続く計画書でも改善すべき不備の認識と、それに対処しようとする時代の積極性が再び述べられる。一般的に「この国の気性は新しいものを喜ぶ」が、古い体制に欠陥があって政治的統制がいきとどいていない現実を考えても、この慈善はなおさら意義をもつ。雇用機会が十分にあって、教区がうまく機能していれば不幸な女性の居場所・就労場所が確保されて問題はおこらないはずであると、人口の増加や移動に旧来の教区体制が順応しきれなくなってきたことが指摘される。<sup>209</sup> また、問題が生じた場合、立法・司法に関わる人々は、死や監禁の恐怖、重労働、身体刑によって悪を監理しようとしているが、その方針は間違っているため、矯正院は、「再生の館ではなく、腐敗の館」になっており、別の原理をもった新しい施設を時代が求めているという。<sup>210</sup> この慈善は、そのような恐怖や辛苦で悪に対処するのではなくて、彼女たちが社会の有用な人材となり、彼女たち自身が幸福になることができるような対処をして、両親や友人に温かく迎えてもらえるように導く新しいタイプの施設であるということが誇らしげに主張される。後の時代になると、売春婦は病気を運んで国力を担う若者の身体を弱め、しかも家庭の母となって新しい世代を立派に育てることもないので、国家の疲弊を導くので、それを防ぐためにも彼女たちを更生させることに意義があるという議論が強くなるのであるが、18世紀半ばのこの時点では、自分たちが維持してきている従来のシステムでは飽和してあふれ出てしまった部分を受け止めて、自立できる幸福な個人となることを促すことで社会改善への貢献ができると論じられる。

社会の欠陥を補足するという目的を述べた後は、即座に慈善の対象になる人々に目をむけるようにと誘う。なぜなら、悪は姦淫の罪を犯す側にあり、その邪悪な人々（男性たち）を罰することができないのであるから、善良な人々は、少なくともそれがもたらす結果を救ってやっていいたろうというのだ。<sup>211</sup> 男性側を責めることはできないという前提があって、そこから話しを始めるのであるが、それで被害を被る女性の無力さを強調して、犠牲者を救うのは当然の行為であると説得する。その犠牲者の把握のしかたにも非常に特徴がある。道徳的宗教的判断を伴わず、不遇で薄幸な現在の状況のみ示す「不幸な女性」と一貫して彼女たちは呼ばれる。また、彼女たちを描写するときに使われるのは、何らかのものが付加されるか増長してしまったものという言い方である。たとえば、「不幸な女性たち

<sup>209</sup> *A Plan for Establishing a Charity-House, or Charityhouses, for the Reception of Repenting Prostitutes. To Be Called the Magdalen Charity,* (London, 1758), xxi, xx.

<sup>210</sup> 'it is a fact too well known, that the abuse of houses of correction is carried to that pitch, with us, as to render them houses of corruption, not of reformation' ( *Plan* xxv-xxvi).

<sup>211</sup> 売春婦関連の慈善推進者のなかにあつて、Martin Madanはこの点に関して際立った議論を展開した。彼が挙げた解決策は、一夫多妻制である。捨てられる女性を出さないよう、性的関係をもった女性すべてを妻にすべきであつてそれはキリスト教の教えに反しないと入念な議論を展開した。彼はロック・ホスピタルで大きな影響力をもっていたのであるが、これを機にチャペル付牧師の職を退いた。彼の議論は大胆であつたがそれでも男性の行動を姦淫の罪にしない策を提案するにとどまった。

の心の美德の種が育たないのは、剪定されずにいて繁茂してしまっただけで、豊かな実りをもたらさない木のようなものである」というように、売春行為をして生活している間は間違った方向に延びて行ってしまったが、それを是正して、正当な成長を促せば、善良で良識ある女性になれる、立派な実りをもたらすことができる。剪定を必要とする木々のように、余分に増長してしまった望ましくない部分を断ち切って除去することにより、再生が可能であると考えている。

