



Hacettepe University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature

**RAYMOND WILLIAMS'S “STRUCTURES OF FEELING” AND
“ELEMENTS OF RESIDUAL-EMERGENT-DOMINANT” AS
REFLECTED IN THE ETHICAL FORMATIONS OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: SARAH FIELDING'S *THE
ADVENTURES OF DAVID SIMPLE, VOLUME THE LAST*, OLIVER
GOLDSMITH'S *THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD*, LAURENCE
STERNE'S *A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE AND
ITALY* AND HENRY MACKENZIE'S *THE MAN OF FEELING***

Olcaý ÇOLAK

Ph. D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2017

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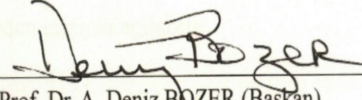
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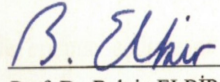
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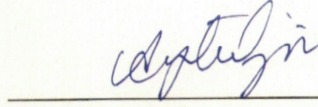
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KABUL VE ONAY


Olcay Çolak tarafından hazırlanan ““Raymond Williams's Structures of Feeling” and “Elements of Residual-Emergent-Dominant” as Reflected in the Ethical Formations of the Age: Sarah Fielding’s *The Adventures of David Simple, Volume the Last*, Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Laurence Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* and Henry Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling*” başlıklı bu çalışma, 20 Ocak 2017 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Doktora Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.


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Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylıyorum.

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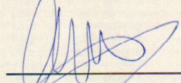
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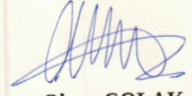
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ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Prof. Dr. Aytül ÖZÜM danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığımı beyan ederim.


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ÖZET

ÇOLAK, Olcay. *On Sekizinci yüzyıl Etik Formasyonlarında Raymond Williams'ın "Duygu Yapıları"nın ve "Kalıntı-Yükselen-Egemen Öğeleri"nin Yansımaları: Sarah Fielding'in The Adventures of David Simple'ı Volume the Last'ı, Oliver Goldsmith'in The Vicar of Wakefield'ı, Laurence Sterne'in A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy'si and Henry Mackenzie'nin The Man of Feeling'i*. Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2017.

Bu tez on sekizinci yüzyıl Britanya duygusalci roman geleneğini, çekişmeleri süren iki etik kuramın temsil edildiği bir kültürel referans sisteminin parçası olarak görmektedir. Raymond Williams'ın kültür teorisi, kültürel değişikliklerin hiçbir zaman sona ermeyeceğini ve sürekli yükselen ve kalıntısız güçlerle karşı karşıya kalınacağını ifade eder. Duygusalci roman öz-çıkara dayalı yükselen ticari etikle toplum çıkarını önde tutan kalıntısız alternatif etik arasındaki gerginliği içselleştir. Öz-çıkara ve etiğin rasyonelleşmesi geleneksel insan ilişkilerinde yıkıma yol açarken insan doğasını da yeniden tanımlamaktadır. Buna tepki olarak Sarah Fielding, Oliver Goldsmith, Laurence Sterne ve Henry Mackenzie, romanları aracılığıyla, feodal sistemin kırsal düzenindeki toplumsal değerleri kısmen yeniden canlandırdıkları dirençli bir alan oluşturmuşlardır. Romanlarındaki karakterler, feodal toprak sahiplerinin geleneksel esirgemeciliğini üstlenerek, insan ilişkilerindeki indirgemeciliğe, yabancılaşmaya ve ticarileşmeye karşı çıkmışlardır. Savundukları kalıntısız alternatif etik, politik bir tepki ve direnç oluşturmuştur. Sonuç olarak, değinilen yazarların seçili romanlarına yapılan referansları temel alarak, bu tez on sekizinci yüzyıl duygusalci roman geleneğini temsil ettiği mülksüzleştirilmiş ve marjinalleştirilmiş insanların sesini duyurarak yaptığı çoğulculuk, sermayenin tabana yayılmasından yana çıkarak yarattığı eşitlikçilik ve toplumda anlamlı bir değişiklik oluşturacak sosyal etik açısından yeniden değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Duygusalci Roman, Duygusalcilık, Raymond Williams, Etik, Sarah Fielding, Oliver Goldsmith, Laurence Sterne, Henry Mackenzie

ABSTRACT

ÇOLAK, Olcay. *Raymond Williams's "Structures of Feeling" and "Elements of Residual-Emergent-Dominant" as Reflected in the Ethical Formations of the Eighteenth Century: Sarah Fielding's The Adventures of David Simple, Volume the Last, Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield, Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy and Henry Mackenzie's The Man of Feeling*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2017.

This dissertation looks at the eighteenth-century British sentimental novel tradition as part of a cultural framework in which rivalling ethical theories of the period are represented in a flux of negotiations. Raymond Williams's theory of culture relates that cultural changes are never final, and they are perpetually confronted by emergent and residual forces. The sentimental novel internalizes the tensions between the emergent commercial ethics based on self-interest and the residual alternative ethics centred around communal interest. Self-interest and rationalization of ethics were destroying traditional human relations and redefining human nature. In reaction, Sarah Fielding, Oliver Goldsmith, Laurence Sterne and Henry Mackenzie offered a resistant space in their novels, through which they partially recreated the communal values of the rural estate of the feudal system. Assuming the traditional protectionism of the landed-gentry, the characters in their novels defied the reductionist, alienated and commodified human relations. Their residual alternative ethics was a political reaction and resistance. In conclusion, based on the references to the selected novels of the mentioned writers, this dissertation re-evaluates that the eighteenth-century sentimental novel tradition represents plurality by giving a voice to the dispossessed and marginalized people, egalitarianism by promoting the re-distribution of the capital and social ethics for establishing a meaningful change in society.

Key Words

Eighteenth-Century Sentimental Novel, Sentimentalism, Raymond Williams, Ethics, Sarah Fielding, Oliver Goldsmith, Laurence Sterne, Henry Mackenzie

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to look at five eighteenth-century British sentimental novels from a cultural materialist perspective, mainly regarding the texts as cultural products of their period. In this context, Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple* (1744) and *Volume the Last* (1753), Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771) will be analysed according to the theoretical framework of the cultural materialist critic Raymond Williams. Focusing mainly on his tripartite division of residual, emergent and dominant aspects of the cultural forces, these novels will be read against the background of the ethical formations of the eighteenth-century Britain. It is essential to delve into how these ethical formations are reflected in the novels since eighteenth-century Britain with its peculiar position in the development of commercial, agrarian and industrial capitalisms, witnessed the formation of an ethics of self-interest which was challenged by the sentimental ethics of communal interest. This moment of challenge can be retrieved by situating the selected sentimental novels in the philosophical background that produced the ethics of the period and identifying the ethical negotiations within the texts themselves. The eighteenth-century sentimental novel is part of the flux of the ethical formations of the period and then-contemporary debates on ethics are reflected in the novels. Characters in the novels are actually defined in terms of their ethical traits and their social classes. It is a worthwhile endeavour to look at these novels in order to see the ongoing rivalry between two ethical theories of the period based on either communal-interest or self-interest and the corresponding mobility of the social classes.

Eighteenth century was a definitive period, converging all the ongoing changes dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Major transformations in religious, economic, social, political and cultural spheres definitely altered eighteenth-century Britain. Re-establishment of the Anglican church as a secular institution, after the Puritan Revolution of 1688, restored peace and harmony. Emerging capitalism and

commercial expansion included overseas trade with colonies, agrarian appropriation of common lands and tenant farms and development of financial instruments to conduct commercial affairs. Urban and cosmopolitan centres of living were developed in contrast to the countryside creating new public places, new social activities and new social relations. Two political movements and political group, the Tories and the Whigs, emerged. The growing literacy increased the demand for reading. While most of these developments were contemporaneous with continental European countries, some of them were peculiar to Britain, such as an agrarian capitalism. There are two more concomitant developments peculiar to the eighteenth-century Britain; the concept of social class and the generic establishment of the novel.

As historian Asa Briggs (1921-2016) asserted, from eighteenth century on, the term “class” replaced the earlier terms such as “ranks,” “orders,” “degrees” and “interests” (3). The latter terms were associated with a social order that was hierarchical but bonding and connecting people of different social status. Briggs observes that “connection [or bonding] was associated not only with a network of social obligation but with gentle slopes of degradation. It implied that, every man had his place within an order, but that the order allowed for declensions of status as well as bold contrasts” (4). The term “class” on the other hand, emerged in a period in which these bonds were loosening. Social mobility, whether upwards or downwards was very swift, and heritage and lineage, the deferential aspects of the previous social order were becoming market commodities. In such a milieu, traditional hierarchies were giving way to the advent of the capitalism and the rise of a new class or classes.

The term novel was fixated towards the end of the eighteenth century to acknowledge a new genre (Watt 10). For the greater part of the twentieth century, criticism centring on the emergence of the novel was influenced by the literary critic Ian Watt (1917-1999). In his seminal work *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), Watt treated the novel genre as a radically revolutionary form, suitable for the expression of the opinions and interests of the rising middle classes in Britain. He adopted the view that “realism [w]as the defining characteristic which differentiates the work of the early eighteenth century novelists from previous fiction” (10). Watt concluded that the novel, as a form, did not descend from a previous literary genre except those which “portrayed low life”

(10). He coined the term “formal realism” to refer to the eighteenth-century novel. For Watt, the novel did not have a form, form was forsaken for its realism; a concretization of verisimilitude (13). This concretization was manifested by writing about “particular individuals having particular experiences at particular times and at particular places” (31). According to Watt, the rising middle classes, lacking a refined education, were not interested in classical epics and romances (37) and they wanted to read contemporary fictions whose verisimilitude reflected their own experiences (60).

Watt theorized an individualistic, progressive and competitive value system which dominated the eighteenth-century novel. The rising capitalism weakened the social bonds of the earlier communities, i.e. “the family, the guild, the village, the sense of nationality” (64) devaluing them in favour of individualism (61-64). Communities and communal values were replaced by individuals and individualistic values. These values aggregately constituted the ethical concerns towards the changing social order. According to Watt, the novels reproduced a secular worldview to restore the disintegrating worldview that had been “communal and traditional” (177). This previous worldview represented the “countryman’s unchanging landscape, dominated by the regular alternation of seasons, and the established hierarchy of social and moral order symbolized by the manor-house, the parish church and the village green” (179). The novelists, on the other hand, the pioneering Daniel Defoe more than the others, built up in their novels, a new ethics of commercial success and divine grace attributed to a single protagonist which elevated him/her to a higher social standing, as a prosperous and respectable member of the society. Watt juxtaposes the rise of the middle class, the novel and the Protestant faith to form a coherent and multivalent model to explain why the novel champions the middle-class values.

Literary critic Michael McKeon (b. 1943-) opposed Watt’s analogy between the rise of the novel and the rise of the middle class in his 1987 study *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740*. McKeon asserts that rather than such a simple analogy, the relation between generic forms and social classes is a dialectical process. Generic forms are transformed through paradigmatic shifts of conceptualization of reality. Social classes are transformed through paradigmatic shifts of conceptualization of ethics. McKeon narrows them down to “questions of truth” and “questions of virtue” (20)

respectively. So the eighteenth century, or rather the period between 1600 and 1740, starts with the prevailing aristocratic ideology, represented within the romance form. Then the progressive and empirical ideology prevails and the early novels are affected by this ideology. Last of all, a critical shift negates both progressive and aristocratic ideologies. This critical shift is the conservative ideology and is reflected in the novels of the mid-eighteenth century. The complexity of the process lies in the fact that in order to negate the progressive ideology, conservative ideology needs to reaffirm certain aristocratic values (20-21). McKeon shifts Watt's rise of the novel-rise of the middle class analogy into an "analogy between epistemological and socioethical problems" (22). Furthermore, McKeon asserts that a full-fledged middle class emerged only after the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The middle class in the making in the eighteenth century is often attributed to merchants and rising professions. However, rural entrepreneurs who speedily displaced the rural rentiers of the aristocratic ideology are also influential in the rise and fall of classes. Therefore, the eighteenth century is a continuum, in which moral order and economic and political power fluctuates sharply (162-171).

While McKeon does not openly credit it, his theoretical premises of the aristocratic, progressive and conservative ideologies, especially the partial reaffirmation of the aristocratic ideology in order to defy both the aristocratic and progressive ideologies, manifest parallelisms with cultural theorist Raymond Williams's (1921-1988) three-fold dynamics of dominant, residual and emergent elements in the rise of an economic class. Williams maintains that social forces are resistant and resourceful to paradigmatic changes and by working alternatives to status quo they create a cultural continuum. In *Marxism and Literature* (1977), Williams defines the residual as a past experience determined under an older paradigm. The residual can be a reactionary experience representing what the dominant tends to ignore, override or depreciate, which is then incorporated to the dominant, through a selective process. Thus certain residual meanings and values remain still active, though in a toned-down version. Alternatively, the residual can be a fantasy element for the leisurely activities within the dominant order. The emergent, on the other hand, is any newly formed social class. In order to emerge, this new class alters the consciousness and offers alternatives and opposition to the dominant order (*Marxism* 121-125).

The dominant, emergent and residual elements that play an active part in paradigmatic changes and the formation of a new social class are best identified through the study of the literary works of that period. Since the most popular and flourishing literary work of the period was the novel, reading the novels in order to analyse the social forces at work is essential. Williams analysed novels to capture concreteness for his abstract premises. The paradigmatic shifts in the social order are inscribed in the novels which are “while society is lived, while it is being lived, the novel, these novels, are the nerves, the bloodstream, the living fibre of its experience” (*Novel* 191-2). Raymond defines these experiences as “structures of feeling” which are essentially “social experiences in solution” (*Marxism* 133). These experiences or structures are of a reactionary nature emphasizing communal values, communal responsibilities and social relations. (*Country* 30-35). They reject the emergent capitalist ethics of acquisitiveness, progressiveness and self-centredness. They affirm past orders and institutions which reflect a “responsible civilization, which men care for each other directly and personally, rather than through the abstraction of a more complicated and more commercial society” (*Country* 29). Williams is referring to the feudalist revival in sixteenth century which manifests itself in the presentation of a moral ideal in the large country estates, such as dramatist and poet Ben Jonson’s (1572/3-1637) poem “To Penshurst” (1616) which praised the Penshurst Place of the Sidney family. In these poems, Williams manifests that the country estate is transformed into a microcosm of moral idealism, a terrestrial paradise in which every man and beast live in happy harmony. The hierarchical order and the natural order are analogous (*Country* 26-9). Williams thus creates a model of criticism, in which the literary work offers an alternative ethical order, reworked from a “safer world of the past” (36) in reaction to the dominant ethical order of the period, to restore communal value and meaning.

Taking into consideration the singular case of Britain, the historians, starting from the 1980s, have tended to refer to the eighteenth century as the long eighteenth century, since the major events, that led to it, took place in the seventeenth century (with the Restoration of 1660 or the Glorious Revolution of 1688 set as the beginning) and its impact endured into the early-mid nineteenth century (with the Battle of Waterloo of 1815 or the Reform Act of 1832 set as the ending). First introduced by the British historian J.C.D. Clark (b. 1951-), the term caught on to refer to a particular period in

which Britain transformed into a nation promoting commercial, parliamentary and middle-class values. Religious toleration, freedom of speech and press, urban centres for public meetings, institutionalization of law, health, education and penalty, emergence of a reading public were the prominent changes that marked the area. Clark extends the time span in order to challenge the reductionist and deterministic historical-economic model that gained ascendancy in analysing the eighteenth century (ix-x). His aim is to manifest that there was not a consensus in the eighteenth-century British society and he sees it necessary to point out that the

values of eighteenth-century England were those appropriate to a society Christian, monarchical, aristocratic, rural, traditional and poor; but those [values] of historians of the 1960s and 1970s were drawn from a society indifferent to religion, hostile alike to authority and to social rank; urban; plural; and affluent. (9)

Clark argues that the long eighteenth century is an epoch in which the first set of values (to which he refers to as “the Ancien Régime”) are still effective and active. The second set of values (to which he refers as the Whig perspective) are co-existent but they remain secondary to those of the Ancien Régime until 1832 (x). While Clark limits his focus to hardcore historical data about elections, political parties and boroughs, his vision of the eighteenth-century Britain, as a site of contact between two rivalling regimes or doctrines or ideologies, is an important premise. According to Clark, “[h]istory is not the study of origins; rather it is the analysis of all meditations by which the past was turned into our present” (4). J.C.D. Clark admits the importance of analysing the past in order to recapture some of these meditations and judges that “it was actually more moral to study the social life of common man than thoughts and actions either of statesmen or of society's dominant elite” (10). The opinions of the majority of the eighteenth-century common man may be lost due to illiteracy, lack of market interest and leisure time. However novelistic representations of the lower classes provide a permanent source for an ethical evaluation of the period.

According to Clark, protractors of the previous regime (essentially the nobility and the landed gentry) wanted to preserve their dominant power position while adherents of the emergent regime (essentially the merchants and those practising the rising professions) aspired to attain more power (32). Clark attributes the formation of

the first political parties in Britain to this ongoing rivalry between the two power groups (26). Looking back from a contemporary perspective, it is possible to label these two distinctive ideologies as either Tory or Whig in their fundamental political positions albeit keeping in mind that the period is too volatile and unstable to register consistent political positions. Scholar Charlotte Sussman (b. 1966-), in her *Eighteenth Century English Literature* (2012), delineates these two political positions; according to her Tories are primarily from the landed gentry and do not favour substantial changes within the Anglican Church and the Crown. The Whigs belong to the members of aristocracy and the new class of merchants and support the new developments in the cultural and economic marketplace (43). The political, economic, social, and cultural changes that take place in the eighteenth century cause significant transformations in the power structure and the social order and Sussman draws a catalogue of these changes which she associates with the emergence of a print culture and vast economic growth due to colonial expansion:

[T]he novel began to dominate the literary marketplace; people entertained the possibility that all human beings were created equal; philosophers proposed that reason could triumph over superstition; ministers became more powerful than kings; and the consumer emerged as a political force. (2)

Regardless of the fact that which value system dominated the era, the eighteenth century is the last phase of a great historical transition from the feudal system into a capitalist one. It is often regarded as the early modern period since it is closer in terms of similarities to our contemporary world than to the feudal world it left behind. The significance of the modern period and therefore a modern society is encapsulated by the political scientist Jack A. Goldstone's (b. 1953-) definition:

[It] is one in which religion is a lifestyle choice, not an inescapable and uniform discipline, and in which belief in science has largely supplanted belief in active spirits and miracles. It is one in which most consumer goods are produced by mass-production facilities powered and lit by fossil fuels and/or electricity, rather than by craft production in households powered and lit by muscle, water, wood, dung, or tallow, and in which transportation is powered by engines-on land or water-rather than by wind or animal power. It is one in which government is designed by men to meet their perceived needs, rather than accepted as sanctified by immemorial tradition. (250)

Eighteenth-century Britain is a solid and valid example of a modern society, in this sense. Literary scholar J. Paul Hunter (b. 1934-), in his *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (1990) emphasizes the importance of the novel genre in understanding the eighteenth-century Britain. According to Hunter, “[w]hatever else they may be, texts are cultural events that represent a moment in time and a historical consciousness” (x). He further elaborates that novels ought to be read from a wider cultural perspective because all the turbulence of the social change is reflected in them (5). It is essential to question “what issues are at stake in claiming that a new species emerged in England in the eighteenth century when a Protestant, capitalistic, imperial, insecure, restless, bold, and self-conscious culture found itself confronting a constrictive, authoritarian, hierarchical and too-neatly-sorted past” (7). Hunter draws attention to the fact that the modern historiography and the novel genre emerged after the social fragmentation caused by the Civil War (1642-1660):

The Civil Wars represented, for many, the need to grapple with the past in new and deeper ways, for suddenly a present offered itself as outgrowth and implication rather than a strange abyss, and the chance to found a “new” culture in a new world similarly offered the challenge to define identity by considering alternative possibilities. (339)

The modern society began to be formed after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which synthesized both religious freedom and parliamentary reform. A historical outlook at the social forces relevant to the development of the eighteenth-century British novel ideally should start from the Glorious Revolution.

The major political change which marked the end of an era was the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Positing the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution as the beginning of the long eighteenth century is emblematic since it follows a unique period in European history; the civil war and the ensuing Commonwealth between 1642-1660. The Parliamentarian revolt against the King, Charles I (1625-1649), was the outcome of a number of reasons; the King's insistence on limiting the powers of the Parliament and raising a personal army, the institutionalized forms of prayer and ceremony in the Church of England which was forced on the people, and the reluctance of the Parliament to meet the financial requirements of the King. Parliamentarian leader Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), who led his army to victory and declared himself as the Lord

Protector in 1653, established a reign in which the representatives of the monarchy, most of the aristocracy and the Church of England were expelled from power (Parry 91).

Cromwell gradually gained total power over the Parliament and became the centre of all political power until his death in 1658. In his rule, Puritan values were established as the reigning norm in the society. Puritanism was a religious movement of “a generalized conviction of the need for independent judgement based on conscience and bible reading” (Kenyon 28). A large number of cultural, religious or festive activities were banned such as the theatre and Christmas festivities. The press had a relative freedom because the main literary output of the period consisted of religious sermons and political pamphlets, often in favour with Puritan values. But the Puritan revolution had a definite impact in changing the economic and therefore social structure of the English society.

While the Puritan transformation was being carried on in England, the royal family and their prominent royalist followers were in exile. This meant that there was a discontinuity from the established political and economic traditions. The possession of London by the Parliamentary forces allowed them to raise and collect taxes efficiently. The Royalist forces did not have such a steady source of income. Furthermore, the Parliament raised the tax levels to such heights that the small landed-gentry, not possessing large strips of land were destroyed along with their dependent peasants. The Parliament also confiscated the lands of the King's followers and sold them. The lands remaining in the possession of the Church of England were also sold to Parliamentary landowners or merchants and most of the clergy thus lost their quasi-independent states and had to depend on the landowners. Even though the Restoration period reversed the legal procedures, a lot of harm (in terms of continuity of the traditional social order) was done. The dissolution of these traditional economic centres also created a mass immigration movement to London in particular (Kenyon 21-204). The consolidation of these floating masses in several economic centres was to facilitate the Industrial Revolution, by turning the masses into ready work-power. These developments were unique for Britain but they were also an indispensable part of the general historical development of capitalism.

Capitalism was the rising economic system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and owed its existence to colonial expansion. Political philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883) states that the “need of a constantly expanding market for its product chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe” and therefore the bourgeoisie “must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere” (207). The discoveries of new markets and products required a different system of investment and returns. Since the outposts of trade were far away from the European trade centres, the emphasis was on navigation and financing. The overseas trade meant high investments, long returns and financial risk. There had to be a mediating agent to bring together diverse capital owners and entrepreneurs and this mediation ought to be regulated by a higher power. Out of this need emerged big investing companies like the conglomerate East India Company (1600) whose capital consisted of individual fortunes handed over in return for annual dividends. These enterprises were licensed by special charters granted by governmental forces. These companies carried on unregulated, while Britain as well as major European countries were engaged with wars, religious persecutions, political upheavals and displacements of people (Neal 2-8).

Capitalism emerged from the mercantilist system which, in turn, was a step beyond feudal agrarian economic system. As Adam Smith (1723-1790), moral philosopher and the founder of the economic theory, expresses in his *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) mercantilism and its principles were already becoming obsolete and obstructing the commercial activities at the turn of the eighteenth century. Mercantilism relied on the dual mechanism of encouraging exports and discouraging imports in an economy so that there would always be a balance surplus, which would generate accumulation of precious metals (*Wealth* 815). Smith argues that true wealth of a nation did not consist of money, gold, or silver; it consisted of “what money purchases” (550). To reinforce his point, he gives the example that all the gold and silver reserves of Britain covered only thirty percent of the total war expenses of 1761 (558). Similarly the land, which was considered as the main economic asset since feudalism, was now a weak asset and it would not cover the vast expenditures of a foreign war (559). Therefore it is essential to rely on commercial progress and the expanding markets to finance the growing needs of the institutionalized and bureaucratized organization of the

nation states.

Smith supports the regenerating potential of commercial progress. Precious reserves are passive financial instruments and they do not have the power to regenerate fresh reserves. Smith reflects that the commercial activities of nations would be restored automatically to a balance, if there were no regulations restricting them. His emphasis is that years of protective trade with the Americas, under the assumption that the benefits were mutual, backfired and resulted in a war (821). Protection of the local producers and production, hence the traditional social order in the agrarian communities, is thus disregarded in the case of lost overseas markets. Smith accepts consumption as the moving force in an economy and argues that the mercantilist view of economy protected only the producer and ignored the consumer (846). He also argues that high import taxes, which the protective trade demanded, resulted in low wages and only the poor workers suffered as a consequence (821). Smith associates economic liberty with political liberty and regards regulations and interventions to the market economy as violations of this liberty (839).

Adam Smith thus defends a consumer-based, market-oriented, unregulated capitalist economy in which political liberties and the rise of the middle-class as an economic power play significant roles. Smith defends that the workers will benefit from such unchecked commercial activities. However, as historian J.H. Plumb (1911-2001) emphasizes in his history of *England in the Eighteenth Century* (1950), living through these drastic “changes in the industrial organization – the decay of the guild, the spread of a free labour market, the introduction of labour saving machinery – increased the feeling that they were being dispossessed” (15). Smith's emphasis on this aspect of capitalism is intended to override the massive social transformation that was in fact catastrophic for the dispossessed. Unregulated capitalism meant destroyed traditional economic centres, displaced people, wars fought over new markets and personal fortunes destroyed in financial speculations.

Capitalism emerged triumphant in spite of all these catastrophic events. The urgent need to transfer the wealth of the migrating Protestants and other dissidents changed the financial system in Europe, especially in those countries that welcomed Protestants, prominently Germany, Netherlands and Britain. Therefore, there was a

steady flow of capital into these countries which gave them the upper hand in financing the overseas trade. Furthermore, since Britain served as the first hold of trade coming to and fro across Atlantic, financial developments in banking and insurance services and developments in maritime transport acted as “England's invisible exports” (Kenyon 207). The mercantilist surplus of precious metals (the bullion) thus lost its importance. Great profits from overseas trade, though risky and long-term, changed the economic order and the economic theory and paved the way for commercial capitalism.

Religious tolerance and trade liberties were inseparable from one another. This is most explicit in eminent Enlightenment thinker Voltaire's (assumed name of François-Marie Arouet) (1694-1778) impressions of the Royal Exchange in London. In his *Letters on England* (1733) Voltaire praises Britain as the epitome of a politically-developed country which established a full religious tolerance thanks to the smoothly operating economic system and the acceptance of the religious fugitives who were persecuted in favour of a single religion:

Take a view of the *Royal Exchange in London*, a place more venerable than many courts of justice, where the representatives of all nations meet for the benefit of mankind. There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian transact together, as though they all profess'd the same religion, and give the name of Infidel to none but bankrupts [. . .] If one religion only were allowed in England, the Government would very possibly become arbitrary; if there were but two, the people would cut one another's throats; but as there are such a multitude, they all live happy and in peace. (Voltaire 30)

Yet, Voltaire neglects to mention Catholicism and he praises the monopoly of the Church of England as the established state religion to exclude from employment anyone who is not “rank'd among the faithful, that is, professes himself a member of the Church of *England*” (26). Dissident religious groups such as the Quakers and Anabaptists that Voltaire mentions benefited from the religious tolerance following the Restoration period and the Glorious Revolution but as R.N. Stromberg remarks this extolled religious tolerance did not extend to Catholics and Catholicism (193). Politically, Catholicism was associated with the royalist aristocracy and the Tory politics. However, there are a number of seminal works, most notably, sociologist and political economist Max Weber's (1864-1920) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1920) and historian and social critic R.H. Tawney's (1880-1962) *Religion and the Rise of*

Capitalism (1926), which defended the idea that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the basic premises of Catholicism were at odds with the forces of the rising Capitalism.

Literary historian Basil Willey (1897-1978) similarly asserts that “Puritanism could and did generate into, worldliness, losing its religious impulse and forgetting good works in its passion for financially profitable hard work” (183). The Puritan revolution contributed to the commercial revolution by shifting the power to the Parliament which was in majority made up of middle class members (Kenyon 29). Britain was thus fast transforming into a capitalist country in which there was a pervasive influence of the new economic order in all spheres of life such as urbanization, mass migration of the rural poor, amassing of the agricultural land by the newly-gained commercial wealth, and parliamentary power. Catholicism, traditional monarchy and agrarian economy were regarded as static and limited in terms of adjusting to the new commercial order. The Restoration, which was welcomed at the beginning as a period to establish order, tradition and harmony, soon lost favour with most of the Parliamentary forces because of the close affinities of the Court with the Catholic French.

The Restoration initially meant “a return to an original state of perfection, spiritual and intellectual, and it was related to the beliefs that [. . .] history was returning cyclically to a time of renewal” (Parry 108). There were a number of precautions taken to ensure that the Church of England would not come to be challenged again as it did. Collectively known as the Clarendon Code, a number of acts were passed which illegalized dissenting sects, denied public offices to anyone who did not testify loyalty to the Church of England, and debarred Catholics from the Parliamentary seats. However as Charles's brother James was the next heir to the throne and he was a convert to Catholicism, there was a chaotic period in which there were a series of incidents or semblances of incidents creating distrust and disturbance in all spheres, such as the Popish Plot (1678) or the Rye House Plot (1683) which resulted in James II's flight to France (Sussman 137, Kenyon 237). Some members of the Parliament invited William of Orange, son-in-law of James II through his marriage to Mary, “to intervene in order to protect Protestantism and traditional liberties” (Black 232). These traditional liberties were no longer associated with the Court and the aristocracy. Parliamentarians

claimed that there was an older and lingering traditional sense of liberty, peculiar to Britain, which antedated that of the Court and was revived by the enforcement of the Parliament and the law.

This historical perspective, characteristic of Whigs, extolled the Parliamentary tradition in Britain as part of the Teutonic independent spirit brought on by the Saxons with Magna Carta (1215) as the fulcrum. The monarchy, on the other hand, was regarded to be a Norman imposition upon the independent people of England. The monarchy, as an absolute power, was presented to be in conflict with the native desires of the English for freedom, justice and constitution (Kenyon 170). The Parliament accepted William as the legal ruler of the country and the Bill of Rights (1689) decreed this in detail but it also put a stop to any claims of absolute monarchy attempts in the future. The monarch was allocated a diminished revenue for his ordinary activities and and was denied a standing army in his name. The Parliament had the ultimate power to make any changes (Black 233). In exchange, the Bill justified the succession to the throne, which was a critical undertaking since James II still had supporters especially among the Scots.

Supported by the philosophical theories, especially the theory of the social contract, the Parliament had no difficulty in justifying its choice for the monarch. The theory of the social contract denied the legitimacy of the established traditions in favour of a consent between the governing and governed parties. According to political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who first theorized the concept in his *Leviathan* (1651), the sovereign power (either a monarch or an assembly of men) is constituted by the consent of the majority of the people (Hobbes 228-29). Thus, the sovereign is chosen to represent the people for a peaceful existence but once he is chosen, his power must be unattested since this could lead to a civil war (230). In the demise of the sovereign, his successor must be his presumptive heir for the sake of continuity (247-48). People ought to persevere by their consent unless there is a corporal impossibility on the side of the sovereign such as being held a prisoner in a foreign country or abdicating from the throne (249). The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was presented by its initiators as a form of social contract between the new sovereign power (William and Mary) and the Parliament representing the majority of people

(McClelland 172). James II threw the Great Seal of England into Thames as he left England for France, hoping for chaos and disorder. However, a new political order was established in Britain, which did not stand by the customary, traditional and symbolic status of the absolute monarchy. James II was, by general consensus, accepted as having abdicated the throne and since this absolved the people from their contractual loyalties, any further attempt to resume power on his part was treated as a pretension for the throne. The Parliament subjected the sovereign to testify that he/she was loyal to the Church of England and banned marriages with Catholics for the heirs to the throne. As Kenyon draws attention, this provision restricted the diplomatic relations and power alliances with the Catholic Europe (277). The Glorious Revolution set the example that a relatively modern theory like the theory of the social contract could be influential in forming a new type of government more befitting to the purposes of commercial expansion and religious tolerance and that the traditional importance of a dynasty taken for granted by the people could be gradually destroyed.

Before 1688, recent successive rulers led a foreign policy that was usually in alliance with France. However following the Glorious Revolution, France came to be accepted as a hostile power and a rival in the colonial expansion in overseas territories (Langford 4). In a reversal of policy, the Dutch became an ally. As Langford draws attention, during the earlier decades, the Dutch and the British had a clash of interests over commercial expansion. But the rise of the French and the Spanish commercial expansion concerned both the British and the Dutch. Britain was thus engaged in the next two major wars, the Nine Years Wars (1688-97) and the War for Spanish Succession (1702-13). An apparent demarcation between the Southern Lower Catholic countries and the Northern Higher Protestant countries occurred in this period. The affinity between Spain and Austria was largely feared since Austria's religious stand was determinant: it could either reinforce or weaken the Protestant geography. These wars aimed to stop the French and Spanish commercial expansion and sever the relation between Spain and Austria. The British government financed these wars either by significantly raised direct taxes or public borrowing. These direct taxes were a heavy blow on the landed gentry, while the merchants and other moneyed classes benefiting from commercial and financial activities were only responsible for the indirect taxes (Langford 11). When peace was restored by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Britain gained

new dominions in Canada and Africa and was also granted a monopoly in the slave trade to the Spanish colonies in South Americas thus creating further opportunities in colonial expansion (Sussman 19).

Britain, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, underwent these profound changes. It became a constitutional monarchy, thus severing the ties with traditional absolute monarchy. It underwent a temporary abolishment of the monarchy during the Commonwealth, a revival of the monarchy during the Restoration, and a restructuring of the monarchy during the Glorious Revolution. It became one of the leading commercial powers and it intended to stay that way. The Church of England became the unifying ecclesiastical power. Furthermore, the Scottish Union of 1707 offered the Scots a share of the British commercial benefits and allowed them to preserve their legal and ecclesiastical institutions in exchange for their independent parliament (Langford 11). The period of wars created a military force which also remained in peace time and became a professional army. The army was also kept intact against any threats coming from the deposed James II and his heirs. The Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 found support from certain Scottish clans in spite of the Union and were brought to a halt by military measures.

Following the Treaty of Utrecht, the eighteenth century was, in spite of the anticipation of a Jacobite threat, a relatively peaceful period for Britain. Even the death of Queen Anne without an heir, in 1714 did not disturb this relative peace since it was already decreed that she would be succeeded by the German house of Hanover, Protestant descendants of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and consequentially George I ascended the British throne. The rest of the eighteenth century did not suffer any crisis concerning the monarchs or the parliament. The political emphasis shifted from the Monarch-Parliament opposition to the Tory-Whig opposition. The first opposition revolved around philosophical issues about liberty, social contract, and religious uniformity. The second opposition did not revolve around such issues but was mainly about gaining the power in the Parliament (Langford 8). Until the Whig supremacy in 1714, the balance of the Parliament kept shifting between Tories and Whigs without a clear-cut hegemony of the either. Following the South Sea Bubble incident (1720), the first major economic and financial crisis of the rising capitalism in Britain, Sir Robert

Walpole (1676-1745), the head of the Whig cabinet who came to be accepted as the first Prime Minister of Britain, came to power in 1721 and the Whigs were more firmly established as the ruling political power.

The South Sea Bubble incident confirmed the dissident voices which criticized the speculative, risky and corrupt management of the investments of the South Sea Company. The South Sea Company was provided with a charter in 1711 during Queen Anne's reign (Langford 16). At that time, Tory politics were more influential so the downfall of the South Sea Company was attributed to the Tories and strengthened the position of Walpole already in charge. There were allegations of corruption, manipulation, and incompetence which produced a demarcation line between the Whig and Tory politics (Plumb 59). A select few centred around the Tory government made huge profits while the multitude of small investors lost their savings and their class privileges (Sambrook 98). The South Sea Bubble incident manifests the change in the nature of the political crisis. Unlike the Parliamentary politics of the earlier eras, the current crises were economic like the South Sea Bubble, and had an effect on almost every household. The South Sea Bubble redistributed wealth creating a super rich minority and suddenly-impooverished wealth-owners, thus disrupting the social order. The trust in the government and Whig politics were involved with the rising bourgeoisie while the Tories defended the landed gentry. As Plumb asserts, this demarcation was involved with the change in material production and social life. The changes in technology, transport, and industrial organization introduced revolutionary results. The technological improvements in textile, mining, metallurgy and engineering were crucial for the Industrial Revolution that took off in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Coal began to be used as the source of power replacing natural sources of power like water or wind. Commercial developments precipitated the building and developing of Turnpike Roads, the improvement of river navigation and shipbuilding. The changes in transport shortened the distances between urban centres. Dependence on coal created industrial centres in the North (Plumb 78-81).

Following the reconstruction period after the Great Fire of London (1666), London became the first major cosmopolitan centre of the era.

The massive changes that characterized the eighteenth century were

interdependent. Thus, the transformation of London into a world city could not have happened without the influx of wealth from both England's far-flung trading empire and its sugar-producing colonies; nor could London have grown to the degree it did without the mass migration of people from the country to the city occasioned by the agricultural revolution and the enclosure movement. (Sussman 7)

The Great Fire destroyed a considerable part of the old city and its connotations with the past but it was the steady flow of population into it that made it expand into a large area. The commercial success created new funds to invest and thus there were a lot of additions in terms of museums, opera houses, parks, and gardens. The rift between the cosmopolitan and urban city life and the desolate countryside grew large and the developing city created many districts with different social conditions for the inhabitants. Essayist Joseph Addison (1672-1719) commented on London's cosmopolitan state and the growing alienation between London and the British rural area.

When I consider this great city [London] in its several Quarters and Divisions, I look upon it as an Aggregate of various Nations distinguished from each other by their respective Customs, Manners and Interests. The Courts of two Countries do not so much differ from one another, as the Court and City in their peculiar ways of life and Conversation. (202)

London is thus epitomized as the centre of commercial capitalism but there were other urban centres developing in the eighteenth-century Britain. Cities in the North also grew in size, as a consequence of better transport and coal industry. Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield tripled in population within a time span of 70 years (Poplawski 232). The growing population, urbanization, and the increasing commerce called for more complex social arrangements.

The population of London displayed a variety of existences; the rural dispossessed, Huguenots fleeing from Catholic France, Jews returning to England after Cromwell's leave, nobility who were in exile with James II in France and commercial investors were gathered en masse in the city. As philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) theorizes in his *The History of Sexuality: Volume I* (1976), eighteenth century is the period in which the states start to deal with population instead of people (27). Population emerges as an economic and political power to be reckoned with and to be

controlled. In order to maintain the hierarchies, the population has to be checked through institutions which operated on a rational and utilitarian basis. Hospitals, prisons, schools, and armies were developed, as Foucault posits, as a result of the emergence of population. Population grew into a labour force which was treated like any other commodity and the growing knowledge about population enabled the state in better organizing its control. Foucault asserts that population provided to the state, such information as “birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation” (25).

Foucault's main focus is to chart the progress of sexuality and he claims that reproduction became monitored as an economic and political act (26). He sees the eighteenth century still at ease with sexuality as a locus of pleasure and liberty but the changes that start with the controlling of the physical body lead to the Victorian rigidity concerning sex. Foucault maintains that the bourgeois asceticism concerning sex was not out of a Puritan creed, work ethic or rise of capitalism but it was the result of one social class (the ruling class) going for “longevity, vigour, and primogeniture” (122-3). In the eighteenth century, marriage institution also changed from being a biological union to a union for love thus creating a period of openness and permissiveness between the Puritan seventeenth and the Victorian nineteenth centuries (Poplawski 239). This openness and permissiveness was also reflected in the public sphere.

The public meeting places allowed another eighteenth-century phenomenon, the public sphere, to emerge. Sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) regards this public sphere as a significant and revolutionary stage in the establishment of bourgeoisie values. In his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), he claims that London was centre in which economic, cultural and political contrasts to the now-declining courtly institutions were determined (30). These contrasts were possible through the agency of the public sphere which emerged in the coffee houses, the salons and the table societies. Habermas claims that these encounters between humanistic-aristocratic tradition and the bourgeois intellectuals “built a bridge between the remains of a collapsing form of publicity, the courtly one, and the precursor of a new one, the bourgeois public sphere” (30). The coffee houses reproduced cultural authority by turning artistic judgement into a process of rationalization.

The commodification of a cultural good, from a Marxist perspective first creates a vacuum (by depriving its earlier representative centres such as the Church and the court) and then situates it in a new representative frame based on rationalization which is often the precursor of materialism. As a cultural commodity, the novel as a form takes over the epic or romance which used to represent courtly values, and/or the sermon which used to represent the Church. The novel represents a new value system which is rational, secular and middle-class or bourgeoisie. The new meaning created through reading these new commodities shapes the private sphere of individual. Habermas speculates that novels produce a new meaning since they serve a new necessity in the marketplace. Novels were the bestsellers of the eighteenth century for they

sprang from the needs of a bourgeois reading public that later on would find genuine satisfaction in the literary forms of the domestic drama and the psychological novel. For the experiences which a public passionately concerned with itself sought agreement and enlightenment through the rational-critical public debate of private persons with one another flowed from the wellspring of a specific subjectivity. (43)

Habermas argues that the Glorious Revolution disrupted the centrality of the court wherein the economic, cultural and political productivity previously occurred. But following the Glorious Revolution, the court declined in power and transferred its function gradually to the rising bourgeoisie (32). The landed-gentry preserved its ability to represent moneyed interests and carried on the social representation that this interest necessitated for a while through salons and with limited participation. However gradually the coffee houses became the representative power for the rising bourgeoisie. Habermas opines that the participation of women in the salons may have toned down the discussions taking place there whereas coffee houses were men-only societies where the discussion could take place without a necessity of refinement and courtesy. One would have to receive a formal invitation to a salon but one only needed to show up regularly in a coffee house to join the community (32-3). As the aristocracy grew financially unproductive and politically functionless, their mode of socializing no longer appealed to the new writers, scientists, and politicians. The coffee houses, on the other hand, had a huge impact in shaping the mode of the cultural and political production in parallel with the changes in the economic production. Habermas asserts that the coffee houses favoured meritocracy before aristocracy, they held discussions that were

previously the concern of other institutions, such as the Church, and they contributed to the production of culture (36-7).

