

環大西洋の農業共和主義と北方の原野——ウルストンクラフトの環境意識

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1. 1790 年代初期、急進主義者たちの環大西洋的交流 (*アメリカ人) (**アメリカ移住者)

・ロンドン **Johnson's Circle**

Joseph Johnson, Richard Price, Mary Wollstonecraft, John Hewlett, William Blake, Horne Tooke, **Thomas Paine, *Joel Barlow, George Fordyce, Thomas Holcroft, William Godwin, **Joseph Priestley, Anna Letitia Barbauld など

・パリ・郊外 (1792～) **British Club, Salon**

**Thomas Paine, John Oswald, *Joel Barlow, **Thomas Cooper, *Gilbert Imlay, Mary Wollstonecraft, Helen Maria Williams, Jacques Pierre Brissot, Madame Roland, Jean-Marie Roland, Marquis de Condorcet, François Lanthénas, Nicholas Bonneville など

2. 農業共和主義(rural republicanism)

2-1 ルソーの“*le système rustique*”

I use the term “rural republicanism” to capture the underlying synthesis between Rousseau’s ideals of the rural family and the republican state.... Building on the theories set forth in the Social Contract, Rousseau himself used the term “rural system”(le système rustique) to describe the optional set of features for founding an independent democratic republic on the island of Corsica. Thus, although Rousseau himself did not use the term “rural republicanism” to describe his theory of the proper relationship between the rural family and the republican state, it clearly resonates with his won philosophical vocabulary, and conveys the important connection between rural ways of life and republicanism in his political thought. (Botting 20-21)

As for the best possible geographic locations for his ideal state, Rousseau outlines tow possibilities: on a remote, protected shoreline, or on a mountainous territory with “rich plains and fertile slopes.” In either of these locations, his ideal state would have a population that is neither too small nor too large to support an economically self-sufficient society, proportioned to the available land, and evenly distributed as much as possible through villages and towns, rather than condensed in urban areas. On a remote and protected shoreline, his ideal state would have a self-sufficient fishing economy without the need, temptation, or ambition to engage in international commerce on the seas. In a mountainous territory, his ideal state would have a self-sufficient agricultural economy based on the cultivation of its limited fertile land and the gathering of the “natural produce” of its woods and pastures; it, too, would avoid unnecessary international commercial activity that would bring corrosive luxuries into its small communities and families. Out of these two possibilities, Rousseau leans toward the mountainous state as more preferable. He worries that a fishing community would eventually veer toward the corruption of a naval empire. Even in the case of the island of Corsica, he proposes that it develop a self-sufficient agricultural economy, rather than depend on commerce via the sea. (Botting 22)

2-2 アメリカのルソー的農業共和主義

St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782; French trans., 1784)

Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (private ed., Paris, 1785; French trans., 1786; London, 1787)

Jean-Pierre Brissot, *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de L'Amerique Septentrionale, Fait en 1788* (Paris, 1791), *New Travels in the United States of America* (trans. Joel Barlow, London, 1792)

Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (London, 1792; enlarged ed. 1793)

Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1794)

Joel Barlow, *The Hasty-Pudding* (New York, 1796)

Thomas Paine, *Agrarian Justice* (Paris, London, Philadelphia, 1797)

3. アメリカの不毛な原野、臆病で性欲のない原住民

[T]hough the American savage be nearly of the same stature with men in polished societies; yet this is not a sufficient exception to the general contraction of animated Nature throughout the whole Continent. In the savage, the organs of

generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though nimbler than the European, because more accustomed to running, his strength is not so great. His sensations are less acute; and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind. (Buffon 5: 130)

Nature remains concealed under her old garments, and never exhibits herself in fresh attire, being neither cherished nor cultivated by man, she never opens her fruitful and beneficent womb. Here the earth never saw her surface adorned with those rich crops, which demonstrate her fecundity, and constitute the opulence of polished nations. In this abandoned condition, every thing languishes, corrupts, and proves abortive. The air and the earth, over-loaded with humid and noxious vapours, are unable wither to purify themselves, or to profit by the influences of the Sun, who darts in vain his most enlivening rays upon his frigid mass, which is not in a condition to make suitable returns to his ardour. (Buffon 5:136)

→普及 (Buell 124)

Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (1774)

Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774)

William Robertson, *The History of America* (1777)

4. ヨーロッパ人によって開拓されたアメリカ

4-1 クレヴケールのペンシルヴェニア

Here the rewards of his [the American's] industry follow, with equal steps, the progress of his labour. His labour is founded on the basis of nature, *self-interest*: can it want a stronger allurements? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded if him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicksome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise, to feed and to clothe them all, without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. (Crèvecoeur 52-53)

4-2 イムレイのケンタッキー

・豊饒の地

The upper settlement on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, indian corn or maize, hemp and flax. The fruits, are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, strawberries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries, and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, cymbeline or squash, cucumbers, pease, beans, asparagus, cabbages, brocoli, celery, and salads; besides which there are melons and herbs of every sort. The provision consists of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, such as ducks, Muscovy ducks, turkeys, geese, dunghill fowls, and pigeons. The superfluous provisions are sold to the emigrants, who are continually passing through those settlements, in their route to the different districts of country, and which I have enumerated. (Imlay 60-61)

・パストラルの的

The season of sugar-making occupies the women, whose mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking-bird, the tuneful song of the thrush, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.--Festive mirth crowns the evening.--The lofty trees were their spreading branches over a green turf, on whose soft down the mildness of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to sportive play; while our rural Nestors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyish gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthusiasm forget there are such things as decrepitude and misery. Perhaps a convivial song, or a pleasant narration, closes the scene.