次にウィリアム・ドッド(William Dodd, 1729-1777)に目を移そう。彼は、マグダレン・ハウスのチャペル付き公式の礼拝師(chaplain)にこそならなかったが、記念日の説教を度々とり行い、1761年には、理事会がその功を認めて年100ポンドを与えることを決めたチャリティ成功の立役者のひとりである。<sup>212</sup> 洒落者の「マカロニ」牧師で、情熱のこもった説教で聴衆を魅了し、「ドッドが説教、1300や1400ポンドの寄付がいちどきに集まって献金皿はあふれんばかり」と評判だった。<sup>213</sup> 特に女性の間で人気を博し、「女性の聴衆の涙と現金を引き出す技にかけては天下一品」と評され、ホレス・ウォルポール(Horace Walpole, 1717-97)も彼の説教は、「みごとにフランス流でまことに雄弁で心をうつ」と記録している。<sup>214</sup>

そのドッドによる『マグダレンたちへの忠告』(*Advice to the Magdalens* 出版年不詳)でもこのチャリティの姿勢がよく顕れる。後の時代の説教と比較する上で、以下の点が注目される。1) 収容された女性たちに直接話しかけるかたちで書かれている。2) どうして不幸に陥ったかということについては沈黙し、彼女たちが「失った評判、健康、美德を回復し」再生する手助けをすることに重点をおく(2)。3) それにあたってこの「家族」のなかでは罪を罰する厳しさではなくて、勤勉を奨励する規律正しさがとられる。「勤勉は真の宗教の真正なる果実であるから」である(3)。4) キリストはだれをも見捨てないこと、彼女たちにも天国への導きがあると明言する。「この暖かい館にあなたたちの心を導かれた神を称えよ。この館は、いわば楽園の門にあなたをみちびくもので、赦しと平穏と永遠の喜びを指し示す。」ここにきたからには「天国はあなたの前に開かれている。」(10, 11) 5) (彼女たちだけでなく共通して)キリスト教徒の生涯は、自分以外の敵とともに自分の内なる敵との戦いであること、悲しいことに人間の本性は墮落していてそれが人間の

<sup>212</sup> 彼が説教で人気を博していた当時マグダレン・ハウスの chaplain のポストは、the Rev. Jonathan Reeves (1758-1764), the Rev John Debie (1764-1789) が占めた。彼は、1759、1760、1762、周年記念説教および1769年の移転記念の説教を行った。

<sup>213</sup> Gerald Howson and William L. L. D. Dodd, *The Macaroni Parson. A Life of the Unfortunate Dr. Dodd* (London: Hutchinson, 1973), p. 43; Stanley Nash, "Social Attitudes Towards Prostitution in London from 1752 to 1829" (New York University, 1980), 117.

<sup>214</sup> Edward Walford, *Old and New London: A Narrative of Its History, Its People, and Its Places* (London: Cassell, n.d.), p. 348; Horace Walpole, *Selected Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 83-5.