Reading and its critical public discussions were the chief dynamics in shaping the consciousness of the reading public in the eighteenth century. Habermas regards reading novels as an expression of subjectivity since novel reading, in the eighteenth century is associated with the psychological experiences of private persons. His assumptions are resemblant of Ian Watt's argument about the eighteenth-century British novel. In his seminal work *The Rise of the Novel* (1957) Watt introduces his critical premise regarding the eighteenth-century British novel, "formal realism." His working definition of formal realism is

the premise or primary convention that the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience, and is therefore under an obligation to satisfy its reader with such details of the story as the individuality of the actors concerned, the particulars of the times and places of their actions, details which are presented through a more largely referential use of language than is common in other literary forms. (32)

Formal realism can be defined as the creation of the illusion of reality by using narrative techniques such as particularity of places, names, dates and events in order to persuade the reader that by reading he/she is getting involved in an authentic experience. So the private self, or subjectivity (as Habermas calls it) or individuality (as Watt calls it) is not just shaped by solitary reading of and reflecting on a novel. It is shaped by the public framework of contemporary life as well. Individuality or subjectivity needs a higher ideal to conform to, and therefore the novel acts as an agent for affirming and reproducing a value system. This value system is further transmitted through public opinion as novels are read and discussed in coffee houses, periodicals, letters, and salons. Reading was necessary for individuality and identity since the Enlightenment ideal suggested that personal experience was the ultimate source for human knowledge.

The eighteenth century is also known as the "Age of Enlightenment" (Poplawski 262). Historian Hayden White (b. 1928-) defines Enlightenment in its noun form as "a period of exceptionally consistent cultural creativity that lasted from the English Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution of 1789" (ix). In its adjective form, Enlightenment is defined as "a specific attitude of mind that gradually gained

ascendancy among European intellectuals” (ix) during the specified period. This specific attitude of mind was associated with the rise of science and the decline of religion (Poplawski 262). Theology and metaphysics lost (according to the Enlightenment philosophers) their authority in explaining the operations of the nature, society and individual (Anchor 3). The individuals were expected to form their own ideas through reasoning rather than taking them directly from authorities (Honderich 237). The Enlightenment was not universal and simultaneous. The English or British Enlightenment was the vanguard with its gradual pace of change which avoided abrupt disruptions and maintained a rational continuity with the established values of the earlier periods (Dupré 9). The French Enlightenment, heavily influenced by the British, was more radical and comprehensive. The German Enlightenment which came later was more “self-consciously reflective” and synthesized the gradualism of the British and the comprehensiveness of the French (9). It was the Enlightenment's “final phase” dealing with more sophisticated issues like aesthetics and practical philosophy (Anchor 11). The Scottish Enlightenment furthered the basic principles of the British Enlightenment by an eminent group of academics, ministers and lawyers (Pittock 546). Thus philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) sets the motto of Enlightenment as “Sapere aude! 'Have the courage to use your own reason'” in his 1784 dated essay “What is Enlightenment?” (1) and adds that the answer to the question whether one lived in an enlightened age would have to be negative since one was living in “an age of enlightenment” (5). Kant foresaw freedom of speech as the decisive step which would be followed by Enlightenment itself and a powerful monarch who supported the ideals of the Enlightenment (6). Kant regards the Prussian king Frederick the Great (1712-86) as this powerful monarch and offers a synonym for his idea of an age of enlightenment, “the century of Frederick” (6). The wisdom and power of Frederick would ensure that this freedom of speech would not lead to anarchy and chaos. In spite of their differences of approach, these Enlightenments had the common faith in human reason.

The faith in human reason was directly associated with the changes in scientific methodology, while traditional beliefs were labelled as superstition or prejudice (Widdowson 61). The change in scientific enquiry gained prominence in the seventeenth century. Plumb remarks that scientific developments of the seventeenth century “opened immense vistas in knowledge, deepened man's understanding, and made him question

the whole of that biblical universe in which his ancestors had believed” (28). Medieval science relied on ancient authorities. The breakaway from these ancient authorities on matters of science complemented the breakaway from the Catholic Church, the ancient authority on religion and accelerated the Protestant Reformation (Parry 135). Parry foregrounds natural philosopher Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) views concerning that “the men of his age were capable of raising a vast edifice of knowledge relating to the natural world, greater than anything antiquity had constructed” (135) which were emblematic of the faith in human reason. Bacon regarded all pre-existing scientific models as obstacles in understanding the true nature of things and proposed “a sincere and solid enquiry” which rather than confirming pre-established universals, would concentrate on the particulars to arrive at conclusions (Parry 137). Thus observation and experimentation became key issues in scientific enquiry. The changes in scientific methodology was reflected in the philosophical thinking of the period as well.

Encouraged by the successes of experimental sciences in general, and supported by increasing knowledge of optics, and physiology, philosophers for a while came to believe that they too might be able to discover natural laws which would make their conclusions and predictions as reliable as those of the scientists. Though philosophy was not transformed into the hoped-for science of mind, the investigations of eighteenth century philosophers into perception, sensibility, and imagination were of incalculable value to poets, novelists and critiques. (Sambrook 2)

The paradigmatic shift in the scientific perspective was not limited to physical phenomena. There was a perpetual endeavour to understand how the mind operated. The Cartesian idea that the mind had a reservoir of innate ideas was contested by the British philosophers. Sometimes referred to as the “British Enlightenment,” the precursor status of the English philosophers was acknowledged in *The Encyclopedia* (1751-1772), the “most prodigious intellectual undertaking of the [eighteenth] century” (Anchor 69). The philosophers of the French Enlightenment dedicated *The Encyclopedia* to Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton and John Locke (Kramnick xv). Enlightenment was thus a series of philosophical and scientific investigations, privileging individual thinking, empirical knowledge and sensory perception over established traditions and past authorities. Since individual reasoning gained importance, the operations of the human mind received special attention.

Philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) is the most influential thinker as his theory on how the human mind operates was adapted to various other fields, among them religion, education, ethics, politics, and literature. Locke fundamentally changed the way the mind was perceived to operate. The metaphysics of the mind, before Locke, was the Cartesian version. Mathematician and philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650) attempted to discover the origin of ideas in his *Discourse on Method* (1637) and found them to be innately present in the human mind. His methodology was inductive and rational and he set down his basic reasoning in four steps; never to accept anything as true unless he did not recognize it to be so; to divide the problem into as many portions as possible; to start from the simplest object and gradually move up to more complex knowledge, and finally be as thorough as possible, omitting nothing (Descartes 182). Descartes questioned whether mental operations originated from sensory perceptions and in trying to prove that it was so, he came up with the contrary conclusion that his thinking mind was a conception prior to any perception:

I resolved to feign that that everything which had entered into my mind was no more true than the illusions of my dreams. But immediately afterwards I observed that while I thus desired everything to be false, I, who thought, must of necessity be something; and remarking that this truth, I think, therefore I am, was so firm and so assured that all the most extravagant suppositions of the skeptics were unable to shake it. I judged that I could unhesitatingly accept it as the first principle of the philosophy I was seeking. (184)

Descartes had revolutionary ideas which led to the affirmation of the traditional truth of the existence of God. However, he “transferred the question of truth from its traditional ontological basis (according to which truth resides primarily in the nature of the real) to an epistemic one whereby it becomes the result of a method of thinking” (Dupré 7). He contemplated the origins of his rational mind and came to the conclusion that it was placed there by a more perfect being than anything he could understand (Descartes 185). He was sceptical of any pre-established authority but was confident that in spite of his scepticism, he had discovered the implacable rational proof of God. Descartes valued scientific reasoning but his focus was on innate power of reasoning rather than on experience formed by sensations. He found the sense impressions deceitful and differentiated between concrete, sensory experience and abstract reasoning.

Locke's *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) was antithetical of Descartes's idea of innatism. Instead of the innate ideas, emotions or notions (such as God, self, existence, thought), Locke argued that only experience formed the ideas in one's mind. He asserted that "it is a received Doctrine, that Men have native ideas, and original Characters, stamped upon their minds in their very first Being" (54). According to this doctrine "the soul receives in his first being; and brings into the world with it" these ideas and characters (17). Locke sets out to falsify this mode of thinking. According to him "Men, barely by the Use of their natural Faculties, may attain to all the Knowledge they have, without the help of any innate Impressions; and may arrive at Certainty, without any such original notions or principles" (17). He likens the human mind, in its first essence, to a blank sheet of paper, a total void rather than an organ with innate impressions.

Let us then suppose the Mind to be, as we say white Paper, void of all Characters, without any Ideas: How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless Fancy of Man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of Reason and Knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from Experience. (Locke 54)

This is a major shift from Descartes's innatism, which set the earlier paradigm. Locke argues that he observed certain groups of individuals likely to manifest the existence of innate truths. In this context, "Children, Ideots, Savages and illiterate People" might offer certain proofs for the existence of innate truths for they were not corrupted yet with "Custom, or borrowed Opinions; Learning and Education, having not cast their Native thoughts into new moulds; nor by super-inducing foreign or studied doctrines" (Locke 29). Locke claims that he did not come to observe any innate truths, or "general maxims" or "Universal Principles of Knowledge" (29). The only innate truth he could find was the natural instinct of a "a desire of Happiness, and an aversion to Misery" (29).

Locke does not just try to explain the origin of ideas. His theory advances into a more complex structure. If there are no innate truths, like the imprint of a God, then moral virtue has to be reproduced through association of ideas. He argues against unreflective acceptance of religious truths and defends that religious belief and the

corresponding virtue ought to be a rational endeavour. He claims that “moral Principles require Reasoning and Discourse, and some Exercise of the Mind to discover the certainty of their Truth” (Locke 30). Locke accepts the existence of God but he believes that it was the appreciation of God's grandeur in everyday objects that led to an indubitable appreciation of this existence. Furthermore, he questions the origins of crimes and atrocities committed against the religious ideals and questions “Whether Men, at the same time that they feel in themselves the imprinted Edicts of an Omnipotent Law-maker, can with assurance and gait, slight and trample under Foot his most sacred Injunctions” (37). Locke emphasized the moral responsibility of the individual. According to him, God combined

[v]irtue and publick Happiness together; and made the practice thereof, necessary to the preservation of Society and visibly beneficial to all, with whom the Virtuous Man has to do; it is no wonder that every one should not only allow, but recommend and magnify those Rules to others, from whose observance of them he is sure to reap Advantage to himself. (33)

The ascetic and other-worldly virtues, which promoted a passive submission to the authority of the Catholic Church, are thus undermined by Locke. His moral philosophy requires an active society in which everybody fulfils certain obligations, not out of a pre-determined and hierarchical position, but out of contractual necessities. Locke argues that people do not necessarily follow moral obligations in order to secure a place in the eternal bliss. They follow them out of fear of corporeal and social punishments (Locke 32-3). He necessitates “Justice and keeping Contracts” (31) as two fundamental and universal moral truths in a society for maintaining a rational order.

Locke also undermines the authority of the Catholic Church by implying the “original sin” to be a fallacy. Since there is nothing innate, no sin of any kind would be imprinted on an individual. He argues that sinfulness needs a consciousness in order to become a condemnable activity and receive a corresponding punishment (Locke 218).

For, supposing a Man punish'd now for what he had done in another life, whereof he could be made to have no consciousness at all, what difference is there between that Punishment and being created miserable? And therefore, conformable to this, the Apostle tells us, that, at the Great Day, when everyone shall receive according to his doings, the secrets of all Hearts shall be laid open. (Locke 218-9)

Locke often quotes scriptures and uses these quotations as proofs to his argument. He interprets these in the light of his philosophical outlook. Thus in the above quotation, he re-interprets the scripture to enforce his argument that there is no original sin to be absolved from. During the Judgement Day, people would be judged for what they did with their conscious minds. This insistence on individual and conscious responsibility foregrounds the “personal identity,” Locke's term for the individual which he defines as;

a thinking intelligent Being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider it self as it self, the same thinking thing, in different times and places; which it does only by that consciousness, which is inseparable from thinking, and, as it seems to me, essential to it: it being impossible for any one to perceive without perceiving that he does perceive. When we see, hear, smell, taste, feel, meditate, or will anything, we know that we do so [. . .] always as to our present sensations and perceptions. (208)

Locke asserts that personal identity is determined by the consciousness which can not be broken apart from the act of thinking and rationalizing. Identity, emerging as consciousness, is formed through sensory impressions. Locke also associates this consciousness with time and place, since one is never ubiquitously conscious: there is no consciousness during sleeping and drunkenness. Therefore, identity depends on a succession of “the idea of any past Action with the same consciousness it had of it at first” (Locke 209). He sets identity and self apart describing the latter as “that conscious thinking thing [. . .] which is sensible or conscious of pleasure and pain, capable of happiness or misery, and so is concerned for itself, as far as that consciousness extends” (214). Preservation of the self, gratification of its desires and avoidance of its miseries thus become essential elements of human nature which exists in every person instinctually while personal identity is an ongoing process which differs from individual to individual since perceptions and sensory experiences differ. These ideas would further influence the moral philosophy of the eighteenth century in the demarcation line as to whether one would be true to the self (gratification of desires) or to the community (participating to general happiness) which is the subject matter of the next section.

Eighteenth-century Britain witnessed major changes in political, economic, social and private spheres which was the concern of the previous section. These changes created a new understanding of ethics or its corresponding eighteenth-century term,

morality. John Locke, the key thinker in defining the epistemology of the age, argues that morality was “amongst the Sciences capable of Demonstration [. . .] as incontestable as those in Mathematics, the measures of right and wrong might be made out, to any one that will apply himself with the same Indifferency and Attention” (Locke 351). According to Locke, the moral theory lacked mathematical precision and expression since it depended on words but this could be remedied through a gradual build-up of definitions (352-3). Locke also expresses a self-doubt whether such a project would serve as “much of this is not expected, whilst the desire of Esteem, Riches, or Power, makes Men espouse the well-endowed Opinions in Fashion, and then seek Arguments, either to make good their beauty, or varnish over, and cover their Deformity” (353). So while acknowledging the desire and the need for a new moral vision with mathematical precision, Locke was aware that the rapidly changing social life, largely determined by the accumulation of wealth through commercial capitalism, was a major obstacle in establishing this vision. Locke wanted universal and immutable moral values but noted the difficulty of his task against the tide of temporary and material values, shifting in shape and essence according to the latest fashion. Such a flux of moral values needed a rational centre.

While Locke calls for a morality determined by a rational process, philosopher David Hume (1711-1776), opposes the idea on the ground that reducing morality to a rational process would render moral synonymous with rational and immoral with irrational. Hume believes that there are already a set of absolute moral truths and reason could only be employed in judging whether some action or incident was moral or not. According to Hume, reason has no direct influence upon a man's virtue. He regards sentiment as a more influential option in contrast to reason and claims that morality was “more properly felt than judg'd of” (Hume 232). Furthermore, he concludes that reason could never “be the source of so active a principle as conscience, or a sense of morals” (219). In Locke's version, moral awareness is a search of the refined mind to arrive at abstract and universal truths whereas in Hume's version, moral awareness is a feeling of the refined mind to judge whether particular cases complied with the absolute moral truths.

The idea of morality or rather ethics thus gains a new significance; it requires an

active, individual and disinterested search for a moral truth. Christianity served, for a long time, as the valid moral theory. But in an age, in which science, commerce, and secularism challenged religion, the moral search of the individuals no longer relied on traditional authorities. The paradigm changed. As moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (b. 1929-) emphasizes, moral concepts were always susceptible to paradigmatic changes. "Moral concepts are embodied in and are partially constitutive of forms of social life. One key way in which we may identify one form of social life as distinct from another is by identifying differences in moral concepts" (1). While MacIntyre sees this interaction between moral concepts and social life as a recurring pattern in the history of ethics, eighteenth-century Britain sets a more concrete and complex example. Furthermore, commercial order and social life were not the only fundamental changes in the paradigm. Scientific methodology and analysis changed the way people thought.

Historian and scientist Thomas S. Kuhn (1922-1996), in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) defines paradigms as "the universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners" (x). The scientific changes that gain universal validation affect all the other disciplines as well. They lay the foundation for further enquiry and reasoning that is consistent with the new paradigm, thus altering models of thought that initially relied on an old paradigm. Accordingly, the seventeenth and eighteenth-century scientific achievements led to a new paradigm that credited individual thinking, perception, experimentation, observation and standardization. A general breakaway from former models followed; a Copernican model of universe replaced the Ptolomaic one, the Aristotelian physics was replaced with that of the Newtonian (67-8). As Kuhn observes these changes were influential in changing the perception of the physical and mental world indirectly,

if perceptual switches accompany paradigm changes, we may not expect scientists to attest to these changes directly. Looking at the moon, the convert to Copernicanism does not say, "I used to see a planet, but now I see a satellite." That locution would imply a sense in which the Ptolemaic system had once been correct. Instead, a convert to the new astronomy says, "I once took the moon to be (or saw the moon as) a planet, but I was mistaken." That sort of statement does recur in the aftermath of scientific revolutions. If it ordinarily disguises a shift of scientific vision or *some other mental transformation* with the same effect, we may not expect direct

testimony about that shift. Rather we must look for indirect and behavioral evidence that the scientist with a new paradigm sees differently from the way he had seen before. (114-5 my italics)

Kuhn's premise explains to a great degree why, without stating the reasons directly, so many eighteenth-century philosophers were interested to redefine ethics, human nature and human mind. Since the paradigm shifted, the earlier philosophy of ethics (which largely depended upon a medieval Christian system) failed to comply with new paradigmatic changes in science, economy, and society. Philosophers like Locke and Hume do not directly state that a new ethical model emerged. Their starting point is to connect the scientific revolution with the human mind which indirectly leads to the questioning of the incompatible parts. To sum up, in the eighteenth century, the scientific paradigm shifted from Biblical authority to experiment, the epistemology of the mind (and soul) changed from innate entity to *tabula rasa* and ethics changed from passive obedience to active reasoning (Locke) or sentiment (Hume). Accordingly a new understanding of ethics was in progress.

Before the seventeenth century, morality or a sense of moral obligation was regarded as something innate, essential to human nature. Christianity bestowed on the individual a sense of good and bad. Descartes contemplated about the origins of the rational mind and came to the conclusion that mental faculties were placed there by a more perfect being than anyone could understand. Therefore moral, ethical or virtuous values are abstract, constant and irrefutable. They are not man-made. This worldview regarding ethics was challenged by the changing episteme of the mind, in which the mind was regarded as a blank slate and knowledge came through sensory perceptions, associations and ideas. There was also the idea of progress, which accepted change as an inevitable part of human societies. Hume, who can be seen as a mediator between the old and new ethics accepted the scientific worldview and the progression of virtue through historical stages but denied their relevancy in explaining the origins of virtue.

Starting with Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), a materialistic worldview of the social order was in progress. According to this worldview, people are essentially selfish and destructive. In order to survive and prosper, people, throughout history, had to organize themselves into social groups in which conventions and habits created a stable

order, maintained by a powerful authority. Certain liberties can be given up in exchange for protection and benefit. Virtue was a stealthy indoctrination of the politic system in order to create obedience and peace. As the political systems and worldviews changed, certain ethical doctrines were bound to become obsolete and new doctrines were bound to emerge. Property was the residing principle of justice, and as the laws concerning property became more complex and more institutionalized, certain judicious measures replaced the need for individual ethics. The sense of justice and injustice was centred around property and thus a materialist worldview which reduced ethics into preservation of property emerged. Furthermore, in the operation of the systems whether celestial or economic, it was assumed that a mechanic restoration of balance, without the interference of an external power, existed.

This materialistic world-view was refuted by a number of attitudes. In order to challenge the materialistic and mechanistic moral theory, an alternative theory, the sentimentalist theory of ethics emerged, which contrasted heartfelt and spontaneous moral sense to the mechanic sense of duty, praised charity as the moral attitude, and associated morality with cultivation and refinement of the mind. David Hume, Adam Smith and the Third Earl of Shaftesbury were the promoters of the sentimentalist theory of morality.

The chief source of ethics in the earlier paradigm (epic and Christian) was slowly but steadily being replaced by the new source that was rational, secular and philosophical. This new ethics was promoted progressively through philosophical and scientific works, religious sermons and novels thus manifesting an ongoing progress from the abstract and general principles of the philosophical texts to the concrete and private experiences of fictional characters of the novels. As Ian Watt draws attention, the novels replaced the sermons (180). The eighteenth-century novel is replete with examples confirming how sermons are no longer published or read. Henry Fielding's (1707-1754) Parson Adams from *Joseph Andrews* (1742) takes his sermons to a publisher in order to sell them. When an urgent need rises for money, he offers to pay for his debts in kind by offering his sermons but he is refused. Later he realizes that he never took the sermons along but the reader is only too aware already that the sermons no longer make good commodities. In a similar manner, Tobias Smollett's (1721-1771)

The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (1771) starts with a correspondence between a bookseller and a reverend and the bookseller rejects an offer of sermons written by a deceased clergyman on the ground that apart from Dissenters and Methodists, there are no sermon readers. These examples depict that the taste and the demand of the readers determine the material that is published. The eighteenth-century reader desired to read about a particular experience that was contemporaneous with that of the reader. The readers wanted these new books to set examples as to how one should live, act and reflect following the fundamental changes ongoing in their world. Henry Fielding, in *Amelia* (1751) still reverts to the power of sermons in making his sentimental hero, Captain Booth, undergo a major moral transformation after reading the eminent theologian Isaac Barrow's (1630-1677) sermons, but his actual transformation is the outcome of a negotiation in the novel between the current ethical theories and the corresponding situations which depict how particular characters respond. *Amelia* was initially designed to promote the cause of virtue as its dedicatory letter emphasizes.

The ethical theories emerging in the eighteenth century depended on the newly-acquired notion that the human mind acts like a celestial body or any such phenomena from the physical world whose laws of motion were set down by Newton. The motions of attraction and repulsion, used in explaining the movement of the celestial bodies, were employed to explain new ethical theories. Furthermore, the idea of a mechanical, clockwork universe, in which the physical world operated, found its counterpart in the ethical theories. Adam Smith first introduced the idea of a hidden hand which put everything in order eventually. Since a hidden hand would fold out any problem in the long run, the individual moral responsibility of gratification of desires or avoidance of liabilities would suffice. The disparity between the rich and poor would be balanced mechanically. Smith observes that the

the rich only select from the heap what is most precious and agreeable. They consume little more than the poor, and in spite of their natural selfishness and rapacity, though they mean only their own conveniency, though the sole end which they propose from the labours of all the thousands whom they employ, be the gratification of their own vain and insatiable desires, they divide with the poor the produce of all their improvements. They are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life, which would have been made, had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants, and thus without intending it, without

knowing it, advance the interest of the society, and afford means to the multiplication of the species. When Providence divided the earth among a few lordly masters, it neither forgot nor abandoned those who seemed to have been left out in the partition. These last too enjoy their share of all that it produces. In what constitutes the real happiness of human life, they are in no respect inferior to those who would seem so much above them. In ease of body and peace of mind, all the different ranks of life are nearly upon a level, and the beggar, who suns himself by the side of the highway, possesses that security which kings are fighting for. (*Sentiments* 215-6)

Adam Smith thus foresees a Providence-like power which ensures basic security and comfort for the poorest members of the society. The metaphor of hidden hand erases any likely discomfiture about social injustice, because it suggests an equilibrium. Smith and his protractors, who envisaged a perfect world operating mechanically, relied on the view that the then-current world order with its institutions progressed from a chaotic and brutal state of nature which Thomas Hobbes initially conceptualized. In this state of nature each man stands alone and there are not any formed alliances (183). Hobbes argues that without the existence of an awe-inspiring power, people would tend to avoid one another (185). Since one solitary man is always a match for another, there would be an ongoing battle between every man. Such a war would stop all development, production and security.

Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of Warre, where every man is Enemy to every man, the same consequent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition there is no place for Industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious building; no Instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. (Hobbes 186)

To avoid this chaos and violence, according to Hobbes, it is essential to form a civil state in which law would be the common code that put a check on the individual search for power and self interest. A powerful sovereign should ensure that the law would be carried out. Members of a civil state are entitled to a “right of nature” which is described as “the Liberty each man hath to use his own power [. . .] for the preservation of his own Nature [. . .] of his own Life; and consequently, of doing anything which, in

his own judgement and reason, he shall conceive to be the aptest means thereunto” (189). This right could be transferred to a third party by the voluntary will of the right-holder for his own preservation in return (191). This transaction is a contract in nature and since both parties are obliged by it, the performance of the contract needed to be “the terror of some punishment greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant, and to make good that propriety which by mutual contract men acquire in recompense of the universal right they abandon” (202). Making the contract binding and punishable upon violation required the power of a commonwealth which was essential for “dictating Peace, for a means of the conservation of men in multitudes” (214). Hobbes requires no less than the power of a commonwealth since small groups could easily become larger by small additions and carry this advantage in invading smaller groups, but large, rival commonwealths would create fear and avoid war if possible (224).

Hobbes's basic premise is that man is not naturally inclined to be a social being and his affiliations with other people are a function of his self-preservation. Fear, rather than will is the motive which induces people to live with one another in harmony. All forms of power structures in history are derived from fear. By turning individual sentiment (fear, pleasure) into the determinant of more complex social structures (commonwealth), Hobbes reduces men into simple, mechanistic beings who would take action out of fear or pleasure. According to Hobbes, there are two kinds of motions. One is the vital motion that began with life and continued without interruption such as breathing or heartbeat (118). The other is the animal or voluntary motion which depends on a precedent thought and thus requires imagination and will. Hobbes named this precedent thought which sets the body into motion as “endeavour” (119). If this endeavour is set toward something, he claims it is appetite or desire and if it is set away from something, it is called aversion (119).

He further associates love and hate as being façade words to cover up the desire and aversion they respectively represent (119) and also asserts that “whatsoever is the object of any mans Appetite or Desire; that is it, which he for his part calleth Good: And the object of his hate, and Aversion, Evill” (120). This reduction or redefinition of good and bad in terms of individual desires and aversions also complicates the notion of

virtue. Hobbes does not just define these terms but tries to base whole aspects of human life in these simple premises. For example, if one has a chance of gratifying a desire, one is hopeful; if not despondent. He defines religion for example, as “feare of power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed” (124) and for superstition, he uses the same definition altering “allowed” with “not allowed” (124). He describes pity as “Griefe for the calamity of another” which arises from “the imagination that the like calamity may befall himselfe” (126). The desire for riches or covetousness is defined as “a name used alwayes in signification of blame; because men contending for them, are displeas'd with one anothers attaining them” (123). Hobbes's theory of human nature is thus “a monolithic structure” (Macpherson 9) which depends on a form of “mechanical materialism” (12). Human nature becomes “a system of self-moving, self-guided matter in motion,”(18) based on selfish fears and pleasures. Hobbes eliminates such value judgements as good or evil out of his theory. Good or evil exists according to the nature of selfish acts. Man is not innately good but he is innately selfish.

In some ways, Hobbes's ideas seem adaptable to Locke's demand for a morality based on reasoning. According to both, morality is a social reflex that people develop in order to avoid the unwanted or attain the wanted. However, Hobbes's views are not as mechanical as those of some of the eighteenth-century thinkers such as Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733). Hobbes asserts that the Commonwealth must ensure that no man is left desperate to the point of hunger and asserts that crimes conducted out of hunger should be absolved. The metaphor of hidden hand or a similar power does not exist in Hobbes's system.

When a man is destitute of food or other thing necessary for his life, and cannot preserve himselfe any other way but by some fact against the Law; as if in a great famine he take the food by force, or stealth, which he cannot obtaine for mony, nor charity; or in defence of his life, snatch away another mans sword; he is totally Excused for the reason next before alledged. (346)

Although Hobbes's ideas were influential in the emergence of a rational virtue system, the emphasis was on his ideas of the individual self-interest. However, Hobbes also opted for a Commonwealth in which the law would protect people since they transferred their rights to the commonwealth. Hobbes's theory, though it was later used to affirm the

rising capitalistic ethics, is not concerned with a class system. For Hobbes, the power of the Commonwealth is commensurate with its ability to protect the dispossessed. He does not believe that charity should remain a random and arbitrary practice depending upon the consciences of private persons. He believes that a civil interference is necessary to relieve people. As he articulates,

whereas many men, by accident inevitable, become unable to maintain themselves by their labour, they ought not to be left to the Charity of private persons, but to be provided for, as far forth as the necessities of Nature require, by the Lawes of the Common-wealth. For as it is Uncharitableness in any man to neglect the impotent; so it is in the sovereign of a Commonwealth, to expose them to the hazard of such uncertain charity. (387)

Hobbes proposes a systematic relief system for the poor which will ensure the steady flow of help to the needy, which is quite an exception to his mechanistic virtue system. However while his ideas on institutionalization of charity did not take hold yet in the eighteenth century, his negative opinions on private charity did. Charity, in the eighteenth century, stopped being accepted as a virtuous act and was seen as a futile, non-productive practice that actually did more harm than good. The church parishes, as the former authorities in conducting charity, lost their status and power. Henry Fielding's Parson Adams, for example, barely sustains a precarious living at the mercy of Lady Booby. He could become an object of charity himself if he displeases her. As mentioned in the first section, this was an outcome of the confiscation of church properties (monastic estates) which were purchased by the landed gentry. In Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Mrs Honour, the maid of Sophia Western, a squire's daughter, criticizes her mistress for sending some used garments to Molly Seagrim, a peasant girl, since Molly dresses up in those fine clothes exceeding her situation in life and disrupts the social harmony. Mrs Honour, disregarding her own status as a working, dependent woman, feels elevated by a moral superiority to Molly Seagrim, who is pregnant without a husband and argues that she should be sent to Bridewell and that any charitable act towards such a girl only encourages idleness (*Tom* 210). Mrs Honour is a fictional mouthpiece of a certain worldview in a satirical work but her opinions are often voiced by many influential people of the eighteenth century. James Boswell (1740-1795), the biographer of Samuel Johnson, narrates that Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), one of the

most influential literary men of the eighteenth century, thought luxurious consumption was a better and surer way to help the poor rather than charity since it promoted the industrious poor while the latter promoted idleness (Boswell 756). Johnson also repudiates the effects of luxurious consumption which financially ruined people and sent them to prisons and claims that as long as general productivity and wealth were at high levels, the sufferings of individuals were not a public concern (756).

Johnson is iterating the basic premises of Bernard Mandeville, the author of the allegorical poem “The Grumbling Hive: or or Knaves Turn'd Honest” (1705) and a reissue volume of the *Hive*, as *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714) with added prose commentaries. *Hive* is an allegorical poem about a prosperous beehive that is identifiable as Britain.

A Spacious Hive well stock'd with Bees,/That lived in Luxury and Ease;/And yet as fam'd for Laws and Arms,/As yielding large and early Swarms;/Was counted the great Nursery/Of Sciences and Industry./No Bees had better Government,/More Fickleness, or less Content./They were not Slaves to Tyranny, /Nor ruled by wild Democracy;/But Kings, that could not wrong, because/Their Power was circumscrib'd by Laws. (*Hive* 1-12)

Mandeville expresses his admiration for the progressive spirit and commercial development of the eighteenth-century Britain, remarking the uniqueness of its political and legal systems as an essential part of this progress. However, what follows is a catalogue of social evils. Mandeville mentions that crime increased, soldiers serving their country at the cost of a limb are at half-pay, kings are cheated by corrupt ministers, physicians value money more than rendering remedy, justice is violated through bribery, and corporal punishments, inconsistent with crimes, are executed in order to protect the rich and the great (*Hive* 40-144). The catalogue of social evils ends with a twist since Mandeville equates all these evils as necessary and inevitable consequences of being a powerful and commercial state: “Thus every Part was full of Vice,/Yet the whole Mass a Paradiſe;/Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars” (145-7).

Mandeville associates these vices with virtues since they all attributed to the general prosperity. He claims that prodigality, luxury, fashionableness and vanity, regarded as vices, are in fact virtues since they keep the commerce going on (167-178). He then introduces an imaginary situation in which the prosperous hive is condemned

for these vices by a group of moralists and as soon as these vices are stopped, the prosperous hive loses its strength. The decrease in these social evils creates a snowball effect which puts the economy into regression. If, crime is avoided and prisons are shut down, for example, a number of professions, which emerged by the introduction of the prisons, become obsolete. Prison guards and blacksmiths, for example, lose their sustenance because there is no more demand for iron fetters and bars (250-7). If there is no standing army, then Britain becomes susceptible to foreign attacks (318-22). Ostentatious consumption, rarities, and fashionability are brought to an end which in turn destroys the work of artists and artisans (339-44). As a conclusion, Mandeville compares living a comfortable life in which there are no social evils to “a vain Eutopia/seated in the brain”(403-4). A moral order would create a very barren, boring, and dismal existence.

Mandeville adapts Hobbes's system of self-interest as the basic motive for all kinds of action. According to him, in order to establish social harmony, people were led to believe that suppressing desires and interests were beneficial. The powers governing people kept a sham morality that is against human nature itself. The very premises it stood upon is false. Even pity, the closest thing to virtue in human nature, is a weakness that leads to vice. He also condemns education, especially charity schools since they created, at the expense of the nation, a mass of over-refined individuals. Only a small percentage of these could find employment befitting their education as either seamen, army officers, business clerks and tutors. So there would be a surplus of refined individuals who would become idle and useless since they would not stoop to menial jobs which were necessary for production (81-95). Furthermore, Mandeville dismisses any idea of compassion, kindness and pity unless one had a direct experience, such as witnessing an execution or a child being devoured by a boar (*Fable* 264-5). For Mandeville,

[h]umanity bids us have Compassion with the Sufferings of others, and Reason tells us, that whether a thing be far off or done in our Sight, our Sentiments concerning it ought to be the same, and we should be asham'd to own that we felt no Commiseration in us when any thing requires it. He is a cruel Man, he has no Bowels of Compassion: All these things are the Effects of Reason and Humanity, but Nature makes no Compliments; when the Object does not strike, the Body does not feel it; and when Men talk of pitying People out of sight, they are to be believed in the same manner as

when they say, that they are our humble Servants. (*Fable 266*)

Mandeville provides the example of beggars, whose constant and immediate assault to the senses by displaying infirmities and begging in the name of basic Christian virtues, raises a false pity. Giving alms is not charity at all but an unreflective response of self-love caused by momentary sensual disturbance. If people are doing virtuous actions, it is most of the time out of “a rational ambition of being Good” (*Fable 269*). Mandeville claims that the number of hospitals, built in order to gratify pride and vanity, exceeds those built by virtuous motives (269).

Mandeville also sees the action of donating large fortunes to the church as a great crime. The church, he believes, would squander it away on charity, encouraging idleness. This action deprives the posterity of a fortune which they might turn into financial capital for further investment which would encourage the industrious. He also criticizes donating large sums of money to universities (*Fable 269-72*). His aversion to universities stems from the fact that they contain too many theologians teaching false morality about human nature. He argues that universities ought to raise more physicians and physicists (298). He even suggests that legal measures should be introduced to prevent people from donating or leaving their money to such “Dead Stock” since such actions disrupt the balance between the active and inactive parts of the society creating idleness and sloth (275). He defends that his views cannot be considered as inhumane.

To have sufficient Hospitals for Sick and Wounded I look upon as an indispensable Duty both in Peace and War: Young Children without Parents, Old Age without Support, and all that are disabled from Working, ought to be taken care of with Tenderness and Alacrity. But as on the one hand I would have none neglected that are helpless, and really necessitous without being wanting to themselves, so on the other I would not encourage Beggary or Laziness in the Poor: All should be set to work that are any ways able, and Scrutinies should be made even among the Infirm: Employments might be found out for most of our Lame, and many that are unfit for hard Labour, as well as the Blind, as long as their Health and Strength would allow of it. (275)

Idleness and sloth are the key elements of vice in Mandeville's system of thought and anything promoting these vices is considered as an accessory to the crime of growth of villainy. This villainy can be described as anything that either goes into institutional charity or crimes against property which robs the industrious, capable men of their

means of production. Mandeville defends fervently that such crimes should be capitally punished and criticizes the judges whose consciences prevent them from delivering such punishments (279). He suggests that charity schools create literate people who are responsive to the shortcomings of the law and become better crooks and disturb the security of the private property. He further claims that the “the lives of Hundreds, if not Thousands, of Necessitous wretches, that are daily hang'd for trifles” (280) should not be spared since others would not attempt any felony if they did not see anyone getting away with theft.

Mandeville's handling of luxury is, in its essence, an indictment of mercantilism and a defence of capitalism. He argues that one cannot limit the imports from other countries in order to increase the gold reserves (138). Any kind of luxurious item should be freely imported because vanity urges people to have them and luxury acts as an incentive for investments. Thus luxuries would lead to the employment of poor people (150).

Although he mentions corruption in connection with the government and the South Sea Bubble incident Mandeville absolves the trade from similar criticism and presents it as the fruit of hard work and resources. In his system of thought

[t]rade is the Principal, but not the only Requisite to aggrandize a Nation: there are other Things to be taken care of besides. The *Meum* and *Tuum* must be secur'd, Crimes punish'd, and all other Laws concerning the Administration of Justice, wisely contriv'd, and strictly executed. [. . .] The Multitude must be aw'd, no Man's Conscience forc'd, and the Clergy allow'd no greater Share in State Affairs than our Saviour has bequeathed them in his Testament. (142)

Mandeville does not explain how such a mechanically prospering society creates so many wretched people. In the *Hive* he accepted crime as a virtue since it created jobs like luxury did, but in the *Fable*, he turns against crimes against property. The *Fable* is more in the vein of an economic analysis text (like the *Wealth*) rather than a philosophical-ethical treaty. Mandeville's ideas are consistent with justifying the then-current unregulated economic system and allowing it to continue with even more determination and ruthlessness by stopping all charity and pity. His ideas are controversial but they were also embedded in the texts to come. On the function of

luxury, for example, he had more proponents than detractors. David Hume and Adam Smith's perspective of luxury changed only in degree from that of Mandeville's.

David Hume's essay, "Of Refinement in the Arts" (1752), revises the concept of luxury from any random or senseless gratification of desires to a refinement of the senses. The essay was initially titled as "Of Luxury" and Hume defines luxury as a "great refinement in the gratification of the sense and any degree of it may be innocent and blameable, according to age, country or condition of the person" (*Vol 3* 294). Hume thus brings certain limits to luxury. First of all, refinement suggests a cultivation of the senses, which requires a certain amount of time and effort rather than any whimsical desire. Mandeville regarded luxury beneficial for economic prosperity. But he did not bestow a sense of refinement on items of luxury like Hume did. When luxury is thus associated with refinement and aesthetics, the demand for luxurious items gains a new significance. Although Hume sets down liberality and charity as requisites before luxury, he absolves luxury from further moral criticism. He also introduces parallels with other historical periods thus naturalizing luxury and dissociating it from the then-current economic system.

In times when industry and arts flourish, men are kept in perpetual occupation, and enjoy as reward, the occupation itself, as well as those pleasures which are the fruit of their labour. The mind acquires new vigor; enlarges its powers and faculties; and by an assiduity in honest industry prevents unnatural appetites that are nourished by ease and idleness. Banish those arts from society, you deprive men of action and pleasure, and leaving nothing but indolence in their place. (296)

While presenting luxury as reward for hard-work, Hume also endows it with naturalness. It is noteworthy how he discriminates between active and productive people and passive and unproductive people living in ease and idleness, for he is differentiating the newly-moneyed classes from that of the landed gentry. It is interesting that while he considers gratification of desires as refinement for the previous class, he seems to suggest it as depravity for the landed gentry. Hume also sets sociability as a requisite for refinement since the more people do and have, the more urge to socialize surfaces. Hume refers to landed gentry, who live away from society and lose their ties with the great city, as leading a life "in that distant manner, which is peculiar to ignorant and barbarous nations" (297). Hume associates the new and desired sociability with men

and women coming in contact in a milieu of refinement and conversation out of which manners and politeness emerge (297-8). Another crucial factor in refinement is a developing esteem for money which makes this refinement possible. Hume argues that “[l]aws, order, police, discipline; these can never be carried to any perfection before human reason has refined itself by exercise and by an application to the more vulgar arts, at least of commerce and manufacture” (299).

According to Hume, it is essentially the preservation of property and promotion of commerce that create the institutional forms of control over individuals. Perfection can be attained when the whole society becomes engaged in the busy activity of commerce. So commercial gain and luxuries are important and furthermore, they create “that middling rank of men, who are the best and firmest basis of public liberty” (304). Hume asserts that luxury is a virtue since it is beneficial to the society and therefore it has a utilitarian value. Luxury becomes a vice only “when it engrosses all a man's expense and leaves no ability for such acts of duty and generosity as are required by his situation and fortune” (305). He thus sets prudence as one of the requisites of moral sense.

