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〈原著論文〉

The Foundation of The Theory of Endogenous Development — In the Thought of Edward Carpenter in Millthorpe —

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内発的発展論の思想的基盤

——ミルソープ時代のエドワード・カーペンターをめぐる——

稲田敦子

本稿の目的は、共生思想の先駆的系譜に位置づけられるエドワード・カーペンターの内発的発展論の思想的基盤を、とくにイギリスのミルソープにおける共同体再編の試みから検討することである。カーペンターは、20世紀初頭のイギリスで社会的調和論の実践をめざした組織である Fellowship of the New Life の中心的存在としてその活動を担いながら、彼独自の“new life”の展望を求め、普遍的価値と関わる主体形成および社会倫理の問題を模索していった。

近代化が推進されるにつれて、肥大化した社会関係の中では、個的な存在は社会システムの規制状況に封じこまれ、その結果として、人間の現実的存在感は希薄となっていく様相を呈していくこととなる。エドワード・カーペンターは、イギリス資本主義の「構造転換」に連動して、この希薄化をめぐる危機的状況を強く意識することとなった。

彼は、自己の内と外における「負」の側面を見据える視点から共生思想を提起していったが、内発的発展論はその実践的な試みといえるのである。彼は、個と共同性をめぐる問題を中心的な課題として、現代における自然との共生およびその具体的なあり方としての新しい共同体の再編への試論を提起した。彼の問題意識は、社会総体とそれの中の自己を、自然を射程に組み込むことにより、解決の糸口を探ろうとするものである。言い換えれば、「人間的な自然」の全体性の回復を、「本来的自然」と「社会的自然」との調和的状態において成立させる方策を求めようとしたことであろう。

Key words; The theory of endogenous development, Edward Carpenter, Naturalism, Critique of modern civilization

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the theory of endogenous development of Edward Carpenter (1844 ~ 1929)⁽¹⁾ in Millthorpe, where he partook directly in the new intellectual climate and moved toward freer thought and bolder methods. He was keenly aware that nature was entering a critical state, and he questioned the one-dimensional nature of this ideal of progress in the forward thrust of modernization.⁽²⁾

He was not reticent about his philosophy or about the image of human nature derived from it. Quite explicitly Carpenter refused to separate the human race from the rest of nature. Rather the whole universe was an expression of a purposive mystical entity. Humanity's role in this scheme was both prodigal son and savior inside nature and yet at the same time capable of viewing it from the outside, human experience was to be the agency through which the connectedness of things was to be celebrated and the shattered wholeness of the cosmos to be reintegrated.

Carpenter examined the problems occurring in the modern civilized society of England, where modernization first began, and is widely recognized that the factory began with the industrial revolution and it is acknowledged that the industrial revolution's threat of mechanization and the danger of injury and death caused by mechanization destabilized the labor environment.

Chapter I The dim dawn of 'a new life' in Millthorpe — Edward Carpenter and Henry Salt —

It was a time when the change in the paradigm of the existence from an open to a closed thread was beginning to remove the ideal of progress from the stage. Humanistic nature lost its absolute character and had been removed from the human feelings of an existence in reality and the human as absolute and there was no longer any opportunity to put the brakes on these feelings even within the self. To an extent, they were wide

"The year 1879 was in many ways the dim dawn or beginning of a new life to me", and "I do enjoy the outdoor life and digging potatoes-and never mean to abandon either again! I am living with a man — the best friend I ever had or could think to have — an iron worker, scythe riveter, and his little family. Below my window here there is a wooded bank running down to some water, and beyond again about 2 miles off the hilly undulating line of the Derbyshire moors — from which there comes a broad fresh breeze — like being near the sea."⁽³⁾ wrote Carpenter in his autobiogra-

phy. In that year he engaged in manual work: for two summer months of that year, he worked every morning in a joiner's shop, making panel doors. Above all he tried the open-air life, and this was made comparatively easy by the proximity of the Derbyshire moors to Sheffield, which now became the major center of his lecturing work.

The attraction of Sheffield was to be found not merely in its natural surroundings but also in the people. 'A heartiness about them' induced Carpenter to take root among them. Through his University Extension lectures which now covered music, and also through his own 'exploration' in the city, he was soon accepted into the actual society of the manual workers.