悲しみの原因となっていること(9)。6) 彼女たちの落度は、(欠如、喪失ではなく) 汚れであること(22)。

慈善施設の創設を可能にし、それを成功に導くためには、対象の正当性と行為の価値を明確にする必要があった。彼女たちが不幸な存在であって状況の打開が求められるということだけでなく、社会の腐敗・悪を強調して、誰もが罪人であって同胞であること、その腐敗した世の中であってこそ弱者を救う行為は、社会にとっても個人にとっても必要な行為であると説得することに推進者たちは腐心した。彼女たちが慈善の対象となるに値することを示すにあたっては、当事者の非は最小化され、社会的罪悪の認識を共有することが奨励された。開設前の *Gentleman's Magazine* (1751) では、「かわいそうな女たち」を救うことは「慈善と慈愛を示す最も気高い行い」であることが指摘され、その理由として運命のいたずらで悲運な状況におかれているだけで、人間の質としては同類であることが、彼女たちを批判する側への皮肉をもって述べられる。「罪人のなかで、彼らの罪は最も非難に値せず」、「彼女たちを無慈悲にも批判する人々は、美德に関しては彼女たちに勝っているわけではなく、単に運がよかったのである」と、正当な根拠なく他人を咎めることの非を指摘するのだ。(164) 更には、繁栄しているかにみえて、腐敗は自分たちの側にあるということが指摘される。実際、チャリティ関係者のなかには、特に金銭をめぐる腐敗、不正行為を見咎められて、善行の場を去ったものもいる。ロンドン・ロック・ホスピタルでは横領が明らかになって初代の教会つき牧師が去り、二代目は職務遂行を怠って解雇された。マグダレン・ホスピタルでは、慈善に関心を集めた功績が非常に大きかったドッドが、あろうことか処刑されている。クーパーが、「道徳的にだらしなく、虚栄のかたまり」であって、「金めあてで聖職をねらう野心にかられ」「自分の快樂とパトロンのプライドの奴隷」と描写している牧師は、このドッドであると言われている。(Cowper) 派手な生活を好み借金がかさんで、チューターとして教えたことのあったチェスターフィールド伯(Philip Stanhope, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Chesterfield, 1755-1815)の署名を偽造して不正に4200ポンドを得ようとしたとして、裁判の末、23,000人の署名を集めた請願も、ジョンソンの嘆願も空しく、1777年に彼が絞首刑になったことは有名である。<sup>215</sup>

フィクションを通じて女性たちの支持をうけ、実際に多くの女性たちと文通して、出版の場でも私信の場でも、あるべき女性像をつくりあげるのに非常に影響力をもったと考えられるリチャードソン(Samuel Richardson, 1689-1761)は、売春婦に非常に厳しい。

<sup>215</sup> その前年にペロー兄弟も同じく偽造で絞首刑になっており、ジョージ3世は、「ドッドを許すとするとペロー兄弟の刑を減じなかった言い訳がたたない」と言ったといわれている。このペロー兄弟と深い関わりをもち、そのうちのひとりの妻と名乗っていたラッド夫人は、知性と魅力で有名で、ボズウエルは1776年に初めて訪ね、そして1785年から愛人としている。しかし、1786年4月23日一緒にマグダレン・ホスピタルを訪ね、ハリソンの説教をきいたことをきっかけにして、ボズウエルは彼女と会わなくなった(Sarah Bakewell, *The Smart: The Story of Margaret Caroline Rudd and the Unfortunate Perreau Brothers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2001), p. 278.)

彼は、『サー・チャールズ・グランディソン』(Sir Charles Grandison, 1754 出版)のなかで、更生施設の有用性を宣伝し、実際のマグダレン・ハウスには寄付をし、施設宣伝のためのフィクション『マグダレン・ハウスの悔悛者たちの物語—彼女たち自身が語っているものとして』*The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House as Supposed to be Related by Themselves* (1759)の印刷に一役かった人物である。<sup>216</sup>ところが、彼の書いたものは、女性の道徳心を称揚して、そこからはみ出た者について、容赦なく、差異化を強調する。たとえば、『パミラ』では、「放縦な売春婦」の行く末は、「きっと永遠の地獄」と死んでも救われない売春婦を想定している。<sup>217</sup>

#### 5) 19世紀へ

同じように売春婦となった女性を拒絶する姿勢は、18世紀末から19世紀に強化され、売春婦は救いから見放され絶望的に描かれるようになる：

「不幸な女」

後悔、苦痛、不名誉をひきずって

生きていてもみじめなだけで、罪人の死がまっている

だれの扉も閉ざされて。<sup>218</sup>

墮ちた女の罪は特異で、その罪によって彼女たちには社会的尽力の及ばないところに身を置いている。ごく少数の例外を除いては、キリスト教徒の力も及ばない。そして彼女たちが粹外におかれていることは、彼女たちが自分で認識しているだけではなくて、社会の一般的な、あるいは普遍的な是認も与えられている。その存在のすべてを冒す精神のライ病、社会の組織を汚すその病を病んでいるとみなされて、あわれな墮ちた女は自分の罪の重みを背負って見放されて死んでいく。<sup>219</sup>