Prudence, along with propriety and disinterested benevolence are the constituents of Adam Smith's moral philosophy. In his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) Smith defines prudence as “the judicious pursuit of our own private interest and happiness, or in the proper government and direction of those selfish affections” (*Sentiments* 315). Propriety is defined as “the proper government and direction of all our affections, which may be either virtuous or vicious according to the objects which they pursue” and disinterested benevolence is defined as existent “in those affections only which aim at the happiness of others, not in those which aim at our own” (315). Prudence and propriety are elements of the materialistic moral sense. Smith's major difference lies in his assertion that without disinterested benevolence, prudence and propriety cannot make people happy. Hobbes attributed the emergence of society to the precarious conditions of the state of nature. Mandeville saw it like the bee-hive, brought together by interest. Hume attributed the emergence of society to the desire to parade one's endowments either material or mental. Adam Smith attributes the emergence of society to the virtue of disinterested benevolence of a harmonious set of people:

Human society, when we contemplate it in a certain abstract and philosophical light, appears like a great, an immense machine, whose regular and harmonious movements produce a thousand agreeable effects. As in any other beautiful and noble machine that was the production of human art, whatever tended to render its movements more smooth and easy, would derive a beauty from this effect, and, on the contrary, whatever tended to obstruct them would displease upon that account: so virtue, which is, as it were, the fine polish to the wheels of society, necessarily pleases; while vice, like the vile rust, which makes them jar and grate upon one another, is as necessarily offensive. (372-3)

Smith requires virtue to be social and for the communal good. It is his belief that an individual is a small system in contrast to the larger system of community and therefore any virtuous action, rendered by selfish motives, is insignificant compared to the greater communal good. Perfection of virtue becomes possible when the individuals aim at the happiness of all (357-8). In order to achieve this perfection of moral sense, Smith sets down sympathy as a moral benchmark. Sympathy, according to Smith, is the “imaginary change of situation” (27) and such a sense of identification, with those that are less fortunate, educates the senses to create a natural affection for other people. Smith thus also emphasizes, like Hume, that compassion should be evoked as the result of an acquired sensibility. Compassion evoked by natural ties, such as kinship, is found to be secondary since there is an element of self-interestedness in it. In fact all ties which encourage anti-social behaviour are considered less virtuous in comparison with the social virtues. Smith also regards the dissolution of family ties as the inevitable consequence of economic progress:

In commercial countries, where the authority of law is always perfectly sufficient to protect the meanest man in the state, the descendants of the same family, having no such motive for keeping together, naturally separate and disperse, as interest or inclination may direct. They soon cease to be of importance to one another; and, in a few generations, not only lose all care about one another, but all remembrance of their common origin, and of the connection which took place among their ancestors. (262)

It is noteworthy how a consistent emphasis on negating any form of private, therefore non-institutional charity pervades through the moral philosophies of the period. Private charity is attacked on all sides; its underlying motives are attributed to either duty or hypocrisy, its functionality and efficiency are put into question. The network of traditional and private charity is treated like an overall liability creating more damage

than relief. Smith concludes that acts of compassion, whether of friendship or charity, needs to be purged of any custom, tradition and habit and have to rely upon a natural sympathy peculiar to virtuous men which he describes as, “an involuntary feeling that the persons to whom we attach ourselves are the natural and proper objects of esteem and approbation” (264). He claims that the mass of people, whose senses are not refined enough to develop a natural sympathy, cannot distinguish the righteous deservers of such an esteem and would only respect “the plain and palpable difference of birth and fortune” (266). Smith's idea of natural sympathy is a form of moral meritocracy in which only a virtuous man has the capacity to judge the virtue of another and determine whether to form an association or not. In order to judge the presence of a virtue, the beholder has the use of a moral sense, which perceives the harmony and beauty inherent in the other. This moral sense operates like the sensory organs in seeing a colour or hearing harmony (380). Thus, virtue is appealing to the virtuous, while vice is appalling.

This idea of a natural moral sense that appreciates virtue like beauty is also one of the premises of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713). Shaftesbury differs in essence by his treatment of the mechanistic approach regarding the social order. In *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), he argues that there are only differences of opinions between believing that the world operates on a premeditated design in which everything is for the general good and believing that things might be bettered through the application of wisdom (164-5). Shaftesbury asserts that these are not just philosophical positions but they are also political positions and the only element of mechanization is the superficial and dogmatic acceptance of these ready-made notions without judging them (234). The rationalization of morality, which is so esteemed by the majority of the philosophers, is just a convenient, mass-produced and utilitarian system promoting formulaic expressions on an extensive list of topics. Shaftesbury argues that rationalization of morality

suits as well with our vices as with our superstition: whichever we are fond of is secured by it. If in favour of religion we have espoused an hypothesis on which our faith, we think, depends, we are superstitiously careful not to be loosened in it. If, by means of our ill morals, we are broken with religion, it is the same case still: we are as much afraid of doubting. We must be sure to say, ‘It cannot be’ and ‘It is demonstrable,’ for, otherwise, ‘Who knows?’ and not to know is to yield! (235)

Shaftesbury defends secularity against religious thought and scepticism against material philosophy. He differentiates between religion and virtue arguing that religion and common humanity may even contradict each other as in the case of a zealot acting against humanity and an atheist acting with goodness and affection towards humanity (163). He also criticizes the material philosophy of his period, for its complacency to explain any incident without really thinking about it. He is suspicious about how material philosophy is produced through essay and pamphlet forms, which creates the effect of scientific certainty. Shaftesbury believes that philosophical dialogues, in the manner of the ancient Greek classics, aims at teaching how to think correctly rather than imposing a world-view as scientific fact (235). He is especially suspicious of the prevalent moral arguments which demeans compassion, gratitude and social love and suggests self-love and/or an exclusive love instead. He criticizes those who defend self-interest and hold that,

kindness of every sort, indulgence, tenderness, compassion and, in short, all natural affection should be industriously suppressed and, as mere folly and weakness of nature, be resisted and overcome, that, by this means, there might be nothing remaining in us which was contrary to a direct self-end, nothing which might stand in opposition to a steady and deliberate pursuit of the most narrowly confined self-interest. (193)

Shaftesbury sees a deliberate pattern and design in the materialist and mechanic moral theories which promote self-interest, self-love or self-preservation as the guiding principle. Shaftesbury's reaction towards these theories is really important because he does not look back on the previous moral order as the implacable truth since he is a secularist who believes that there are some basic moral values natural to people. He wants these natural values preserved rather than destroyed, for these values are the grass roots of a harmonious social existence. He argues that this harmony is achieved through the individual targeting of the public good (192). Shaftesbury thus associates virtue with this simple and basic premise, “virtue is the good and vice the ill of everyone” (230).

So that virtue, which of all excellencies and beauties is the chief and most amiable, that which is the prop and ornament of human affairs, which upholds communities, maintains union, friendship and correspondence amongst men, that by which countries, as well as private families, flourish and are happy, and for want of which everything comely, conspicuous, great and worthy must perish and go to ruin – that single quality, thus beneficial

to all society and to mankind in general, is found equally a happiness and good to each creature in particular and is that by which alone man can be happy and without which he must be miserable. (230)

Shaftesbury's idea of virtue does not just envelop the public good. He is also critical of the pervasive power of the commerce in moulding a new kind of man, who becomes a slave to employment, missing the better parts of life (142). Commercial prosperity requires individuals who are “active, industrious, watchful, and despising pains and labour”(142). Shaftesbury argues that people are constantly being pulled into a vicious cycle of labour and luxuries are the baits to lure them in. While luxury suggests comfort, ease and leisure, there is either tremendous hard-work, corruption or financial ruin behind every luxury enjoyed and Shaftesbury promotes a simple way of life in order to overcome these vices. Moreover, Shaftesbury promotes public good but his public is a natural community formed of relatives, neighbours, and friends. He regards the new forms of socializations in the metropolitans such as parks and salons with suspicion, since he regards them as centres of ostentation and affectation (238). Furthermore, he is rather critical of women participating in these social gatherings. Rather than seeing them as a refining influence on the opposite sex, he considers them to be losing their simple and natural affections. He also criticizes men for becoming effeminate and losing manly valour (237).

Shaftesbury is not the only one who saw virtue in simplicity. Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) is also a promoter of simple life. Like Shaftesbury, he is critical of the attempts to rationalize morality. He argues in *The Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754) that “physics may explain, in some measure, the mechanism of the senses and the formation of ideas; but in the power of willing or rather of choosing, and in the feeling of this power, nothing is to be found but acts which are purely spiritual and wholly inexplicable by the laws of mechanism” (23). People, according to Rousseau, have the final say upon their actions through the agency of freewill and their actions matter since they can create a change. Moreover, these actions are the consequences of a natural affection. Rousseau criticizes Hobbes and Mandeville on the ground that it is not out of fear or convenience that people live in communities. There are two instinctive and inherent qualities that people have in common, which are preserving one's species and feeling an uneasiness at seeing a sentient being suffer (13).

People group together and follow certain rules because they have a natural instinct for it. They would rather survive as a group rather than as an individual. Since the first human communities were formed out of a natural instinct, these communities led a simple, natural and free way of life. Rousseau asserts that it is the gratification of selfish desire that disrupts this social harmony and blames that first man who put a fence around a strip of land and called it his (40). That man, according to Rousseau is “the real founder of civil society” (40) because he needed to convince others of his property right and he required protection of this property right. He opposes the Hobbesian worldview which upholds that the development of civil society was advantageous for people. He contests the idea that the civil institutions are introduced to make people mild since men, in a state of nature, were already mild without the interference of institutions, as the new geographic discoveries proved. The civil institutions were introduced to protect the people whose material ambitions necessitated certain arrangements. Rousseau equates the origins of inequality with the rise of civil society and argues that the destruction of human nature along with nature itself is a consequence of the acquisitive spirit.

[F]rom the moment one man began to stand in need of the help of another; from the moment it appeared advantageous to any one man to have enough provisions for two, equality disappeared, property was introduced, work became indispensable, and vast forests became smiling fields, which man had to water with the sweat of his brow, and where slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow up with the crops. (47)

Rousseau sees property and riches as the fundamental evils in the society; they create false superiorities, greed, jealousy and to protect these properties and riches, more drastic measures are introduced. So progress of civilization does not bring the exalted justice and liberty that Hobbes and his followers claim. Rather, as Rousseau claims, progress distorts human nature and reduces men into servitude for the interest of the powerful. Rousseau claims that the progress of civilization finally turned into applying the law of the strongest, which it set out to remedy (57). He claims that modern armies transformed mass murders into justifiable virtue and valour. He asserts that the justice system that is presented as the highest attribution of mankind is a mere excuse to suppress any element of revolt and dissidence. Law

bound new fetters on the poor, and gave new powers to the rich; which irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, eternally fixed the law of property and inequality, converted clever usurpation into unalterable right, and, for the advantage of a few ambitious individuals, subjected all mankind to perpetual labour, slavery and wretchedness. (52)

Rousseau thus questions the premises of timelessness, abstractness, impartiality, and universality that law stands upon. Law is, according to him, a fabrication to serve the powerful and instead of progressing, it regresses since the degree of estrangement, from the natural rights of the pre-civil society, increases. Rousseau asserts that each new improvement that compels societies to neglect their ancient customs introduces greater evils than those they hoped to remedy. He applies the same principle to ethics.

Rousseau believes that in order to avoid the evils resulting from the artificial modern life, one has to live “a simple, uniform, solitary manner of life” (20). Like Shaftesbury before him, he is against luxuries for he sees them as indicators of inequality between people. Rousseau suggests that compassion will moderate self-love and he transposes the basic concept of “do to others as you would have them do unto you” into “do good to yourself with as little evil as possible to others” (35). The first concept is well-suited to the purpose of rationalization since it acts like a mathematical equation and could be applied with efficiency to moral theory. It requires consent rather than sympathy. Rousseau's concept on the other hand, expresses the freewill of the individual. The deliberate choice to be good is the only way that can lead to a greater good, in opposition to acting for the greater good in irrelevant ways like consuming luxury goods. Luxury is just the opposite of the simple way of life that Rousseau is advocating in every sense and his ideas on luxury are most severe.

Luxury, which cannot be prevented among men who are tenacious of their own convenience and of the respect paid them by others, soon completes the evil society had begun, and, under the pretence of giving bread to the poor, whom it should never have made such, impoverishes all the rest, and sooner or later depopulates the State. Luxury is a remedy much worse than the disease it sets up to cure; or rather it is in itself the greatest of all evils, for every State, great or small: for, in order to maintain all the servants and vagabonds it creates, it brings oppression and ruin on the citizen and the labourer; it is like those scorching winds, which, covering the trees and plants with devouring insects, deprive useful animals of their subsistence and spread famine and death wherever they blow. (69)

Rousseau sees luxury as the ultimate evil and sees it as the outcome of the great artifice of civilization. Luxury is maintained at the expense of virtue, people are drawn into a net of consuming for pleasure, esteem and approval. Luxury became a social marker for belonging with a set of people that are presented as distinguished by their refinement, taste, fashion, wit and sophistication.

The arguments considering the origins of virtue in the eighteenth century can be summed up in a list of key issues. The ideas that were hitherto presented in a linear fashion can be put into perspective to present two distinctive systems of ethics, each in turn representative of two rivalling economic systems. The emerging and more pervasive one is the capitalistic system and the middle class. The dominant but increasingly withdrawing one is the mercantilist system and the landed-gentry. The emerging commercial ethics promoted self-interest, apathy, luxury as virtue, belief in a mechanistic “hidden hand” to set things right, commercial entrepreneurship, bourgeoisie as the relevant moral agent, loyalty to plebeian values, gratification of all desires, commercial success from ingenuity and hard-work, prudence, Whig politics, Capitalism, Anglican Church, distrust of human nature, urbanization, manners, decorum, fashion, institutional charity and socially and financially empowered women. In contrast, the alternative ethics of the landed-gentry espoused communal interest, sympathy, luxury as vice, belief in intervention to set thing right, agrarian economics, landed-gentry as the relevant moral agent, loyalty to patrician values, gratification of benevolent desires, commercial success due to corruption and nepotism, imprudence, Tory politics, mercantilism, Latitudinarian/Methodist movements, trust in human nature, countryside, feelings, spontaneity, tradition, private charity and traditional role of the women as the manager of the household.

This ongoing debate in the eighteenth century concerning ethics depended on the justification of a particular economic system. This is consistent with the ideas systematized by Marx. Marx states that reigning power, in any historical epoch, is a representative of a certain economic system. These economic systems are either tribal ownership, ancient communal and state ownership, feudal or estate property, and capitalism with communism to come in the future (Marx 165-7). Marx argues that history is a series of conflicts between different economic systems and since the

economic classes depend on a certain mode of material production, there has to be a change in the material production and an ensuing class struggle for an economic system to replace the older one. This class struggle, according to Marx, takes place between the old ruling class whose means of material production cannot sustain their power and the new class representing the new means of material production who want to attain power. Marx assumes that it is the struggle between the landed gentry (associated with feudalism) and industrial producers and commercial middle class (associated with capitalism) which gave rise to the new class of bourgeoisie (166-7). This struggle determines the political and ideological worldview for consciousness owes itself to material production:

Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life. (170)

From a Marxist point of view, the eighteenth-century ethical theories are confirmatory of such a change taking place. A material production based on division of labour determines the way people are thinking. Since the bourgeois revolution was the outcome of modern industry and world-wide commerce, it altered the value systems that the society depended on; monarchy, Catholicism and the guild system were replaced with nation states, Protestantism and a market economy. Marx describes how bourgeoisie as a class determined a system compatible to its needs.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “natural superiors,” and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self interest, than callous “cash payment”. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egoistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom--Free Trade. On one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. (206)

Marx's ideas challenge the Whig perspective of eighteenth-century Britain as the centre

of Parliamentary, commercialist, and middle class values. The eighteenth century in Britain becomes a period of constructing an ideology in order to maintain the changes in the material production. Marx argues that in order to achieve this, ideology has to create a vacuum-like absence in the existing value-system of the period. There has to be a constant attack on the existing forms of social existence, solidarity and metaphysics. Family, he argues, will be stripped of its sentimental associations and be reduced into an exchange relationship. Revered professions will lose their place in the society (206). In Marx's words; “[a]ll that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind” (207).

A Marxist vantage point provides a more focused look at the ethical theories of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, there is a constant attempt to undermine the centrality of families, parishes, simple rural existence in human life. A new sense of belonging is promoted through the formation of social centres. A coffee house, for example, owes its existence to a commodity that established itself as an indispensable part of daily routine even though it is an exotic product from overseas. This new social bonding is extolled as the norm for a civilized, refined, or fashionable life. The requisite for leading such a life is material production and consumption. Marx argues that these new commodities that are now made an indispensable part of one's life are endowed with fantastic, metaphysical or magical attributes (453). Capitalism is concerned less with the material production than with dissevering the ties between the labourer and the commodity. In what he calls commodification or fetishism, commodities are no longer produced for functionality; they become possessed with a surplus value far exceeding their material worth because social contact in material production is replaced with the act of exchange in the market (446-7). As the marketplace becomes the determinant power, it is essential that people should be persuaded to consume not what they need but what they desire since it is the trivialities that maximises the profits and hence the luxury debates of the eighteenth century.

Another seminal work useful in analysing the moral theories of the eighteenth century is Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5). Weber argues that capitalism as a system always tries to build a moral sense peculiar to

itself. Capitalism relies on a massive labour force and to increase the productivity, it needs to impose hard-working as a cardinal virtue. Weber argues that Capitalism introduces a certain mental capacity which “motivates labour as if labour were an absolute end in itself, or a calling” and defines this capacity as an ability “to focus one's thoughts in addition to an absolutely central element-the capacity to feel an internal dedication to the work” (78). Weber's definition repeats and confirms the aversion to indolence that the eighteenth-century philosophers displayed. Furthermore, his definition comprises the exact word combination in common with most of the definitions of the eighteenth-century sentimentalism, that is, the capacity to feel. Feelings thus become subjugated to the rational impulse of Capitalism.

The eighteenth-century philosophers who opted for a rational ethics and devalued traditional ethics contributed to the formation of a capitalistic ethics. The desire for luxurious consumption has a similar underlying motive. People are persuaded to buy more, to express their individuality through consuming but Weber admits that the acquisitive drive was always present in human societies. He argues that Capitalism did not cause this drive but tempered it in a way, channelling it into a working drive to support market economies (208). The ideas of Marx and Weber are, indubitably, formed post-Industrial Revolution but the rationalization of a capitalistic ethics started much earlier. For Weber, apart from ascetic Protestantism, it was the rationalization of the new ethics that brought on the industrial capitalism. He denies that an increase of population or inflow of precious metals played any role and provides examples from China and India to prove his point (431-2). Mass-production needed a rational organization and a ready market and eighteenth-century ethical theories opened a pathway into industrial capitalism by ensuring that it was ethical to satisfy a greed or desire provided that active hard-working was the means of acquiring them. Weber also underlines that the rational organization of production necessitates a new kind of sociability centred around work (78). He asserts that Capitalism encouraged people who adapted to hard-work in a restrained workplace. He argues that there was a deliberate discouraging of the Methodist workers in the eighteenth century, because they were not as dedicated to the work and as willing to work hard as their Protestant counterparts (79). Capitalism also severed the bond that existed within communities such as tribes, clans and household communities (433).

The eighteenth-century ethical theorists (Hobbes, Locke, Mandeville, Hume, Smith, Shaftesbury and Rousseau) and economic theories of Marx and Weber collectively chart the inception of the rationalist ethics, the reactions it received and its final realization in the Industrial Revolution. In order to draw attention to the fact that this rationalistic ethics was employed to subdue people, it is essential to point out how these ideas were put into practice. Studies show that for the poor, living in the eighteenth-century Britain was a precarious situation. The poor survived through a number of connections that the rationalist moral theories were trying to refute such as parish relief, kinship and neighbourly help, pawning, friendly society membership and the use of apprenticeship for the adolescent members of the family (Tomkins 16). The Poor Law, which represented the institutionalized charity, was reluctant to help the able-bodied poor since this would be an incentive for indolence (123). This led to petty thefts in order to pawn the booty and survive. Then the penal system was altered to prevent these thefts. Killing a deer in a forest or stealing a trifle became major crimes and moralists such as Mandeville asked for maximum punishment for these crimes. Most of these desperate families previously sustained their life by farming on common and waste lands which were taken from them for enclosure or open cast mining (22).

Enclosures destroyed traditional rural communities en masse. Marxist scholar Ellen Meiksins Wood (1942-2016) depicted the function of the enclosures in the development of capitalism.

Enclosure is often thought of as simply the privatization and fencing in of formerly common land, or of the “open fields” that characterized certain parts of the English countryside. But enclosure meant, more particularly, the extinction (with or without a physical fencing of land) of common and customary use-rights on which many people depended for their livelihood. (108)

Wood draws attention to the fact that the progressive and profit-making impulse of capitalism treated land as a commodity. Wood maintains that the “great improving landlord” (114) becomes the emergent ethical ideal in contrast to the traditional landlord. Furthermore, she demonstrates that although enclosures dated back to the thirteenth century, they were not extensive enough to destroy traditional rural communities. It was only after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 that enclosures became

a social evil (109). Raymond Williams also commented on the role of enclosures in destroying the rural communities but he also emphasizes the changing property laws and capital requirements of the era.

[E]nclosures can never really be isolated from the mainstream of land improvements, of changes in the methods of production, of price-movements, and of those more general changes in property relationships which were following in the same directions: an extension of cultivated land but also a concentration of ownership into the hands of a minority. (*City* 97)

Williams categorises the enclosures as either of common lands or cultivated lands and regards the enclosure of common lands as the main reason in depopulating the rural Britain (103). The lands appropriated by enclosures were made into “parks, hunting preserves and large farms interests” (Hahn 11). The eighteenth-century sentimental novel is judgemental against the enclosures and the associated-victimizations. Even Richardson's villain, Lovelace is judgemental of Clarissa Harlowe's family, for their commercial-based fortune is invested in the enclosure of a common land: “Everybody knows Harlowe Place; for like Versailles, it is sprung from a dunghill, within every elderly person's remembrance. Every poor body, particularly knows it” (Richardson 170). The poor remember the pre-enclosure time with resentment because their livelihood is affected by the act of enclosure.

The eighteenth-century British sentimental novel is the chief medium in which the ethical theories of the epoch are put to test. To sum up this section in the highlight of the ethical issues thus introduced, a case study of one of the exemplary novels, Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (1751) will be beneficial. In *Amelia*, Fielding introduces Amelia Booth, who lost her rightful property through her scheming sister, Miss Harris. So from the offset the shattered kinship relation depicts how far a pursuit of self-interest can extend. Amelia's marriage for love to an undistinguished young man (Captain James Booth) was reluctantly accepted by Amelia's mother, who later on bought him a position in the army. However, at the end of the war, Booth finds himself on half-pay, with a wife and children to support. Miss Harris argues that Amelia rushed into an imprudent marriage and she will support the children and Amelia on the condition that Booth is out of the picture. Doctor Harrison, who knew Amelia all her life and is sympathetic to Booth since he has made sure that he is no mercenary, offers to lend them his (vacant)

parsonage in order to make a farmer out of him. The rural and simple way of life is welcomed by Amelia too. However, Booth gets greedy and rents more land and also, out of vanity, buys a coach. This attracts the contempt of the rural community who censures the Booths for venturing beyond their means and for attempting to elevate themselves into a state of superiority. Losing the support of the community, Booth is treated like an outsider and cannot pay his debts. His stocks are confiscated and his immediate confinement in prison is at hand. Booth flees to London in order to avoid imprisonment but when he is involved in a street brawl he is carried off to prison. Meanwhile Doctor Harrison, who has an aversion to all forms of luxury, being notified of the coach incident withdraws his support from Booth and seeks compensation for the rent of the parsonage.

In prison, Booth meets Miss Matthews, a woman who attempted to murder a jilting lover. A conversation between them reveals the ethical theory that they are both indoctrinated by. They acclaim Mandeville's theories. While praising his friend Colonel James, Booth is dismissive of the traditional understanding of virtue.

The behaviour of this man alone is a sufficient proof of the truth of my doctrine, that all men act entirely from their passions; for Bob James can never be supposed to act from any motive of virtue or religion, since he constantly laughs at both; and yet, his conduct towards me alone demonstrates a degree of goodness, which, perhaps, few of the votaries of either virtue or religion can equal.'

'You need not take much pains,' answered Miss Matthews, with a smile, 'to convince me of your doctrine: I have been always an advocate for the same. I look upon the two words you mention to serve only as cloaks, under which hypocrisy may be the better enabled to cheat the world. I have been of that opinion ever since I read that charming fellow Mandevil. (108)

Booth does protest that Mandeville left out the best passion (love) in his system but it is obvious that his ethics is a result of a rationalization process. He does follow his inclinations without hesitation and not long after this conversation Miss Matthews and Booth have an affair. When Amelia is able to free Booth, they take up lodgings in London and then they begin spiralling down financially. Booth reconnects with Colonel James, whose intentions on Amelia centre on isolating her from Booth. Booth gambles away an important part of their slim fortune giving in to another passion. Amelia's maid,

whom they have not been able to pay, steals the last of their belongings to pawn them. Her friend, Mrs Ellison forsakes Amelia's reputation in order to save hers. All the vices in this short catalogue stem from selfish gratification of desire. Amelia's going without a glass of wine for herself in order to save a trifle of money is contrasted with Booth's simultaneous action of gambling away their last money. Amelia questions the moral integrity of Booth for the first time, realizes that he is almost an atheist and is concerned with his lack of ethical responsibility for the sake of their children.

Booth's ethical conversion starts when he is back in prison again. He is now a disciple of the doctrine that “we reason from our heads, but act from our hearts” (355). He finally reads a book of sermons and finds true comfort and understanding. He claims he “never was a rash disbeliever; my chief doubt was founded on this, that as men appeared to me to act entirely from their passions, their actions could have neither merit or demerit” (522). His virtue is rewarded and Amelia's fortune is restored to her and they happily leave London for the idyllic countryside. Booth is a Mandevillian who is restored to Latitudinarianism represented in the novel by Doctor Harrison (Longmire 12). The commercial ethics of London is left behind for the communal ethics of the rural estate.

One of the earliest and most extensive histories of the British novel is scholar Ernest A. Baker's (1869-1941) multi-volume work, *The History of the English Novel* (1929) in which he makes a blurred distinction between “the novel of sentiment” and “the novel of sensibility” differentiating between British and French sentimentalisms. The “novel of sentiment” is thus a serious undertaking in order to ensure a “reign of sensibility” (121) in which

sensibility now becomes, not only the root of all virtue, but virtue itself, the indispensable quality, the hall-mark of the elect. It was adopted into the approved codes of behaviour; the refined congratulated themselves on their tenderness of heart, and affected the same modesty in dissembling their sensitive feelings and presenting an imperturbable face to the world as the generous person was expected to do in his acts of charity. (96)

Baker associates sensibility with virtue because sensibility became an overarching expression of virtue, cut off from any philosophical foundations. Instead of the philosophical context, certain novelistic conventions emerge, such as the inadequacy of

words, gush of tears, fainting, exaggerated imprudence, spontaneity, generosity, idiosyncrasy, and erratic behaviour. Baker then defines the “novel of sensibility” which relies on the “cult of sensibility” as a type of novel in which “sensibility was forced like a hot-house plant and grew more and more artificial, affected, pretentious”(121). Baker associates the “novel of sentiment” with English authors such as Richardson, Fielding and Goldsmith and the “novel of sensibility” with French authors such as Madame de la Fayette (1634-1693), and Abbe Prévost (1697-1763).

R.F. Brissenden in his *Virtue in Distress* (1974), one of the earliest book-length critical studies concentrating in-depth on the sentimental novel, incorporated Baker's classification and refined it further. While he also recognized the sentimental novel for its dealings with ethical issues, he concludes that

the subject of the sentimental novel is *not moral action but moral discrimination*: the important thing is not the doing of good deeds, but the right analysis of morally intricate and perplexing situations. A decision, of course, is always involved – the dramatic interest in a sentimental novel is usually centred on the *conflict of motives within the minds of the characters*. (119-20, my italics)

This approach is important because it introduces a dynamic and analytical understanding of the sentimental novel. Rather than taking for granted that the sentimental novel is written to promote already existent moral virtues, this approach transforms the sentimental novel (and the sentimental characters) into a site of resolution in which the conflicting motives (or the rivalling ethical theories) are tested against one another. Furthermore, this approach highlights the fact that sentimental characters should be read not just as fictional representations of real people, but as mental projections of conflicting interests and values as well.

These conflicting interests and values are dependent on the more general conflicting interests and values of social classes. Ian Watt associated the rise of the novel with the rise of the middle-class. The sentimental novel, on the other hand, is not associated with the interests and values of one particular class but rather with the cultural conflicts, transitions and variations deriving from the rise and fall of social classes. Raymond Williams notes that sensibility on the whole is “the formation of a particular mind: a whole activity, a whole way of perceiving and responding, not to be

reduced to either thought or feeling” (*Keywords* 282). Williams's three-fold dynamics of dominant, residual and emergent aspects of cultural formation in any given period is also a useful model in reading the sentimental novel.

Raymond Williams, in his *Marxism and Literature* (1977) argues that literature acts as alternative resistance medium to the capitalistic new social order and that it should be recognized as a separate category registering the social and historical changes connected with the changes “in the basic means of production” (50-53). While iterating the basic Marxist premise that as means of production change, the culture (or superstructure) is reshaped according to the interests of the new class (66), Williams adds that a new form of consciousness, pertaining to a particular new social order, emerges (77). However, Williams opposes the deterministic/structuralist explanation of culture, arguing instead that it is always an ongoing process (105). He sees this process as registering, in any given period, residual and emergent elements against the dominant elements. Since the dominant is “effective” and “hegemonic”, Williams regards it as obvious and focuses on defining the residual and emergent elements instead.

Residual elements were formed in the past under different circumstances but they are incorporated into the dominant order. Williams differentiates between the archaic, “which is wholly recognized as an element of the past to be observed, to be examined, or even on occasion to be consciously revived in a deliberately specializing way” (122) and the residual which still generates certain meanings and values which the dominant order lacks. Organized religion, monarchy and rural communities are among the residual elements that still generate meaning and value (122). These values are altered since the incorporation process is a selective one, there is an ongoing “reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discrimination inclusion and exclusion” (123). Therefore organized religion, for instance, no longer determines ethical value but constitutes an alternative ethical theory that is oppositional to the dominant order. In a similar fashion, the rural community offers an alternative value system to the industrial capitalism (122). Venturing from this definition, in the case of the sentimental novel, the residual is registered in alternative religious communities, rural estates and their ownership and Tory politics. Since the dominant culture has yet to create its own experience, it borrows heavily from past experiences.

The emergent elements are, on the other hand, formations of something new which alters the consciousness in radical ways. Williams cites the formation of a new class and the consciousness associated with such a formation as the emergent elements (124). In the case of the sentimental novel, the emergent is the bourgeoisie with its emphasis on money as a new meaning and value. The sentimental novel thus becomes a site of conflict between the dominant, emergent and residual elements of its epoch.

Furthermore, Williams also introduces his concept of the “structures of feeling” which he defines as “social experiences in solution” (133). By solution, he points out to an alternative system emerging as a structure, often expressed through literature or art. Williams exemplifies the Victorian era in which certain social states, such as being poor, owing money or being born out of wedlock, are generally considered as exceptions to the existing social order. Victorian novelists of the period (Williams mentions Charles Dickens and Emily Brontë), on the other hand, reveal that these experiences are not exceptions but direct consequences of the social order. The novels act as structures of feeling, offering solutions which will emerge as a new consciousness. Williams also defines structures of feeling as “meanings and values which are lived in works and relationships and clarify the processes of historical development through which these structures form and change” (*Revolution* 319). Williams posits creative works, especially the novel form, as valid structures for holding within the epochal experiences in a “flux”-like form and allowing the reader to see new meanings and values in their emergent states.

Williams associates these structures of feelings with the division and emergence of new social classes. In the particular case of social classes, Williams believes that a structure of feeling can be either about the rise of a new class or it can refer to a “contradiction, fracture, or mutation within a class” (*Marxism* 134). Novels provide new centres of meaning in which these structures of feelings are “at once lived and articulated” (134-35). Furthermore, Williams argues that starting with the sixteenth century, the post-feudal era slowly dissolved older social divisions represented in words such as “rank,” “order,” “estate,” and “degree”. These social divisions were based on inherited social positions whereas the social division “class” was newly created (*Keywords* 60-62). In the highlight of Williams's ideas, the sentimental novel tradition

of the eighteenth century is a cultural medium registering the fluctuations in social divisions. While the emergence of a new class is emphasized by the representation of newly-moneyed people, classes such as aristocracy and the landed gentry, undergoing drastic changes, are emphasized in terms of vacuums, deficiencies, discontinuities and incompatibilities. While their value-systems survive as residual elements, the two traditional, upper classes are being subverted in the sentimental novel through certain strategies. Aristocracy is often represented as corrupt, idle, vain, and self-indulgent (like Lovelace from *Clarissa* and Noble Lord from *Amelia*), while the landed-gentry is represented as idiosyncratic, ludicrous, naïve and inefficient (Allworthy from *Tom Jones* and Harley of *The Man of Feeling*). Self-made men like Wilson in *Joseph Andrews*, on the other hand, are celebrated for their integrity, wisdom, virtue and perseverance. The prevailing association of the sentimental novel with the ethical issues of its epoch is also emblematic since these novels are registering the ongoing tensions as structures of feeling, in a state of flux. The mobility of the social classes and the multiplicity of the ethical theories together constitute an interface. The same changing consciousness makes both possible.

Even the early definitions of sentimentality are often associated with virtue. A definition, dating from 1785 by an anonymous and obscure novelist, articulated sentiment as

a refinement of moral feeling, which animates us in performing the dictates of Reason, and introduces many graces and decorums to the great duties of Morality which are plainly felt by the Sentimental mind, though not easily defined. It adorns our actions with a certain delicacy, which not only makes them just, but bright. (qtd. in Ellis 5)

This is a very compact definition summing up most of the key issues that the eighteenth-century ethical theories were involved with: the establishment of reason as the source of ethical sense, the cultivation of a sentimental mind, the presentation of ethics as an intellectual and aesthetic undertaking. Ellis, arguing that sentimentality is an evasive, intangible and ambivalent term, has located a number of categories through which it operates; these are

(1) the history of ideas (moral sense philosophy); (2) the history of aesthetics (taste); (3) the history of religion (latitudinarians and the rise of

philanthropy); (4) the history of political economy (civic humanism and *le doux commerce*); (5) the history of science (physiology and optics); (6) the history of sexuality (conduct books and the rise of the domestic woman); and (7) the history of popular cultures (periodicals and popular writing). (8)

Sentimentality penetrates through these categories into every sphere of social life; but it is the sentimental novel, according to Ellis, in which all these aspects of sentimentality are brought together since the novel “is a genre where different and competing categories of knowledge may be brought into a fruitful coherent and consistent negotiation” (8). The idea of negotiation between different and competing categories is reminiscent of Williams's idea of a flux. Ellis elsewhere states that “sentimentalism negotiates the cultural opposition between aristocratic virtue and commercial wealth” (135-6). What places the sentimental novel as a promoter of virtue over those other printed material of the period with a similar function (such as sermons, conduct books, periodical magazines and philosophical treatises) is essentially this opposition between rivalling value systems.

This rivalry takes place between the residual value-system of the traditional hierarchies and the emerging value-system of commercial capitalism. Certain assumptions can be formed according to certain patterns, which would provide a useful guideline in further analysis of the novels from the perspective of this opposition. These patterns are: valour by birth or self-making; old money or new money; new money earned by industry or new money earned without industry; falling aristocracy or rising middle-class; money as a means to redress social wounds in the society or money as a capital asset to put into production; rural life with its traditional associations or urban life and its new social associations; servants with old loyalties or servants as self-interest seeking individuals; old property ensured by tradition or new property ensured by law; marriage for companionship or marriage for class distinction; charity as personal benevolence or charity as institutionalized philanthropy.

In reading the sentimental novel, a distinguishable pattern is expressing the worth of an individual either by birth, virtue or money. Until the Enlightenment ideal, the worth of a person mainly depended on birth and status. Starting with the Enlightenment, personal worth began to be formed by intellectual endeavours. Locke's theories on the non-existence of innate ideas in the formation of the mind jeopardized the status of

those classes investing in birth and bloodline as the relevant source in determining ethical values. The absence of innate ideas or ethical standards acted as “a levelling force” and a “process of equalization” (MacLean *Locke* 39). Thus old blood lost credibility while self-made men gained respectability. The sentimental novel tradition consequentially favours self-made people (either through education, commerce or refinement) over inherited titles, fortunes and estates. Members of the aristocratic class are treated with derision. Samuel Richardson, for example, presents Lovelace, in *Clarissa*, as a libertine who believes that his noble blood provides him with immunity from the common cares and morals of the lower classes, even the new rich, like Clarissa's family (the Harlowes) owing their wealth to overseas trade with the colonies. Solmes, the vain, weak and callous suitor (to Clarissa) is, on the other hand, an “upstart” because “he was not born to the immense riches he is possessed of; riches left by one niggard to another” (Richardson 59). Neither the Harlowes nor Solmes are the industrious, virtuous self-made men that the sentimental novel favours. (Henry) Fielding, on the other hand, made one of his eponymous heroes, Tom Jones, turn out to be the offspring of Squire Allworthy's sister and the other, Joseph Andrews, the son of a self-made man. Both disclosures of parentage are situated at the resolution of the novel, after certain merits and virtues of both characters were already established. While the landed-gentry is still extolled for their benevolence, charity and justice, characters like Squire Allworthy are no longer the paternal figures inspiring reverence. In *Tom Jones*, most of the narrative strategy of keeping Tom Jones's parentage obscure is possible through the presence of a parish, only too willing to belittle Squire Allworthy. While Tom Jones is the adopted son of Squire Allworthy, his biological father (deceased before his birth) was the son of a clergyman. If he lived and prospered, he would be a self-made man. Thus Tom Jones is a corporal meeting point between the landed gentry (Bridget, Allworthy's sister) and the rising middle class (Jones's father, the potentially-gifted scholar, Summer).

In both novels, the obscure parentages and the ambivalent social positions of Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones are reversed by final revelations. Both characters are presented as honest, modest, healthy, benevolent young men, already admired for their inherent and acquired qualities rather than their birth circumstances. Their birth circumstances, on the other hand, are residual elements of the aristocratic reign in which

a person's worth was determined by his birth. While both Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones live in humble conditions, they do not embrace the progressive and emergent ethics of self-interest. Joseph rejects the favours of his mistress, choosing to respect the class hierarchies over his personal interest. Tom Jones, on the other hand, even as a child would choose to undergo corporal punishment rather than confess to witnessing the killing of a Squire's partridges, in order to protect a gamekeeper from being incapacitated to support his family. New property laws were strict and they stood in opposition to the residual aristocratic order in which plebeian hunting was not a crime that led to imprisonment, deportation, compulsory recruitment or at the least charity-withholding as in the case of gamekeeper Black George. Tom Jones shows compassion and charity to the gamekeeper's family and persuades Squire Allworthy to include them back in the social circle of responsibility again. From the perspective of Raymond Williams's threefold dynamics, worth by birth is still a residual element while the social order, that used to depend on it, is losing its power. Sentimental ethics of Tom Jones establishes his worth by virtue as a reaction against self-interested, materialistic and progressive ethics of the emerging social order, while the upstart Captain Blifil, marries Allworthy's sister for "Allworthy's house and gardens, and of his lands, tenements, and hereditaments" (*Tom* 80). The ambitious, materialistic and mercenary nature of Captain Blifil is repeated in his son whose guiding principle in life is his self-interest.

In reality, not all upstarts were socially included in polite circles. There were strict boundaries between social classes. Self-merited wealth and refinement might be extolled by the sentimental novelists but they were not enough to be admitted to polite circles.

Wealth alone was not enough to gain access to the highest echelons of society; one needed to have the country estate, political influence and a network of elite contacts. It could take many generations to gain these social markers: Henry Lascelles (c. 1690–1753), a West Indies merchant who made his fortune through slavery, bought the Gawthorp estate in Yorkshire in 1739. His son was ennobled as Lord Harewood, but it was not until 1812 that the family gained the title of Earl of Harewood. (Larsen 39)

Naturally, early and mid-eighteenth century novelists established the worth of their fictional self-made men and women by accelerating their social mobility. Thus Samuel Richardson's Pamela was rewarded with a marriage to her master, Mr B. and this

marriage provided Pamela a rapid access into politer circles. Without the marriage, Pamela's options ranged from being a servant girl to being a paid courtesan. Frances Burney's eponymous hero, Evelina was doubly restored from obscurity and established as a natural member of polite circles, by the unravelling of the plot which reconciled her to her father and ascertained her marriage to Lord Orville. Lord Orville proposed to Evelina before her reconciliation with her father therefore it is her personal merit which paved the way to polite circles. Smollett's Humphry Clinker breaks away from the pattern since he carries on his intention of marrying the pretty, honest but by no means refined maid Winifred Jenkins, even after Clinker turns out to be the only son of Matthew Bramble.