"Foot racing and the running of handicaps were very much in vogue, and I used to stroll down by myself on many a summer afternoon and witness these contests. The races were run, and probably this too, was an old tradition — as nearly as possible naked, or in a state of nature. A pair of light running shoes, and an almost invisible strip between the legs constituted the only covering — and many of the runners being men and youths of fine figure and development the effect was proportionally interesting."⁽⁴⁾

Carpenter may have toyed with the idea of co-operation in his new life, independently from Ruskin's farm. P. Arunachalam, a Ceylonese friend who had studied at Christ's Church, Cambridge, wrote to him about this time; "I am much pleased to hear you have at last reached the goal you are struggling for. It must be a great delight to you to feel you are in the right place and on the right truck."⁽⁵⁾ He now seemed interested in co-operation less as a system of communal experiment than as a moral or spiritual basis of human existence. In 1895 Carpenter and Henry Salt found the Humanitarian League. Salt was arguing towards Carpenter's position, though in a manner that was more domestic and less grandiose. Human beings should not see themselves as separate from and apart from nature: creation was a continuum without sharp breaks between one species and another. One of the 'fallacies' that stood in the way of the recognition of brotherhood between the expressions of creation was our excessive veneration of rationality.

"In 1904 Salt decided to use prose satire in his attacks against inhumanity, and published one issue of the *Brutalitarian: A journal of the sane and strong...* The paper supported imperialism, flogging, blood sports. The printers had many requests for copies..."⁽⁶⁾ Carpenter was closely associated with the League and wrote an important pamphlet on vivisection for it. This collaboration with Salt emerged from a biographical link between Carpenter and Salt which was close and long-lasting, though not without its complications and disenchantments. The two men shared many interests and activities that stemmed from fundamentally similar philosophies, which Salt defiantly insisted should be proclaimed from the grave itself. His own funeral was marked by an

operation which he had written himself in anticipation of his death: "I shall die, as I have lived, a rationalist, socialist, pacifist and humanitarian."⁽⁷⁾ In point of fact all these epithets depended on the informing philosophy of nature that Carpenter and Salt shared.

One of the 'fallacies' that stood in the way of the recognition of brotherhood between the expressions of creation was our excessive veneration of rationality. Rather later, Shaw was to call the brain evolution's darling object, but for Salt and Carpenter it led us to neglect the intuition and emotion we shared with other species. "Our true civilization, our race-progress, our humanity" were compromised if we did not learn to those faculties inside ourselves that we shared with animals. Salt was surely referring here to Carpenter's Democracy without its metaphysical trappings.

Indeed, this capacity to domesticate the operatic was Salt's especial forte. Carpenter's sometimes historic denunciation of his own times was replaced by Salt's quiet analysis of the ideas that had allowed European civilization. The Cartesian ideas of animated automata were a deeply rooted attitude; Salt recognized that change would be slow and devoted the major part of *Animal's Rights* to a piecemeal program of reform. Salt's program made another connection with Carpenter in his critique of Victorian science. The zoo was a symbol of all that they despised in contemporary culture. Clearly the animals themselves were miserable, a simple consequence of their confinement. Neither were they of scientific or educational value, for caged animals were unable to be themselves. The zoo represented a style of alienated knowledge that was static and mechanistic. In biology the textbooks were metaphoric paper zoos, where the descriptions of animals were super spirit of the beast which it could demonstrate only by living its life in its natural habitat, was suppressed. But even this stilted and deformed knowledge was preferable to the collector's cult of the specimen.⁽⁸⁾

Vivisection epitomized the way that a superficially powerful science was a deformed and alienated kind of knowledge. It was based on a neglect of the right way to live and concentrated on remedies for conditions that stemmed from a life separated from nature. At times Salt was arguing for what he thought was possible in the short term rather than what was ultimately desirable. Nevertheless there was a consistent view of nature and science which supported and informed the specifics of reform.⁽⁹⁾ This was a philosophy that Carpenter and Salt shared: it was vitalist in that it saw a unifying principle in the whole of nature; and it was expressivist in that creation was involved in a process of becoming, travelling teleologically towards the Democracy that was to be the end and paradoxically the beginning of history.

Chapter II Critique of Modern Civilization

The age in which he lived was one in which clouds had begun to form over the optimism previously felt about qualitative progress in the reality of human life compared to the acceleration of forward progress in civilization's size. Historically, the concept of nature has been in correlation with the sensibilities of each passing era, and classified as an individual social category. The current negative aspects of environmental destruction provoked by the domination of nature through technology have raised present ethical and moral conscience of people with regard to this problem. A man well ahead of his time, Edward Carpenter, being aware of the inescapable relationship between man and nature and striving to awaken this innate conscience in people, advanced a critique of modern civilization in a bid to instill his views on environmental problems into contemporary society.