上の最後の引用は、なんと売春から女性を救うことを目的としたマグダレン・ホスピタルとは別の運動の主張の一部である。この後は「この私たちの組織が悪と戦おうと努めているごく少数のケースを除いては。」と続く。ごく少数の場合についてはその運動が有効であ

<sup>216</sup> Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison. In a Series of Letters Published from the Originals, by the Editor of Pamela and Clarissa* (London: S. Richardson, 1754), vol. 4, Letter 18, 142-43.

<sup>217</sup> Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded. In a Series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel, to Her Parents* (London: C. Rivington; J. Osborn, 1741), vol. 2, appendix, p. 394.

<sup>218</sup> *The Suicide Prostitute. A Poem*, (Cambridge: Printed by Mary Watson; sold by J. Deighton, 1805).

<sup>219</sup> *The First Annual Report of the Midnight Meeting Movement for the Recovery of Fallen Women*, (London: J.E. Adlard, 1861), p. 4.

ることを言っているが、いかに自分たちが大きな害悪と戦っているかということに影響づけるためとはいえ、あまりにも「堕ちた女」の罪は大きく立場は絶望的に描かれている。これほどまでに絶望的でなくとも、たとえば『売春婦』という詩では、女は何度も後悔するがなかなか立ち直れない設定になっている。悔悛して父のもとに帰るときには、父は彼女を許していたのだが、既に亡くなっている。頼れる肉親を失ったその後で、彼女は途方に暮れてロンドンに出てまた売春する。許しと悔悛がうまくかみあって幸せになれるようにはできていないのだ。<sup>220</sup>

#### 6) 不幸な女と堕ちた女

同じマグダレン・ホスピタルでの説教でも、19世紀半ばになると売春および売春婦の知覚が大きく変化している。1844年の説教では、後悔して許されない罪はないと述べられているが、本当の後悔ができる人は少ないとの熱弁があった後、「大罪のなかでも最悪の罪」である売春がいかに恐ろしい罪であるかということが強調される：

肉体と精神の両方に関してそのようにたくさんの腐敗の本質を含んでいるものは他にあまりない。... 一度でこんなに多くを失う罪が他にあるだろうか？ 堕ちた女ほど完全に破滅的なもの、見捨てられたもの、拒絶されるもの、卑しいものが他にあるだろうか？

<sup>221</sup>

大罪であることを示す話は延々と続き、そのような女性がどんな立場にたっているか絶望を誘う描写がされる：

処刑台の踏み台がはずされたようなものだ。彼女たちが後ろを振り向くと、越えることのできない溝がある。退路はすべて絶たれている。死へと急ぐよりほか何も残された道はないようだ。<sup>222</sup>

そして、施設での説教であるから、そのような大罪を犯して窮地に追い込まれてもここに收容されて悔悛すれば再生することができるときと最後には述べてくれるであろうと期待するのだが、彼女たちが救われるとは決して言わず、説教をききにきている人々に寄付を願って終わってしまう。ドッドの説教と対照させると、ドッドが直接女性たちに話しかける形をとっていたのに対し、ここでは神の偉大さに目をむけ一般的聴衆にむけて語って

<sup>220</sup> Theophilus Perkins, *The Prostitute, a Poem* (Chepstow, n.d. [1810-1816]).