But these rapid ascensions of virtuous maids or servants in liveries to higher echelons of society were not so favourably regarded by the reading public and Richardson felt obliged to write a sequel to *Pamela* in which Pamela had to undergo a further process of refinement and earn her place as a rightful member of the higher society she entered into. Her high class status is not as smooth and natural as the first novel foresaw. As April London emphasizes "the aspirational desire for social advancement" which urges for social mobility is counterchecked by the upper echelons that lower orders would not transgress their boundaries ("the graceful acceptance of one's given position") and thus put into danger other established hierarchies ("the much-feared fall into ignominious poverty") (8).

Eighteenth-century fluctuations of status and the changing relationship between power and wealth determined to a great degree personal worth. Worth by birth was both socially weakened and epistemologically challenged in terms of representative power. Nevertheless it still held a residual value as the representative of an organically responsible social order whose ethical communal values provided a meaningful framework for resisting capitalistic individualism. Worth by money was the emergent value in which people depended upon their own resources of labour, intellect or ambition to build (or preserve) their fortunes. Worth by virtue denies money-based status markers and reaffirms the rural estate as the virtuous way of living. (Henry) Fielding makes this explicit in his portrayal of the two half-brothers in *Tom Jones*. The rightful heir Blifil harbours no sense of obligation for the people in the estate and is

only interested in entering into an arranged marriage to enhance his prospective fortune. Tom, on the other hand, is only a protégé but he is always part of the rural estate and acts in the interests of the less fortunate ones, assuming the part of a landed-gentry. By the time his birth is revealed, making him the rightful heir, he is already established as a representative of communal virtue and thus merits his upward mobility.

Another distinguishable pattern in reading the sentimental novel is the apparent differentiation between labour-intense commercial wealth and speculative commercial wealth. The sentimental novel tradition differentiates between industriousness and acquisitive greed. Characters may owe their origins to commerce (as in Mr. Wilson of *Joseph Andrews*) but it is also essential that none of them will turn to commerce for further profits. Typically, a commercially-acquired fortune would be employed to buy a rural estate and assume the part of the landed gentry. Acquiring a country estate is indicative of an aspiration to be included into polite circles, for it is an indispensable social marker. This emphasizes the fact that a country estate is a residual element in the scheme of things, still creating a value system in opposition to commercial value. While the importance of commerce is not denied, it is not treated as a valid value-marker. The ethics of Daniel Defoe's novels, in which the Puritan, ascetic, money-hoarding and self-interest motivated protagonist is finally awarded worldly success and bliss, is turned down in favour of a more secluded, traditional life with the interests of the rural community in mind. In a society in which newly-made fortunes and individual success stories are increasingly setting the scene, the sentimental novel and ethics act as Williams's "structures of feeling" offering an alternative to the existing social order.

The acceptance of industrious commerce as a valid value-marker belonged to a bygone generation in which commerce still relied on hard, individual labour and fortunes were harder to make. Yet as commercial success increasingly relied on speculation, opportunism and corruption, fortunes were easier to make. Some of the newly-moneyed classes wanted to be recognized as members of the polite society and join in the emphasized rejection of commerce as a valid value-marker. Thus there were two kinds of newly-moneyed classes; one wanting to be elevated into polite circles still determined by old-money or landed-gentry in which their emergent value system became assimilated into the dominant one; and another seeking out to establish its new

ethics of the self-made man and hold the previous social order in contempt (McKeon 172-173). Instead the latter valued their own labour and money-making skills and held aristocracy in contempt. Labour-intense commercial wealth-owners considered upper classes as corrupt and had an ethical complacency of their social class and commercial value systems. Speculative commercial success, on the other hand, usually bypassed middle class values and went on to reconstruct an aristocratic life style.

Labour-intense commerce was associated with what Weber labelled as “protestant ethics”. Suddenly-acquired commercial and speculative fortunes fell outside this ethical framework. Rising capitalism needed a labour force and labour thus gained a metaphysical importance and relevance. Speculation and easy-made money clashed with the ideal of hard working. The second and third generations might reap the benefits of inherited money to lead more sophisticated lives but the origins of their family fortune depended on honest labour and prudence of the first generation. The eighteenth-century novel did not reject commerce if it was acquired through hard labour but it did reject the materialist spirit that commerce generated. Therefore, money was a convenient thing to endow characters with but it needed to be followed with a retreat to countryside and a simple way of life.

This retreat meant the restoration of the imbalance between rural power and commercial wealth. The wealth from labour-intense commerce, an ethically approved source, would bring fresh capital into the rural estate, empowering it to keep the organic web of responsibility intact. However speculatively-made fortunes were not ethically approved and their capital would ruin the rural estate, either by turning it into an ostentatious status marker or to a rural enterprise. The consequences for the rural community would be a displacement of people. Therefore, labour-intense commercial fortune invested in a rural estate is a residual element in the eighteenth century sentimental novel. The continuation of commercial activities or speculative fortunes made or arrived at (through marriage or inheritance) are the emergent elements.

Sentimental novel tradition was influential in indoctrinating emergent and residual elements to an increasing number of female readers from different classes. Raymond Williams's premise, that emergence of a new social class comes with a new consciousness of its own, coincides with the rise of the middle-class in the eighteenth

century. Since it is the pre-industrialist phase, the working class is not emergent yet as a social power and it is the middle-class which tries to establish itself as a separate social category. E.P. Thompson specified that class-consciousness is formed by experiences that pertain to being a member of a certain class and culturally, this consciousness is embedded into “traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms” (10). It can be said that the whole enlightenment ideal, with its emphasis on the individual, with its constant ambition to redefine and reform value systems and with its putting into question the existing traditions and institutions, played a vital part in forming the consciousness of a new class. This new class was the middle class which consisted of “businessmen, merchants, professionals, shopkeepers and tradesmen” (Larsen 39).

While the middle class, in this sense, is defined by money-making men; women had an effective role in forging the consciousness of a new class. Literary scholar Nancy Armstrong (b.1938-), in her book on the history of the novel, *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987), argued that the representation of women in the eighteenth-century novel was essential in defining and shaping the private sphere. She maintained that the eighteenth-century novels defined a new form of femininity, “a woman whose value resided chiefly in her femaleness rather than in traditional signs of status, a woman who possessed psychological depth rather than a physically attractive surface” representing “moral value” (20). Armstrong stated that the construction of such a femininity replaced the earlier ethical paradigm of “status” (4). Armstrong is defining a counter-figure to the representation of the commercial, worldly and self-made man. This man is a construction of the public, social and commercial world whereas a self-made woman is a product of the private sphere, in which, she cultivates her mind, individuality and ethics. Armstrong emphasizes this “figure above all else, on whom depended the outcome of the struggle among competing ideologies” (5) as the “modern individual [who] was first and foremost a woman” (8). The consciousness of the rising middle class was indoctrinated to women, by women, outside the sphere of the commercial public world.

The sentimental novel was an apt medium (even an institutional form on its own) for forging this new consciousness since it was involved in the then-contemporary issues and it was embedded within the ongoing social changes. Sentimental novels

introduced the ideas and value systems of this new consciousness and showed how to synthesize particular, concrete and individual cases. These novels could serve, as Jane Spencer noted “as a kind of dramatized conduct book for young women” (142). Conduct books were an eighteenth-century novelty; they were didactic and solemn texts aiming to educate and reform mainly women to an ethical and proper life. They also acted as practical guides to middle-class women, who had money and leisure but were new in managing domestic households. The conduct books provided them with tips on how to manage the servants, how to entertain people, how to manage the household economy and how to do charitable work (Ellis 28-35). The conduct books targeted literate young women who belonged to rising classes. Since they were newcomers, they did not have family members to guide them into social life. The sentimental novel, acting as a conduct book, filled the void acting as a reforming, educating and refining agent.

The sentimental novel and the early conduct books shared the same moral vision. They were both concerned with ethics. Early conduct books had chapters on “fortitude,” “honesty” and “fidelity” (Langland 293). However conduct books gradually changed into manuals on social etiquette and decorum. Rather than an ethical undertaking, the conduct books promoted “a new mode of economic thinking, even though they represented that thinking as pertaining only to women” (Armstrong 60). The private sphere was thus indoctrinated with the emergent commercial middle class ethics. The elevated consciousness of women as the early modern subjects was transformed into an economic consciousness that served the interests of the middle-classes. The early sentimental novels presented female characters, such as Richardson’s *Clarissa* who rebelled against commercial ethics of self-interest and sought the alternative ethical philosophies of communal interest.

The sentimental education of the literate middle-class women promoted sentimental ethics which permeated into households and challenged the commercial ethics based on self-interest. This actually meant that emerging progressive commercialist ethics was undermined in its private space, the households. Women, as buyers and readers of the popular novels were indoctrinated with a different ethical system in contrast to the conduct books. Richardson’s *Clarissa* can be considered as a

paragon of virtue, for these literate women. Even though she was associated with commerce-originated wealth and a materialistic family, she espoused sentimental ethics and was affected by Lovelace's responsibility concerning his tenants. Clarissa is an avid reader of philosophical and religious texts and an avid proponent of leading a virtuous life. Marxist critic Terry Eagleton (b.1943-) posits her as a revolutionary caught in "an astonishing act of rebellion against the whole social system -patriarchy, upper-class licence, middle-class individualism-" (77), in other words, the dominant and emerging social class values. By mourning over Clarissa's final act of rebellion, which is to choose death rather than succumb to self-interest and self-gratification, Richardson's readers are presented with a residual re-enactment of the catholic martyrdom. Literate women were thus spoon-fed sentimental ethics through reading novels. Their concern to create a communal value in urban centres was the driving factor behind the institutionalization of charity. So early conduct books and sentimental novels were residual in their representation of the ideal woman; they placed her in the nexus of ethics of communal interest. Later conduct books were emergent in their representation of the ideal woman; the ideal woman acted as a subsidiary to the commercial ethics of self-interest.

The sentimental novel handles money-based behaviours of the characters according to certain patterns. There are two rival tendencies of giving out money for charity and benevolence in contrast to the prudence and money-hoarding tendencies of commercial moneyed classes. As Janet Todd argues the sentimental protagonists are essentially "anti-capitalist"s (97) and instead of increasing any capital they have, they quickly decrease it. She articulates sentiment as being "a surplus in the economy with no exchange value. It is therefore expensive, and poverty is bound to be its companion" (97). The sentimental novel is full of such instances of benevolent money-spending which shows contempt for money itself. Unlike Defoe's Robinson Crusoe who stumbling upon some gold as a castaway on a desert island, neatly stacks it for future use, sentimental characters are too ready to part with their money. The contempt for money manifests a rejection of the value-determining quality of money. Since money is a volatile and circulating asset, its value is unstable and can be determined through exchange. Therefore, money cannot be a standard for moral valour. According to Gillian Skinner; "the ability to dispose of money charitably becomes a measure of personal

worth" (4).

In a way, there is a correlation between the treatment of money and feelings in the sentimental novel since "[i]mpulsiveness of feeling characterizes one kind of ethical standard, restraint the other" (Van Sant 6). Hume's assertion that a moral sense should be "more properly felt rather than judg'd of" (232) is consistent with the impulsive and spontaneous actions of sentimental characters in either showing affection or spending money. As Markman Ellis emphasizes "the sentimentalist aims to make the flow of resources a symbol of human bounty rather than human greed" (130). This is possible by the simultaneous overflow of both money and feelings. Sexuality is another element of impulsive and simultaneous behaviour along with money and feelings (Skinner 18).

The indiscriminate overflow of money, on the other hand, is found to a problematic factor. Simon Stern defines spendthrift as "a stock figure in the novel's dismal array of economically motivated actors, a species of monopolist who dissipates assets rather than hoarding them" (637). The spendthrift is either re-enacting the part of a benevolent landed gentry by handing sums to total strangers. Or the spendthrift is spending money for the sake of consumption, luxury and ostentation. In the first case, he is forming an immediate and temporary bond with a victimized person or an impostor, in which he acts as a benefactor to relieve some distress. This is a residual element in charitable actions. Although unsustainable and unsystematic, this residual bond between the charity-doer and charity-receiver is personal, immediate and almost organic. The spendthrift who chooses to spend money for luxuries is supported by the ethical theories of Mandeville and his proselyte Dr. Johnson. Money spent on luxury goods is an economically-motivated charity action. It helps to maintain the industrious poor rather than the idle poor. This emergent element relies on a contractual basis. Greed of one person for luxurious goods is re-inscribed as an act of rational charity.

On the other hand, prudence is differentiated from greed. In order to sustain the power of being an agent of sentimental exchange, prudence is a necessity. Thus, in order to keep the sentimental exchange going, there has to be a locus of power, capable of relieving the distressed. Money is a panacea to relieve people and it should be kept in reserve through prudence. In Richardson's *Clarissa*, the aristocratic villain Lovelace is criticized by the newly-moneyed Harlowes for having borrowed sums of money for his

travels and having spent it liberally. In their opinion, Lovelace's treatment of money as a “spendthrift” (Richardson 10) is a cardinal sin. In (Henry) Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Tom's shortcomings are attributed to his imprudence. Imprudence is a crime both for the self and the society as “owing to [Tom's] imprudence, by which if a man doth not become a felon to the world, he is at least a [a felon to himself]” (*Tom* 777). However, imprudence is also a sentimental value since it is which discriminates Tom Jones the hero from Lovelace the villain. Lovelace may be spendthrift or generous but he is a master of deceit and manipulation therefore he is not imprudent. As Gillian Skinner notes, emotions, resources and sexuality can occur partly or wholly in a fictional character determining “varying degrees of approval and disapproval” (18).

The sentimental novel polarizes London's urban topography against the rural Britain. London, as the centre of all commercial activity and new cosmopolitan-urban life style, plays an important part in the sentimental novel. It is essential that the sentimental hero should visit London, before returning or settling to a rural life. As Janet Todd puts it the “average sentimental novel opposing vice and virtue took the virtuous hero to the horrors of London; it then allowed him to escape into the rural provinces to find a happy ending” (14). April London, on the other hand, asserts that London constitutes an experimental ground for fictional characters before they abandon it in favour of the countryside. According to London, this was a “[confirmation of] the triumph of assigned identity over the assumed or experimental ones associated with the city” (8). Fictional London was thus an ambivalent site in which people acted in accordance with ever-changing attitudes and conventions since London was a major marketplace in contrast to communal ties and solidarity of the rural provinces. The increasing commodification changed the rules of social engagement.

London as the centre played a pivotal part in creating fashions, novelties, luxuries and in persuading people that their traditional way of life was obsolete. The idea of London as the new-found land of prosperity, refinement and high society was further disseminated by the numerous periodicals reaching out to provinces. Oliver Goldsmith's *Hardcastle*, the rural gentleman of *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773), encapsulates the sentimental ethics when he says to his wife, who wants to go to London in order to throw off the rural “rust”, “I wonder why London cannot keep its own fools at home. In

my time, the follies of the town crept slowly among us, but now they travel faster than a stage-coach. Its fopperies come down, not only as inside passengers, but in the very basket” (I.1). Hardcastle is referring to the distribution of the periodicals. Ironically the rural mansion of Hardcastle is mistakenly taken for an inn and Hardcastle himself as the inn-keeper. While the rural estate is being offered as an alternative to urban commercialism, its status as an ethical alternative is being eroded by the cultural intrusion of urban life. Rural mansions were transformed into inns since travel became faster, cheaper and fashionable and the travellers require resting places and the maintenance of rural estates overburdens its owners. The residual ethical premise of the rural estate is subject to ongoing assault and intrusion by the emergent commercial urban-cosmopolitan ethics.

The organic unity of nature and community are under constant assault by progressive capitalism too. Rural estates are either turned into landscape gardens, inns or plantations for cash crops in order to generate money. The money necessary for such a transformation has its roots in the commercial activities of London and its changing fashions. London is associated with social problems which are

attributed to the English monied interest, whose capital was the city of London. Lust-the carnal degradation of love-and the lust for money have become interchangeable signifiers of corruption. The passions of flesh and the passions of profit-motive are joint symptoms of depravity of modern times, which consists in the limitless indulgence of human appetite. (McKeon 262)

London is considered as evil and ethically degraded because the city generates the ethics of self-interest and self-gratification. The consequences are listed as “roaming mobs, poverty, unemployment, violent crime, prostitution, riots, poor sanitation, gin-drinking, gambling, loneliness, and fear” (Hahn 15). Furthermore, as the centre of political power, London is the jurisdictional centre of legal discourse that privileges the property holders and victimizes the traditional rural society. On the other hand, London is considered as the epitome of civilization, liberty and progress. Voltaire singles out Royal Exchange as the emblem of liberty. Raymond Williams defines Voltaire’s London as a place that surpasses the “Garden of Eden” and the “golden age” because it is built upon industry, competition and commerce (*City*, 144). However, Williams also

acknowledges that there was another London, represented in the paintings of William Hogarth and writings of Defoe, (Henry) Fielding and John Gay, “of vice and protest, of crime and victimisation, of despair and independence” (144). Each commercial success contributed to the destruction of the rural network of interdependence and the “causalities of a changing rural economy” flowed into the city (145). London and its urban-cosmopolitan topography was the emergent element in commercial progress. London’s topography included economic centres, parks, coffee-houses, Royal Exchange, courthouses and circulating libraries standing next to brothels, prisons (Newgate), gallows (Tyburn) and gin shops. Rural estate and its agriculture-centred, organic topography was the residual element against the commercial progress. However the organic communal rural community struggled against enclosures, landscape gardening and plantation-scale farming.

The sentimental novel displayed distinctive traits in representing the relationship between servants and their masters. Typically a household and the members of a family meant the same thing before eighteenth-century urbanization and emergence of the *nouveau-riche*. That household was literally the home of the people associated with it and any servant’s “raison d’être and legitimacy derived from his master” (McDonald 184). The idea of the family was not reduced to biological kinship but extended through social bonds (184). However, the arrangement of private life in new architectural interiors severed this bond and the servants began to lose their feudalistic almost-family status. As McKeon encapsulates there was a rift between organically local, dependent and dedicated servant and the mobile, independent, and self-interest motivated servant (369).

Since the sentimental novel belongs to the pre-industrial period, the working class was not yet emergent but it is possible to track how the status of the servants changes in the sentimental novel tradition. There are essentially two types of servants in the sentimental novel. The first one is a residual representative of the rural estate in which the servant and the master each have obligations of a paternal nature. The master provides and protects while the servant serves and reverences. The two are almost always connected for life. The second type of servant is a self-interest seeking individual and a complete stranger to his/her master. Their relationship is one of

contractual obligation in terms of paid labour. Certain patterns are noticeable in the sentimental novel. In *Clarissa*, Lovelace's manservant, Joseph Leman, is an inferior version of Lovelace himself, caring about his material ambitions only and helping Lovelace trick Clarissa into escaping with him. Leman is conscious that he is doing an injury to Clarissa however he abandons his principles and silences his conscience. Leman, as a representative of the servant, reaffirms John Richetti's assertion that in order to overwrite the working class as a social power group, the novelists either use the servants as comic relief or represent them as abject perpetrators of the villains (90). Richetti offers Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* as an exception. Humphrey is both the servant and the estranged son of Matthew Bramble. Even when he turns out to be Bramble's son, he does not assume the part of a landed gentry; "he is no foundling whose biological connection to the gentry betrays itself in striking beauty or instinctive talent but an awkward Wiltshire lad inseparable from his experiences and acquired skills within a rural plebeian society" (96). Humphrey is also a moral compass in the novel and he does not falter from his rural, plebeian, working-class principles.

Fielding's eponymous and liveried hero in *Joseph Andrews*, on the other hand, is turned out of Lady Booby's house for choosing to act honourably. Leman wants to make enough money to start an inn while Joseph Andrews wants to abide by the feudal code of serving and reverencing his mistress rather than maximizing his profits. Therefore, they constitute two different types of servants. While Leman is paving his way to an independent, middle-class life, Joseph Andrews is robbed, beaten and left for dead on the ground, showing how precarious life is for someone trying to maintain old hierarchies. While Leman represents the emerging middle-class, Joseph represents the residual feudal loyal servant. As April London encapsulates

[i]n positive representations [of fictional servants], good and unquestioningly loyal servants reinforce the virtue of the master or the mistress (Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, Annette in Ann Radcliffe's *Mystery of Udolpho*) or fellow servants (Mrs Jervis in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*) with comic capital occasionally being made of a figure like Partridge in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, whose service is partially self-interested though still well intentioned; alternatively, wicked and unquestioningly obedient servants (Mrs. Jewkes in *Pamela* or Mrs. Sinclair in Richardson's *Clarissa*) take out their employer's immoral persecution of the victimized heroines. (28-9)

The treatment of the fictional relationship between master and servant and the manifestation of self-interest involved in such a relationship are therefore important narrative strategies in building an ethical alternative to the then-contemporary reality. Another narrative strategy employed by the sentimental novelists is to blur the distinction between servant and master. Lawrence E. Klein manifests that masters did not want their servants to dress in liveries. Rather than display a traditional sense of continuity and belonging, they turned over their discarded clothes to their servants for exposing their finery (883). When the master or servant, or mistress or servant, wore the same quality of outfit, differentiable only by some wear or change of fashion, the distinctions between them that existed by sumptuous laws were blurred (McKeon 370). Molly Seagrim in *Tom Jones* is beaten when she attends the church in Sophia's discarded clothes for daring to imitate her betters. Servants are not only becoming paid labourers; they are turning into doubles of their masters in appearance.

Traditional servants with a sense of loyalty extended the idea of community and thus strengthened communal bonds. Their representation in the sentimental novel is a residual element. Some of the servants would stay with the family when their circumstances changed. They might even offer their savings to relieve the distresses of their masters. Even though their masters could not offer their previous protection and downwards social mobility of the masters levelled the masters and servants, servants were expected to stay loyal to their masters as a residual element because the servants and masters belonged to the idea of an organic community which was being victimized at all levels. The emergent servants who were only involved with their masters on a contractual basis were individuals cut off from their societies. Such servants served as doubles to their masters. They had the same self-interest, commercial advancement and upper social mobility motives.

Another recurring feature in the sentimental novel tradition is use of multiple narratives. Eighteenth-century sentimental novel is replete with inset narratives and episodic scenes. Tera Pettella differentiates between these two narrative components. Inset narratives are often set in an ideal past social order. They are associated with "moral righteousness" (284). The episodic scenes, on the other hand, are regarded as representatives of the moral depravity of the public sphere, from which the protagonists

must refrain (285). Therefore the inset narratives are similar to residual elements of a previous social order within the novel. McKeon regards them as “rudimentary narratives carved from the chaos of the previous century as to regard its meaning more intelligible [. . .] concerned [. . .] with the decline of nobility and gentry and the rise of commoners” (216).

The episodic structure of the novel, on the other hand, acts as a meeting point between the emergent social forces and the sentimental protagonists in search of a moral sense. While inset narratives are offered as either a prolonged tale by a single character or a discovered manuscript, episodic structures require active participation of the protagonist and offer the semblance of immediate experience. Therefore episodic structures are associated with Raymond Williams’s “structures of feeling” as they are more concerned with the emergent rather than the residual element and they offer an immediate social experience rather than a received ideal. Therefore, episodic scenes are “social experiences in solution” (*Marxism* 133) in which the social exchanges within the episodic scenes offer interpretations of that experience.

Social experience is associated with sentimental maturity, for “not only is sensation the basic unit of experience; it replaces adventure as the basic unit of narrative” (Van Sant 100). A typical sentimental novel may be dominantly episodic in narrative structure but the episodes essentially relate to sentimental experiences. The plot or adventure is secondary to the invocation of pity and sympathy in the reader. While the sentimental hero moves from one place to another, either by a reversal of fortune, or a quest for a friend, or out of an arbitrary decision, each shifting setting accentuates a particular sentimental framework.

Each framework offers a different aspect of sentimental response, designed to emphasize either a residual element of the landed-gentry or an emergent one of the commercial classes. These frameworks offer the sentimental tableau, a generic device in the eighteenth-century novel. Janet Todd suggests that the sentimental tableau was elicited from the famous Shakespearean actor David Garrick’s (1717-1779) “expressive method” in which “the emphasis was on character as attitude, on the individual scene rather on the play as a totality, and on gesture rather than flow of speech” (34). The tableau or the episodic setting presents a continuum with the vicissitudes of social

experience and the corresponding ethical reaction to it.

The inset narrative, like “the History of Leonora or The Unfortunate Jilt” from Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews*, (attributed to Sarah Fielding’s penmanship (Woodward 65)) presents Horatio as the residual ethical value. As representative of a previous social order, Horatio loves Leonora with honour, simplicity and loyalty. While Horatio is a descendant of a good family suffering from downwards social mobility, Leonora is an flamboyant heiress. Horatio, as a barrister who is at the start of his career, promises a gradual financial ascent. Therefore, Leonora, although engaged to Horatio, is easily attracted to Bellarmine, who has a country seat and title and prefers France to Britain. Bellarmine intends to marry into money so he can afford his carriage, clothes and continental travel expenses and he sees Leonora as a befitting candidate. Leonora, believing Bellarmine to have a fortune of his own, regards him as a good matrimonial prospect. When Leonora oscillates between her prior engagement and her new-found interest, her aunt advises her to give up Horatio, insisting that the “World is always on the side of prudence [. . .] and would surely condemn you if you sacrificed your Interest to any Motive whatever” (*Joseph* 138). However Bellarmine deserts Leonora after her father refuses to make a settlement on her. She is also subjected to the censure of the society for her promiscuous involvement with Bellarmine and has to isolate herself from society. Horatio, on the other hand, prospers. The infidelity of Leonora derives from a fetishist desire for Bellarmine’s carriage, clothes and title. Leonora feels a more complete sense of satisfaction with Bellarmine because she will have immediate access to luxury, grandeur and pomp. Leonora cannot reproduce the still-residual social experiences concerning matrimony hence the social censure.

The inset narratives are usually told by an omniscient narrator in first or third voice, which makes them an apt medium for expressing ethical judgement and criticism according to a residual value system. The episodic structures or sentimental tableaux, on the other hand, reveal modern settings operating on emerging value systems. Sentimental ethics, in episodic structures act as a reactionary response to the emerging value system.

Another recurring pattern in the sentimental novel tradition is the way institutionalized law operates in ambivalent ways. Law and legal consequences are an

important part of the eighteenth-century novel. As Beth Swan emphasizes “people were fascinated by law on a public and a personal level showing detailed awareness of marriage, divorce and inheritance law, as well as the criminal code” (11). She also draws attention to the fact that since law was such a new power, its authority was openly discussed and challenged in the society (121). The emerging market economy complicated social relations. The development of market economy and financial instruments created a new society in which debt and theft became crimes that were punished through imprisonment, deportation and even execution. As John P. Zomchic argues the money market introduced a risk factor which penetrated into every sphere of life (5). Most of the reversal-of-fortune plots in the eighteenth-century novel are the outcome of a legal process. Clarissa Harlowe's estrangement from her family begins when her grandfather dies, leaving her a property which the family believes should rightfully belong to Clarissa's elder brother. In *Amelia*, the forged will is exposed and the inheritance is restored to rightful owner. In such a precarious, commercial world, it is not possible to avoid or evade the risk brought on by greedy, self-interest seeking individuals and the convoluted ways the law operates.

Apart from the law being the perpetrator itself in the risky situations, the high costs of the law suits required could be met by those who had more economic power. Thus, people of resources were more privileged against people with fewer resources (Punter 52). Punter emphasizes the fact that other than the systematic victimization of the poor, even people with small fortunes sufficient to enjoy moderate and independent means could be impoverished by a lawsuit. Punter quotes from Robert Bage's *Hermesprong* (1796) :

To press down to the earth, and under it, a poor man is easy-it is the work of everyday; but to make a man, with money in his purse, guilty of crimes he never committed, requires a superior fund of knowledge of the more tortuous parts of law, and superior intrepidity. (52)

Another aspect of the law, is that while law in major cities was becoming more intricate and excursive, it was left to the arbitrary decision-making of the Justices in rural areas. Justices “were locally resident minor magistrates, usually lay people [...] who had land to the value of at least one hundred pounds a year” (Swan 184). Justices relied on their property rights rather than an in-depth knowledge of law (183). They

were quite powerful since they “controlled the parish and its officials and were entirely autonomous” (177). Since the Justices owned property and controlled the parish at the same time, there was an inevitable clash of interests. The power of the magistrates was further reinforced by the Game Laws of 1671 and 1691. According to these laws; “no one who had property worth less than one hundred pounds a year could kill game, even in his own land” (176). This restriction did not only apply to game animals but also to timber and plants. First two offences against Game Laws might be punished by fines, but the third offence led to transportation for seven years. Some criminal acts were subject to capital punishment such as destroying a cherry tree (170). The Justices were at liberty to prosecute offences concerning their property (176). In (Henry) Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, Squire Western is presented as a corrupt Justice who strips his neighbour’s gamekeeper of his livelihood for killing one of his birds.

Prisons were another outcome of legal system. As Punter underlines “one of the principal features which the early eighteenth-century writers bring out is prison as hell, a bestiary, a jungle” (58). In fact jobs were so few and wages were so low that falling victim to the changing order made nearly everyone a criminal (70). In Fielding’s *Amelia*, the prison that Captain Booth is sent depicts how prison is a place of pestilence, starvation and degradation. During the American war, prisoners could not be transported and many died of starvation and sickness in overfilled prisons. (61).

The Game Laws uprooted people from their rural homes and forced them to join the labour force, serving the interests of expanding commercialism. People who had moderate fortunes could lose them to greater law moguls for failing to afford the lawsuits in the long run. Such a lawsuit led to the concentration of money in fewer hands, hence accumulation of capital. The impoverished party was a victim who either stooped down to manual labour, turned criminal or perished. Law, established as an institution to protect property and commerce, was an emergent element in eighteenth-century culture. The sentimental novel acts as the residual element by bringing into focus how law can victimize people and how precarious becomes the way people live when communal ethics fails.

Another recurring pattern in the sentimental novel tradition was the representation of the marriage. Lord Hardwicke’s Marriage Act of 1753 redefined the marriage

institution. It aimed to prevent clandestine marriages between financially unsuitable parties, favouring patriarchal power and property rights (Harth 124-154). Young people were subject to parental consent until they were 21 years of age and special licences had to be required and announced beforehand (Swan 23). Whether a “marriage was a sacrament or a contract” was a popular issue in the eighteenth-century Britain (Swan 47). The political theory of social contract introduced by Hobbes gradually extended to the marriage institution. Divorce and separation of couples found protractors. If people had the right to overthrow a king in the case of a violation of the social contract, then they should be able to overthrow a marriage under the same circumstances (Swan 55).

Marriage was considered to be an act between equals in terms of social classes. Arranged or contract marriages targeted at connecting people with title, peerage and land to one another. However fluctuating social mobility (both downward and upwards) created a rift between old money representing title, peerage and land and the new money representing commerce. Consequentially there was an imbalance in terms of politic and economic power. This imbalance necessitated the union of both power groups through matrimony thus these were entrepreneurial or speculative marriages. The clandestine marriage, on the other hand, took place between a financially well-off young person and an ambitious upstart, often officialised following an elopement which rendered the family powerless to interfere.

Entrepreneurial marriages were the emergent form of marriage, serving the interests of the rising capitalism. Daniel Defoe regards this type of marriage as the perfect match for increasing capital, efficiency and power. According to him, members of the landed gentry were raised by a false pride which prevented them from properly managing their estates. A member of the rising commercial family would provide the incompetent landowner with the indispensable managing skills and fresh capital.

[I]t may happen that this gentleman [of landed gentry] may drop into the city, and falling into a merchant's family or some other wealthy tradesman's, he meets with a young lady of fortune, that being willing to marry a gentleman and fond of a title, and with all the gentleman being perhaps handsome, well educated and a man of address, she takes a fancy to him, and he gets £ 10 to 20,000 with her. If this be the case, he is made easie at once; he makes her a joynture of the whole estate, pays off the incumbrances, purchases £ 500 a year more, and adds to the estate, keeps £

3 or 4000 ready money in his pocket, and especially if the lady be a good mannager, too, as sometimes happens, especially among the city ladyes, to their fame be it spoken. Thus the gentleman lays up something every year, and, in a word, the family is made, his fortune is doubl'd, his house is settled, he is thoro'ly delivred, and he is a rising man. (Defoe 252)

Marriage is thus reduced to an entrepreneurial transaction. The lady brings her fortune and her managing skills while she gets a husband with a title and estate. The gentleman turns his gentility into an agrarian entrepreneurship, seizing adjacent lands. Defoe celebrates the consolidation of capital and power in these entrepreneurial marriages based on emergent ethics of self-interest. Richardson, on the other hand, through his heroines Clarissa and Anna Howe, condemned such marriages. Clarissa's inheritance of an estate creates familial conflicts since her estate will become the possession of her husband and thus be taken from the Harlowes. That is why “daughters were but encumbrances and drawbacks upon a family [. . .] chickens brought up for the tables of other men” (54). Clarissa revolts against the imposed schemes of marrying her off to Solmes so that the family may compensate, through settlements, the loss of Clarissa's estate. Deriding the accumulation of capital instinct and love of aggrandizement in her family, Clarissa concludes “the world is but one great family. Originally it was so. What then is this narrow selfishness that reigns in us, but relationship remembered against relationship forgot” (34).

Richardson iterates the opposing doctrine to Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. The act tried to ensure that wealthy people's children should marry to guarantee the desirable redistribution of newly acquired wealth. The best way to redistribute it was to invest it in land through marriage and unite wealth and status. The detractors, on the other hand, regarded the Act as a further unsettling threat on the already fragile social harmony. The Act would empower the aristocratic families and concentrate capital in fewer hands. The detractors argued that rather than allying the new money with the old money, new money should be put into free circulation. Instead of a small number of aristocrats with large incomes, a larger number of middle class members with moderate incomes would emerge (Harth 133-4). Making a commercial fortune was associated with dexterity, industriousness and worldliness. Capitalism needed the accumulation of the capital and the commercialization of land. The union of old and new money served this purpose and was promoted both in Parliament and some literary works of the

period. These contract marriages were the emergent form of marriage as an institution. Rising commercial forces promoted these marriages through conduct books and social commentaries by making the union of old and new money “compatible”(McKeon 166). So capitalistic impulse regulated the marriage institution and commodified it. There were new “marriage markets” in Bath and London where commercially compatible pairs would seek spouses (Harth 141). Marriage became an affair of the public sphere, associated with capital, commerce and marketplace.

The sentimental novel, on the other hand, promotes companionate or conjugal marriages between two sentimentally and morally suitable people, as the unit of ideal community. As marriages no longer just happened between the members of the same class, it was essential to provide literary examples of how the member of the lower class merited the member of the higher class, in terms of moral standards. Richardson's *Pamela*, for example, charts the process in which an ordinary servant girl gets to marry her master through preservation of her chastity from his ongoing attempts of seduction. Her moral superiority reforms the to-be-libertine, aristocrat Mr. B. However the representation of a working-class girl as the morally superior party, in comparison to a member of the landed-gentry, was met with criticism. Fielding's *Shamela* (1741), a parodic rewriting of Pamela, presented the working-class girl as a self-interest seeking upstart, faking modesty to disguise her material ambitions. However Fielding also satirizes Mr. B. as a gullible figure to be cuckolded for the rest of his life, ruined by his over-riding passion. Pamela's sentimental morality is not tested with desperateness as in the case of other sentimental characters since she is a working-class girl, she can always go back to her parents, whereas sentimental novel is full of characters that are born to higher classes but have come down in the world. Endowed with residual moral values, they are powerless to compete with the emergent middle-class values. Pamela, on the other hand, in spite of her ambivalent ethics, can inculcate Mr. B. with her middle-class values since Puritanism and abstinence are closely associated with middle-class values.

In *Clarissa*, again, the high-born Lovelace is contrasted with the newly-moneyed class member Clarissa, who ironically embraces residual ethical values of the landed-gentry. Unlike Pamela who marries her to-be-seducer, Clarissa rejects Lovelace whose self-interest-seeking and passion-gratifying conduct destroys the possibility of a

conjugal marriage. Even though Lovelace is a member of landed-gentry, the text correlates his licentiousness with his self-interest motivated ethics and his aristocratic corruption. The possibility of a marriage fails in spite of sexual attraction because both parties defy its material basis. Clarissa is not in search of a titled and estate-owner husband and Lovelace despises Clarissa's commercial wealth. They are "incompatible" in terms of their ethical stances, Clarissa, championing residual, feudal values and Lovelace embracing self-interest motivated ethics of emergent capitalism.

Thus, contract marriages were the emergent form of conjugality which transposed the private sphere of the marriage to public sphere through marriage markets, settlements, and dowries. Marriage between two "compatible" persons raised in sentimental ethics, suitable for a harmonious and modest existence outside the axis of rampant urban capitalism constituted the residual alternative.

The sentimental novel tradition was also concerned with the charity issues. The eighteenth century witnessed a definitive change in the handling of charity as a way of relieving the poor. Communal charity that dated back from the feudal era functioned around a sense of obligation. The landed-gentry extended their charity to the needy of their estates. There was a sense of belonging, a form of paternal protection and even a hierarchical chain (McKeon 403) of giving extending to the mendicant poor (197). However as ethical standards were altered by philosophical ideas; the subjects of charity shifted from neediness within the community to the individual merits of the needy. The volatile masses were alienated from their previous charity sources and urban centres could only relieve a selected few.

The emergent charity was thus not communal but private. Private charity was "an act of beneficence and virtue toward carefully chosen causes rather than a community based obligation" (Perry 71). Private charity dissolved the sense of obligation which previously depended on religious motives. Bernard Mandeville regarded charity as a nuisance on the productive society. Through charity, idle masses were kept in sustenance. Furthermore, the bequests to the Church and the universities were against the interests of capital accumulation. Money that could be put into commerce was withheld from society (*Fable* 266-275). Mandeville's ideas reflected the emergent commercial capitalist impulse to accumulate capital. In fact twenty-one years after the

publication of his ideas, an act (Mortmain Act of 1736) that passed in the Parliament limited the bequests made to the Church or the universities in order to protect the rights of heirs (Perry 217). Private charity represented the prudent impulse of maintaining a charitable meritocracy within the realm of commercial capitalism.

Private charity could be applied on a personal basis in small communities. However, urban centres were too populated and complex for such an individual task. Charity became institutionalized. People transferred their responsibilities of judging the meritoriousness of a particular case to institutions founded for particular causes. This further alienated the bonds in the society. Institutional charity also appealed to the sense of prudence, but it served other purposes as well. Organizations of institutional charity removed desperate people from the streets and isolated them in houses where they had to work and be a part of the labour classes.

The eighteenth-century novel usually ignores the “public philanthropies – such institutions as the Foundling Hospital for deserted infants, Magdalen House for repentant prostitutes, the Philanthropic society for the children of the vagrant and the criminally poor” (Van Sant 20-1). These institutions were largely maintained by voluntary subscriptions and they relied on the sense of a moral obligation to keep them going and as Van Sant emphasizes, these institutions aimed to transform their inmates into a reliable workforce (21). Thus, they served the emergent commercial class and these institutions also severed the ties of private charity by alienating the subscribers and the needy from one another. Van Sant mentions that the reformed prostitutes attended the Magdalen House Chapel sermon, hidden from sight but audible as a body of voices singing (32). In a similar manner, the subjects of institutional charity were obscured from donation makers; they became an abstract body of numbers, costs and revenues.

The eighteenth-century sentimental novelists and religious doctrines (Latitudinarianism in particular) opt for private charity, since it still preserves some degree of residual landed-gentry values in which the landlord provided help for his tenants and it also preserves the Christian ideal of charity. While meritorious private charity and institutional charity were emerging under commercial ethics, communal charity still survived in rural communities as a residual practice of relief. There was also

another form of charity that the sentimental novel offered as an alternative. It was to rekindle the communal charity by extending it to all humanity, accepting it as a large community and provide relief immediately and unpremeditatedly. This act of universal benevolence challenges the emergent meritorious discrimination.

The sentimental novel lost its influence towards the end of the eighteenth century in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789. As Ellis emphasizes, the egalitarian aspects of the sentimental novel was found increasingly detrimental for the status quo (194). The fear that people could unite and revolt against the ruling powers discredited the sentimental novel's community-based ethics of solidarity and sharing and its critical approach to ongoing commercial capitalism. The increasing amount of cheap sentimental novels which lacked the intellectual background of the earlier novels and the increasing fear and distrust towards these novels for harbouring the precursors of revolutionary impulse in the society made the next generation of notable novelists to treat sentimentality with caution and even ridicule it to a certain extent.

The eighteenth-century sentimental novel tradition served a vanguard position in the development of the novel form registering the “structures of feeling” against the advent of commercial capitalism. Emergent commercial ethics of self-interest was defied by the residual alternative ethics offered by the sentimental novels.

CHAPTER I

**SEARCHING FOR A COMMUNAL EXISTENCE THROUGH
ETHICAL VALIDATION IN SARAH FIELDING'S *THE
ADVENTURES OF DAVID SIMPLE AND VOLUME THE LAST***

Eighteenth-century sentimental novel tradition is a site of negotiation in which ethical theories of the period are represented in a series of comparative and contrastive patterns. Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple* and its sequel *Volume the Last* offer a progressive look at these patterns, since the chronologically later novel, *Volume the Last* negates the optimistic closure of the earlier novel.

*The Adventures of David Simple Containing an Account of His Travels Through the Cities of London and Westminster in the Search of a Real Friend*¹ (1744) is the first fictional work of the eighteenth-century novelist Sarah Fielding (1710-68). Sarah Fielding was the sister of Henry Fielding (1707-54) who was already a popular novelist by the time *David Simple* was published. The first edition of *David Simple* was published anonymously, simply registering the gender of the author through an obscure reference, indicating the work to have been written “by a lady” (Kelsall x). *David Simple* achieved quite a popularity and its penmanship was attributed to Henry Fielding. The second edition restored her as the author while her brother wrote a preface, denying the claims and recommending the book (Bree 10).