As modernization moved forward, social systems developed and became highly advanced but that also threatened traditional social foundations and even brought on the danger of destroying them. The individual human being was being sealed within a set of hypertrophying social relations that resulted in a diminution of the feelings of reality as a human being. Carpenter was strongly aware of the crisis surrounding this diminution, especially in its links to the structural changes occurring in British capitalism. For Carpenter, it was a time of many different thoughts and emotions. The problems of civilization became the task and theme of his entire life. In extremely literary fashion, he began to take up the more negative aspects that belong to modern civilization. Through his theories of social harmony, self-realization and perfection of character, he held that only the society will exist that, first of all, recognizes the other, that has an awareness of the other, not just a recognition of the lone individual.

The two major views of the relationship between man and nature are the view of nature as teleological, which was the rule from ancient times through the middle ages, and the mechanistic view which mechanically combines nature with a foundation on which stand the methods and principles of the modern natural sciences. From the criticisms of the view of nature in the modern enlightenment, arose a thinking that aims for a restoration of the organic view of nature and sees a new organic relationship between man and nature.⁽¹⁰⁾

Carpenter's metaphor for exfoliation was human creativity: our actions emerged from vague and half-articulated desires which gradually hardened into motives and plans. Nature was directional in the same way. What we saw superficially was the world of appearances, that is the effects

of the intentions of nature; hidden to us, but nonetheless real, were the intentions and thoughts of the animating spirit of the universe, the great self. This was obstinately lodged in the essence of every organic being: "A dominant idea informs the life of the tree; persisting, it forms the tree. You may snip the leaves as much as you like to a certain pattern, but they will only grow in their own shape."⁽¹¹⁾

If the desire of the world spirit produced this stability and persistence what would happen when that desire changed? For Carpenter, organism changed its nature by seeking new activities. Organisms were the agent of the life force in a conscious if not always rational attempt to become other and more developed. He was calling for a science which did not separate and atomise; it was a demand for a way of seeing nature as a unity of organic relationships which included its rational and self-conscious element. Science should make human enquiry and knowledge an element of the picture of the world that it generated. We were not spectators but participants.

"Only this pre-established harmony between nature within and without myself makes it possible not only to understand a living nature, as well as I understand my own life; it makes possible the view of nature as itself visible spirit, and of spirit as invisible nature"⁽¹²⁾ Such an integrated view of the practice and subject matter of science demanded an adjustment in our view of the human faculties that made such practice possible. One of the Victorian orthodoxies was an optimistic belief in science and progress, and Carpenter revolted against inhumanities involved in this almost blind faith in man's mastery over nature. His revolt, however, was somewhat erratic: disillusioned with what he felt to be the shams of the Established Church, he threw religion overboard, but he soon found himself tormented by the callousness of modern science. An ex-curate and a former lecturer on scientific subjects, he at last endeavored to reconcile religion and science. Carpenter's severe criticism against the Victorian orthodoxies, writes Edward Thompson, was 'expressed in an individualistic form'⁽¹³⁾

Perhaps it would be more accurate to call Carpenter's revolt personal than individualistic. It originated from his sense of alienation, and took the form of an effort to conquer his own isolation and self-consciousness and to restore health and unity to his personality. Hence arose his strong desire for personal contacts, for friendship, fellowship, and comradeship, which was not only whole-hearted but 'whole-bodies'.⁽¹⁴⁾ Carpenter regarded modern capitalistic civilization as socially and morally diseased. Sickness arises from the loss of the physical unity that makes up health and the result there is a conflict between the separate parts or a friction between the organs or a growing abnormality of those organs, or the organism wears out. In contrast to this, our lives in modern society of the unification that forms true society, are lost, and in their place arises a conflict

between classes or between individuals, there is abnormal development of all things that violate the other, and there is a large number of groups who are parasites on society. This is seen as a sickness that every type of group must get.

Carpenter's publishing of *Civilization — Its Causes and Cure* in 1889, was a way ahead of its times in its criticism of the rationale of Social Darwinism. He harshly criticizes the rigidity caused by the concentration of organization and authority, but rather than emphasizing this critique is much more interested in the growth of a new humanity created out of respect toward work and human beings that will open up a hole in the present situation and searches for what that should be like. He was determined to promote life's internal creative powers as the life of the community and the awakening and growth of that awareness was moving forward as a medium interacting with nature.