<sup>221</sup> Henry Edward Manning, *Penitents and Saints. A Sermon Preached in Behalf of the Magdalen Hospital, at St. George-in-the-Fields* (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1844), p. 17.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

いる。まるで施設に収容されて慈善の対象になっている当の本人たちからは目をそむけ、彼女たちには関心がないかのようなのである。ドッドは再生に重点をおいていたが、ここでは罪の大きさ、深さに焦点がある。そしてドッドの説教には織り込まれていた赦しの確約はもはやここにはない。

設立からちょうど100年経った1858年には、この施設でも慈善の対象となる人々を「墮ちた女」と呼んでいる。また、売春婦更生慈善施設であることに変わりはなく、設立当初の人々の意図と努力を称え、施設が行ってきたことの正当性を訴えて、更なる寄付を募るのであるが、収容者に対するスタンスのとりかたの変化が確定したようにみられる。まず、「不幸な女性」が「墮ちた女」となり、境遇の問題ではなくて、本人の問題が強調される。100年前には何度も強調された誘惑の犠牲者であるということは言及されず、宗教的な教えが欠如していたために、誘惑されてもいないのに墮落して悪徳の生活を送っていたと認識されている。そのために、マグダレン・ホスピタル擁護のための文書でありながら、論調がまったく異なり、随所で苦しい言い訳を必要としているようでさえある。彼女たちに再生の望みはないという施設に対する反対意見があることをまず挙げているのであるが、たいへん成功した慈善であると言われた100年の実績を背景に反駁しているとは思われないほど反対意見の方が強く書かれる。そして、勿論、神の恩恵を称える文脈なのであるが、人間の道徳性に変化をもたらすことは人間の尽力では不可能であることを委員会をよく知っているとまで述べる。また、墮落した本性を更生することができないまま、施設を出て行った女性が、自分の道徳的再生は不可能であったが、同類の女性にはマグダレン・ハウスに入って更生することを勧めた例がある、と言って、数字上はこの女性は失敗例のひとつとなってしまおうであろうが、他の女性に良い影響を与えているので、実は成功だと主張するが、信じられないような稀有な例を挙げざるをえない無理があるようだ。<sup>223</sup>

19世紀は慈善がさかんに行われた時代であり、売春婦もその対象となった。それについても書いている人々は、救済は可能であると主張しているのであるが、一般的な売春婦観は、慈善を促進する信念とは相反して、再生不可能の烙印が押されているとあってよいものとみられており、慈善促進の立場の文章でも上のように再生を極めて難しいものとみている。「不幸な女」を再生させる慈善は成立したが、「墮ちた女」を再生させるロジックには異質の展開が必要だった。たとえばディケンズ(Charles Dickens, 1812-70)は売春婦を同情をもって描くとともに、ジャーナリストとして、また社会改革推進家としての立場から売春婦と慈善のジレンマを解決する策を考えている。彼のプランは人格を失った売春婦観に従う一方で、何とか抜け道を探ろうとしている。『嘆願』('An Appeal')の骨子は、女性たちに新しい人格を与えて、別の社会で生きていかせることを促進する助けになる施設を作ること(イギリス社会への復帰は不可能だが、国外ならば可能)、および喪

7 Special Appeal 3-5. 同じパンフレットの8ページ以降では、設立と女性たちについてこれまでに随所でみられたのと同じ話しが繰り返され、そのためp.3で否定した誘惑がp.8では大きな要因として取り上げられている。

失した自己をふと取り戻す瞬間があるであろうと想定すること、である。<sup>224</sup> ウラニア・コテッジは、一年間の準備期間を与えて、オーストラリアへの移民を目的とした。いつもの自分からふっと離れて、自分の状況を把握できるような状態になることがあったら、そのときに、ウラニア・コテッジにはいることを考えてほしいと書いている。このように、腐敗した人格を矯正するのではなくて、自己を喪失した状態のものに、新たな自己を与える、つまり、慈善は、人格を矯正し改革するのではなく、人格を新たに作り出す行為となった。