Before *David Simple*, Sarah Fielding is believed to have contributed to her brother's published fiction, penning one of the epistles (from Leonora to Horatio) from *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and Anna Boleyn's story from *A Journey from this World to the Next* (1744) (Bree 7). During her remaining career, Sarah Fielding produced a number of books noted for their experimental and versatile valour; the first children's fiction to be written: *The Governess* (1749), the first dramatic novel to be written, also the first

1 Abridged as *David Simple* from this point on .

co-authored novel (by Jane Collier): *The Cry* (1754), one of the earliest criticisms of the novel in pamphlet form: *Remarks on Clarissa* (1749), and first fictional biography: *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (1757) (Kelsall x, Woodward 65- 66). She was not well-off and she wrote in order to provide herself with the material comforts she lacked. She always belonged to a circle of female relatives and friends. She was orphaned at a tender age and was brought up along with her sisters and brothers by their maternal grandmother and her namesake Lady Sarah Gould. Their father married again and his pecuniary arrangements concerning his orphaned children resulted in a law suit. Lady Gould asked for the custody of the children and their inheritances and got both (Spender 182-3). Sarah Fielding thus received an early break from her father and experienced how family bonds and responsibilities could be secondary to pleasing and gratifying a new-found love interest. This had an impact on her personal value system since *David Simple* contains the embedded narrative of Camilla and Valentine who are turned out by their father through the machinations of his second young wife.

Sarah Fielding attended a boarding school run by a Mrs. Mary Rookes but it seems she kept on studying subjects such as classical literature, Latin and Greek, on her own or with (friend, fellow-novelist and literary collaborator) Jane Collier (1714-55) and with occasional tutoring by their brothers. She never married and lived with her three sisters, all of them dependent on other family members. When Henry Fielding's first wife died, she kept his house for him. After the death of her siblings, she settled in Bath under the patronage of Ralph Allen (1694-1764) (Bath-situated philanthropist and literary patron). Siblings Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800) (famous Bluestocking) and Sarah Scott (1723-95) (fellow-novelist) invited her to join their cause in setting up a female community but Sarah Fielding was too ill to comply by then and died the same year in Bath (Spender 182-3, Bree 11, 27). In a correspondence between Elizabeth Montagu and Sarah Scott, Sarah Fielding's circumstances were discussed as follows

Fielding is too much of a Bel esprit to know a little 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 . . . it can never be pleasant to one as ill provided with money as Fielding to think about it, & feel a dependence upon another for what humanly speaking, she ought to have of her own. (qtd. in Perry 182)

Sarah Fielding always felt this unpleasantness of being dependent on someone. In *David Simple*, she mentions toad-eaters, a colloquial word for people who had to depend on the generosity of other people and had to bear up with humiliation or burdens since they were not independent. Through Cynthia, she depicts the pangs of being a dependent. She was also not so naive or refined as Elizabeth Montagu thought. She expressed, in the preface to her first novel's anonymous first publication, her impoverished situation (Bree 7). This candid address to the potential buyers of the book affirms that Fielding wrote in order to sustain herself in better conditions.

Sarah Fielding wrote for lucrative reasons but her familial and social contacts, her intellectual achievements, and her propriety were crucial in getting her work published. *David Simple* was published by her brother's publisher. She was also able to publish her later books through subscriptions (of the Bluestocking Circle) or through Samuel Richardson's print-shop. Fielding was popular enough to have her works printed through subscriptions. Subscribers paid a premium for getting the work published and in return their names were printed on the subscribers's list. Sarah, having a novelist brother, had access to his subscribers, including their second cousin, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), noted for her letters (Sabor xi-xii).

Since she did not have to condescend to the demands of the Circulating Library, Fielding was able to experiment with fiction as a form and she could adhere to sophisticated philosophical debates and classical allusions in her novels. While her precursors, Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Delarivier Manley (1663-1724) and Eliza Haywood (?1693-1756) elicited ridicule and contempt from the male intelligentsia for the type of amatory novels they wrote, published by the Circulating Libraries, Sarah Fielding found support and respect for her virtue-promoting work. Sarah Fielding, along with Charlotte Lennox (?1719-1824) and Mary Collyer (1716-62), wrote to establish intellectual approval and respect and in order to achieve this, they promoted sentimental virtue. As Linda Bree suggests Sarah Fielding possibly ignored earlier woman novelists in order to distinguish her fiction as appropriate and respectable (8). The first edition of *David Simple* was published anonymously but with an Advertisement registering the author's purpose, gender and necessity.

The Following Moral Romance (or whatever Title the Reader shall please to

give it) is the work of a Woman, and her first Essay; which, to the good-natured and candid Reader will, it is hoped, be a sufficient Apology for the many Inaccuracies he will find in the Style, and other Faults of the Composition.

Perhaps the best excuse that can be made for a Woman's venturing to write at all is that which really produced the Book; Distress in her Circumstances: which she could not so well remove by any other means in her power.

If it should meet with Success, it will be the only Good Fortune she has ever known; but as she is very sensible, that must chiefly depend on the Entertainment the World can find in the Book itself, and upon what she can say in the Preface, either to move their Compassion, or be-speak their Good-will, she will detain them from it no longer (qtd. in Bree 7).

This “Advertisement” (replaced in later editions with Henry Fielding's “Preface”) was lost in oblivion and many critical editions (including my primary source) left it out. Sarah Fielding's emphasis on the intention of morality in *David Simple* should be instrumental in analysing her work. However Henry Fielding posited *David Simple* in his Preface as to belong within the “comic Epic Poem” tradition, like his *Joseph Andrews* (*David* 6). According to Sara Gadaken, the replacement of the original “Advertisement” silenced the voice of Sarah Fielding as a novelist and established instead Henry Fielding's own approach to novel-writing (545). Felicity Nussbaum argues that Sarah Fielding throws together masculine satire and feminist sentiment and actually subverts the satire genre (18). Simon Stern draws attention to the fact that the “Advertisement” was actually a cry for independence. According to him, Fielding “introduces the novel as a charity case, offering representations of sympathy and begging for sustenance” (623). The “Advertisement” was both a prefatory conversation with the reader expressing the motive and the concern of the book and a marketing of the book as a commodity. In her later career as a novelist, Sarah Fielding could find subscribers for her unpublished books, but her first novel was a direct launch to the marketplace. Her name was withheld but her social class, as a typical case of status inconsistency was definitely emphasized.

Besides silencing the voice of Sarah, Henry Fielding caused *David Simple* to be read in comparison to the more acerbic novels of his own or Tobias Smollett and be declared as second-rate, by coding the work as a satire. The positive criticism that Sarah

Fielding received from her contemporaries was also dismissed in general. The tribute paid by Richardson for Sarah Fielding is especially prominent for he posits Sarah Fielding as a psychological novelist in his own style rather than a satirist:

What a knowledge of the human heart! Well might a critical judge of writing say, as he did to me, that your late brother's knowledge of it was not (fine writer as he was) comparable to yours. His was but as the knowledge of the outside of a clock-work machine, while your's was that of all the finer springs and movements of the inside (qtd. in Spender 185).

Sarah Fielding's own classification of *David Simple* as a moral romance is suggestive of the author's familiarity with the ethical theories of her own period. In fact, most of the characters in the novel are personifications of various ethical premises. Linda Bree points out that all characters in *David Simple* are “personifications of moral or ethical characteristics” and they are “little more than walking representations of particular philosophical principles” and they merely exist in order to depict these principles in action (31). This is consistent with Fielding's initial motives for writing a moral romance. The displacement of the original advertisement undermined the moral emphasis of the text and included it among other satirical works of a lesser degree rather than the first sentimental novel to set a model for others. As the first sentimental novel or “novel of sensibility” to be written (Barker 69), *David Simple* reflects the cultural dynamics of its epoch and depicts in its moral vision, the fluctuating economic forces in the society and the fragility and uncertainty of the individual. The conflicting ethical theories of the period find a site of negotiation among the characters in the novel.

The skeletal plot of *David Simple* is the quest of the eponymous hero in order to populate his life with people of a certain sentimental and moral temperament. After getting double-crossed by his own brother Daniel, and cheated out of his inheritance, David has to suffer the pangs of being a social outcast and discovering that the fraternal bond is severed. When the forgery of the will is disclosed through the remorse of the false witness, David is restored to his wealth although he can no longer associate with his brother. Feeling alone in the world, David decides to search for a kindred spirit. He goes to London, socializes with different groups and believes that he found his heart's desire in Nancy Johnson, the daughter of a wealthy jeweller. However overhearing a conversation in which Nancy compares David to another wealthy suitor, David gives

her up and starts his search again. This time he encounters some characters, Mr. Orgueil, Spatter, and Varnish who provide David with insights into the society. David wanders through different spheres of the society and tries to discover genuine feelings. His first discovery is Cynthia, who is a dependent, a Lady's companion. Though witty and headstrong, Cynthia has to compromise and lead a drab life. Cynthia tells her own story as the narrator of the first embedded narrative and discloses an active, enquiring mind and quick wit. Her rejection of a rather callous suitor imposed upon her by her father causes her to be cut off from the will. David proposes to Cynthia but she turns him down, however she accepts financial help and goes in search for a cousin. David then encounters the siblings Camilla and Valentine, who are in desperate circumstances. Camilla's narrative reveals that they were estranged from their father because of a selfish stepmother, Livia. Livia also ruined their reputation by insinuating incest between the siblings. With the return of Cynthia who turns out to be their long-lost friend, a small, sentimental community is formed with the marriages between David and Camilla, and Valentine and Cynthia. While Cynthia was away she met an Atheist who turns out to be Daniel Simple on his deathbed. They also meet and listen to the narrative of Isabella, whose community in France was shattered. When Camilla's and Valentine's father joins them, their community is fully formed and the novel ends with the happiness of this community and with their resolution to lead a life in rural seclusion.

David Simple starts with accentuating the source of the David Simple's father's fortune, which is the cloth-trade. Fielding thus creates a hero that owes its existence and wealth to trade or new money. Furthermore, his mother is a lowly country woman which emphasizes the plebeian origins of brothers, David and Daniel Simple. Fielding expresses her approval for the labour-intense commercial fortune. As a consequence of this fortune, both children are amply provided for and they are sent to a public school to make gentlemen out of them. Mandeville's aversion towards classic education on the ground that such an education creates over-refined individuals seems to be counteracted by Sarah Fielding. By making David and Daniel attend a public school, she posits the classic education as a requisite for a sentimental refinement. The school also provides a false sense of superiority as to creating the illusion that David and Daniel are like their superiors, "those born in the highest Station" (*David* 9). In a way, the public school, destroys the commercial greed and productive spirit and replaces it with a false security

of belonging to a superior social class. This identification with a higher class, probably that of a landed gentry emphasizes the reactionary attitude towards the commercial, middle-class values. David is organically linked to the latter class but he assumes the values of the landed-gentry. He is a supportive, sharing and caring brother to his somewhat prodigal brother. Daniel, on the other hand, seems to be more at home with commercial values since he is presented as a self-interest aggrandizing hypocrite: for he was “in reality one of those Wretches, whose only Happiness centres in themselves; and that his Conversation with his Companions had never any other View, but in some shape or other to promote his own Interest” (11). Fielding uses the fraternal bond to recreate the rivalling ethical theories in David and Daniel. David is a responsible and generous older brother, in protection of his younger brother, embracing the communal interests and obligations of the fraternal bond. Daniel, on the other hand, is motivated by self-interest and gratification of his desires.

K.G. Hall asserts that in *David Simple*, Fielding downplayed the tensions in the society by sourcing them to mere villainy (54). However, Daniel's villainy is actually a projection of Hobbes and Mandeville's ideas of morality. He is after satisfying his every wish. As long as Daniel has to fall back on David's generosity, he pretends to be a friend to him. However, when their father dies, he draws up a false will seizing everything and turning the rightful heir David into a dependent. He uses the help of his father's servants, a man and a maid, to accomplish this. The servants betray their deceased master's wishes, for their self-interest. Daniel plays on the vanity of the maid whose fear for her “precious soul” (*David* 12) is easily overcome with promises of grandeur. She persuades the manservant, her lover, to help with the scheme. So the residual master-servant relation in which servants were members of the extended family is replaced by the emergent relation in which master and servants are brought together by contractual obligations and motives of self-interest.

David is content to stay as a dependent, since such an act, in his ethical system, would provide Daniel with the pleasure of helping him. Yet Daniel also wants to force his superiority on David, which results in David's leaving the house. Daniel thus overturns the residual values of organic bonding. While he never turns David out, he keeps him in a dismal state, by humiliating him and reminding him of his dependency.

The fraternal and organic bond is transposed into a inorganic bond in which David is presented as an idle and undeserving charity case by Daniel's social circle.

Unable to live under these circumstances, David abandons his brother's house. Although he is practically reduced to being a beggar, he spends his last money giving alms to a beggar and drinking at an inn. Fielding emphasizes David's imprudence as he squanders his last money on some drinks to appease his immediate pain. David's giving alms to a beggar is emblematic in the sense that he can relieve the distress of a complete stranger, while his brother failed to relieve David's distresses. His imprudence accentuates the fact that David is not a materialistic, self-interest aggrandizing person. The relationship between the alms-giver and the beggar is a re-enactment of social bonding in a society in which organic ties have severed.

Luckily, David's outing ends with immediate help coming from his uncle. The fractured kinship relation between David-Daniel is restored in David-Uncle relation. Nussbaum suggests that Fielding actually correlates the dissolution of family ties over property issues and the "vested commercial interests" (6) and draws attention to the fact that the private, domestic sphere is under threat from the ongoing commercialisation. Throughout the novel, the theme of familial disloyalty is a recurrent one; all the members of David's future community suffer from it; Camilla and Valentine's father disowns them and sends them penniless into the world; Cynthia's father disinherits her and leaves her subject to dependence. Both incidents are the projections of a morality based on self-interest. Livia, Camilla's and Valentine's stepmother insinuates an incestuous relationship between the siblings. On her deathbed, she confesses her crime and her husband can only get a single motive; "All the Reason I could get from her was, that she thought her *Interest* and yours was incompatible; for the more I did for you, the less she could have for her self" (*David* 300). Cynthia, on the other hand, refuses to marry a suitor, whose courtship is a callous re-enactment of a business transaction:

he supposed my Father had informed me that they two were agreed on a Bargain. I replied, I did not know my Father was of any Trade, or had any Goods to dispose of; but if he had, and they could agree on their Terms, he should have my Consent, for I never interfered with any Business of my Father's [. . .] In short, Madam, continued he, I have seen you two or three times, altho' you did not know it; I like your Person, hear you have had a sober Education think it time to have an Heir to my Estate, and am willing,

if you consent to it, to make you my Wife; notwithstanding your Father tells me, he can't lay you down above two thousand Pounds. I am none of those nonsensical Fools that can whine and make romantick Love, I leave that to younger Brothers, let my Estate speak for me (108-9).

Cynthia's suitor is probably a landed-gentry who came down in status and needs to marry into money while Cynthia's father wants to ensure a titled son-in-law for self-aggrandizement. As the suitor suggests, only people with no means can profess to have feelings for they have to form advantageous relations to come up in the world. This is the Hobbesian approach that self-interest is the core element in human nature and any refinement of senses is in fact a form of duplicity. In contrast to this, Cynthia rejects her suitor on the ground that marrying for money to someone who is sentimentally inferior is a form of prostitution. While she is punished by her father for turning down the offer, Cynthia's refusal is a counter statement to any mechanic moral theory which is reductive to self-interest. Fielding is anticipating Rousseau's ideas on human nature, that people are naturally affectionate and that there is always an element of free will in taking any action. Cynthia refuses the emergent form of contract marriage based on self-interest.

Fielding crystallizes how greed for property can disrupt familial ties in the parable of the three sisters that David is to meet later in the novel. Following their father's demise, the three sisters fight over the possession of a carpet and cut it into three pieces. But even this destructive act does not appease their greed and a particularly striking flower pattern is destroyed so that none of them can have it. As Fielding draws attention, what should have been a mourning period for the deceased father is spent in fighting over a trifle (*David* 46-7). Furthermore, the ownership of the property becomes more important than the property itself. Simon Stern associates this incident with the acquisitive and competitive spirit of commercial capitalism: “any awareness of another’s prosperity automatically triggers a feeling of loss, a feeling that can be assuaged only by rooting out the source and destroying it” (633). The sororal bond is broken through self-interest and greed and what they cannot possess, they destroy. David was also dispossessed of his inheritance through the machinations of his brother who chose to destroy it by spending rather than sharing.

Following Daniel's disloyalty, David is restored to his fortune, or more correctly to what is left of it after Daniel's “Women and Sots” (*David* 21). Obviously the two

brothers cannot generate money but only spend it. While Daniel spends it on women, David's impulse is to find a friend in order to serve them with his money.

He spent whole Days in thinking on this Subject, wishing he could meet with a Friend that he could live with, who could throw off all separate Interests; for where Selfishness reigns in any of the Community, there can be no Happiness. After he had revolved these things several times in his Mind, he took the oddest, most unaccountable Resolution that ever was heard of, viz. To travel through the whole World, rather than not meet with a real Friend. (*David* 26)

Fielding repeatedly emphasizes David's motive of doing good for other people's sakes and receiving genuine happiness in return. Apart from being the sentimental trope that benevolence should manifest itself, this is the exact reversal of the motive of self-interest. David believes that such feelings exist in other people as well because "his own Mind was a Proof to him, that Generosity, Good-nature, and a Capacity for real Friendship, were to be found in the World" (*David* 46). David revises his initial ambition of travelling the world, by limiting the world to London since a foreign language might hinder him from discovering the sentimental disposition of people.

The first place that David visits in London is the Royal Exchange where he witnesses certain speculative transactions taking place and fortunes being made or lost. Certain characters maliciously misguiding people are considered to be good, as they are always winning large sums of money. David makes up his mind that he can no longer stay in a place "where Riches were esteemed Goodness and Deceit and Low-Cunning, and giving up all things to the love of Gain, were thought Wisdom" (30). That David's starting point should be the Royal Exchange is noteworthy, for it is the centre of all commercial activities. Commerce is the origin of David's fortune and the centre of commercial exchange is the starting point for his quest. Fielding thus emphasizes how commerce dominates the fundamental aspects of everyday life.

Coming out of the Exchange, David encounters his uncle's Jeweller, Mr Johnson. Mr. Johnson cordially invites him to his house where David's first candidate for a real friend, Miss Nancy Johnson lives.

[Miss Johnson] was commanded by her Father, if Mr. *David* made any Addresses to her, to receive them in such a manner, as to fix him hers. He

said, he had conversed with Women enough in his time, to know they did not want Arts to manage the Men, they had formed any Designs on; and therefore desired she would comply with him, in a Case which would be so greatly to her advantage. She did not want many Arguments, to persuade her to endeavour to promote her own Interest, which she had as much at heart, as he could have. (*David* 31)

David's first attempt to secure a real friend is almost realized for Nancy has a stock of genuine sentiments as well. She does not consider David as a mercenary project. However her father's greed results in commanding her daughter to transfer her affections to a Mr. Nokes. In order to achieve this, he appeals to her vanity and points out that his other daughter shall have more luxuries since she is the concubine of an old Jew, while being married to David will only set Nancy back. David overhears Nancy discussing whether she should choose him or not. Fielding points out how women (Nancy and the maid who helped Daniel to forge the will) are drawn from the domestic sphere and household economies into ostentatious consumption and rivalry thus becoming agents of commercial progress. David is devastated that his real friend-to-be is only a vain female with self-interest guiding her actions.

However, he soon composes himself because as “He was in doubt in his own Mind, whether he should not go to some remote Corner of the Earth, lead the Life of a Hermit, and never see a human Face again; but, as he was naturally of a social Temper, he could not bear the Thoughts of such a Life” (*David* 49). Fielding again anticipates Rousseau's argument that man is naturally a social being and cannot live in isolation (13). It is important to note that Nancy is loyal to David but only sways because of sibling rivalry. Competition is not only at the heart of commercial activities but penetrates into human nature as well. As Nussbaum suggests, in an ideal community, the friendship of women should be exempt from competition (22). Nancy's shortcoming is her competitive instinct among her otherwise affable qualities and she pays for this, by dying young after marrying the old suitor.

David Simple next meets Mr. Orgueil, who seems to be the embodiment of refined sensibility. Mr Orgueil cannot be excused of any vice or shortcoming at least not to David's eyes. He seems to be habitually virtuous in his actions. However, he is also a severe judge of other people's actions and does not make allowances for human frailties.

Orgueil stands for mechanistic, rational and unattached moral sense which lacks sympathy and understanding. In contrast to David's motives of doing good for others and feeling good about it, Orgueil does good out of a strict moral code.

[T]he real Love of Rectitude is the Motive of all my Actions. If I could be moved by a Compassion in my Temper to relieve another, the Merit of it would be entirely lost, because it would be done chiefly to please myself: But when I do for any one, what they have a Right to demand from me, by the Laws of Society and right Reason, then it becomes real Virtue, and sound Wisdom. (71)

For Orgueil being obliged through custom, civility or social pressure to act in a certain manner is a sufficient method to arrive at true morality. He dispenses away with the happiness of doing good, because he regards it as a selfish act. Orgueil's moral sense emphasizes the impersonal and institutional types of charity which severs the social bonds between people. By defining charity as a meritocracy of the weakest, institutionalized charity served to create the rudiments of a working class from the dregs of society, by withholding help from unemployed but able-bodied poor. David, on the other hand, eagerly dispenses his money to the needy, yet discriminates a sense of sentimental valour in order to do that. Thus while David is actively engaged with people and exchanging background stories for money, Orgueil merely donates on the latest charity project in fashion or esteem.

Mr. Orgueil's counterpart is Mr. Spatter. Mr. Spatter sees through Orgueil's system of ethics and labels it as a form of pride on Orgueil's side (74). He argues that Orgueil's virtue actually falls closer to vice than he thinks. Mr. Spatter, though no trustworthy character, has a deeper understanding of the concurrent ethical dilemmas.

[T]here are two sorts of Men who are the direct Opposites to each other; the one sort, like Mr. Orgueil, live in a continual war with their Passions, subdue their Appetites, and act up to whatever they think right; they make it their business in all Companies, to exalt the Dignity of human Nature as high as they can; that is, to prove Men are capable, if it was not their own fault, of arriving to a great degree of Perfection, which they heartily consent every one should believe they themselves have done. The others give way to every Temptation, make it their whole business to indulge themselves, without any Consideration who are Sufferers by it, or what Consequences attend it. (*David* 74-5)

Orgueil and Spatter offer two distinctive perspectives in dealing with ethical theories of the period and acting as guides to David Simple. The first one belongs within the stoic Christian tradition which emphasizes virtue for virtue's sake. There can be no impediments to achieving such an absolute morality other than personal shortcomings. Orgueil's moral perspective levels everyone as agents of attainable moral perfection. Abstinence or withholding in contrast to gratification or fulfilment can be laudable since it calls for a communal interest rather than a selfish one. However, Orgueil's lack of sympathy and disregard of circumstantial conditions limits the moral sense in terms of sentiment. Obviously Fielding is alluding to Locke's idea of a mathematically precise moral sense and is favouring Hume's alternative to it; that morality should be "more properly felt than judg'd of" (232); that while there are absolute moral truths, moral sense should rely on sentiment rather than a cold appraisal. In contrast to Orgueil, Spatter seems to be a supporter of the Mandevillean ethos of gratifying every desire. However Spatter is also presented as an ironic character. While he professes to follow Mandeville, his actions are that of a benevolent man.

Fielding introduces a third character Varnish who is presented as a foil to shed a light on Spatter. While Spatter attributes even the good actions to certain underlying selfish motives, Varnish justifies and excuses even the bad actions. He sees good in all people. However as Spatter draws attention, with Varnish, "it goes [not] farther than Words; I never heard of anything remarkable he did to prove that Love" (*David* 95). This incongruity between words and deeds in both characters emphasizes the reason why sentimentalist fiction relies so heavily on gestures, tears and speechlessness. Rather than allowing sentimentalist ethics evolve into a series of mannerisms, clichés and jargon, it aims to establish a corporal network of genuine feelings. Fielding uses, as April London draws attention, emblematic names for this group of male moralists in contrast to the Biblical names of David and Daniel or Catholic names of Cynthia, Camilla and Valentine (144). Lacking genuine sentimental sympathy and compassion, Orgueil, Spatter and Varnish remain as embodiments of assumed ethical stances. They also act as the prism through which David is able to experience the public sphere such as the Coffee-House or a Bluestocking circle. His naivete is an obstruction in analysing the moral attitudes of these assumingly polite and refined societies. As Spatter elaborates, these spheres produce and disseminate public opinion which becomes

estranged from its intellectual origins.

[T]hey find out that they have no Opinions of their own, and therefore make it their whole Study to get into Company with People of real Understanding, and to pick up every thing that is said. And they are so generous of their Treasure, they vent it in every Company they go into, without any Distinction, by which means they impose on the Undiscerning, and make them wonder at their Knowledge and Judgment; but there is an Awkwardness and Want of Propriety in their Way of Speaking, that soon discovers them to the discerning Eye: for borrow'd Wit becomes the Mouth as ill as borrow'd Clothes the Body; and whoever has no delicate Sentiments, nor refined Thoughts of his own, makes as ill a Figure in speaking them, as the most awkward Country Girl could do, dress'd up in all the Finery of a Court Lady. (*David* 87)

Fielding draws attention to the fact that polite and refined societies are not the desired sources of forming a moral sense. Instead of such an ethically shallow and fluctuating public sphere, the domestic sphere is presented as the locus for valuable ethical formation. As David spends his days in theatres, whist parties, Bluestocking meetings, he meets Cynthia, the companion of a Lady. Cynthia, as discussed above, lost her independence because of her father's will. As a dependent, she claims that she is a toad-eater, meaning that she is in a vulnerable position, subject to the persecution of her benefactress. Cynthia's story is the first inset narrative in *David Simple*, and charts mostly the development of her mind: "I loved reading, and had a great Desire of attaining Knowledge; but whenever I asked any Questions of any kind whatsoever, I was always told, *such Things were not proper for Girls of my Age to know*" (*David* 101). Cynthia's fondness for reading and her preference of refined company over her callous sisters sets her apart as an object of ridicule and envy within her family. As she is cut off from her father's will, she is left penniless and has to become a dependent upon the generosity of an acquaintance.

The first part of Cynthia's narration alludes to John Locke, supplies metaphors from mechanistic principles and uses terms such as a toad-eater, and making a butt of anyone. David has to ask the meanings of these latter expressions. Apart from extensive reading, Cynthia has access to polite society which gives her insight about current social mores. She has ample opportunity for staying within and observing polite society and even incorporating its jargon because she has surpassing understanding and wit. Betty

Schellenberg attests that the aim of the eighteenth-century novel is to bring any individual from a state of isolation into a state of social integration (20). Likewise, Cynthia functions as a guide between David and the polite world. Whereas David singles out London for his project of finding a friend, Cynthia chooses to become a dependent in order to extend her experience and see Paris. Cynthia is thus the “ideal moderator, who combines intelligence and knowledge of the world” (28) and becomes the first true friend to David. Sara Gaden finds the reference to Locke important and argues that Cynthia is an embodiment of rationalist thought and she also finds Cynthia capable of forming her judgements through sympathy and association exceeding the limits of her experience (548-50).

The second part of Cynthia's narration thematizes dependence. As she explains people who have to rely on obligations and gratitude are looked upon as Toad-eaters which is

a Metaphor taken from a Mountebank's Boy's eating Toads, in order to shew his Master's Skill in expelling Poison: It is built on a Supposition, (which I am afraid is too generally true) that People who are so unhappy as to be in a State of Dependance, are forced to do the most nauseous things that can be thought on, to please and humour their Patrons. (*David* 113)

Since the polite and refined society is structured hierarchically, the dependants who came down in the world are held in common contempt. Thus the polite society lacks sympathy which is so essential to sentimentalist ethics. Social status determines one's position in society and those who came down in the social ladder become doubly victimized, first financially and then socially. This is commensurate with Michael McKeon's concept of “status inconsistency”, a disparity between current circumstances and past social expectations (172-3). The polite and refined society is not egalitarian and meritocratic. When one of their circle falls from grace, the privileges and comforts that particular social class offers are withheld. In a similar fashion, the newly-moneyed classes rising to power displays another form of status inconsistency. Coming from humble origins, they want to be included into the polite and refined society as well. The idea of such an inclusion causes a constant fear of being negated by this new emerging class, for the complacent members of the socially-elevated class. Therefore, politeness and refinement act as social codes which draw the boundaries of a particular social

circle and as McKeon asserts there is an ongoing “revolutionary clash between status and class orientations and the attendant crisis of status inconsistency” (174). Cynthia, Camilla and Valentine all manifest hardships endured through their status inconsistencies but Cynthia also has a narrative voice which provides a sophisticated and articulate perspective of her situation.

Cynthia's individuality and volition are repressed by a perfect servitude to her once-equal and once-friend Lady. The Lady determines how her immediate society will regard Cynthia's social status and she treats Cynthia as an object of charity, subservient to her whims and caprices. However the infatuation of the Lady's seventeen year-old nephew with Cynthia disturbs the state of things. Although it is a one-sided infatuation, the possibility that a dependant should become her equal (or even superior since the nephew is going to become an earl) through a marriage, provokes the “status inconsistencies” of the Lady. Since Cynthia and the Lady were once friends as equals, such a marriage would restore the balance and confirm Cynthia again as an equal and a friend rather than a dependant. However Cynthia is treated as an upstart, as if she was never on an equal footing with the Lady.

David persuades Cynthia to accept financial help from him in order to save her from the tyranny of the Lady, by emphasizing that there will be no obligations whatsoever other than the happiness David will feel for helping out a fellow-sufferer. Since David was also a dependant on his brother's generosity which eventually turned into a similar tyranny, he can relate to Cynthia's case with sympathy. David asks Cynthia to marry him but she refuses him and decides to seek out a cousin. As Nussbaum emphasizes, Cynthia and David “are better suited to be platonic companions who protect each other from being the economic victims of a friendless society” (22). The refusal also shows that Cynthia feels no obligation to indulge her benefactor which would indicate that David had some ulterior motive in financially relieving her.

After Cynthia leaves, David breaks away from polite societies and seeks to discover lower orders. He disguises himself as a humble man and wanders around among the less better-off. He finds them to be callously mercenary and their lack of refinement only puts their materialism in relief. However, because of this lack of refinement as well, there are no illusions and falsities and David is able to form his

judgements without his guides (Orgueil, Spatter and Varnish or Cynthia). But it is in these humble regions that he encounters the other two members of his future community; siblings Camilla and Valentine.

As noted earlier, Valentine and Camilla were the victims of a stepmother, who saw a clash of conflicts between herself and her stepchildren. Isolated from their social circle altogether by the rumours of an incestuous relation between them, Camilla and Valentine are reduced to begging after Valentine falls sick. As the narrator of the second inset narrative in the novel, Camilla encapsulates what it means to come down in the world from a relatively secure position, especially for a woman.

[T]here is no Situation so deplorable, no Condition so much to be pitied, as that of a Gentlewoman in real Poverty. I mean by real Poverty, not having sufficient to procure us Necessaries; for good Sense will teach People to moderate their Desires, and lessen their way of living, and yet be content. Birth, Family, and Education, become Misfortunes, when we cannot attain some Means of supporting ourselves in the Station they throw us into; our Friends and former Acquaintance look on it as a Disgrace to own us. (169)

Even Cynthia's dependency can be a preferable condition since Camilla also lost her reputation and no refined lady will have her for a companion. This loss of reputation also leaves Camilla subject to indecent proposals coming from the men of her former background. Furthermore, when she begs in the streets colouring her face with charcoal, other beggars of the district beat her and take her earnings. Simon Stern interprets this particular incident as a manifestation of the scarcity of charitable funds and the simulation of self-interested ethics of the commercial classes (632). If the society is structured like a marketplace, there is a superfluous population of needy and desperate people. The beggars have to organize themselves as a gang, a contractual community and limit their numbers so that the revenues will not decrease by sharing. The very objects of charity lack mercy for their fellow-sufferers and this shows how social exchange and economic drives determine public existence. Camilla and Valentine are excluded by all the social classes; rumours of incest exclude them from upper circles and the criminally-organized, monopolist beggars exclude them from lower circles.

David finds the siblings starving at an inn, Valentine, dangerously ill, Camilla in a tattered dress barely covering her and their landlady trying to turn them out. Cynthia's

predicament is the frustration of her mental acuity. Camilla and Valentine's predicament, on the other hand, is a matter of survival. Fielding distinguishes Cynthia as the sentimentally intellectual and Camilla as the sentimentally corporal. David and Cynthia's communication depends on language and conversation in which Cynthia appears as a superior. David and Camilla communicate by flowing tears, expressive glances and silences. David notes that while Cynthia and Camilla are both refined and meritorious women, Camilla is more sentimental and feminine. Camilla and Valentine turn out to be lost friends of Cynthia. When she returns to join them, David's community that he was searching for, is almost fulfilled, with the exception of Camilla and Valentine's father who eventually joins them.

Camilla and Cynthia, as the main characters sharing the same gender with Fielding, are both agents of sentimental progress but in different ways. As noted earlier Cynthia is the rationalist in the community. Her understanding of the contemporary philosophical theories is formed first-hand through reading rather than second-hand through conversation. She read Locke and Mandeville and rather than David and Valentine, both receivers of formal, institutional educations, Cynthia is the intellectually sophisticated and superior member of the community. The only time David displays signs of literariness is when he repeats all vindictive satires on women while disappointed in the love of Nancy. Cynthia's superior intellect makes her the ideal candidate for rationalizing and therefore judging the moral congruity of their decisions. However, Cynthia is also too composed for the corporal language that the others master naturally. Since she is articulate and witty, she does not need to express her feelings any other way.

Cynthia's superiority is revealed through the inner thoughts of the other characters. Cynthia refers to Camilla in her own narration as a close friend with whom she shared her love of reading. Camilla, on the other hand, refers to Cynthia as someone full of "Wit and Vivacity" (138). When David finds out that Camilla is the sensible girl of Cynthia's narration, he becomes more willing to ignore any shortcomings in her. Camilla, learning that Cynthia turned down David, becomes uneasy that she may not be as witty and lively as Cynthia and may pale in comparison. Valentine, who is in love with Cynthia, on the other hand, feels encouraged by her refusal of David's hand. But he

also feels discouraged for proposing to her since there is an imbalance in their circumstances. Cynthia is thus somehow the central figure who is connected to others as a mentor, friend and lover. She may not have the means to procure for the others as David can and thus may not be a benefactress but her wit is essential to shape the interests of the community.

Cynthia, in spite of being treated as a toad-eater and looked upon with contempt, nevertheless can keep her level-headedness and composure. In contrast to Cynthia, Camilla's narration reveals that, in face of adversity, Camilla can lose her senses. Stepmother Livia's machinations succeed so easily because Camilla lets her rage get the better of herself. Furthermore, when she and Valentine become adrift from society and Valentine falls sick, she has to take the initiative to survive. She first asks for help from her newly-abandoned social circle where the rumours of incest are already taken hold. Since, she still retains her gentle looks; the women avoid her out of their status inconsistencies while the men want to abuse her sexually. She later pretends to be a hunch-back and paints yellow dots on her face and targets the newly-moneyed classes. Men start to avoid her this time while women take pity but they often refrain from giving alms and send her off to other women. Last of all, Camilla disguises herself as a beggar and succeeds in collecting some money but she is assaulted by the other beggars of the district who rob and beat her. In the end, Camilla and Valentine are able to sustain themselves because a poor working woman takes pity on them.

Camilla accuses the women of her former class of hiding their motives of self-interest behind the veil of morality invoked by the rumours of incest. The newly-moneyed classes focus their efforts in being cautious about money. Fielding, through Camilla, criticizes the old-moneyed and new-moneyed classes in their failure to relieve a woman and introduces a working-class woman as the only one who helps the siblings. Fielding is emphasizing a character, who does not have the philosophical sophistication of reading and conversational sophistication of polite circles, as the morally integer figure. It is only after that good Samaritan goes to work in the country that Camilla and Valentine face the dire circumstances, out of which David delivers them.

Cynthia and Camilla's narrations contrast them in terms of sentimental attitudes. Cynthia's narration reveals instances of her wit as she is turning down her forced-upon

suitor and mocking herself as a toad-eater. She saw more of the world, and has a capacity of overcoming the lack of a formal education as she can master to speak French while her Lady hangs out with other English people and cannot speak French. Cynthia's wit allows her to adjust to new conditions and makes her a survivalist yet her wit also creates jealousy and hatred. Her wit and charms can place her to a hierarchically higher status while her status is lucratively lower. Cynthia turns down three marriage offers from her forced-upon suitor, the boy-to-be-earl suitor and David. She would rather be a dependent on her father and the Lady than a dependent upon a man she cannot esteem and in David's case, she chooses to stay celibate for she feels that gratitude on her part and idealization on David's part would be the primary motives rather than love.

Camilla, on the other hand, is depicted as sentimentally more complex than Cynthia. She cannot show a stoic endurance or revert to humour when things get too complicated for her. While Cynthia managed the Lady aptly, never allowing her a valid excuse for turning her out, Camilla is sentimentally naïve and transparent. Her feelings (whether of pity or indignation) are depicted in physical outbursts. Livia provokes her to make a scene which disrupts her relations with her father. Furthermore, Camilla is honest to the point that she reveals her shortcomings herself such as wanting Valentine dead (so that his sufferings may cease) or feeling rather pleased when Livia treats her father badly. Therefore, her narration is like a confession, admitting and pointing out her sins/shortcomings and asking for forgiveness/sympathy. Camilla and Cynthia, through their first-person narrations, come out more complex characters in contrast to David who has his actions and the omniscient narrator to represent him. Fielding obviously felt more at ease with her female and down-to-earth characters rather than David, who is both male and emblematic. Linda Bree argues that Fielding had to have a male protagonist since it was

essential to the presentation of satiric scenes of contemporary London life. David Simple, as a man, has access to public spaces: he visits hotels and coffee-shops; he wanders alone round 'Change and St. James's Park, places where women would have to be chaperoned. He changes lodgings at will. If he hears the sound of weeping in the next room, he can walk in and ask what is wrong. If he decides to give his money away, nobody has the power to stop him. If he wishes to indulge his quixotic impulse to spend his time travelling through the whole world, rather than not to meet with a real friend

he can. (32)

Fielding uses the first-person narrations of Cynthia and Camilla to represent the private sphere and subjective experiences of her characters. David, on the other hand is an agent of the public sphere, where he is a passive and passing element registering how the public acts. The first-person narrations (or inset narratives) are constructed to reflect residual ethical values which offer an alternative to commercial ethics while David's picaresque-like episodic encounters in London display the emergent commercial ethics.

Camilla is not a survivalist like Cynthia, since it is only David's interference that saves them. She is sentimentally abrupt and overflowing. She sheds tears, collapses and faints and while her narration depicts an elaborate skill of language, it escapes her often in moments of sentimental intensity. Camilla (and Valentine for that matter) would not survive easily. Camilla regrets that their circumstances kept them out of contact with a community. Her regret reverberates David's quest; "Persons who are so unfortunate as to be in this Situation, are in a World full of People, and yet are as solitary as if they were in the wildest Desert; no body will allow them to be of their Rank, nor admit them into their Community" (170). So David and Camilla are both sentimental and they want to belong to a community. Camilla echoes David's earlier response as to how he could not be a recluse in spite of his sufferings since he relies too much on social relations. Fielding, through David and Camilla, emphasizes that the social exchange between members of a community is the ideal way to attain happiness and harmony and being isolated from an organic communal existence destroys the only ethical and meaningful life.

Cynthia, on the other hand, has gone to find her cousin who turns out to have died and left Cynthia some money which ensures that she can now be an independent woman. She takes a stagecoach to London and encounters a Clergyman, an Atheist and a Butterfly as fellow-travellers. Other than competing for Cynthia's attentions, the three men debate among themselves. The Atheist, for example sees the Clergy only a profession made for a living since he believes that

[c]hance is the Cause of every thing [. . .] considering the numberless Evils there are in the World, it is amazing to me how any one can have the Assurance to talk of the Deity; especially when I consider those very Men,

who thus want to persuade us out of our Senses, at the same time take our Money, and are paid for talking in that manner. I am sure now, whilst I am speaking, I feel such Pains in my Head, and such Disorders all over me, as is a sufficient Proof that there was no Wisdom concerned in the forming us. It is true indeed, that I have sat up whole Nights, and drank very hard lately: But if a good Being, who really loved his Creatures, had been the Cause of our coming into this World, undoubtedly we should have been made in such a manner, that we should neither have had Temptations, nor Power to injure ourselves. (177)

Fielding depicts the Atheist as a Hobbesian-Mandevillean character. Any institution or tradition that would contradict his self-interest is regarded as hypocrisy or custom. The Butterfly, on the other hand, supports the Atheist's argument. However, while the Atheist is a practising proselyte of commercial ethics, Fielding sets the Butterfly apart, since he is "naturally disposed to lead a regular Life, and whose Inclinations prompted him to nothing, which he might not have been allowed in any Religion whatever, put on all the Appearance of Viciousness he could, because he was silly enough to imagine it proved his Sense" (178). The Butterfly is another example of status inconsistency. He ventured in polite circles without the necessary education and refinement and incorporated certain mannerisms and clichés in order to pass as a natural member. It turns out that the Atheist is actually Daniel Simple, David's estranged brother. Fielding again discriminates between intellectual milieu producing the materialist ethics and social circles where these ideas are being disseminated through conversations. The Atheist read the source books of these ideas while the Butterfly heard them repeated "a hundred times before" (179). The Atheist tries to seduce Cynthia by persuading her to yield to pleasure since "*Vice is the greatest Pleasure*" (181), adopting Mandeville's notion of private vices leading to public benefits. The Butterfly, on the other hand, only tries his luck, out of a desire to appear as a fashionable man, then treats Cynthia with reverence. The irony is that the Clergyman is as keen as any of them to seduce Cynthia but his timidity keeps him back and once he overcomes that timidity, he is as ardent as the other two. Fielding seems to be playing ideas against each other. She debases the Hobbesian-Mandevillean treatment of religion and clergy as hypocritical institutions relying upon fear of mortality and social exclusion. But she also debases the Clergyman as a worldly, corrupt figure and does not pair him off with a good Clergyman as her brother does in *Joseph Andrews* (1742) with the characters Parson Adams and Parson

Trulliber. Instead Fielding overlooks the moral shortcomings in her characters and reconciles the repenting Atheist on his deathbed with the repenting Clergyman.