In May 1889 Carpenter started a crusade against air pollution or the 'smoke nuisance'. A letter he wrote on the subject to the *Sheffield Independent* attracted wide attention. Recurring epidemics earlier in the century had forced public attention to the question of the pollution of rivers and streams with the refuse of cities, but air pollution which was 'equally insane' remained largely neglected. It is true that Smoke Abatement Exhibitions were held in 1881 and 1882, but it was only after the publication of Carpenter's letters that the issue was revived, and several Smoke Abatement Associations in the northern towns became actively engaged in promoting the use of smoke-preventing appliances.

Chapter III The Foundation of the Theory of Endogenous Development

What power could control the poisoning and other problems created by the excesses of industrialization? It was a question as to where the system alone had the ability to control these poisons. Modern capital did not have the capability of retarding its own overall progress and it would have been even more difficult for an individual to be able to stop it. The opportunity would be found when the ethics of how we lived came into question. It is not that no such attempts were made but those who sought to hold back the deleterious aspects of industrialization were working against the major trends of the time. The efforts were like a flowing underground rivulet, small but incessant. Though it did not become a main trend, the power to retard environmental damage was in a seedling stage at that time.

The rapid increase in urban population in the two centuries since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution has been pointed out as a world wide phenomenon, and the examples of change in

population of British Industrial cities and of world population trends after the Industrial Revolution clearly shows that mankind has directed itself toward the cities and constantly gathered in them. Population concentration has greatly changed urban conditions. This has produced two major kinds of social problems: urban problems such as lack of sanitation, crime and delinquency; and environmental problems such as air, water and noise pollution, both of the working to reinforce and worsen each other and to have major effects on the lower classes of the city.

The communality of work has now been lost, work is used by the production system in separate and isolated units, and we see that the result is the human being itself becoming an isolated entity within work. Man and work are isolated the thin that connects work of the human being is the production system, the merchandise economy, the society. A situation where community between individuals and direct relationships are lost, is a situation in which each and every human being lives in isolation. The connections between individual humans are created as separated and isolated systems.

Carpenter experienced the friction of traditional British society and discussed the danger of situation in which social, as well as political, tyranny severely threatens individual freedom. "The evil — huge and monstrous as it is — is not senseless, one may feel sure. Even now here in England one perceives an extraordinary pulling together and bracing up of the people, a development of solidarity and mutual helpfulness, a greater seriousness, and disregarding of artificialities, which are all to the good. These things are gains, even though the way of their manifestation is through much of enmity and ignorance. And one may fairly suppose that similar results are traceable in the other nations concerned. Wounds and death may seem senseless and needless, but those who suffer them do not suffer in vain. All these shattering experiences, whether in a nation's career or in the career of an individual, cause one — they force one — to look into the bases of life and to get nearer its realities."⁽¹⁵⁾

At the foundation of these ideas were his suspicions about social Darwinism which extols the logic of survival of the fittest. Although the theory of evolution had been dealt a serious blow when the world of biology pointed out that the survivors are those who are most adaptable, the social Darwinists applied the survival of the fittest to social theory, and from there influenced liberal economics. This is a developmental theory of economics that connects the notion of free selection in *The Origin of Species*, with the optimistic view that out of the free will of each and every person order will naturally result. However, basic to the original theory of evolution is competition between individual human beings and a further notion is derived that the superior win and the inferior lose, then what we have is a clear deviation from the original Darwinian theory.

When the dark side that accompanies the development of industrial capitalism continues to grow, the theory, quite logically no longer fits with reality.

We human beings do not simply live within groups we have created, we live in complex and intricate sets of relationships — their pattern having no particularly mandatory character — with many different aspects the most important of them being language. Nature has by this point become a means of production in these relationships, and in the same way that the relation between man and nature can no longer be seen in work, the relationships between human beings have become relationships of alienation and mere means of production. People gather together solely according to the requirements for production and they are merely placed in those relationships. No sense of community exists between human beings. The productive system is the main entity, and people have been gathered together only as a means for that production. People scatter about with no sense of unity because work is a means of the production system. And they are used indiscriminately as means of the production system.