これに比べると18世紀の「不幸な女」と慈善の関係は、複雑な工夫を要しないものである。推進者たちは、腐敗しているのは周囲の社会のほうであって、女たちはその罠にはまってしまった犠牲者である、道徳的に特に劣った存在ではない、だから彼女たちを助けなくてはいけない、彼女たちは勿論再生可能な存在である、というロジックで、慈善の試みを正当化しようとした。先導していたのは、ディングリーやハンウェイ(Jonas Hanway, 1712-86)といった成功した男性商人たちであって、その彼らが、自分たちも含めた社会を構成する人々と売春婦たちとの共通点を強調して更生を促す立場をとった。腐敗と再生について、売春婦の更生を最も容易にするような把握のしかたをしていたということをもう一度指摘しなおしておこう。彼らにとって、ちょっと会話を楽しめるような女や、酒を友として、窃盗をはたらき、ずる賢く世の中をわたっていく、それも一人孤立しているのではなくて群れて活動しているあばずれ女というのは、慈悲心をさそうのに都合のいいものではなかった。そこで大いに繰り返されたのは、かわいそうな無力な犠牲者の女性、それも誰も身近に頼る人のいない孤立した存在である。このステレオタイプは、彼らが非常に有効に利用した雑誌、書物の印刷物を通して、着実に浸透した。18世紀前半間でフィクションの世界にもよく登場するあばずれ女たちに似た活発な、ときに悪意をもったり悪意を向けられる女たちは、いなくなったわけではなかったに違いないのに、すっかりなりをひそめるという事態に、社会的なネットワークや、印刷文化を通じて利用して、多くの賛同者を集め、多額の寄付金を集めた慈善が吹聴し宣伝した売春婦観が影響していると考えられるであろう。勿論、これは、この慈善を可能にした世の中の風潮「感受性の流行」の大きな流れのなかで起こっていった変化である。同情の対象となっていくのと同時期に、女性に特に道徳性を求める風潮、家庭の価値を重視する時勢によって、売春婦はかえって立場を悪くし敗者になっていく。<sup>225</sup> そして、やがて無力で主体を失った存在、慈善にかかわる側の人間とはまったく違った世界の間人として扱われるようになる。再生を促すための売春婦観が、一般社会(男性?)との類似、同一性を強調していたのに対し、18世紀末以降の、家庭の中の道徳の担い手としての女性、femininityから取り残された存在となって、家庭の天使になれなかった女性として、区別され溝が深まる。「不幸な女」を一般社会に戻す橋を作る使命を担った慈善は、一方で慈善を施す側と受ける側の共通点を見出

<sup>224</sup> Charles Dickens, "Gone Astray" And Other Papers From Household Words, ed. Michael Slater (London: J.M. Dent, 1998), pp. 503-5.

<sup>225</sup> Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution*, pp. 131, 191.

しながら、他方ではある特定のイメージを増長させて、画一化の一翼を担い、新たな女性のカテゴリーを彫りだして、結局は分離の傾向に加担することにもなった。慈善の目的を明確にして人々に訴えるためには、善意の対象は、限定され特定される必要があり、さらにはそれが宣伝され、共有される必要があり、それが実現されたのだ。

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付録

慈善関連キーワードリスト

annuity 年金、国王からの年金および一般パトロンからの年金  
bawdy house 売春宿  
benevolence 善意、慈悲心  
benevolent 慈悲心に富んだ  
big-bellied 妊娠している  
brothel 売春宿  
caring 思いやりのある  
charitable 慈悲深い、慈善の  
charity 慈善  
child bearing 子の養育  
compassion 思いやり、憐れみ  
corruption 腐敗  
filial 子としての、  
give birth 出産する  
good deed 善行  
goodness 善良さ、有徳  
Magdalen マグダラのマリア、悔悛した売春婦  
maiden head 処女性  
maternal 母親の  
maternity 母性  
midwife 助産婦  
nursing 看護する  
patron パトロン  
philanthropy 慈善  
pregnancy 妊娠  
prostitute 売春婦  
prostitution 売春  
protection 擁護、庇護  
sensibility 感受性  
street walker 放浪者、売春婦  
subscription 予約購読、寄附  
unborn おなかの中の、生まれていない、  
wet nurse 乳母  
whore 売春婦