Cynthia, as a young, attractive woman travelling on her own, easily manages to overrule the advances of all three men, again displaying her wit and dexterity in dealing with the menaces society holds in store for a solitary woman. She returns to London and is restored to David's now-extended community. The first thing she initiates is to go around London and observe life and people in their bustle. Again Cynthia acts as a mediator between David's community and the world in general. She tries to draw the others out by urging them to talk about their thoughts. She sets an example by telling them how she thought that

amongst the variety of Shops she saw, how very few of them dealt in Things which were really necessary to preserve Life or Health; and yet that those things which appeared most useless, contributed to the general Welfare: for whilst there was such a thing as Property in the World, unless it could be equally distributed, those People who have little or no share of it, must find out Methods of getting what they want, from those whose Lot it is to have more than is necessary for them; and, except all the World was so generous, as to be willing to part with what they think they have a right to, only for the pleasure of helping others; the way to obtain any thing from them is to apply to their Passions: As, for instance, when a Woman of Fashion goes home with her Coach loaded with Jewels and Trinkets, which, from Custom, she is brought to think she cannot do without, and is indulging her Vanity with the Thoughts of out-shining some other Lady at the next Ball—the Tradesman who receives her Money in Exchange for those things which appear so trifling, to that Vanity perhaps owes his own and his Family's Support. (189)

Cynthia is, of course, repeating the popular eighteenth-century arguments about how luxury is a virtue. She is, thus a mouthpiece voicing contemporary opinions of how gratifying desires can be good for the collective welfare. By reverting to Mandeville, (so soon after she was on the verge of being seduced by one of his adherents), Cynthia displays how she can adjust herself into the scheme of things. Yet she also emphasizes that she holds these opinions since such a thing as property exists. So she is voicing another possibility, a world in which property might not necessarily exist or it might be equally distributed. As James Kim articulates

Fielding offers an egalitarian social vision the likes of which had not been seen since the days of the Levellers and the Diggers, pointing to the radical

distribution of wealth and the abolition of private property as the only alternative to Bernard Mandeville's notorious vision of a social world suffused with status inconsistency, the only alternative to a vile modernity where public benefits spring from private vices, where trifling trinkets command vast sums, and where the sustenance of needy depends on the vainglorious, whimsical passions of the rich. (498)

This is the most extensive and revolutionary vision in the novel and though it is only a meditation made in passing, it is obvious that Fielding regards private property as the root of all evil, decades before Rousseau makes the same statement. Cynthia sees the world exactly as it is and while she does not succumb to its ways, she has a map of where they lead. David, Camilla and Valentine, on the other hand, are full of solipsist meditations and can only form sympathetic identifications with those that have similar experiences; unnatural brothers, cunning stepmothers and unfortunate lovers. Fielding thus makes this outing an example of how Cynthia connects the world and the rest of the community; through her wit, the others might catch a glimpse of the reality that they are all too naïve to deduce. Cynthia also is the mediator between the community and Isabelle, the narrator of the third inset narrative in the novel.

Isabelle is a girl that Cynthia slightly knew from her Paris days and her apparent misery makes David impatient to hear her problems and solve them since he thinks that she is also suffering from a status inconsistency. However, Isabelle's story has nothing remotely resembling Cynthia's and Camilla's situations, since she belonged to the Catholic and French nobility. Her story seems to be told for the sake of how a similar community of refined hearts was destroyed through the unruly passion of one woman, Isabelle's sister-in law, Dorimene. This is a mirror-image of David's community, with Isabelle and her brother Marquis de Stainville and their respective love-interests: Isabelle's fiancé Dumont and Stainville's wife, Dorimene. However, when Dorimene falls in love with Dumont, this community breaks apart, with three of the group dead and Isabelle on her way to join a convent.

Isabelle's narrative does include instances of status inconsistency, since Dumont suffered some reversal of fortune and kept a secluded life before he is restored to his friend, the Marquis. However, it is Dorimene's passion and jealousy which create havoc within this otherwise perfect community. It is perhaps to point out that not all

gratifications of desire are for the collective welfare of a community. However as the only Catholic and rather exotic tale, in *David Simple*, it also points out the fact that a woman has other options from being a dependent or a beggar; she can join a convent and elude the status inconsistencies suffered by Cynthia and Camilla. This tale also depicts that money cannot relieve every distress. Continental Europe is still associated with romance tropes since the rise of the middle-class and commercialisation is not as marked as in Britain. The romance elements of Isabelle's inset narrative reflect a residual social order which is Catholic and Pre-Capitalistic. It differs dramatically from Britain since there are no competitive and acquisitive drives in Isabella's tale, other than Dorimene's uncontrolled passion.

David's small community continue their outings. Competitive and acquisitive drives that commercialism creates to ensure the production and consumption of goods and the fetish-like status these goods acquire are represented metaphorically by a rowing race in the river.

[T]hey perceived, at a little distance from them, the River was all covered with Barges, and Boats of various Sizes; and, on Enquiry, found the Cause of it was, to see six Watermen, who were rowing to Putney for a Coat and Badge. Minds, so philosophical as their's, immediately reflected, how strong a Picture this Contention of the six Boys is of human Life; the Eagerness with which each of them strove to attain this great Reward, is a lively Representation of the Toils and Labours Men voluntarily submit to, for the Gratification of whatever Passion has the Predominancy over them. "But these poor Fellows, said Cynthia, have in view what they really want, and justly think of the Value of the Prize, which will be of real use to them; whilst most of the things we see People so eager in the pursuit of, have no other Good in them, but what, consists chiefly in Fancy." (251-2)

Capitalism creates these fancies of needs, targets, ambitions or passions and in order to achieve these fancies, people have to compete with one another. People watch the race to celebrate the competitive and acquisitive spirit. The rowing race thus becomes a metaphor for commercial capitalism. Fielding creates another metaphor in the representation of sisters, Corinna and Sacharissa in the last tale in the novel narrated by Cynthia. Corinna is a woman of the fashion, a master manipulator always toying with men and keeping their interest until she settles down with one who will ensure best future prospects. Finally she chooses to marry a coxcomb as she will be regarded as an

acquisition and be displayed in social circles where she can carry on her manipulations. Corinna applies the rules of commodification to her affairs, always keeping herself at an arm's length and protecting her status as an object of fancy. Sacharissa, on the other hand, marries the man of sense without any stratagem or evaluation, out of pure love. Fielding thus depicts how commercialism is disrupting the traditional fabric of society, by transforming the very idea of womanhood and marriage.

Daniel, David's brother who turns out to be the Atheist from the stagecoach is reported as dead by the Clergyman. David finds consolation in the fact that he died a penitent, realizing his false morality. During his confessions on his deathbed, Daniel emphasizes

"When I was a young Fellow, I took a delight in reading all those sort of Books which best suited my own Inclinations, by endeavouring to prove all *Pleasure* lay in *Vice*;—and that the wisest thing a Man could do, was to give a Loose to all his *Passions*, and take hold of the present Moment for Pleasure, without depending on *uncertain Futurity*. (286)

Characters corrupted by the Hobbesian and Mandevillian ethics are killed off in the novel. Apart from Daniel Simple, Nancy Jones, David's first love interest, marries an old, wealthy man but dies within six months. Livia, the stepmother of Camilla and Valentine married an old man for his fortune and she too dies accordingly. However, characters who make mistakes because of their passions, not in a conscious, calculating manner, like Camilla and Valentine's father are spared and restored to their loved ones again. Fielding awards characters existing in a community and punishes characters who are motivated by self-interest.

As the little community resolves their love issues, and the pairings of David-Camilla and Cynthia-Valentine are realized, they decide to buy an estate and retreat to a rural community. This is an attempt to live as the landed-gentry and takeover the old loyalties and responsibilities which come with it. Thus *David Simple* ends with the plausibility of a happy, rural, harmonious community with its own ethics and values, in an aggressively commercial world. Fielding, through the character of Cynthia, admits that commerce and luxury creates livelihoods but she actually kills off all the characters who willingly adopt Hobbesian and Mandevillian ethics while maintaining, even before Rousseau that man is essentially social and virtue has to be social in order to be

meaningful. Fielding associates this virtue with the residual landed-gentry and David Simple. She identifies the emergent bourgeoisie middle-class in-the-making through Cynthia's observations since Cynthia's wisdom is partly the outcome of the philosophical tracts instrumental in shaping that class.

Sarah Fielding is critical of the emergent elements of a commercial, self-interest-seeking ethics. Her characters turn down offers of contract marriages. Her working class characters ultimately refuse being paid-labour and redeem themselves by revealing the plot against David. Through Orgueil, Fielding criticizes indifferent and mechanical aspects of institutional charity. London is presented as the capital of commercial acquisitiveness and competitiveness. Inset narratives of Cynthia and Camilla depict how the same commercial acquisitiveness and competitiveness penetrate into the private sphere, destroying the traditional communal solidarity of families and friends. Isabella's inset narrative depicts an idealized past order of the French Aristocracy, in which the downfall of the community is not due a commercial interest but a self-gratification urge of a single character. The idealized past order was not commercialized like the eighteenth-century London but the inception of ethics of self-gratification is discernible. Sarah Fielding uses Cynthia as a mediator between the communal ethics of David and self-interested ethics of the commercial world. While David's community and their intended retreat to rural fringes of the society are offered as ethical alternatives of a residual kind, Cynthia points out to the inevitability of the emerging commercial capitalism.

Sarah Fielding wrote a sequel to *David Simple* after an interval of nine years, entitling it *Volume the Last* (1753). A drastic change of moral vision is discernible in the sequel. David and his community, after a blissful existence of short duration, go into a gradual decline. Their fortunes are lost and their social mobility changes direction and slopes downwards. The community has to separate when Cynthia and Valentine go to the colonies. The inclusion of Mr. and Mrs. Orgueil and Mr. and Mrs Ratcliffe into their circle and their insistence of interference causes David to make some tragic mistakes. The community disintegrates further by deaths and only Cynthia and David's daughter are alive at the end of the novel.

Volume the Last starts a decade after the ending of *David Simple*. The "Preface" is

believed to be written by Jane Collier, Sarah Fielding's friend and literary collaborator (*Volume* 435). After stating that David Simple attained the true happiness that he was after, Collier supports Fielding's decision that such a man of sensibility should be tested in further predicaments and in "a reverse of fortune" (311) rather than tell a new story with fresh characters. She associates it with a musical theme variation. The characters are like "the leading Notes of a Song" (310). She reminds how David found a "Port" (309) and lived

in a society united by well directed Affections, and a Similitude of Mind, in which not one Individual has a selfish View, or a single Wish that is not conducive to the Good and Happiness of the Whole, every Evil may be lessened and alleviated, so that cheerful Poverty may become almost the Envy of many that are called the Rich and Great. (*Volume* 309)

Collier's "Preface" pays homage to Sarah Fielding and provides insight into the text to follow. She draws attention to the fact that a society, undivided by self-interest and united by communal good, generates ethical perfection and peace which would put self-interested individuals into envy. Fielding and Collier centred their ethical and therefore novelistic endeavours around social virtue and communal interest which are residual elements. In *David Simple*, Fielding offered an alternative to the emergent commercial ethics in the form of a rural existence at the fringes of the commercial world where the residual communal ethics might be maintained. But in *Volume the Last*, she destroys that alternative and her community is marginalized, dispossessed and disintegrated. The thematic variation comes from the fact that the emergent commercialized ethics caught up with rural areas and the institutionalized laws intent on protecting the greater wealth increased the status inconsistencies of those with smaller fortunes.

Eleven years passed since the happy nuptials and the happy community lived together in perfect peace and harmony. However right after the wedding, Camilla and Valentine lost their fortunes due to a bad mortgage. This loss disrupted the communal prospects of buying a rural estate. They switched to the next affordable scheme of renting a comfortable house in the country which was again disrupted when part of David's fortune (left to him by his Uncle) was legally challenged by a presumed heir.

[David] was likely to be involved in a tedious and expensive lawsuit: for the Person who had made this pretended Claim to the Estate, left to *David* by

his uncle, was a young Fellow of a very large Fortune, but who had, by his Father, been put Clerk to an Attorney, and by that means, was very learned in all the Tricks of the Law. *David Simple*, therefore, when he considered the Superior Fortune of his Antagonist, and that he must contend with one, who could not, indeed, so properly styled learned in the Laws, as versed in the Knowledge of every shuffling Art to evade their Force, and to make them subservient to his own purposes, was convinced in his own mind that he should be much the least out of his pocket, by giving up at once the whole money. (318)

Law could thus become a perpetrator against people who do not have the financial strength and legal expertise on their sides. People who have small fortunes were at jeopardy by risks from collapsing bonds or extending lawsuits. Such lawsuits could totally drain their victims of their sustenance. Right from the start of the book, this lawsuit by a presumably powerful claimant menaces the community. The emergent commercialism calls for concentration of capital and extension of labour. David and his community, with their intentions of leading a rural and simple life of residual elements, were hardly compatible with the demands of the commercial world. David aims to act sensibly by giving up the claim to refrain from being dragged in to a lawsuit rather than putting himself into further jeopardy by risking his fortune left from his parents. However he is advised to do the opposite with promise of legal support by his new friend, Mr. Ratcliff. The lawsuit causes insecurities and status inconsistencies and having to finance an expensive law suit, they abandon their “House in the Country” (Lincolnshire) (315) and move to humbler lodgings, “a small neat Tenement” “in a pleasant Village called Heddington” (319).

Although the text never refers to what happened to Cynthia’s fortune, her marriage to Valentine would transfer all her property to her husband. Cynthia stops being the independent woman and she might thus be considered as another victim of the property laws. Her companionate marriage renders her powerless in terms of money. However, their communal bonding and solidarity are intact. Whatever status inconsistencies follow, the group always stays loyal to communal interests.

David and Camilla have five children (Peter, Camilla, Joan, Fanny and David) and Valentine and Cynthia have a daughter (Cynthia). Peter, the eldest is born in London, before the community moves to the country. They befriend Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliff, a

childless couple living in London, whom they meet early on when their circumstances were not altered for the worse. Mr. Ratcliff insists on becoming a godfather to Peter, promising to adopt the boy at a certain age. After moving to Heddington, they renew their relations with Mr. Orgueil. “Mr. Orgueil had been settled in that Village about a Year, having bought a large Estate, with a very fine house on it: for Mrs. Orgueil brought him a Fortune of above Thirty thousand Pounds” (320). Mr. Orgueil embraced the emergent commercial ethics: his marriage is an entrepreneurial one and the estate that he bought with it is another commercial enterprise which he intends to expand and make more profitable.

Like Mr. Ratcliff, Mrs. Orgueil becomes a godmother to Joan, since she is the closest in age to her own and only daughter, Henrietta-Cassandra. Both godparents get to name their godchildren. Camilla who wants to name her eldest son to after David remains silent “whilst there was the least probability that her son’s interest might be forwarded by complying with whatever Mr. Ratcliff should in reason desire” (*Volume* 318). Her eldest boy, Peter is named after Mr. Ratcliff. By transferring their natural rights as parents to wealthy god-parents, David and Camilla hope for a security. At least one of their children could avoid the insecurities and uncertainties. But this first breach of natural ties brings on further interference on Mr. Ratcliff’s part. David is aware that he will possibly lose the lawsuit and he intends to settle for a certain sum which would reduce his circumstances but sustain his community. Mr. Ratcliff urges David to carry on the expensive lawsuit and David complies fearing that his son should lose the benefaction of a wealthy godparent. This is a contradictory act on David’s behalf since he is putting the interests of one child above others. Furthermore, being a godparent brings certain responsibilities and promises with it. In *Volume the Last*, the godparents will forfeit their responsibilities and promises thus implying how self-interest will disrupt the social bonding which was supposed to extend the community. A promise is also a social contract which, according to Locke, was one of the basic principles of social harmony (31).

Furthermore, Mr. Ratcliff and his wife are totally indifferent to the reduced circumstances of the community. They are interested in the progress of their godson, fearing that he would be vulgar like his brothers and sisters, since the lack of funds can

not keep up their refinement any more. They advise David to engage his children in menial labours so that they might find employment. When David finally loses the lawsuit, Mr. Ratcliff promises David a small estate but later decides it is too good a chance for himself. Last of all, on the spur of an imagined insult, he disengages from being a godfather altogether. David sought a security for at least one of his children since his status inconsistencies were more at stake than ever. Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliff exploit the growing neediness of David. They expect David to raise his son to gentility, regarding only that particular child's interest. They explicitly reveal their intentions of taking the child at a certain age and adopt him as their own. They retreat from the bond they initiated themselves, since David can no longer maintain the standards of their class. Instead of friendship and bonding, they offer a commodified social relation. When their godchild ceases to be compatible to their standards of gentility, they give him up to look a more compatible candidate in the marketplace. In a letter to David, Mr. Ratcliff advises David not to raise children with refined sensibilities.

Mrs. *Ratcliff* desires me to tell you, she hopes Miss *Camilla* does not neglect her Needle: she read with friendly Concern, the Pleasure your Wife expressed on Miss's Genius for Music and Painting; such things may be encouraged in Young Ladies born to a Fortune; but – no longer ago than last week, a person was recommended to wait on Mrs. Ratcliff-she was a younger daughter to a Baronet, who, dying abroad, left a Family of eleven Children all unprovided for. (348-9)

After giving a catalogue of the girl's accomplishments (French, accounting, drawing, musicality, housekeeping skills in cooking), Mr. Ratcliff tells David that Mrs. Ratcliff turned the girl down for not being fast with a needle. He asserts that if Camilla is good with her needle, Mrs. Ratcliff might hire her or recommend her to her friends. Ironically Mr. Ratcliff complains of Peter's reported progress in numbers and mechanics and demands that he should concentrate on his Latin and writing. "I should be very sorry that the Expence I have already been at, should be all thrown away, which I shall think, if he does not make a great Figure in the literary world" (349). Mr. Ratcliff's treatment of Peter is similar to an entrepreneurial action. He paid for the expenses and he expects a return in the form of a profession suitable for their social class.

Mr. Ratcliff also advises David to keep Peter in school so that he will not spend much time with his sisters and brother. The Ratcliff couple reduces social relations to

utilitarian principles. They are childless so they invest in Peter as a potential heir and an object of pride. They turn down an accomplished young girl for not being good with a needle and advise David to raise Camilla as a seamstress so that they can hire her as a maid. Whatever charity and benevolence they possess are motivated by self-interested commercial ethics. By offering to adopt Peter, they isolate him from his family and they advise David to carry on the expensive lawsuit which ruins him. Both incidents are manifestations of their self-interest that their godchild might be raised as sophisticated as possible.

A third social contact, apart from the Ratcliffes and Orgueils, is maintained with the farmer Mr. Dunster, his wife and their daughter, Betty. The Dunsters are presented as an ethically ideal community.

Farmer *Dunster* and his Wife were plain well-meaning People, and, although they rented a very large Farm, yet they did not affect to live *above their Station*. The Farmer industriously and constantly attended his Business: and his Wife, instead of dressing, and imitating the Manners of a Lady, was contented to be called *Dame*, and valued herself upon the Goodness of her Butter and the Beauty of her Poultry. (321)

The Dunsters are tenant farmers of Orgueil's estate and they have a crucial function in regard to David's community. Mrs. Dunster acts as a surrogate mother to little Cynthia by becoming her wet nurse. So in contrast to unfulfilled promises of Mr. Ratcliff, the Dunsters are material support for David's community. As David's community descends into poverty, the Dunsters become the benefactors, reversing the early situation in which David's community befriended them. Camilla and Cynthia pay close attention to the education of Betty Dunster, accepting her as a member of their community. They teach her how to read and write and she, in return, teaches the children to spin flax. This arrangement was pleasing to the Dunsters since they were on their way to make money from farming, and their only daughter is receiving a fine education. David's community also benefits from this arrangement since, they had major status inconsistencies and their children might have to endure manual labour.

Mrs. Orgueil disrupts this arrangement by claiming that David's community is spoiling Betty Dunster by making her too sophisticated for her position in life. She asks for the girl to be sent to service in her house. Owing a large amount of money, the

Dunsters have to oblige Mrs. Orgueil and Betty Dunster drops her education and joins the ranks of servants.

I am resolved to save her from Destruction, by taking her into my Family; and, if she can be made to forget all the stuff *Cynthia* has taught her, and behaves well, I will keep her as my Woman. Or, if Miss *Cassy* should like her, she may be her Maid. And she will find some difference between living in my house in any Station, and herding with a parcel of beggarly Wits. (329)

Mrs. Orgueil emphasizes her status as a member of the propertied-class by employing and isolating Betty Dunster. It is the emergent element of treating a servant as paid labour. David's group, on the other hand, treat their servants as members of the family as the residual element. When David has to move to a "very small house in the same Village" (332), a servant girl willingly stays with them as part of their family even though they cannot afford to pay wages.

Mrs. Orgueil is a projection of how sentimentalism without philosophy and virtue might create its own fallacies. Genuinely believing that she has a deep-seated moral sense and sentimental formation, Mrs. Orgueil is an ostentatious, pretentious and superficial woman. Her wealth and position are not enough to give her comfort and peace. Having acquired the competitive and acquisitive spirit of the material world, she centres herself and her daughter above everybody. She names her godchild Joan so that her daughter's name will be more striking in comparison. She simply wants to eradicate any competition in any sphere if her daughter's or her superiority is challenged. When Joan grows taller than Henrietta-Cassandra, she is no longer welcome in the Orgueil's house. However, Mrs. Orgueil and her daughter cease to have the privileged relation when their interests conflict. When Mrs Orgueil's interest was concerned, "Henrietta-Cassandra was forced to yield the Pre-eminence to a yet dearer Friend, namely, [Mrs. Orgueil] (346).

Even sentimentality is a form of competition to her. She often compares the calmer responses of David's community to her tantrum-throwing sentimental responses and argues that she has a more sentimental disposition since she shed more tears for the loss of a pet than they did upon separation from their friends. She is especially antagonistic to Cynthia because in terms of wit and conversation, Cynthia is her

superior. When David's circumstances are reduced, she persuades her husband to provide them with a post in Jamaica so that Cynthia will not be around.

Lacking professional skills, like David himself, Valentine accepts this offer in the hope of bettering the community's circumstances. They contemplate upon going collectively, however the fragility of Camilla's and Valentine's father compels the others to stay. Cynthia and Valentine leave their daughter, Cynthia behind, to spare her from the fatigues of a prolonged journey, David's community, thus, begins to disintegrate. Cynthia's absence creates a vacuum in the terms of sensible and intellectual thinking and wit.

Fielding, in the sequel, tones down Cynthia's wit and vivacity, subjecting her to a sickly disposition. Other than a general impression of her wit and a marked jealousy on Mrs. Orgueil's part, her active mind and conversation are overwritten by the narrator. In exchange, Fielding concentrated her efforts in displaying the hidden motives and resentments in Mrs. Orgueil. While Mr. Orgueil is an adherent of moral rectitude, Mrs. Orgueil claims that she is a sentimental being which she seems to interpret as being in a competition where she must outshine others. When Mrs. Orgueil falls ill and his condition is rather severe, she pens a letter to a lady friend of hers.

I have been forced, raving, screaming, fainting, from his Bed-Side; and I verily believe my Heart would at this Instant burst, did not I give this Vent to my Sorrows; for true is that beautiful Line, Grievs when told disappear. The Thought that I shall enjoy a large Jointure, or that my dear Child will have an ample Fortune, are no Alleviations to my Woes. Your Ladyship must be sensible that only moderate or vulgar Grief can be assuaged by such Considerations. The real distraction of my soul admits no consolations; and I snatch, as it were by Force, this short Respite from Misery, to impart my Torments to my dearest Friend [. . .] as soon as I hear the dreadful Sound, *Your husband is no more!* I know I shall be incapable of any Thought or Reflection. No Tongue can express my Distractions. (*Volume 422*)

Mrs. Orgueil knows all her sentimental responses beforehand because for the most part she fakes them or exaggerates them to the point of absurdity. Fielding's Mrs. Orgueil is a useful character to show how sentimental ethics and its intellectual origins are assimilated in a display of simulation. Mrs. Orgueil lives to gratify her self-interests but shows her sentiments either in eloquent language or physical gestures. Fielding

reiterates Mrs. Orgueil's total lack of sympathy for "the Heart that has no Sympathy, is not capable of receiving it" (412). Mrs. Orgueil reads sentimental fiction but she is devoid of a moral sense. She is too much an adherent of self-interest to sympathize with other people. Fielding emphasizes, more than once, that Mrs. Orgueil is not aware of her hypocrisy. She truly believes that she is a sentimental being. She can always associate her indifferences, insensitivities and her reluctances with imagined insults, imprudence and vulgarities.

With a shrewd mind on how to manipulate Mr. Orgueil, Mrs. Orgueil pretends to be pregnant to a second child all the time so that he will feel the responsibility of a growing family and refrain from charitable deeds that his moral rectitude might require occasionally. She invents stories in which people lose their fortunes because they give them out to imprudent friends. While Mrs. Orgueil might be a satirical representation of a vain and stupid woman, she is the very agent of capital accumulation and concentration. In a way, the Orgueils are a biologically-connected family, disrupting the socially-connected community. Mrs Orgueil arranges that Cynthia and Valentine will be asked for the post in Jamaica, so that Cynthia will be moved out of her circle. She takes in their daughter Cynthia and physically damages the child by neglect and abuse causing her to perish. She manipulates Mr Orgueil into thinking that David acts imprudently, emphasizing the fact that David hired a coach to take little Cynthia home regardless of the fact that the child was expiring. When Valentine sends home the news that they might be prospering, she provides Camilla with some relief, only out of an impulse to cheat Cynthia from being the only relief-provider. She takes her daughter who recently recovered from smallpox to visit David's household and causes the two youngest to be infected. When the news of Valentine's death arrives, she rejoices in the fact that Cynthia will not prosper and stops helping Camilla.

Mrs. Orgueil is totally devoid of a genuine inner moral sense. What she lacks in essence she makes up by elaborately penned letters, physical gestures and tears. While the members of David's community were quick to give vent to tears in the prequel, they are calm and composed in *Volume the Last*. They bear their misery silently and patiently. In the prequel tears were often shed for someone else's distress, as an affirmation of sympathy and benevolence. In the sequel, the additional responsibilities

of the children and the uncertainty of the future transformed David's community from being independent relief-providers to dependent relief-seekers. David's community is presented as stoic, mature and natural. In contrast, the self-interested individuals are presented as conformist, childish and artificial. While true grief and hard circumstances cannot break the bond of friendship, self-interested individuals easily break up relationships, promises and loyalties. The Ratcliffs decide not to adopt Peter when they are informed that he cannot comply with their wishes due to his ill health. Although Peter is on his deathbed, the Ratcliffs interpret this as a thin excuse to hide impertinence and ungratefulness towards them. Mrs. Orgueil who takes little Cynthia to Bath so that she may recover from her illness causes her death. As the sick child is a poor company to her daughter, she makes Cynthia switch rooms with a servant. The damp and cold room worsens Cynthia's situation. Even though David comes and carries the child back, the harm is done. Mrs. Orgueil is particularly cruel to little Cynthia since she is Cynthia's daughter. Little Cynthia's death is soon forgotten in her attempt to manipulate her husband on how David imprudently hired a coach to take Cynthia back and how any charity is doomed to be lost by such imprudence.

David eventually realizes that his friends will only help him by giving advice. When Valentine's letter aspires his hopes for the future, David goes to visit a money-lender (Nichols), hoping to loan some money with Valentine's letter as a security. However, Nichols cannot understand how Valentine's future bounty should be considered as security. David tries to assure him that Valentine and he ought to be considered as a single being. "We have lived as one Family, and considered no separate Property" (*Volume* 368). Nichols is tempted to refute this arrangement of things which he considers to be impossible. He tries to fit this arrangement into his system of self-interest and provide David with an alternative interpretation as how things must be actually. David realizes, at one point, the futility of communication. He utters in dismay "You don't talk our language, Sir" to which Nichols replies that he speaks "plain *English*" (369). Nichols's plain English is the practical language of commerce and self-interest.

Nichols is situated at the heart of the rural community giving out loans to desperate small estate owners and farmers. He is also Mr. Orgueil's steward. He "[took]

an exact Measure of all the Lands, and knew, within twenty shillings, what every Man was worth in all the Country round him” (*Volume 368*). Fielding provides a link to the man in the Royal Exchange from the prequel. Associating the goodness and worth of a person in terms of his wealth is no longer a metropolitan case. Commercial ethics penetrates to the rural area. Just as David is under the assault of a lawsuit by a power aiming to concentrate capital in fewer hands, the rural area is under the assault of buyers aiming to concentrate land in fewer hands. When Nichols asks whether Valentine or David was the “best Man” (369) in their relations, David recalls the episode in the Royal Exchange and interprets the meaning correctly. The moneylender is asking who is consistently the wealthier party. To Nichols, on the other hand, David’s defence of Valentine and their community sounds like “unintelligible Gibberish” (370). However he lends David half of the sum he asked for in return. He rejects Valentine’s letter and accepts David’s furniture as security. For observing from a distance, Nichols acknowledges that David is increasing the value of the cottage through his labour.

*David every morning employed himself in cultivating his little Garden, the better to support his beloved Family, not one Spot of waste Ground was to be seen; Labour and Contrivance produced Plenty and Variety, in a Space so small, it barely appeared at first View sufficient for the producing any one kind of Vegetable to support a moderate Family. And this little Piece of Ground had been long neglected, as barren and not worth improving: but the industry of David could surmount difficulties, which to others appeared insurmountable, when attended with the Reward of seeing his Wife, his Children, or his Friends enjoy the fruits of his Labour. (*Volume 373*)*

David, not been raised to any profession, did not produce anything in his life but lived on capital and he is not aware that his labour adds value to the garden. David only turned to manual labour when his family was on the brink of starvation. But the bounty of the garden is not sufficient. David has to borrow money because “his Family wanted Money, not for any thing that would do as well half a Year afterwards, but for the very Staff of Life, even Bread itself, daily Bread” (*Volume 363-4*). David had his status inconsistencies, even when he still had his money, because of the impending lawsuit. It hovered menacingly upon his prospects and “by this Uncertainty he knew not what he was worth, or whether he was not buying daily Bread with Money that he should hereafter be called on to refund” (324-5). Bread, in this sense, means daily sustenance and as the staple item, it is the very stuff, the material base that is necessary for survival

and it sharply coincides with the concept of luxury. The justification of luxury fails as David's community cannot produce luxury items. Luxury was supposed to provide for livelihoods and families according to Mandeville but in David's case, it is only self-gratification which sinks charity funds.

But even in the midst of this poverty, David's children beseech him to let them help a starving beggar in rags by giving their scanty meal to him. The beggar tells his story which almost mirrors that of David. He was the son of a wealthy man banished for making a companionate marriage. After a hard but happy life with his wife and four children, they were sent for by a rich relative. Spending the last of their resources for the journey, they arrived to find the rich relative dead, leaving behind a will which bequeaths his fortune to the beggar's wife. However, another will surfaces and "being destitute of money and friends" (396), they can not overturn it. The wife and the children perish on the return journey. David who is to undergo the same calamities himself, shelters the beggar.

A peculiar Cheerfulness animated *David* and *Camilla* that Evening, from the Consideration, that all their Distress and Poverty had not utterly robbed them of the Power of affording some friendly Protection to one their Species. And this Accident awakened the Remembrance of the many Pleasures of this kind they had once enjoyed. (*Volume 397*)

In spite of having come down into world, David still tries to extend his community by new additions. As "one of their species", the beggar represents the same value system and the same status inconsistencies. David, even in his meagre circumstances, can still act as a benefactor and provide for the beggar as an ideal landed-gentry would care for the fallen of his community. The beggar belongs to the same ethical value system, so as soon as he recovers, he tries to return the favour by helping David in his garden.

False rumours about David's hiring a man-servant circulate and they reach Mr Orgueil, David's sole and last protector and Mr. Nichols, the moneylender. Mr. Orgueil is again judgemental of David's imprudence. Mr. Nichols, the money-lender, thinking his money lost, decides to seize David's furniture. When the man he sent out to seize it accidentally burns down the house, David's last place of shelter disappears too.

David's community takes shelter in Farmer Dunsters's house and Mr. Orgueil

decides to meet their expenses after learning that David did not actually hire a servant. However he is still judgemental of the manner David acted. He attributes the support of the beggar to David's pride and accuses David of playing the benefactor to someone who is his social equal.

David acted in the capacity of a benefactor to Mr. Dunster and his family before he came down the social ladder. Now David's community is in need of their protection. Furthermore, David's community received some relief from strangers on the account of the fire and the loss of their belongings. David felt lucky that the charitable people were not aware of the fact that David's belongings were already lost through a bad loan. They would comment on his imprudence and refrain from giving the money essential for the corporal sustenance. Mr. Orgueil, above all, highly disapproves of imprudence.

Man, by the Use of his Reason alone, has a Power to prevent or heal any Misfortune. [Mr. Orgueil] so implicitly worshiped Human Reason, that it appeared to him no less than Idolatry to dispute its Omnipotence; he, therefore, must necessarily condemn every Man, who is unfortunate whilst this powerful God is Part of him. To have a deity at his Command, and yet be miserable, How absurd! For, according to Mr Orgueil's Way of thinking, this all-powerful God, Human reason, is yet subject to the Will of Man, and he may use it or not, worship it, abuse it, or to do whatever he please with it. (*Volume 357*)

In Mr. Orgueil's ethical system, the emergent commercial capitalism is entirely innocent of the social injustices and imbalances. It is the individuals who wreak havoc on themselves by their imprudence. David's major imprudence was to engage in an expensive lawsuit which was imposed upon him by Mr. Ratcliff. Upon the loss of the lawsuit, he suffered being degraded in to a state of semi-independence in which he could maintain his family on a small sum left and by labouring in his garden. For a time, news from Jamaica kept up the future prospects high. However, Valentine's death destroyed any possible relief. While the self-interested individuals of the novel prosper such as Mr Orgueil and Mr. Ratcliff, David's community is victimized and disintegrated. Sarah Fielding's closure to end her narration in this manner is an acknowledgement of the fact that there is no possible retreat from pervasive influence of commercial capitalism and the self-interested ethics associated with it. In the prequel, members of the community were similarly victimized in London. They were restored to

their former status through confessions of troubled minds. David was restored to his rightful fortune when the servant, who testified for the forged will, confessed his deed. Valentine and Camilla were restored to their parent when Livia, their stepmother confessed in her deathbed that she deliberately accused them of incest. Confession was a Catholic practice but by confessing their sins to lay people rather than to priests and by asking for a particular pardon rather than an overall forgiveness, confession was secularized. These confessions of the characters are residual in the sense that people still need the authority of the Church in their lives but confession is not sufficient; it has to be followed by the approval of the new authority, the legal system.

In *Volume the Last*, Fielding exhausts such legal remedies, because law became a complex affair which protected those in power. Their only chance is the Jamaican enterprise of Valentine and Cynthia. The commercial expansion and control of the colonies necessitated populating the outposts. Valentine's upbringing classified him as an educated gentleman but did not qualify him for any of the rising professions. These status inconsistencies were increasingly resolved at the commercial outposts. The prisons supplied unqualified labour through compulsory transportation of the masses but an elite group of qualified people were also necessary. Valentine was offered a position in law, which would accelerate his status to that profession while he would also receive a plantation, being a married man. Valentine thus becomes the standard-bearer of colonial policies of Britain and sets out to protect the private property rights. Furthermore, by running a plantation, he is drawn even further into commerce. Commercialism and self-interested ethics are now the only options of survival for the community. This stands in opposition to David's community in which only communal interest and solidarity determined the property relations.

The small Stock of Money *David* was now possessed of, he divided with his Friends, to enable them to defray any unlooked for Expences; and this was the first time the word DIVIDED could, with any Propriety, have been used, in relating the Transactions of our society; for SHARING in common, without any Thought of separate property, had been their friendly Practice, from their first connection. (*Volume 338*)

The community thus disintegrates into two distinctive groups. Cynthia and Valentine have to abandon their only child and their friends in order to start a life, contrary to their

ethical premises of communal existence and interest. David and the others have to rely on future developments in the Jamaican enterprise and the funds they are able to get by debt or charity.

David's community suffers terribly. Valentine's death was followed by the deaths of Camilla's and Valentine's father, David's children (all except Camilla) and his wife. David slowly changes his ideas about a rational ethics attainable through searching and sympathizing.

Mankind in general, notwithstanding all their pretended Search after Happiness, seemed to him to be so totally ignorant of any rational Method to pursue it, that they had acted as absurdly as a Refiner would do, who should carefully preserve all the Dross he extracts from Gold, and cast the Gold, as Worthless Dross, into the Sea. (*Volume 341*)

Through David, Fielding is readjusting her position as a sentimental ethicist. She previously maintained the possibility of an ideal community which shared everything and relied on social and communal virtue in the prequel. Now she criticizes that David's search for sentimentally compatible friends is a "pretended Search" and his complacent belief that he could lead a life outside the emergent commercial values and ethics is naive and absurd. Instead he reconciles with the major humane system, the Christian religion that he cast aside in his search for a rational-based ethics. As the gold-dross metaphor emphasizes, even though David was a protractor of sentimental ethics to achieve happiness, he underestimated the power of emergent commercial ethics. David realizes that to set his communal ethics within a framework of rational inquiry is faulty. It only works for mechanical-thinkers like Mr. Orgueil.

David's new-found religion is contrasted with that of Mr. Orgueil. Mr. Orgueil believed in "human reason" and "rule of rectitude" (*Volume 420*). His religion was a fraction of his rational and mechanical ethics. David, on the other hand, increasingly finds solace in Christianity. "All the Books of Philosophy I ever read, afforded me no Relief" (432), he says. He criticizes Mr. Orgueil's complacency in his rectitude. David abandons his earlier pursuit of rationalized ethics and reconciles with Christianity; defending that "Wisdom can soar no higher than the knowledge of our dependence on God" (420). Mr. Orgueil blames him for being not being resolute on his ethical opinions

and tries to convert him back to rationalized ethics. When he fails, he charges David with being “an Enthusiast, a Methodist, a mad Man; an at last, as an unconquerable Argument, told him that he held Principles which were fit for nothing but old Women” (421). Orgueil’s choices for insults are a panoply of resistant and residual forces against commercial capitalism. Orgueil is associating David’s principles with religious fanaticism, insanity and superstition, all of which are devaluing terms against the previous social order. David, on the other hand, is adamant in his opinions. Fielding’s title, *Volume the Last*, becomes emblematic in the sense that not only it is the final chapter of David’s life but it is also the final version of David’s ethical perspective. David lost respect for philosophies of rational ethics that commercial capitalism promotes and espoused Christian religion of the previous social order.

When Cynthia finally returns from Jamaica, she finds a very declining but resolute David on his deathbed. He forsook the philosophers he read for they did not provide him any relief through his sufferings. He found relief in religion, in the possibility of an after-life where the sufferings of this world will be redressed. He admits that he was wrong in pursuing the lawsuit and causing poverty to his family.

[W]hen poverty broke in upon us, I found that to bear the Poverty of many, was almost insupportable. - Then, indeed, my Mind began to be seized with Fear - I was no longer my former Self - Pictures of the Distress of my Family began to succeed each other in my mind, and Terror and Timidity conquered my better Judgment. (431)

David’s communal ethics goes from being an executable and attainable source of happiness to an inevitable source of anxiety and misjudgement. David’s community is victimized by the continuous assaults of institutionalized forms of charity, law and the financial system. Commercial capitalism appropriates the economic sources of the community and the pleasant village of Heddington is taken over by new moneyed classes buying out farms and estates for their pleasure or business.

David’s death is a form of martyrdom like Richardson’s Clarissa and Mackenzie’s Harley. They die embracing Christianity, tradition and feudal loyalties. These are the residual and reactionary elements in an emergent commercial world. The name “Simple” in the prequel stood for David’s naiveté, gullibility and inexperience. In

Volume the Last, David is associated with wisdom, awareness and endurance which grows in proportion with his impoverishment. The name “Simple” in the sequel stands for the pre-Enlightenment Christian feudal world which is a “responsible” civilization in the sense that everybody belongs to a social group and in spite of the social hierarchies, there is an organic unity. Fielding resuscitates this ideal agrarian community by making the small garden yield plenty to eat under David’s manual labour. Simple, in this context, is the uncomplicated and uncommercialized way of living. It is not David but his ideal that is simple. By merging Christianity with that ideal, David is making a statement that without the corresponding value system; the rural estate cannot be an ideal.