Rational pleasures meliorate the soul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that sordid avarice and vicious habits are to be destroyed.

Gardening and fishing constitute some part of the amusements of both sexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the studies of our ladies; and the embellishment of their houses with those which are known to be salutary, constitutes a part of their employment.--Domestic cares and music full up the remainder of the day; and social visits, without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or disgust. (Imlay 169)

・アメリカとヨーロッパ比較

We have more of simplicity, and you more of art.--We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphosed the one and contaminated the other, we preserve the natural symbols of both. You have more hypocrisy--we are sincere. (Imlay 179)

・人間の自然権に基づく法と政府

Our laws and government have for their basis the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. Liberty, security of person and property, resistance against oppression, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either personally or by our representatives, in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, constitute those rights. (Imlay 205)

5. ウルストンクラフト『北歐旅行記』 (*Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, 1796*)

5-1 “the trans-atlantic wilderness” (Aikin xx)と “a boreal wilderness (Holmes 17)

5-2 参照枠としてのアメリカ

- A sensible writer (Wollstonecraft, *Letters* 6: 255) = Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America*
- the conduct of the Swedish and American country girls (*Letters* 6: 258)
- [The norwegians are] so curious that I was half tempted to adopt Dr Franklin’s plan, when travelling in America, where they are equally prying, which was to write on a paper, for public inspection, my name, from whence I came, where I was going, and what was my business. (*Letters* 6: 269) = Benjamin Franklin, “Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America,” *Two Tracts* (1748)
- Nootka Sound, or on some of the islands on the north west coast of America (*Letters* 6: 293)
- Here it does not render the people enterprising, as in America, but thrifty and cautious. (*Letters* 6: 325)
- an acquaintance of your’s, the author of the American Farmer’s Letters (*Letters* 6: 341-42) = St. John de Crèvecoeur

5-3 最初に遭遇したスウェーデン人

I wondered that curiosity did not bring the beings who inhabited it to the windows or door. I did not immediately recollect that men who remain so near the brute creation, as only exert themselves to find the food necessary to sustain life, have little or no imagination to call forth the curiosity necessary to fructify the faint glimmerings of mind which entitle them to rank as lords of the creation. –Had they either, they could not contentedly remain rooted in the clods they so indolently cultivate. (*Letters* 6: 245)

5-4 スウェーデンの不毛な地、天地の骨

Approaching the frontiers, consequently the sea, nature resumed an aspect ruder and ruder, or rather seemed the bones of the world waiting to be clothed with every thing necessary to give life and beauty. (*Letters* 6: 262)

5-5 ノルウェー、木の伐採による開墾

As the farmers cut away the wood, they clear the ground. Every year, therefore, the country is becoming fitter to support the inhabitants. (*Letters* 6: 288)

The destruction, or gradual reduction, of their forests, will probably meliorate the industry requires ingenuity. It is very fortunate that men are, a long time, but just above the brute creation, or the greater part of the earth would never have been rendered habitable; because it is the patient labour of men, who are only seeking for a subsistence, which produces whatever embellishes existence, affording leisure for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, that lift man so far above his first state. I never, my friend, thought so deeply of the advantages obtained by human industry as since I have been in Norway. The world requires, I see, the hand of man to perfect it; and as this task naturally unfolds the faculties he exercises, it is physically impossible that he should remained in Rousseau’s golden age of stupidity. (*Letters* 6: 288)

5-6 ノルウェー＝ルソー的農業共和国

All the rest of the country is divided into small farms, which belong to the cultivator. (*Letters* 6: 272)

The distribution of landed property into small farms, produces a degree of equality which I have seldom seen elsewhere; and the rich being all merchants, who are obliged to divide their personal fortune amongst their children, the boys always receiving twice as much as the girls, property has not a chance of accumulating till overgrown wealth destroys the balance of liberty. (*Letters* 6: 273)

[T]he norwegians appear to me to be the most free community I have ever observed. (*Letters* 6: 273)

In France the farmers generally live in villages, which is a great disadvantage to the country; but the norwegian farmers, always owning their farms, or being tenants for life, reside in the midst of them; allowing some labourers a dwelling, rent free, who have a little land appertaining to the cottage, not only for a garden, but for crops of different kinds, such as rye, oats, buck-wheat, hemp, flax, beans, potatoes, and hay, which are sown in strips about it; reminding a stranger of the first attempts

at culture, when every family was obliged to be an independent community. (*Letters* 6: 300)

5-7 アメリカの地勢＝ノルウェーの荒野

The increasing population of the earth must necessarily tend to its improvement, as the means of existence are multiplied by invention.