Carpenter said *in Towards Industrial Freedom*, “Thus it will be observed that whereas the present society is founded on a law-enforced system of private property, in which, almost necessarily, the covetous hard type of man becomes the large proprietor and is enabled to prey upon the small one; and whereas the result of this arrangement is a bitter and continuous struggle for possession, in which the motive to activity is mainly fear. We on the contrary, are disentangling a conception of a society in which private property is supported by no apparatus of armed authority, but as far as it exists is a perfectly spontaneous arrangement. The main motives to activity are neither fear nor greed of gain, but rather community of life and interest in life.”⁽¹⁶⁾

Carpenter shows that the base foe the aim toward the internalization of nature lies in a strong awareness of the internal self. This means not a direction toward a peculiar state of self-interest in which only the self is the object, but rather, one in which the individual self can live in unity with the totality, in the search for individual independence. He fixes the structure of centralized authority, and regards the system of the efficient society in which only things that are useful are propelled forward, as an external skin that will eventually peel off. He says that he is searching for the secret of society’s existence, and thinks that, as far as social evolution is concerned, society will progress by taking off and thinks that, as far as social evolution is concerned, society will progress by taking off and throwing away out of necessity this external skin that it is fitted with, and as for social progress, that we must constantly condemn the obstacles created by the freezing of the existing legal system.

Conclusion

This theory of a cooperative society removes the state, a superficiality standing in an artificial, ruling position, and makes most important the way in which the natural and life dimensions that are based on the human being exist. In reality, the state that rules all social relationships based on its superiority is, originally, nothing more than an entity that takes care of one of the functions in socially organic relationships. Therefore, this is a theory of social harmony reduces the ruling characteristics of the state itself into those of a one function entity and creates cooperative relationships above them.

Case study research in the theory of endogenous development is used to analyze that process of change and through that analysis one can learn what agents caused the transformation. An important part of endogenous development is the course by which cultural assets of tradition is remade. Tradition is something that is handed down from generation to generation within a region or a group. The problems awareness of Carpenter is something that still remains in an unfinished stage, i. e., that of grasping society in its entirety, determining one's own position within those problems and placing nature within that route to find the clues to a solution. Having the elements of both intellectual and practical key person will allow the soil of the region to be cultivated and the paths towards internally generated development to be laid during a very critical situation in time.

Notes

- (1) Edward Carpenter, exponent of the simple life and critic of contemporary civilization, is a minor prophet of early British Fabian collectivism. Not belong to any particular school or movement, he exercised a diffuse influence. Most influential was his long Whitmanesque prose-poem *Towards Democracy* (1883), but this extract is from his *England's Ideal* (1887). Cf. Bernard Crick ed. *Documents in Political Ideas*
- (2) Carpenter's publishing of *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* was a way ahead of its times in its criticism of the rationale of social Darwinism. He harshly criticizes the rigidity caused by the concentration of organization and authority, but rather than emphasizing this critique is much more interested in the growth of a new humanity created out of respect toward work and human beings that will open up a hole in the present situation and searches for what that should be like. He was determined to promote life's internal creative powers as the life of the community and the awakening and growth of that awareness was moving forward as a medium interacting with nature.
- (3) Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, p. 100
- (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102

- (5) P. Arunachalam to E. Carpenter, 18 July 1880 (Carpenter Collection MSS, Sheffield City Library)
- (6) George Hendrick, *Henry Salt: Humanitarian reformer and man of letters*, Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1977, p. 82
- (7) Winsten, *Salt*, p. 1
- (8) Christopher E. Shaw, 'Identified with the One; Edward Carpenter, Henry Salt and the Ethical Socialist Philosophy of Science', p. 45
- (9) *Ibid.*, p. 46
- (10) cf. Hajime Ikeda, *Nihonshimin shiso to Kokkaron*, Ronsousha, 1983, p. 14
- (11) Edward Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, 1904, p. 29
- (12) George G. Seidel, *Activity and Ground; Fichte, Shelling and Hegel*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms verlag, 1976, p. 104
- (13) E. P. Thompson, William Morris, *Romantic to Revolutionary* (1977ed.) p. 290
- (14) Chushichi Tsuzuki, *Edward Carpenter 1844-1929, Prophet of Human Fellowship*, Cambridge University Press, 1980 p. 3
- (15) Edward Carpenter, *The Healing of Nations, and the Hidden Sources of their Strife*, London, 1915, pp. 9-10
- (16) Edward Carpenter, *Towards Industrial Freedom*, pp. 87-88

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