David Simple believed that a small group of people connected together by genuine friendship and communal support could retreat into the rural area and live a secluded life away from the mercenary, self-interested and materialistic people. The retreat should be ideally in the form of buying an estate (possibly with a title) and stepping into the shoes of a patriarchal landlord where his community would rely on revenues from his tenants. Instead David and his community, unable to deal with the highly intricate and expensive legal system, descend rapidly into decline. David is burdened with cultivating a small and barren garden that will only yield daily sustenance. It is Mr. Orgueil who buys an estate. However, Mr Orgueil forfeited patriarchal responsibilities that come with property-owning. In further contrast, the rural retreat is also pervaded by the materialism and self-interest of the commercial capitalism. Mr. Nichols, the money-lender is exhausting the resources of the small farm owners who cannot keep up with the new and higher rents.

In such a world, in which, the worth of a person is judged in monetary terms, David’s sentimental ethics fails. Contrary to his better judgement, he succumbs to Ratciff’s wishes because he is afraid for his family. David’s former self would keep all his children together and would not single out any of them, for one child’s self-interest. By accepting interference of a godparent, he puts himself under an obligation and indebtedness. However, the godparents in the novel do not fulfil the patriarchal responsibility they symbolize. The Ratcliffs asked to become the godparents to a child coming from relatively well-off family. But as David’s circumstances decline, they

begin to express their fears that their godson will not turn out to be as polite as they hoped for. They pressure David to send Peter to school so that he will not spend much time with his siblings. They finally break their promise of adopting him when he fails to show up in their house because he is ill. This is a mere pretext to break off the alliance with David because he has come down in the world. The breach of the promise of adopting Peter is a violation of the social contract between the Ratcliffs and David's community.

Typically an eighteenth century novel ends either in a total rejection of the material world and retreat to a “transcendental” alternative, or it ends with an alternative action plan against the material world (Burnham 127). Fielding ended *Volume the Last* according to the former perspective and *David Simple* according to the latter version. She created a material world in which people are after gratification of their pleasures and self-interest is the driving force behind it. David parades through the very heart of the commercial capitalism, which is on the active process of dissolving every social value (family, friends and servants) and replacing it the competitive and acquisitive values of ownership, commodification and luxury. David owes his fortune to prudent and hard-working parents and a commercial enterprise but he rejects this world, highly associated with the cosmopolitan London where money is the determining factor, greediness for money is the corrupting agent and luxury is the refining element. This world is highly constituted by the philosophies of Hobbes, Mandeville and Locke and the emerging newly-moneyed classes and populated by self-interest oriented individuals.

In their stead, Fielding offers her version of sentimental ethics, which accentuate the fact that a community of people, who put the interests of the community above the interests of the individual, can restore and replicate their own version of an ideal social community. David Simple embraces the values of the residual landed gentry with its patriarchal responsibilities and decides to buy an estate in which his community may live on as one large family. Thus the rural estate is offered as an ethical alternative to the commercial world of London. Owning a rural estate is easy because it does not require hereditary rights or royal permits. While offering the rural estate as an ethical alternative in which sentimentally-versed people can exist at the margins of a commercial

capitalism's metropolitans, Fielding does not question why this ethical alternative can be sold and bought just like any commodity in the market. This is a moral dilemma in itself. Cynthia's comment, on how property and its unequal distribution exist along with the competitive and acquisitive drives in human nature, expresses Fielding's egalitarian sympathies.

In *Volume the Last*, Fielding shows how the rural estate as an ethical value is only embedded in her earlier novel as a cultural construction. Within a time span of nine years, the agrarian capitalism penetrated into the rural area. The money-lender Mr. Nichols is its major representative, seizing all property from its previous owners. Mr. Orgueil, as the estate owner, rationalized charity to the point of indifference. The rural estate as an ethical ideal (David's version) becomes an alternative in contrast to the rural estate as a commercial enterprise (Mr. Orgueil's version). It does not exist but it provides insight and brings into attention the problems of dispossession and social havoc the latter is wreaking. Fielding, through David's sufferings due to poverty, showed how reductionist and formulaic philosophical rationalizations, lying at the core of individualistic ethics of self-interest, condition people to indifference.

In the prequel, David's future prospects were resolved. He was to buy a rural estate and live with his community as a member of landed-gentry fulfilling the part of a benefactor. In the sequel, it is Mr Orgueil who gets to own the rural estate because he is the embodiment of the emergent commercial values. His marriage is an entrepreneurial one. He is married to Mrs. Orgueil for her money and thinks that his philosophical superiority will keep her in place. He manages his estate like an entrepreneur working on developments to increase his profits and he also considers being a peer. He feels no loyalty to his villagers and employs hard-boiled discrimination for charity, only helping those who meet his standards. He regards all calamities avoidable by human reason and so does the other estate owners. It is only when David's house burns down that, he receives charity because a fire is a neutral tragedy with no human action involved. By making Mr. Orgueil succeed and prosper and maintain his life in a way that she initially set out for David Simple, Fielding acknowledges that David's version of the rural estate

is just an ideal, a literary alternative, a residual value. By destroying it for David, she destroys the rural estate as an ideal and offers it again as the new territory of commercial capitalism as its emergent element.

CHAPTER II

**RESTORATION OF THE COMMUNAL ETHICS IN OLIVER
GOLDSMITH'S *THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD***

Sarah Fielding's *David Simple* and its sequel *Volume the Last* charts the predicament of a community of people brought together by ethical validation against the emergent commercial ethics. Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, on the other hand, charts the similar predicaments for a family, a community based on flesh and blood rather than ethical validation. The members of the family must undergo through hardships in the course of the novel in order to transform into a ethically-validated community.

Oliver Goldsmith (?1730-74), like Sarah Fielding, had to write in order to earn money. Whereas Sarah Fielding was socially restricted because of her gender, Goldsmith was socially restricted, because he was an Irishman raised outside the mores of polite English society. After an Irish childhood, Goldsmith attended Trinity College, Dublin, graduated, but was not ordained. He further studied medicine and is rumoured to as having his degree but his efforts to start a profession in medicine failed. He had to become one of the hack-writers of the *Monthly Review* (the first literary review periodical which ran from 1749 to 1845 (Drabble 688)). A friendship with Samuel Johnson, the leading literary figure of his period had a positive influence on his literary output. Johnson acted as a promoter and agent of Goldsmith, selling the unfinished manuscript of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) so that Goldsmith could pay his debts (Drabble 416).

His friendship with Samuel Johnson also determined his literary reputation. James Boswell wrote Johnson's biography, *Life of Johnson* (1791), in which Goldsmith is represented as a rather ridiculous, pompous and socially ill-adjusted man. Boswell goes as far as to suggest that what passed as Goldsmith's was actually often attributed to

Johnson himself. While Boswell tries to present Goldsmith as a jealous and mean man of poor social skills, his narration in fact presents a man who revolts against the cult of genius that Boswell is building around the figure of Johnson. Goldsmith resents being called Goldy by Johnson, and rebukes Boswell for “making a monarchy of what should be a republick” (Boswell 545), meaning that instead of the literary genius and singular wit of one man, all the members of the circle should be included in voicing their opinions without the fear of being found ridiculous. When Johnson makes fun of Goldsmith for voicing aloud his predicament of writing a fable on fishes since it is difficult to make the fish speak, he notices the slight and says “Why, Dr. Johnson, this is not so easy as you seem to think; for if you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like WHALES” (524). But Boswell's greatest reduction of Goldsmith's worth is due to his Irish roots. According to Boswell, Goldsmith has,

no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them. He was very much what a French call *un étourdi*, and from vanity and an eager desire of being conspicuous wherever he was, he frequently talked carelessly without knowledge of the subject, or even without thought. [. . .] He, I am afraid, had no settled system of any sort. (Boswell 293)

Boswell is critical of Goldsmith's conversation because it lacks the final delivering stroke of wit that Johnson is accredited with. As a popular literary figure, Goldsmith was expected to make witty judgements, sophisticated remarks and a superior display of intellect while he seems to oppose this very expectation. Boswell found the lack of a unifying system of thought in Goldsmith problematic and interpreted all his oppositions to Johnson as either affectation or vanity. However, there is definitely a serious difference between Johnson and Goldsmith. Johnson has more trust in the state of things and he aspires to have a cult of genius built around him. Goldsmith, on the other hand, dreads concentration of power in fewer hands; he believes that a monarchy is better than an oligarchy.

Boswell's previously-quoted comment voices his critical opinion on Goldsmith lacking a coherent system of thought. However, Ricardo Quintano, after studying Goldsmith's essays of 1760-2, argued that they manifest a systematic political philosophy. This philosophy can be encapsulated as the “distrust of the upper-middle

class, of the men of aggressive wealth, loyalty to a strong monarchy as a counter to commercial oligarchy, and a belief in the necessity of a strong middle class” (qtd. in Hopkins 328). Goldsmith was a supporter of a strong monarchy for he believed that a strong monarchy was the best form of tyranny for the small man. His concerns for the small men and their traditional life under the assault of commercial oligarchy determined the key themes of his fictional works. Alfred Lutz argued that Goldsmith repeatedly created rural societies which were precapitalistic economies in which self-sufficient and independent land “owners-occupiers” carried on harmonious and fulfilling lives (181). It was more a “historical construction” (196).

Since Goldsmith is the cultural product of an Irish heritage, these rural societies were closely linked with the Catholic-Irish rural experiences of his childhood. As Robert W. Seitz emphasizes, Goldsmith's formative years were spent in Ireland where he developed his peculiar “distrust of the great” (406). He was less adverse to old families but regarded the new commercial nouveau riche as the problematic class (Bell 759). Seitz points out the fact that the “great, indeed, whether as mediaeval barons or commercial Whigs, served as convenient villains in Goldsmith's English social and political drama” (406).

In contrast, Goldsmith favoured the simple people of rural Ireland as the ideal communities. His fictional and poetic rural societies are found to be very copious of Lissoy, his childhood village (Golden 181). He envisioned “a village whose inhabitants were strangers to opulence but unacquainted with distress, henceforth his formula for the middle order of mankind” (Seitz 408). This way of life lacked the competitive drive, which would produce an active and prudent individual and Goldsmith's deficiency in making and retaining money and his prodigality are the consequences of a different moral order than that of Johnson's circle. Seitz associates Goldsmith's certain peculiarities with his having to “make a living among alien people” (407), i.e., the English who are culturally different from the Irish.

Furthermore, Goldsmith knew the perils and downsides of being a small man for the majority of his life. It is not that he never came into money. It was his whimsical way of spending it that made him stay financially insecure. Boswell's anecdotes depict Goldsmith borrowing money in order to avoid being sent to the Debtor's Prison for

failing to pay his rent and then spending it on wine. Johnson saved him by selling one of his manuscripts (*The Vicar of Wakefield*) to the booksellers (Boswell 294).

Goldsmith would try to condition himself to prudence by hanging around aphorisms about its advantages in his room (Helgerson 523). He was trying to reverse the effects of a sentimental self-education.

I had learn'd from books to love virtue, before I was taught from experience the necessity of being selfish. I had contracted the habits and notions of a Philosopher, while I was exposing myself to the insidious approaches of cunning. (qtd. in Helgerson 522-3)

Goldsmith thus emphasizes the fact that his ethics was promoted by reading sentimentalist philosophers or published sermons and that it was foremost communal and cooperative. Self-interest was not assimilated into his ethics and therefore, he was vulnerable against a self-interest focused public. Goldsmith's communal ethics seems to have made a definite impact on his writing. His writing is often concerned with the dissolution of communities, displacement and abandonment of rural areas.

Goldsmith was a versatile author trying his hand in a lot of different genres. His first published work was his poem "The Traveller" (1764). This poem is thematically linked to his most famous poem "The Deserted Village" (1770). Both poems are concerned with the impact of the commercial capitalism on the rural communities and rural landscapes. Niki Hessell points out the fact that "The Deserted Village" associated colonial wealth with the disrupting force which victimized rural areas, the "process that stripped them of their land by forcing them to become colonists themselves and move to new found worlds that the poem deplures" (643). The newly-moneyed classes invested in rural areas, buying estates and turning out tenant-farmers and villagers. The crime wave created by this displacement of the masses and enhanced property rights led to the transportation of masses to colonies. This poem appealed to its contemporary readers and there were multiple cases of colonial establishments being named "Auburn" after the village in the poem (645). Hessell claims that while for Goldsmith, the poem was a remembrance of things past; it was used in a reactionary manner in the new world, "framing proposals for radical and political change" (646). The impact of the poem extended in time and space and offered a residual value for the new settlers. The tragic

testimony of the poem included “the destruction of communal life; the imposition of a form of land-ownership that gradually removed the ability for land to be held in common; the erosion of community leadership roles such as that of the minister” (647). These incidents are closely related to the residual ethics of communal values which were eroded by the commercial ethics of self-interest. Howard Johnson Bell identifies the three main social criticisms in the poem as against “luxury, the aristocracy of wealth and commerce” (753).

Auburn, once the scene of human drama, is now deserted because a rich man (the tyrant, the one only master) has acquired the land. All over the kingdom similar conditions exist: the men who have accumulated wealth through commerce are grabbing the land, dispossessing the farmer, showing off their unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp in their villas, artificial lakes, parks, stables, and hunting preserves. The land which formerly gave a livelihood to many poor farmers is now a pleasure garden for the aristocracy of wealth. There is no place for the dispossessed poor man to go save to the city, where the horrors of poverty are intensified, or to the colonies, where death threatens constantly. This great luxury of the rich makes the kingdom seem prosperous, but actually the oppression of the poor people and the extension of the nation's boundaries (by colonies) resulting from the greed of the luxurious rich threaten to destroy-nay, even now have half destroyed-the nation. (Bell 748-9)

Goldsmith’s political vision is extensive and while it is formulaic and simple, therefore repetitive. However, it is unique in its early criticism of colonization, in the causality he forms between colonial wealth and the collapse of the rural economic system and emphasizing the consequences of this collapse through its immediate victims. His fabricated rural communities are residual value-systems established against the emergent commercial ethics.

Goldsmith wrote, earlier, a satirical work, which was published serially (1760-61) under the pseudonym Lien Chi Altangi, who claimed to be a Chinese man writing back home about his observations on the English. Later, Goldsmith reclaimed his name and the title of the book was changed from *Chinese Letters* to *The Citizen of the World*. Goldsmith employed Altangi to promote his views on a wider distribution of wealth, a larger circulation of money and a lesser concentration of capital (Bell 759).

Goldsmith also wrote two comedies. His first comedy, *The Good Natur’d Man*

(1768) revolved around Honeywood, a character too generous and open-hearted for his own good. Honeywood has to learn prudence and be cured of his universal benevolence. His second comedy *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) revolved around estate-owner Hardcastle whose house is mistakenly taken for an inn and his daughter, for a servant by his future son-in-law, Marlow. Goldsmith thus played upon the status inconsistencies of the landed gentry. Goldsmith was critical of the then-temporary comedy playwrights for their representation of the noble and rich people in their plays and leaving out ordinary people. He claimed that by creating financially infallible and morally integer characters on stage, the comedy became limited to distresses rather than follies (*Miscellaneous IV* 345-7). In order to refute this dramatic convention, Goldsmith employed a contemporary rural character and a rural mansion in *She Stoops to Conquer* far from urban and polite London, emphasizing the rural estate as the ideal medium to depict the follies of the characters. He also wrote numerous books as a hack-writer, on various subjects from histories to abridged classics. His only novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, repeated or anticipated Goldsmith's resonant themes such as the reformation of the imprudently generous man (as in *Good Natur'd Man*) and the destruction of the communal and rural life ("The Deserted Village" and "the Traveller").

In *the Vicar of Wakefield*, Goldsmith deals with the fortunes and misfortunes of a clerical family, the Primroses. Goldsmith, when creating characters which represent "landed virtue" associates their names with the land (Honeywood, Hardcastle, Thornhill) (Zomchic 58). Therefore, the name Primrose suggests a weaker but still land-associated virtue, a fragile spring flower like the fragile Primroses who are (like Goldsmith himself) imprudent and sentimental. The Primroses represent the "small man" connected to the land. While they are not landed gentry, they represent the residual value of the church and their fortune allows them to play the part of a benefactor. Goldsmith's particular choice in depicting a family is suggestive since he elsewhere associated the family with monarchy, his preferred political system for protecting the social fabric of the rural areas. He also described the family as breeding ground to impose docility.

Filial obedience is the first and greatest requisite of a state; by this we become good subjects to our emperors, capable of behaving with just subordination to our superiors, and grateful dependents on heaven; by this

we become fonder of marriage, in order to be capable of exacting obedience from others in our turn; by this we become good magistrates, for early submission is the truest lesson to those who would learn to rule. By this *the whole state may be said to resemble one family*. (*Miscellaneous III* 166, my italics)

The Primroses transform from being the socially-revered, singled out comfortable clerical family to being a destitute, imprisoned and dispossessed community. By using the nuclear family as the ideal community, in contrast to David Simple's community of sentimentally compatible individuals, Goldsmith privileges heredity and lineage over meritocracy.

The Vicar of Wakefield narrates the misfortunes of a clergyman and his family who are leading an almost Edenic life in Wakefield. Dr. Primrose and his family live on easy terms thanks to a private income and enjoy life to its maximum. However, when their fortune is lost because their agent goes bankrupt, their life is shattered. Dr. Primrose can no longer stay in Wakefield for he donated his clerical income to the poor of his parish. He has to move to another parish with a diminished salary and office. Furthermore, his eldest son George's upcoming nuptials with Arabella Wilmot is cancelled since the Primroses can no longer bestow a marriage settlement and they no longer qualify for their immediate social circle.

George is sent to London in order to make his fortune and the Primroses and their remaining five children leave Wakefield. On their way to their new retreat, they meet Mr. Burchell, who rejects the customs of polite society, leads a solitary life and looks like a vagabond. He saves Sophia, the younger daughter, from drowning. When they settle in their new home, they meet the notorious Squire Thornhill, their landlord. He is the nephew of Sir William Thornhill, whose virtues are legendary. The Primroses adjust to their new circumstances and restore harmony and peace. The introduction of Squire Thornhill however disrupts their harmony since the matrimonial ambitions of the family kindle their vanities. Their peace is shattered when their oldest daughter Olivia elopes with a stranger. Dr. Primrose is led to believe that Squire Thornhill is innocent of this deed.

While searching for Olivia, Dr. Primrose runs into George who joined a theatre

company. They also meet Arabella Wilmot whose compassion for George is still strong. When Squire Thornhill joins their party, it is obvious that he has intentions upon Arabella. Thornhill provides the money for purchasing George's commission to become an officer and seek his fortune abroad in return for a bond from Dr. Primrose. On his return journey, Dr. Primrose runs into his ruined daughter and finds out that Squire Thornhill is the seducer. They return home to find it ablaze and their remaining possessions gone. Furthermore, when Dr. Primrose refuses to give his blessing for the marriage of Squire Thornhill and Arabella Wilmot, his cattle is seized and he is sent to prison, where he meets Jenkinson, the conman who robbed him of his horse in a fair. As he is trying to reform the prisoners, his son George is also brought to jail, wounded. Hearing of his family's calamities, he returned to have their revenge on Squire Thornhill. Further calamities follow as Olivia is reported dead. When Dr. Primrose hears the news of Olivia's death, he offers to comply with Squire Thornhill but is rejected. However, the arrival of Sir William Thornhill, who turns out to be Mr Burchell, puts an end to the sufferings of the Primroses. Olivia, who is alive, turns out to be really wedded to Squire Thornhill, through the machination of Jenkinson. Sir William Thornhill marries Sophia, George marries Arabella Wilmot, Dr. Primrose's fortunes are restored by the return of the merchant and the family can even go back to some of their petty vanities.

The Vicar, like *David Simple*, charts the reversal of fortune and a downwards social mobility of a community. The first person narrator, Dr. Charles Primrose depicts an ideal rural retreat in Wakefield. He is the satisfied and proud head of a large and healthy family. Dr. Primrose's narration can offer itself to multiple readings in interpreting him as a reliable or unreliable narrator. Thomas R. Preston argues that the reader should see his hypocrisies, commercial-mindedness and gold-digging ambitions (229). This study tends to read Dr. Primrose as a reliable narrator; passive and under the influence of his wife until their daughter elopes and active and self-assertive afterwards, adopting the view that Goldsmith intended him to be purged from the commercial ethics of self-interest and greed (Hopkins 336).

The opening line of the novel establishes the fact that Primrose "was ever of opinion, that the honest man who married and brought up a large family, did more

service than he who continued single, and only talked of population” (*Vicar* 9). The Primroses are thus presented as a social unit in contrast to the single man who is indifferent and detached from society. Such a man, as the text suggests would be a promoter of self-interest and would believe in a hidden hand mechanism to settle the imbalances in the society. From the opening line of the book, then, Primrose is presented to be a champion of social virtue. He has familial responsibilities and paternal duties, relevant to a household.

Since Dr. Primrose is a vicar, this strongly suggests that he got ordained after attending to either Oxford or Cambridge. Furthermore, he is financially independent because of a fortune trusted to a financial agent. As Liz Bellamy draws attention, Dr. Primrose’s “rural existence is harmoniously integrated with the commercial system, which facilitates his benevolence and self-sufficiency” (139). Primrose can afford to be the conscientious and caring clergyman to his parish. Because of his private income, he settled his clerical revenues on “the orphans and widows of the clergy of [his] diocese” (*Vicar* 13). Dr. Primrose, by this act, seems to be a supporter of institutionalized charity since this is not an arbitrary handing out sums to the needy in the parish but organized transaction. Since this charitable act is arranged through a contract, it is legally “binding and irreversible” (Dixon 87).

Dr. Primrose also takes pride in the fact that he “felt a secret pleasure in doing [his] duty without reward” (*Vicar* 12). Dr. Primrose validates the philosophical perspective which meant to sever the feudal obligation of charity in a community by maintaining that charity was another form of self-interest since charity gave pleasure and pleasure ought to be a vice. Hobbes argues that people in need of charity could not survive on random relief therefore a commonwealth ought to set up institutions to take care of them (387). Dr. Primrose thus seems to reject residual communal charity and prefer emergent institutionalized charity.

This is rather contrary to Goldsmith's concern for the small or common man and his panacea that capital and power should be put into circulation. Goldsmith depicts a clergymen more indoctrinated by the Hobbesian view of charity than the universal benevolence promoted by the Catholic Church and the Latitudinarian movement in the Anglican Church. Goldsmith emphasizes how Primrose is ethically controversial for a

clergyman. He establishes Primrose as a practitioner of institutional charity that the commercial ethics approves, in order to subvert it later by transforming him to become a proselyte of the communal ethics.

Dr. Primrose is able to turn over his salary for charity because he has a fortune to sustain him more than sufficiently. The Primroses owe their fortune to Primrose's brother who named their firstborn (George) after himself and left him ten thousand pounds. Dr. Primrose is probably a younger son who was ordained while his older brother inherited everything. By acting as a surrogate father, his brother gave back some of the money he inherited so that wealth would not be possessed by a single person. Primrose's brother thus privileges familial (communal) ethics over the commercial ethics, which dictate legal transactions. Therefore, while the Primroses rely on the interest of their money, it was the communal ethics of the brother which provided the money in the first place.

Dr. Primrose's marriage is not an entrepreneurial one. He chose his wife for her domestic skills, not for a "glossy surface" (*Vicar* 9). Matrimony, on the other hand, is a popular theme of his and he writes and debates on the necessity of monogamy for a clergyman even in the case of widowhood. He also strongly preaches his congregation to marry to the extent that it became a maxim to say that Wakefield lacked single men for the Vicar urged them all to marry. While writing pamphlets on the issue of clergymen having to stay single and follow a strict monogamy, he honours his wife by writing in advance an epithaph for her which is framed and hung on the chimney-piece. It serves to remind her of her obligations and kindle her vanity for being famous for being Dr. Primrose's only wife.

Dr. Primrose wanted to name one of their daughters as Grissel, after his sister. But his two daughters are named Olivia by Mrs. Primrose and Sophia by a rich godmother. Dr. Primrose is apologetic for his daughters having romantic names. Only his second son has the biblical name, Moses. As in *David Simple*, wealthy godparents name the godchild. Such fashionable and untraditional names, for the children of a clergyman, suggest that Dr. Primrose is rather a passive and impressionable man. While Sarah Fielding named her characters after biblical namesakes (David and Daniel) and Catholic saints (Valentine and Camilla), Goldsmith's characters are named after epic heroes

(George) and romance heroines (Olivia and Sophia). This further reinforces the fact that though Dr. Primrose and his family are living in a traditional community, they have vanities and ambitions which surpass that of a country clerical family. Dr. Primrose vouches their life to be very happy

Thus we lived several years in a state of much happiness, not but that we sometimes had those little rubs which Providence sends to enhance the value of its favours. My orchard was often robbed by school-boys, and my wife's custards plundered by the cats or the children. The 'Squire would sometimes fall asleep in the most pathetic parts of my sermon, or his lady return my wife's civilities at church with a mutilated curtesy. But we soon got over the uneasiness caused by such accidents, and usually in three or four days began to wonder how they vexed us. (*Vicar* 10)

The Primroses expect more attention from the Squire and his lady for they feel themselves superior to the ordinary clerical families. The diminished prestige and power of the clergy, manifested by their portrayal as drones in a beehive by Mandeville, is not applicable to them because they have a fortune invested in commerce, a stylish abode and wealthy friends. Other clergymen left behind wives and children in dire poverty, which indicates that the social function and prestige of the clergy diminished. Dr. Primrose's donation of his salary to the orphans and widows of the clergy establishes the fact that the Primroses moved upwards socially.

Dr. Primrose is thus presented as a man, in harmony with his station in life. He can be a benefactor to the poor in his parish and he can also spiritually guide them. Wakefield is situated near the road, so their tranquil life is often interrupted by the mobility of the metropolitan world, in the form of visitors. A clergyman would be a graduate of either Cambridge or Oxford and this meant that they would be secluded from the pervasive and corrupting influence of commercial London (Voltaire 28). So Wakefield is isolated enough from the pervasive influence of the emerging market economy although the proximity of the road keeps people intruding upon the happy household. Dr. Primrose humorously keeps them away by lending them items so that they will not come back. These items could range from an overcoat to a small horse. The urge for acquisitiveness would stop the item from being returned.

The Primroses act as benefactors to the poor in the parish as well. They get upset

by the Squire's effronteries because technically they are independent and they duplicate his social function in the community by relieving the distressed. As a clerical family, they lead a life more befitting for a rentier. Their days are spent with music, country dancing, horse-riding, dining, having tea, playing games and cards. As they have a wedding at their hands, the upcoming nuptials of their eldest son George and Miss Wilmot, the daughter of a fellow clergyman, with a similar large fortune, they are exceptionally busy. Both parties made handsome settlements though the couple seems to be amorous of one another.

The Vicar of Wakefield lives in a rural area which connects him to the commercial and metropolitan world through new-built nearby roads, like an umbilical cord. Furthermore, the Primroses are adjusted to the fashionable life in Wakefield, which recreates the salons and concert halls of the metropolitan in miniature. The Primroses range themselves with the rich and the powerful because they possess economic means which elevate them.

However, on the eve of the expected nuptials, following a heated discussion with Mr. Wilmot, on the subject of matrimony and monogamy, Dr Primrose is informed by a relative that his fortune is lost, because his agent has gone bankrupt and fled the country. The Primroses are suddenly the vulnerable victims of downward mobility. They were at ease, thus far and to a great extent, with emergent commercial life and the ethics it promoted. But with the loss of their economic means, the Primroses are banished from their money-based securities and complacencies.

Dr. Primrose is advised to keep the news a secret until the marriage is consummated. However, Dr. Primrose informs Mr. Wilmot of his reduced circumstances. In spite of being a clergyman himself, Mr. Wilmot blames Dr. Primrose for being imprudent in donating his income to the poor. This imprudence is attributed to Dr. Primrose's misjudgement concerning his affairs. Mr. Wilmot, on the other hand, cancels the upcoming marriage for "one virtue he had in perfection, which was prudence" (*Vicar* 15). David Simple felt relief when he received charity after the fire which consumed all his belongings; for the fire was a natural and neutral disaster for which he could not be held responsible through imprudence. Blaming someone for imprudence becomes a valid excuse for withholding former promises (made to a better-

situated friend) both in *David Simple* and *The Vicar*. Imprudence can be treated as a self-inflicted catastrophe which sets the others at liberty from following promises when ethical values are rationalized and this severs the communal bonds. Mr Wilmot who was to become a member of the extended community of Wilmot-Primrose lineage cuts the social bonds by annulling the marriage.

The Primroses are thus shunned by their former companions. Dr. Primrose finds “a small Cure of fifteen pounds a year” (*Vicar* 16) (his former seat was 35 pounds per annum) in another village far away. Since that sum will not sustain his family, he must also manage a farm. Thus he is reduced from the status of a clergyman-gentleman to the status of a clergyman-farmer. He is especially concerned for his family “who were to be humble without an education to render them callous to contempt” (15). His children only know security and they are educated for a sophisticated life. Dr. Primrose relied on his fortune to make handsome settlements on them. George was educated at Oxford for a future in one of the rising professions. His second son, Moses, was being raised for a commercial career. Having lost the capital to start them in either, Dr. Primrose needs to make hasty decisions concerning their futures.

You can't be ignorant, [. . .] that no prudence of ours could have prevented our late misfortune; but prudence may do much in disappointing its effects. We are now poor, my fondlings, and wisdom bids us conform to our humble situation. Let us then, without repining, give up those splendours with which numbers are wretched, and seek in humbler circumstances that peace with which all may be happy. The poor live pleasantly without our help, why then should not we learn to live without theirs. No, my children, let us from this moment give up all pretensions to gentility; we have still enough left for happiness if we are wise, and let us draw upon content for the deficiencies of fortune. (*Vicar* 16)

Dr. Primrose is trying to absolve himself before his family for his imprudence by suggesting the inevitability of the circumstances. He is also ethically condemning the “splendours,” the luxurious life they were indulging themselves in. Dr. Primrose, a clergyman, was assimilated to the commercial ethics of self-gratification. After the prelapsarian turn of events, he joins the ranks condemning luxury and its social effects. However, Dr. Primrose thinks that the poor live happily without any relief. This is a manifestation that he believes in the presence of a hidden hand which will put everything into balance. Perhaps that is what entices him to say to George, whom he is

sending out to town to seek his fortune, quite nonchalantly “never saw I the righteous man forsaken, or his seed begging their bread” (*Vicar* 17). However, Dr. Primrose is aware of the fact that sending George to London, without capital and connections, is the equivalent of throwing a man in the pit to fight beasts. He is “under no apprehensions from throwing him naked into the amphitheatre of life, for [he]knew he would act a good part whether vanquished or victorious” (17).

Goldsmith fashioned his character the Man in Black, from *the Citizen of the World*, as a man educated and raised for piety and charity, but abandoned to a commercial and materialist world, with no money-making skills. The same metaphor of being thrown without armour into the gladiator's arena is employed in the *Vicar* (Helgerson 524). George's exit to the commercial world is the first disintegration the family suffers and by advising him to persevere in his righteousness, he is forsaking his son, sending him defenceless out into the world.

The Primrose community thus begins to disintegrate. As they depart for their new dwelling place, they are followed by the poor in the parish who shed tears to see them go. The Primroses befriended and kept company with the affluent of their society but it is the poor who bid them farewell. The poor reveres religion and its ministers more than the affluent, for they are not indoctrinated with the commercial ethics of reducing a man's value to his monetary worth. The Primroses, on the other hand, have no loyal servant to stand by them and offer free services as in *David Simple*. The difference lies in the fact that while David's community is based on communal bonding and inclusive to strangers, Dr. Primrose's community is based on familial bonding and exclusive to strangers.

On the first night away from the Wakefield, the Primroses stay at an inn and the innkeeper cautions them against their new landlord, Squire Thornhill. Squire Thornhill has a passing interest in women and seduced and abandoned a number of farmer's daughters. The Primroses, immediately after leaving their secure abode, are thus thrust into a world of commercial ethics of self-interest and self-gratification. Instead of the feudal obligations of protecting, Squire Thornhill is sexually exploiting the vulnerable poor girls. While Dr. Primrose is troubled by this information, his wife and two daughters, Olivia and Sophia are intrigued. Starting with this incident, a certain chasm

appears between opposite sex Primroses. Thus far, Dr. Primrose boasted that excepting domestic matters, he was the absolute authority of his household and he ruled his household with the firm and loving care of a father. However, while Dr. Primrose and his son Moses are ready to embrace their new humble situation and turn into semi-manual labour force as a clergyman-farmer family, Mrs. Primrose and her two daughters are alert to the possibility that a catch in the matrimonial market might be their way out of labour and poverty.

Dr. Primrose notes that his daughters regard themselves superior to the farmer's daughters ruined by the Squire and neglect the ethical consequences of his sexual conduct. They believe that they are refined, accomplished and virtuous, capable of converting a libertine to abandon his desires. They also have a mother who encourages them to think and act accordingly. They do not register the status inconsistencies they are going through and they think it a mere matter of time before they are restored to their former status.

At the inn, they also hear of a guest who cannot afford to pay his bill for he gave all his money to relieve an old soldier, sentenced to whipping for stealing a dog. Dr. Primrose pays the debt himself and befriends the guest, Mr. Burchell. The passing remark to the old soldier is important because it puts into relief, simultaneously, the harshness of the laws protecting property and the predicament of the soldiers when once their functionality ends. Relieving the old soldier from punishment is a redress for the harsh property laws and an act of universal benevolence.

Dr. Primrose is happy to meet another fellow-imprudent since both men are similar in conduct, one spending his last money to relieve an old soldier and the other spending his meagre income to relieve a total stranger of debt. Mr. Burchell is a man dressed in old, discarded-looking clothes and looks as if he does not understand or care for politeness. He joins the Primroses for the rest of the journey. The Primroses are quick to notice that Mr. Burchell has elevated understanding and wisdom. Dr. Primrose expects Mr. Burchell to be rather grateful since he paid his bill and finds it odd that "though he was a money-borrower, he defended his opinions with as much obstinacy as if he had been my patron" (*Vicar* 19). When Mr. Burchell acts rapidly and saves Sophia from drowning in a moment of crisis, their friendship is cemented.

During their conversation, Dr. Primrose is thrilled to discover that Squire Thornhill happens to be the nephew of Sir William Thornhill, a peer noted for his wisdom, virtue and benevolence, “a man whose virtues, generosity, and singularities are so universally known” (*Vicar* 9). Squire Thornhill is landlord by proxy and while Sir Thornhill has delegated his rights to his nephew, this is not put in a legal contract, so Squire Thornhill is actually a “dependant” (19). Though Dr. Primrose remains in the dark until the end of the book, Mr. Burchell is actually Sir William Thornhill incognito, implied by his switching from third person singular to first person singular, during his narration.

Sir William Thornhill whose sentimental moral vision (of his youth) ended in bankruptcy and nervous breakdown, suffered to see the detraction of his friends. His situation parallels that of David Simple and after his fortunes are restored through his commercial endeavours, he grows cautious of his dealings with people. His shortcoming was, in his opinion, his sentimentality.

Physicians tell us of a disorder in which the whole body is so exquisitely sensible, that the slightest touch gives pain: what some have thus suffered in their persons, this gentleman felt in his mind. The slightest distress, whether real or fictitious, touched him to the quick, and his soul laboured under a sickly sensibility of the miseries of others. Thus disposed to relieve, it will be easily conjectured, he found numbers disposed to solicit: his profusions began to impair his fortune, but not his good-nature; that, indeed, was seen to encrease as the other seemed to decay: he grew improvident as he grew poor; and though he talked like a man of sense, his actions were those of a fool. (*Vicar* 19)

Sir William Thornhill, like David Simple again, comes to differentiate people, according to whether they merit sympathy and charity or not. After establishing this awareness, he also began roaming, like David Simple, in order to find a woman, who would distinguish him for the man that he was rather than the fortune that he had. Unlike David Simple, he does this incognito, disguised as a vagabond. It is noteworthy that the sentimental hero and the villain of the novel belong to the same class of landed gentry. While the uncle is the embodiment of virtue and benevolence, the nephew, Mr. Thornhill is known for his seductions. However, it is the Squire that is present and potent in the estate. As Carol Stewart draws attention Sir Thornhill is always absent either promenading as Mr. Burchell or sitting at the parliament. She regards this as an

absence, a vacuum of ethical authority (174). The ethical alternative offered is the rural community that the Primroses arrive at which is situated in the margins of the commercial centre.

The place of our retreat was in a little neighbourhood, consisting of farmers, who tilled their own grounds, and were equal strangers to opulence and poverty. As they had almost all the conveniencies of life within themselves, they seldom visited towns or cities in search of superfluity. Remote from the polite, they still retained the primæval simplicity of manners, and frugal by habit, they scarce knew that temperance was a virtue. They wrought with chearfulness on days of labour; but observed festivals as intervals of idleness and pleasure. They kept up the Christmas carol, sent true love-knots on Valentine morning, eat pancakes on Shrove-tide, shewed their wit on the first of April, and religiously cracked nuts on Michaelmas eve. Being apprized of our approach, the whole neighbourhood came out to meet their minister, drest in their finest cloaths, and preceded by a pipe and tabor: A feast also was provided for our reception, at which we sat chearfully down; and what the conversation wanted in wit, was made up in laughter. (*Vicar* 21-2)

The Primroses left Wakefield attended only by the poor who cried to see them go. They arrive at their new dwelling place greeted by the whole rural community, excepting the landlord. The villagers have the ultimate respect for their vicar and the greeting ceremony includes the entire community organically bonded by mutual communal interests and tradition.

Goldsmith's narration fails a temporal authenticity in the description of the village since some of these festivities were obsolete since the Interregnum. The Puritan rule banned most of the rural festivities. Such a rural community existed only in his imagination and memories of an Irish childhood and that "the combined pressure of Puritanism and the commercial revolution" stopped the rural festivities (Seitz 409). The rural community is thus rearranged by Goldsmith, as an ethical alternative to the complex and slippery commercial world where fortunes suddenly vanish and status inconsistencies are felt in every sphere. The new village stands antithetical to Wakefield; whereas Wakefield was connected to the commercial world for the main road was nearby, this village stands at the margins where a heavy rainfall might disrupt reaching it as Mr. Burchell was stranded at the inn because of the floods. While Wakefield is a hierarchically organized community with money as the deciding factor,

this village is comprised of middle-class farmers, slowly growing opulent through labour. In Wakefield, Dr. Primrose is looked down by his landlord and revered by the poor. In this village, he is revered by all and accepted as an equal by all.

The Primroses become neighbours to Farmer Flamborough and his family, who play pipes, sing ballads and hold dances in their house. Like the Dunsters in Fielding's *Volume the Last*, Flamboroughs are presented as an ideal moral community. While the Primroses settle and adjust themselves to a more labour-intense routine and give up their old habits, they are still happy and fulfilled. Furthermore, Flamboroughs initiate the Primroses into the community, showing a natural solidarity and sociability. Flamboroughs are also a large family and unlike the Primroses, they are reaping the fruits of hard-labour and getting progressively richer. The Primroses, at first, are only too happy to fit within the rural community and Dr. Primrose is still the moral authority. He can still persuade his daughters to cut the superfluous draperies from their gowns to make it tailcoats for the youngest boys. Olivia and Sophia do it voluntarily and this is also a symbolic act of downsizing from the adopted gentry manners into the simpler rural life.

But when Squire Thornhill makes his entrance, the harmony is disrupted. In contrast to the greetings of the rural community, Squire Thornhill dashes into their peaceful community chasing a stag. He gives up the hunt when he sees the young Primroses. The predatory reflex of the hunt and the change of prey is noteworthy (Dixon 81). Indeed anything associated with the Squire has the same disruptiveness. Another peaceful session in the garden spent in listening to two blackbirds singing to each other across the meadow is disrupted by the Squire's Chaplain killing one of the blackbirds. Hunting was allowed to the members of the landed-gentry alone and this disruptive entrance emphasizes that the Squire will execute his powers even to point of disrupting the domestic comforts of his tenants. Regardless of the brutality of the intrusion, the chasm between the male and female Primroses widens. Squire Thornhill is welcomed by the female household. John Zomchic identifies the Primrose females as agents of commercial ethics within the household. He asserts that Dr. Primrose and Moses have the potential to reform their ethics but Mrs. Primrose, Olivia and Sophia are threats to the possibility of the communal ethics (160).

Sophia seems to have genuine feelings for Mr. Burchell who saved her life and seems to be a man of philosophical disposition. Without knowing it, she is subjected to tests of whether she would marry a penniless man for love, a topic Mr. Burchell likes to raise when they are alone. However, Mrs. Primrose's ambition to wed her to the Chaplain causes a misunderstanding to come up between them. Mr. Burchell drops his favourite topic. While Sophia is not a fortune hunter, she is a docile daughter and under her mother's influence, she does not comply with the ethical standards of marrying only for love.

Squire Thornhill and Deborah Primrose engage in a war of strategy at cross-purposes. Squire Thornhill wants to seduce the pretty daughters of Dr. Primrose. Deborah Primrose wants to ensure that her eldest daughter Olivia will marry into the class of landed gentry. The family is enchanted with the gallantry, elegance and sophistication of the Squire. The youngest of the Primroses, the cherubic Bill and Dick climb on his lap and check his fine clothes. As Zomchic expresses this act of being taken by the finery expresses “the desire for status goods as an innocent urge, an infant fascination with the materiality of the sign rather than an adult yearning for the social power of the signifier” (164). Dr. Primrose, on the other hand, is distrustful of the Squire and anxious for his wife and daughters.