You have probably made similar reflection in America, where the face of the country, I suppose, resembles the wilds of Norway. (*Letters* 6: 288)

5-8 世界的飢饉の恐れ

The view of this wild coast, as we sailed along it, afforded me a continual subject for meditation. I anticipated the future improvement of the world, and observed how much man had still to do, to obtain of the earth all it could yield. I even carried my speculations so far as to advance a million or two of years to the moment when the earth would perhaps be so perfectly cultivated, and so completely peopled, as to render it necessary to inhabit every spot; yes; these bleak shores, Imagination went still farther, and pictured the state of man when the earth could no longer support him. Where was he to fly to from universal famine? Do not smile: I really became distressed for these fellow creatures, yet unborn. The images fastened on me, and the world appeared a vast prison. (*Letters* 6: 294-95)

5-9 食糧難

・1789年10月6日、パリの女たちのベルサイユへの行進

What were the outrages of a day to these continual miseries? Let those sorrows hide their diminished head before the tremendous mountain of woe that thus defaces our globe! Man preys on man; and you mourn for the idle tapestry that decorated a gothic pile, and the dronish bell that summoned the fat priest to prayer. You mourn for the empty pageant of a name, when slavery flaps her wing, and the sick heart retires to die in lonely wilds, far from the abodes of men. Did the pangs you felt for insulted nobility, the anguish that rent your heart when the gorgeous robes were torn off the idol human weakness had set up, deserve to be compared with the long-drawn sigh of melancholy reflection, when misery and vice are thus seen to haunt our steps, and swim on the top of every cheering prospect? (*VRM* 5: 58)

・スウェーデンとノルウェーの食糧難の恐れ

The wars carried on by the late king rendering it necessary to increase the revenue, and retain the specie in the country by every possible means.

The taxes before the reign of Charles the twelfth were inconsiderable. Since then, the burden has continually been growing heavier, and the price of provisions has proportionably increased; nay, the advantage accruing from the exportation of corn to France, and rye to Germany, will probably produce a scarcity in both Sweden and Norway, should not a peace put a stop to it this autumn; for the speculations of various kinds have almost doubled the price. (*Letters* 6: 254)

5-10 持続可能な開墾

As the family increases, a little more land is cultivated: thus the country is obviously enriched by population. Formerly the farmers might more justly have been termed wood-cutters. But now they find it necessary to spare the woods a little; and this change will be universally beneficial; for whilst they lived entirely by felling the trees they felled, they did not pay sufficient attention to husbandry; consequently, advanced very slowly in agricultural knowledge. Necessity will in future more and more spur them on; for the ground, cleared of wood, must be cultivated, or the farm loses its value; there is no waiting for food till another generation of pines be grown to maturity. (*Letters* 6: 307-08)

5-11 森の中の木こりの家

A little lawn was cleared, on which several lofty trees were left which nature had grouped, whilst the encircling firs sported with wild grace. The dwelling was sheltered by the forest, noble pines spreading their branches over the roof; and before the door a cow, goat, nag, and children, seemed equally content with their lot... (*Letters* 6: 308)

6. グローバルなエコロジーとエコノミー

6-1 投機的商業(speculation-commerce)と委託的商業(commission-commerce)

The émigré radicals strongly opposed what John Thelwall, the foremost theorist of the London Corresponding Society, called “speculation-commerce”—that is, commerce based on mercantilism, in which world trade was controlled “by a few engrossers and monopolists” who, by accumulating commodities” in the hope of exciting artificial wants” within a mercantilist system, manipulated trade to their own advantage. [...]

“Speculation-commerce” conflicted with the radicals’ vision of an open society where every individual had the same opportunities to use his talents to the full. The ideal system of commerce was “commission-commerce,” whereby countries exchanged abundant commodities for scarce but desired ones. (Durey 679)

6-2 投機的商業批判

England and America owe their liberty to commerce, which created a new species of power to undermine the feudal system. But let them beware of the consequence; the tyranny of wealth is still more galling and debasing than that of rank. (*Letters* 6: 309)

I must add, that the more I saw of the manners of Hamburg, the more was I confirmed in my opinion relative to the baleful effect of extensive speculations on the moral character. Men are strange machines; and their whole system of morality is in general held together by one grand principle, which loses its force the moment they allow themselves to break with impunity over the bounds which secured their self-respect. A man ceases to love humanity, and then individuals as he advances in the chase after wealth; as one clashes with his interest, the other with his pleasures: to business, as it is termed, every thing must give way; nay, is sacrificed; and all the endearing charities of citizen, husband, father, brother, become empty names. (*Letters* 6: 342)

6-3 ノルウェーの貿易

Norway is reckoned to contain 7558 quadrate miles.... Its natural products are wood, silver, copper, and iron, a little gold has been found, fish, marble, and the skins of several animals. The exportation exceeds the importation. The balance in favour of Norway, in the year 1767, was about 476,085 rixdollars, 95,217l. sterling. It has been increasing ever since....

The exportation of salted and dried fish is very considerable. In the year 1786 the returns for its exportation amounted to 749, 200 rixdollars, 169,840l. (*Letters* 347)

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