Disproportioned friendships ever terminate in disgust; and I thought, notwithstanding all his ease, that he seemed perfectly sensible of the distance between us. Let us keep to companions of our own rank. There is no character more contemptible than a man that is a fortune-hunter, and I can see no reason why fortune-hunting women should not be contemptible too. Thus, at best, we shall be contemptible if his views be honourable; but if they be otherwise! I should shudder but to think of that! It is true I have no apprehensions from the conduct of my children, but I think there are some from his character. (*Vicar 27*)

However, his advice is overlooked. Rather than to keep to their ranks, the Flamboroughs are suddenly found out to be too vulgar for their company by the female Primroses and they are turned into a yardstick to measure their superiority. A sudden rivalry between the families flares when Olivia and Squire Thornhill seem to be attracted to one another. The illusions of grandeur disrupt the solidarity and homogeneity of the rural community and as Barbara Benedict phrases, “village relations become mere rivalry for money, display, and social power” (50). Dr. Primrose is

cautious and tries to dissuade the others but he cannot succeed. Furthermore, he is drawn into their net of grandeur. Suddenly the Primroses are too fine to be walking to church. When the Flamboroughs have their portraits painted (depicting that the fashions of the commercial world are catching up with the rural community), the Primroses must have a more ambitious painting. However, every attempt to outshine the Flamboroughs are thwarted. The horse being used to farm-work refuses to move along the path and the painting is so ambitiously large that it must be kept in the kitchen where it was done since it cannot be taken out.

The general shortcoming of the Primroses is the failure to understand that they are just another poor family among other poor families. For Mr. Thornhill, they are not the esteemed, middle-class, meritorious people they take themselves to be but just another farmer-tenant. The innkeeper warned them against Mr. Thornhill's pleasure-gratifying ethics and his seduction of every farmer's daughter in the district. Feeling themselves superior to the daughters of the parish, the Primrose women are sure they will make a conquest of Mr. Thornhill. While trying to compete with the Flamboroughs, the Primroses are subjected to the machinations of Squire Thornhill who introduces two prostitutes as honourable ladies to the Primrose household and try to lure the Primrose daughters to London as companions.

The Primroses are enthusiastic about this scheme and in order to raise money to better accommodate the girls, they sell one of their two plow horses. Selling a plow horse is a crucial step since that horse no longer represents a leisure activity but is necessary for running their farm. By giving up the horse, they are giving up their future sustenance. Moses Primrose to whom this task is trusted with sells it for a pair of green spectacles. Dr. Primrose, who ventures himself to the fair to sell the remaining horse, also falls victim to a conman acting as an honourable scholar and sells the horse for a note addressed to their neighbour Flamborough to pay him the money. Mr. Flamborough only ensures that Jenkinson is the same conman who tricked Moses and himself into buying the green spectacles. Carol Stewart draws attention to the fact that the marketplace only holds misfortunes for the Flamboroughs and the Primroses (169).

The ambitious scheme of befitting the two daughters with finery to get rich husbands thus ends with their stooping lower into poverty. Mr. Thornhill drops by to

inform that the Primrose girls are not found suitable to be the companions for the two ladies. Mr. Burchell stopped the scheme by perceiving the motives of his nephew and his letter is accidentally conveyed to the Primroses and his moral judgements on the two prostitutes are mistaken to refer to the Primrose daughters. Believing their chances of upwards social mobility are thwarted by Mr. Burchell, they treat him impertinently. They are astonished by his haughty manner and threatening attitude:

And how came you,' replied he, with looks of unparalleled effrontery, 'so basely to presume to break open this letter? Don't you know, now, I could hang you all for this? All that I have to do, is to swear at the next justice's, that you have been guilty of breaking open the lock of my pocket-book, and so hang you all up at his door. (*Vicar* 68)

The justice office is held by Sir William Thornhill, so this is not a threat uttered in vain. As a judge Sir Thornhill would have the law at his disposal, concerning his property. (Swan 176). However the Primroses still fail to see Thornhill as anything but a vagabond. Though they register his integrity, sense and wisdom, his apparent idleness and easy-goingness are held in contempt. Mr. Burchell is another frequent visitor in the house. However, he directly engages with the rural activities and helps the family to stack their hay rather than distract the Primroses for his leisure, as Mr. Thornhill does. His pockets are also filled with candy for the little ones bought from the country fairs in contrast to the fine embroideries on Mr Thornhill's clothes. While Mr. Thornhill is expressing his concerns that the two Primrose daughters are being wasted away in the rural community, Mr. Burchell is concerned that the rural ethics of community, simplicity and solidarity should be kept intact. While Mr. Burchell is a part of the organic rural community, Squire Thornhill is part of the family painting in which he insisted to be included. In that painting, everyone fulfilled a fancy or fantasy and it grew too large to be taken out of the kitchen. While Mr. Burchell represents simple rural life, Squire Thornhill represents excessive metropolitan life. Mr. Burchell "establishes his own agrarian virtue" (Carson 177) which is residual and communal. Squire Thornhill is a proselyte of commercial ethics of self-interest.

Squire Thornhill, while causing a scandal in the community by frequenting the Primroses and appearing in their family portrait, does not seem inclined to make a marriage proposal. When Mrs. Primrose tactically asks him whether he could help her

get suitable husbands for her daughters, she is trying to stir him into action by extolling her daughters not only as spouses, but as the validation of residual ethics.

they who had warm fortunes were always sure of getting good husbands: 'But heaven help,' continued she, 'the girls that have none. What signifies beauty, Mr. Thornhill? or what signifies all the virtue, and all the qualifications in the world, in this age of self-interest? It is not, what is she? but what has she? is all the cry. (*Vicar* 72)

Mrs. Primrose is criticizing entrepreneurial marriages while she is hoping for one concerning her daughters. Mrs. Primrose's ambitions and her machinations are met with, Dr. Primrose's biblical allusions and parables cautioning them to the consequences of disproportionate relations. In his parable of the Dwarf and the Giant befriending one another and embarking on battles, the Dwarf loses all limb after another while Giant remains unscathed. On the other hand, Goldsmith would actually opt for a marriage between Mr Thornhill and Olivia, since this would "encourage social mobility and the circulation of wealth" (Dykstal 333). Oliver Goldsmith condemned entrepreneurial marriages for merging capital.

[W]ealth in all commercial states is found to accumulate, and all such have hitherto in time become aristocratical. Again, the very laws also of this country may contribute to the accumulation of wealth; as when by their means the natural ties that bind the rich and poor together are broken, and it is ordained that the rich shall only marry with the rich. (*Vicar* 87)

Goldsmith iterates the opposing doctrine to Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. The act tried to ensure that wealthy people's children should marry to guarantee the desirable distribution of newly acquired wealth. Contractual and entrepreneurial marriages were necessary to concentrate wealth in fewer hands which Goldsmith saw as a new form of emerging tyranny. Mrs. Primrose is voicing the same opinion even only because it suits her immediate interest.

When her other plans fail, Mrs. Primrose decides to manipulate Squire Thornhill's acquisitiveness and competitiveness concerning Olivia. In order to provoke Mr. Thornhill to take a decisive step in marrying Olivia Primrose, the Primroses announce her engagement to Farmer Williams. Dr. Primrose does not like that a good farmer is thus trifled with and makes her daughter promise that she will marry the farmer, if no

proposal comes from Mr. Thornhill. It is his son Moses who rejoices in the match with the farmer.

My opinion, father, is, that all things go on very well; and I was just now thinking, that when sister Livy is married to farmer Williams, we shall then have the loan of his cyder-press and brewing tubs for nothing. - That we shall, Moses, cried I, and he will sing us *Death and the Lady*, to raise our spirits into the bargain. (*Vicar* 76)

Moses and Dr. Primrose are comfortably adjusted to their rural lifestyle. However, the happy rural ideal is shattered when Olivia elopes with Squire Thornhill. The Primroses act quite differently to the news. Olivia's imprudence angers her mother. She was encouraging the affair from the very beginning in order to ensure the Squire for a son-in-law. She hardly acknowledged her daughter as a sensible being. Her daughter was a commodity in the marriage market and she was spoiled. She denounces her daughter, accusing her of selfishness. Dr. Primrose, on the other hand, starts to search for his daughter. From this point on, Dr. Primrose transforms into a more determinant man. The self-interested, commercial-minded and acquisitive-competitive urged ethics of the female Primroses fail against the communal ethics of Dr. Primrose Mrs. Primrose, by acting only in her self-interest and forsaking her daughter, disrupted the organic community of the female Primroses.

Dr. Primrose, on the other hand, tries to restore his community. He travels to find Olivia. He is gulled into believing that it was Mr. Burchell she went with. A futile search continues through inns, dances and horse races. Finally he abandons all hope and starts his return journey. On the road, he meets a gentleman, who invites him to his house. They engage on a hot debate on the order of things. The last time Dr. Primrose was engaged in a similar debate was the one with Mr. Wilmott concerning monogamy and marriage. The debate with Mr. Wilkinson, on the other hand depicts a new Vicar commenting on politics and economics. Dr. Primrose asserts that the life of the middle-class is the best way for virtue;

that order of men which subsists between the very rich and the very rabble; those men who are possessors of too large fortunes to submit to the neighbouring man in power, and yet are too poor to set up for tyranny themselves. In this middle order of mankind are generally to be found all the arts, wisdom, and virtues of society. (*Vicar* 87-8)

However Dr. Primrose is aware that there is a growing imbalance between the rich and the middle order since colonial expansion created commercial fortunes made elsewhere by the labour of colonized people. This fortune, and hence the power is usually concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. This imbalance is furthered by the very rich, marrying their kind. This extends the web of tyranny to rural areas whereas if the monarch had more concentrated power in the metropolis, interference with the rural lifestyle would be minimal.

I would have all men kings. I would be a king myself. We have all naturally an equal right to the throne: we are all originally equal. This is my opinion, and was once the opinion of a set of honest men who were called Levellers. They tried to erect themselves into a community, where all should be equally free. But, alas! it would never answer; for there were some among them stronger, and some more cunning than others, and these became masters of the rest; for as sure as your groom rides your horses, because he is a cunninger animal than they, so surely will the animal that is cunninger or stronger than he, sit upon his shoulders in turn. Since then it is entailed upon humanity to submit, and some are born to command, and others to obey, the question is, as there must be tyrants, whether it is better to have them in the same house with us, or in the same village, or still farther off, in the metropolis. (*Vicar* 86)

Goldsmith is adopting Hobbes's view that only a strong monarchy can keep law and order in a state. He regards power as a corrupting force. Even the Levellers, who condemned property and power, betrayed their principles. Primrose's household tyrant is his wife and tyrant of his village is Squire Thornhill. Mrs. Primrose abuses her power over her daughters to marry them into money and Squire Thornhill abuses his power over parishioners. Their abuse of power is an outcome of the commercial ethics of pervasive capitalism. New markets, new commodities and capital accumulations work together, to create further imbalances. As the new tyrants become more powerful, they destroy the independent labourers and force them to migrate, thus depopulating the countryside. They introduce capital punishment for crimes against property such as stealing a horse.

Natural law gives me no right to take away his life, as by that the horse he steals is as much his property as mine. If then I have any right, it must be from a compact made between us, that he who deprives the other of his horse shall die. But this is a false compact; because no man has a right to barter his life, no more than to take it away, as it is not his own. And beside,

the compact is inadequate, and would be set aside even in a court of modern equity, as there is a great penalty for a very trifling convenience, since it is far better that two men should live, than that one man should ride. (*Vicar* 133)

Primrose's views are met with strong defiance from the host. A libertarian espousing Whig sympathies he gets upset with Dr. Primrose and decides to throw him out. "I have been all this while entertaining a Jesuit in parson's cloaths; but by all the coal mines of Cornwall, out he shall pack, if my name be Wilkinson" (*Vicar* 89). His name is Wilkinson but as the return of the rightful hosts reveals he is the butler of the house pretending to be the master. Wilkinson is an ironical allegory of what happens in the absence of a rightful power and he is also the servant who plays on the status inconsistencies of his employer. Probably wearing his discarded clothes, reading his subscribed periodicals and imitating his conversation, the Butler cuts the figure of a gentleman.

Mr. and Mrs Arnold, the genuine hosts, are accompanied by their niece Arabella Wilmot, once-destined to be Dr. Primrose's daughter-in-law. The Arnolds are suspicious of Dr. Primrose and would treat him as an intruder. Primrose's clerical position holds no value for the hosts. It is the intervention and confirmation of Arabella Wilmot that determines his respectability. Mr. Arnold also attempts to fire Wilkinson but is dissuaded by Dr. Primrose. Wilkinson is bonded through a contract to his boss rather than be a part of his extended family. As his impersonation suggests Mr. Arnold is a devoted Whig whose idea of liberty is mixed with trade liberties. Swearing by his "mines in Cornwall" (*Vicar* 85, 89), Arnold represents the entrepreneurial rural estate owner, who has turned his estate into an economic enterprise.

While staying with the Arnolds, Mr. Primrose is reunited with his son, George who turns up as an actor in a strolling company. George was away from his family for three years without any news. Dr. Primrose who counted on the financial success of his firstborn, is appalled to discover that he just had a series of failures. George's narration is the only inset narrative in the novel and it depicts a commercial world united by illusion, self-interest and manipulation, starting in London as a hack-writer, travelling to Holland and France so seek employment as an English or Greek instructor, acting as a travelling companion to a rich boy, earning his life by music, fraud art-connoisseurship

and debates. George also encountered Squire Thornhill and acted as his errand boy, even duelling in his stead. In spite of a radically different experience in contrast to his father, George arrives at similar conclusions concerning Britain. Furthermore, George Hahn suggests that the Christian names of the father and son, Charles and George respectively, are associated with the royal houses of Stuarts and Hanover and are thus monarchical allusions (30). George sums up his political ideas.

I found that monarchy was the best government for the poor to live in, and commonwealths for the rich. I found that riches in general were in every country another name for freedom; and that no man is so fond of liberty himself as not to be desirous of subjecting the will of some individuals in society to his own. (*Vicar* 103)

Goldsmith's political vision covers an extensive area, starting with the rural estate and extending to London and overseas Europe. Doubly voiced by father and son, Goldsmith's, a strong Monarchy as panacea, is a cultural construction of the residual value system against the emergent commercial oligarchy. His preference for monarchy is not for nostalgic and archaic reasons. Goldsmith draws the conclusion that power corrupts and since Monarchy is limited and isolated for being singular and central, its corruptive influence is also limited. Replacing the authority of the Monarchy by the authority of law is not really freedom, for the laws, protecting the property of the rich, threaten the liberty of the dispossessed masses. Goldsmith associates the pervasive influence of commercial capitalism with the diminishing authority of the Monarchy. John Bender argues that Goldsmith's proposal of a stronger Monarchy registers a "structure of feeling" (178). In terms of criminal law, "a number of absolutist monarchs and princes on the continent in fact reform their criminal laws" (176). Thus Monarchy is reworked as a residual value in contrast to harsh penalty laws of the emerging commercial values. Such a cultural medium puts into relief the function of the inset narrative. George Primrose's experiences in Continental Europe adds dimension to Dr. Primrose's social criticisms in affirming Monarchy as residual value system.

Dr. Primrose's reunion with George alerts him to the fact that he behaved contrary to the communal ethics of solidarity and responsibility in the way he sent him out into the world. Squire Thornhill visits the Arnolds, with the apparent intention of proposing to Arabella Wilmot. Noticing the lingering affection between Arabella and George,

Squire Thornhill tempts the Vicar by mentioning an opening in the regiment bound for West Indies which would be ideal for George. He undertakes to pay the commission for George in exchange for a bond from Mr. Primrose.

On his way back, Dr. Primrose reunites with Olivia and brings her home, learning that Squire Thornhill was the guilty party all along. Bringing Olivia back home, the precariousness of their situation is deepened by further calamities. Their house burns down and all their worldly possessions are perished. They have to fall back on the pity of their neighbours for basic survival.

Primrose's refusal to give his blessing, for the Squire's approaching wedding with Arabella Wilmot, introduces even more dire consequences. Squire Thornhill expects them to be present at his wedding, threatening them on multiple fronts in case of disobedience. Dr. Primrose is late in paying his rent, which gives Squire Thornhill the right to seize his possessions as the surrogate landlord. The bond, given for George's commission is trusted in the hands of a London attorney and it is sufficient to send Dr. Primrose to prison. Dr. Primrose defies these threats and Squire Thornhill carries his threats into actions.

When the officers come to take Dr. Primrose, the poorest of the parish try to stop them by violence and they seize the officers. In comparison with the crying poor of the Wakefield, this is an angry mob stirred into action by the idea that their minister is being taken away from them. Dr. Primrose persuades them to go back. This is also reminiscent of the poor maid in *David Simple* who was the only person to show compassion to the starving siblings. The poorest people step in where others will not because a religious conscience is more valuable to them, since religion is all they have for education. However the poor can also be an organized social force, and thus a menace for the authorities as the incident, of the disabling of the officers by the poor, manifests. defying authority and putting a stop to their activities The prison, on the other hand, stands in a "town, or rather village; for it consisted but of a few mean houses, having lost all its former opulence, and retaining no marks of its ancient superiority but the gaol" (*Vicar* 124). The prison as the emergent form of establishment takes over the residual opulent town.

In the prison, Dr. Primrose encounters the conman Ephraim Jenkinson who previously cheated Moses and Dr. Primrose at the fair. He is being prosecuted by Farmer Flamborough. Dr. Primrose welcomes Jenkinson into his community and promises to send word to Flamborough. Dr. Goldsmith sees manual labour, by this time, as the panacea for their latest predicament. He addresses Moses

it is by the labour of your hands we must all hope to be supported. Your wages, as a day-labourer, will be full sufficient, with proper frugality, to maintain us all, and comfortably too. Thou art now sixteen years old, and hast strength, and it was given thee, my son, for very useful purposes; for it must save from famine your helpless parents and family. Prepare then this evening to look out for work against to-morrow, and bring home every night what money you earn, for our support. (*Vicar* 127-8)

This is where all pretensions to gentility end. As Moses did not go to university and was reconciled with the idea of being a tenant farmer, being a wage labourer would suit to him. But Moses is not the only person called forth for manual labour. Dr. Primrose reforms the inmates of the prison to a community of wage labourers, transforming them from idle and misfit social rejects into a labour force. Their labour creates economic value and this economic value, in return connects them again to a community creating a social identity. Using the prison as a microcosm, Goldsmith extends his social criticism to all the dispossessed and marginalized masses and through Dr. Primrose, he emphasizes the vicious circle of how prisons produce criminals out of desperate people who are imprisoned by harsh penal laws for petty offences against property. Law has become another form of tyranny for the dispossessed man and through labour the dispossessed might be empowered again. Labour is extolled by the presentation of the Farmer Flamborough's progressive enrichment. Jenkinson who is converted into a conscientious man by the example of the Vicar remarks how steady and systematic labour eventually pays off as a power.

I used often to laugh at your honest simple neighbour Flamborough, and one way or another generally cheated him once a year. Yet still the honest man went forward without suspicion, and grew rich, while I still continued tricky and cunning, and was poor, without the consolation of being honest. (*Vicar* 131)

Dr. Primrose is at the apex of his powers as the central authority in the prison. He is the monarch of this microcosm who brings order and harmony. Dr. Primrose is able to turn

the inmates into a community but his family is disintegrating. Olivia is reported as dead, Sophia abducted and George is committed to prison for mortally wounding one of Squire Thornhill's domestics while trying to avenge his sister. Goldsmith creates a dismal world in which the dispossessed suffer in the hands of the powerful. Dr. Primrose is persuaded by his family to stop challenging Squire Thornhill since Olivia is dead. However, Squire Thornhill is now in possession of the marriage settlement and the marriage license from Mr. Wilmot. He refuses to hold back his charges.

All seems to be lost for the Primroses. However, the revelation of Mr. Burchell as Sir William Thornhill changes the turn of events. Sophia is saved by Mr. Burchell. Olivia is only reported as dead so that the Vicar will comply with Squire Thornhill. George did not mortally wound anyone. Their financial agent is back from Antwerp and their fortunes are intact. Squire Thornhill, thinking he secured Arabella Wilmot's fortune defies his uncle. Mr. Wilmot, the bulwark of prudence, realizes he just turned over her daughter's fortune to a man who will only exploit it. Timothy Dykstal draws attention to the fact that, according to Goldsmith, it is the accumulation of excessive capital which creates the tyranny. Mr. Thornhill is a tyrant because he evades the "alliance, between the rich Squire and the poor clergyman's daughter, that would encourage social mobility and the circulation of wealth" (333). Rather than beautiful Olivia Primrose, he seeks out Arabella Wilmot, who possesses both beauty and money. Even though a member of the landed-gentry, Squire Thornhill thinks and acts like a commercial entrepreneur trying to accumulate a larger capital.

The marriage of Arabella Wilmot and George Primrose is finally settled again. Unlike Mr Wilmot who refused to see the marriage through when Primroses lost their fortune; George Primrose is ready to marry Arabella, when her fortune was believed to be appropriated by Squire Thornhill. Mr. Wilmot realizes that his prudence worked to a reverse end. His daughter almost married a libertine golddigger. He did not realize that the Squire was a dependant upon his uncle. Mr Wilmot accused Dr. Primrose of being imprudent, but he comes to realize that commercial ethics of self-interest comes in many shapes and forms and imprudence is not a personal failing.

Goldsmith resolves the novel with a double *Plutus ex Machina* closures; the revelation of Sir William Thornhill and the restoration of the Primrose fortune (Vickers

xxi). The restoration of the money would be enough to get Dr. Primrose out of jail and make handsome settlements on the children. However, Sir Thornhill is essential to the text to restore order and harmony in the community, both as a member of landed-gentry and as a magistrate. In order to speed up the releasing Dr. Primrose and George from prison, all he has to do is present their case before the magistrate who is his “friend” (*Vicar* 158).

Squire Thornhill, without knowing it, genuinely married Olivia. Jenkinson, who was to procure a fake licence arranged for a real one in order to to blackmail the Squire later. In order to reform the Squire, Sir Thornhill allocates his nephew's allowance to Olivia, expecting him to be reconciled to her eventually. The book ends with lost fortunes being restored, marriages of Sophia Primrose-Sir Thornhill and Arabella Wilmot-George Primrose realized and future marriages between the two Flamborough daughters and Efraim Jenkinson and Moses Primrose hinted at.

The Vicar of Wakefield starts and ends on a rural estate. Goldsmith represented two different rural estates in different stages of commercial progress. Wakefield is a commercialized estate aspiring to urban experience in which commercial wealth creates value. Once the Primroses lose their commercially-induced fortune they are excluded from their social circle. The second rural estate, on the other hand, is without its ethical centre of landed-gentry. The landlord, Sir William Thornhill is either absent as a Peer in Parliament or disguised as Mr. Burchell. As Mr. Burchell, he helps stacking the hay, a form of manual labour. By engaging the landlord in manual labour, Goldsmith is uniting the residual ethical centre of land with the emergent force of labour. Goldsmith also has the butler Wilkinson masquerading as his master Mr. Arnold. The blurring of identities between the master and servant put into question the gap between their respective social classes. Furthermore, the poor in the parish can act as an organized force and clash with the officials in order to liberate Dr. Primrose. Finally, Dr. Primrose reforms the inmates of a prison to work and earn their sustenance and self-esteem, creating economic value and a labour force. The ending of the novel establishes Sir Thornhill as the deciding power in resolving the tensions in the novel and the ethical centre for validating sentimental communal ethics. Yet the suggested marriages between the two Flamborough daughters and Jenkinson, the ex-conman, new recruit to labour and Moses

Primrose, the practical, hard-working and sentimentally-impaired son indicate an emerging alliance of labour force.

Goldsmith draws attention to the fact that commercial ethics of self-interest permeates into the private sphere of the family. The Primroses are ethically a divided family, the female Primroses are competitive and acquisitive and motivated by self-gratification as their matrimonial ambitions confirm. In opposition, the male Primroses are presented to conform to communal ethics. Olivia's flight disrupts the female power within the household and a determinant Dr. Primrose emerges reforming the family to communal ethics and transforming the flesh and bone community into a sentimentally compatible community. As they come down the social ladder with each catastrophe, the Primroses leave aside their materialistic ambitions and become stoic victims united by grief.

The novel ends in a happy, rural setting, again with multiple weddings, with the Lord of the district, marrying the clergyman's daughter, thus increasing social mobility and circulation of wealth. Through the universally acclaimed character of Sir William Thornhill, the landed-gentry and reformed-rationalized sentimental man are approved as sources of virtue. His nephew, Squire Thornhill, on the other hand, is a follower of the Hobbesian and Mandevillian ethics, with a commercially-minded greed for wealth and its associations. But it is the rural community as a constructed ideal that constitutes the structure of feeling in the novel. While the elder Primroses marry into money and power, with no visible sign of a maturation, the marriage hinted between Moses Primrose and the Flamborough daughter promises a more genuine and happy marriage than the rest because it is embedded into a more concrete and joyful life style. However, the text also expresses that without the powerful and patriarchal landed-gentry in charge, the small tyrants with one-track minds obsessed with accumulating wealth, like the Squire, could easily uproot fragile communities like that of the Primroses.

In conclusion, Oliver Goldsmith in *The Vicar of Wakefield* offers a residual alternative ethics of the rural estate in contrast to the emergent commercial ethics of Wakefield. Dr. Primrose and his family, mechanically bonded by flesh and blood in the

beginning of the novel, are transformed into an organic community. The crises in the community, in the absence of the rightful landlord, are resolved when Sir Thornhill returns and resumes his responsibilities.

CHAPTER III

**A PILGRIMAGE TO A RESIDUAL-ETHICAL PAST: LAURENCE
STERNE'S *A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE AND
ITALY***

Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple* and *Volume the Last* and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* manifested the formation of communities in order to offer a residual alternative ethics to defy the emergent commercial ethics of self-interest. Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*², on the other hand, employs a single man in search of communal bonding against a world determined by emergent commercial ethics.

Laurence Sterne stands at the crossroads of the eighteenth-century sentimental novel tradition. He even coined the word “sentimental” from the already existing noun “sentiment” and he shifted its meaning from moral reflection to “emotional and physical manifestations” (Todd 9). Sterne's novels abound with these manifestations of emotions and gestures such as tears of sympathy, gestures of overflowing grief and eloquent declarations of universal love. However, his books and his personal behaviour displayed a mixture of seemingly irreconcilable elements. The most recurring post-eighteenth-century critical or judgemental terms concerning Sterne's works are “bawdy” and “pathos”, the latter pertaining to the sentimental ethos of his writings. As Marcus Walsh draws attention Sterne was dismissed by the two eminent critics of the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. Samuel Johnson found Sterne's major work, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*³ (1759-1767) an oddity and declared that it would not last. F.R. Leavis, the British critic who attempted to read the British novel tradition as a site of formation of ethical alternatives, excluded Sterne from his seminal book *The Great*

2 Abridged as *A Sentimental Journey* from this point on

3 Abridged as *Tristram Shandy* from this point on.

Tradition (1948) (Walsh 1).

While *Tristram Shandy's* innovative and revolutionary technique was acknowledged, the critics reading the novel from modernist and post-modernist perspectives partly justified Samuel Johnson's prophecy. Sterne's novel lasted but was still considered an oddity, a solitary performance of a genius. Sterne's indebtedness to the intellectual milieu of his times is thus often disregarded. However Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* was highly influential in the eighteenth-century sentimental novel tradition, to the extent that a separate volume of selections called *The Beauties of Sterne* was published in 1782 which aimed at once to purify the texts from the bawdy parts and to provide a sentimental education for the reader. It was an "enduring bestseller" (Ross 19).

Laurence Sterne (1713-68), just like Oliver Goldsmith, came from Irish origins. He was born in Ireland but only spent his early childhood there. His father was an army ensign and his childhood passed in various army garrisons. He was a graduate of the University of Cambridge and was ordained as a priest. After spending the majority of his life as an obscure clergyman, the publication of the first two instalments of *Tristram Shandy* in 1759 caused quite a public interest. As the work was published anonymously, its author was an object of curiosity. However, when truth came out that the penmanship belonged to a clergyman, the reception of *Tristram Shandy* and its author by the public became a rather scandalous and ambivalent affair. Sterne's appearance in London to gather the accolades of his fame contributed to his ambivalent reception since he impersonated his fictional characters of Tristram Shandy and Parson Yorick in public. Furthermore, he published his sermons by the pen-name of Parson Yorick and the already censorious part of the public condemned Sterne for playing down the seriousness of his religious writings. He was also accused of abusing the popularity of *Tristram Shandy* in order to sell his sermons in an already over-stocked market (Keymer 1-3, Ross 5-19). The reception of Sterne and his work depended on the particular ethos of each individual reader and the opinions about him varied accordingly (Howes 6).

Sterne employed the same recurring characters throughout his literary career. Parson Yorick is thus a minor character in *Tristram Shandy*, the assumed author of Sterne's sermons and the major character in *A Sentimental Journey* while Tristram

Shandy and Uncle Toby, major characters from *Tristram Shandy* recur in *A Sentimental Journey* as minor characters. Furthermore, Sterne kept a private diary for a Mrs. Draper, with whom he was in love. It was recovered in 1851 and published as *The Journal to Eliza*, in which Sterne shifts his identity back and forth between Sterne and Yorick/Tristram respectively. The *Journal* depicts Sterne as a man deeply involved or feigning an involvement with the sentimental tropes of his times:

[. . .] but don't You pity me, after all, my dearest and my best of friends? I know to what an amount thou wilt Shed over Me, this tender Tax - and tis the Consolation springing out of that, of what a good heart it is which pours this friendly balm on mine, That has already and will for ever heal every evil of mine (*Journal* 143)

[. . .] the turn of Sentiment, with which I left your Character posses'd-must improve, hourly upon You - Truth, fidelity, honour and Love mix'd with delicacy, garrantee one another and a taste so improved as yours , by so delicious fare, can never degenerate - I shall find you, my Bramine, if possible, more valuable and lovely than when You first caught my esteem and kindness for You and tho' I see not this change - I give you so much credit for it (169)

[. . .] twas a sympathy above Tears - I trembled every Nerve as I went from line to line - and every moment the Account comes across me - I suffer all I felt, over and over again - will providence suffer all this anguish without end without pity . . . I want kindly to smooth thine [brow], and not only wipe away thy tears but dry up the Sourse of them for ever (186-87)

This catalogue of sentimental values; the tears, pity, sympathy, virtue, and delicacy which Sterne bestows upon Eliza Draper (whom he refers to as Bramine) and his ambition of seeing her more improved with sentimentality could easily correspond with either David Simple's or Sir Thornhill's quest for a sentimentally-endowed heart. Even reading the *Journal* with a certain reserve, since it was initially intended only for Eliza Draper's perusal, the overlapping of the fictional man of feeling and the actual man of flesh is obvious. The sentimental catalogue happens to be expressed by a married clergyman who is being treated for a sexually transmitted disease, courting a married woman only slightly older than his daughter, wishing heartily Mr. Draper dead and trying to get rid of his wife by making her settlements. The discrepancy between bawdy and pathetic elements of Sterne's fiction is also discernible in the *Journal*.

Sterne was writing *A Sentimental Journey*, simultaneously with the diary (Jack

130). He expressed his intention to redeem his notorious reputation. He wrote to a friend that *A Sentimental Journey* would prove the sensible part of his heart for all to see and wrote to his daughter that his “design in it was to teach us to love the world and our fellow creatures better than we do—so it runs most upon those gentler passions and affections, which so much aid to it” (qtd. in Jack xv). However, since *A Sentimental Journey* has close affiliations with *Tristram Shandy*, it is essential to start with an appraisal of the earlier work from the perspective of sentimental ethics and class relations.

Kenneth MacLean argued that the Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was the most influential text upon the eighteenth-century British novel and drew attention to the fact that Sterne was among those who expressed an indebtedness to the Bible and Locke's *Essay*. He quotes Sterne, on Locke's ideas of moral precision regarding them as “a sacred philosophy, which the world must heed if it is to have a true universal religion, a true science of morals, and which man must heed also if he is to gain real command over nature” (*Locke* 164-5). Sterne was a clergyman of the hierarchical, orthodox Church of England, preaching his congregation with unorthodox and groundbreaking thesis such as “there is no need that the everlasting laws of justice and mercy should be fetched down from above—since they can be proved from more obvious mediums” (qtd. in *Locke* 165). Locke's ideas on rationally justified ethics is incorporated into Sterne's particular ethics. Sterne, thus, reconciles traditional religion (the residual value) with new epistemology (the emergent value) and synthesizes both in an ethical approach peculiar to himself.

Sterne's involvement with Locke did not end with the ethical aspects of his thought. Locke's concept of “tabula rasa,” a blank paper which symbolizes an infant's mind in the sense that it has no innate knowledge, also influenced him. The progress of human mind likened to a blank paper to be filled with associations, sensory experiences, ideas and opinions had a huge impact in shaping the form and subject matter of *Tristram Shandy*.

Tristram Shandy charts how the conception, birth, nomenclature and education of its eponymous hero, planned meticulously by his father Walter Shandy under Lockean principles, turned into minor disasters through chance, accident, or misunderstanding.

Contrasting the traditional rural estate, Shandy Hall with Walter Shandy's modern but eccentric mind engaged in new schemes, Sterne displays the transitory status of the social classes and their corresponding value systems. Howard Anderson draws attention to the fact that Sterne's characters “frequently stand as representatives of class ideas and characteristics” (522). He finds Walter Shandy caught between the ideals of a traditional rural estate and commercial mind of the metropolitan world, maintaining that Sterne deliberately fashioned an ambivalent Walter Shandy to contrast the commercial new world (513).

As Tristram puts it, Walter Shandy “would see nothing in the light which others placed it-he placed things in his own light;-he would weigh nothing in common scales;-no, he was too refined a researcher to lie upon so gross an imputation” (*Tristram* 100). Walter Shandy is presented to have taken Locke's ideas of the tabula rasa very literally, trusting only himself and his sensory experiences and refusing traditional knowledge and wisdom. Furthermore, he dictates that he would raise his son, Tristram, according to scientific principles.

Walter Shandy is forever systematizing, and his guinea pig is his son. He was “a philosopher in grain, speculative-systematical” (*Tristram* 48). The “Shandean System” (48) associated everything as part of a rational order. Thus, planets revolved according to the “Copernican system” and the scandalous conduct of Walter Shandy's sister, aunt Dinah (who married a coachman) occurred according to a “nerve” system (48). Similarly he bases his political ideas on “maintaining it was identically the same in the body national as in the body natural” (34). He applies this mechanistic approach to criticize the depopulation of the rural area. According to Walter, the dispossessed masses flow to the capital like blood circulating to the head, but they do not return back to the heart (the rural area). This is an incorporation of the metaphor that Hobbes introduced in his *Leviathan*. Hobbes likened the Sovereign to a head and the “immoderate greatness of a Town” (374) was one of the problems he foresaw for his ideal commonwealth and its body politic. An overgrown metropolitan would lead to the rise of the “corporations” (375) which would upset the natural consequence of things and like worms in the entrails of a man; these corporations would prosper while the ideal body politic grew weaker. Walter Shandy's mechanistic approach is not limited to

science and politics, “he was something of a moral philosopher too” (*Tristram* 70). Shandy's meticulously planned, systematic approach in Tristram's education, on the other hand, subverts each attempt in various ways. Walter Shandy is

baffled and overthrown in all his little systems and wishes, to behold a train of events perpetually falling out against him and in so critical and cruel a way, as if they had purposely been planned and pointed against him, merely insult his speculations. (*Tristram* 40)

Walter Shandy's speculations rely on a mechanical and controllable universe. Tristram is his second son. Singling out his firstborn as his heir, Walter devised the prototypical life for him. Sending him to a prestigious school where he would receive the classical education fit for a gentleman, Walter feels secure in his plans for the estate. According to the law protecting the primogeniture, Tristram as a second son, would not inherit the rural estate. He had the options of joining the clergy or the rising professions. Starting with his birth, Tristram is the embodiment of life in contrast to mechanism, chance in contrast to systematic precision and spontaneity in contrast to regulation. His conception is accidental, his nose is crushed at birth by Dr. Slop, his name is registered by mistake and he is circumcised by a falling window pane. Tristram is against the mechanic optimism of his father who rejoices in the scientific discoveries and the theories. As Tristram considers,

the planet is well enough, provided a man could be born in it to a great title or to a great estate; or could anyhow contrive to be called to public charges, and employments dignity or power; but that's not my case; and therefore every man will speak of the fair as his market has gone in it,-for which cause I affirm it over again to be one of the vilest worlds that was ever made. (*Tristram* 9)

Tristram is referring to his father who inherited a paternal estate and made a private fortune as a “Turkey merchant” (*Tristram* 8). Walter Shandy concentrated his capital by the right of primogeniture and by commerce and he regards the world from the vantage point one who never suffered status inconsistencies. Furthermore, through Tristram's ideas, Sterne is expressing the affiliation of the scientific theories and rising commercial capitalism. Sterne's novelistic technique is telling the story in a “digressive” and “progressive” manner (50). Progressive moments are the narration of Tristram's story in a chronological order. Digressive moments are when main narration is interrupted in a

series of anecdotes, inserted sermons, marriage settlements, or excommunication forms from the Catholic Church. There are no inset narratives, everything is told from the perspective of Tristram's remembrances or directly copied into the narration from their original sources. But they are actually distorted rewritings to parody the institutions of religion and marriage. Sterne using religious and legal style depicts how institutionalization ruins authentic human feelings. The marriage settlement, for example, is a detailed account of Walter Shandy's material possessions and exact arrangements and payments for Elizabeth Mollineux, the intended wife, concerning her pregnancy and childbirth. Walter is interested in procuring an heir and Elizabeth is interested in his money.

Walter Shandy is accustomed to turn private affairs into commercial exchanges or scientific principles. The incident of the midwife and Dr Slop is crucial in emphasizing how Walter Shandy dealt with issues. Even though the parish had an able midwife who delivered each inhabitant's child and Mrs. Shandy asked for her, Shandy insisted on Dr. Slop being present during the delivery. Dr. Slop devised a set of instruments (forceps) for extracting the foetus more efficiently. When Dr. Slop had the chance to deliver Tristram he crushed Tristram's nose with the forceps and spoiled his looks.

However, Walter Shandy displays a second nature when Dr. Slop proposes that Walter might benefit by having his horses replaced by "sailing chariots" a technological novelty "of such wonderful contrivance and velocity, as to carry half a dozen people thirty German miles, in I don't know how few moments" (*Tristram* 80-81). Walter Shandy states his curiosity regarding the philosophy and principles of the inventor. Dr. Slop, on the other hand, sees in the chariot a possibility of mass-production and reduction of horse power. These chariots would operate on wind power, "which cost nothing and which eat nothing" (81) in comparison to the horses. Instead of welcoming the scientific progress, Walter Shandy rejects it on the ground that while horses are not free to keep, maintenance of the horses creates a cycle of production, commerce, livelihoods, capital and agrarian value. Shandy while complying with the progressive spirit and defying traditional centres of knowledge, is nevertheless loyal to his status as the landed gentry. He claims that if he had the power he "would generously recompense the scientific head which brought forth such contrivances – yet [he] would as

peremptorily suppress the use of them” (82). Walter Shandy is, thus, an agent of both the residual and emergent value systems, his status as a landed gentry qualifies him for championing residual values while his commercial past and scientific and philosophical interests in new ways of thinking makes him a protractor of emergent values. This is a synthesis of the two distinctive value systems. Walter Shandy is a man of technicality and intellect rather than sentiment. Though he is presented as a sentimental man during the tableau following Tristram's birth defect, Sterne parodies the pathos of the moment with the bawdy inclusion of a chamber pot:

The moment my father got up into his chamber, he threw himself prostrate across his bed in the wildest disorder imaginable, but at the same time, in the most lamentable attitude of a man borne down with sorrows, that ever the eye of pity dropp'd a tear for. - The palm of his right hand, as he fell upon the bed, receiving his forehead, and covering the greatest part of both his eyes, gently sunk down with his head (his elbow giving way backwards) till his nose touch'd the quilt; - his left arm hung insensible over the side of the bed, his knuckles reclining upon the handle of the chamber pot, which peep'd out beyond the valance, - his right leg (his left being drawn up towards his body) hung half over the side of the bed, the edge of it pressing upon his shin bone. - He felt it not. A fix'd, inflexible sorrow took possession of every line of his face. - He sigh'd once, - heaved his breast often, - but utter'd not a word. (*Tristram* 148)

This scene which ought be expressive of profound grief and sentimental outburst is depicted as a parody; Walter Shandy does not collapse with grief and give vent to tears but he strikes a uncomfortable pose in which he covers his eyes so that the lack of tears may not be observed and the emphasis of the chamber pot accentuates the only bodily fluid that has flowed out of Walter Shandy. Walter Shandy is not a sentimental figure but his brother, Toby Shandy (Uncle Toby) is as he is depicted in the same scene with tears of sympathy and a cambric handkerchief to wipe the tears.

Uncle Toby, as a younger brother, only has a moderate annuity to live upon and he is discharged from the army, due to a wound which probably incapacitated him as a man, as the text frequently implies. However, in his simple and innocent ways, with his unquestioning piety and his mercy for all living things great and small, even a common fly, his generosity which is exploited even by Walter Shandy, the wealthy brother, Uncle Toby is one of the moral compasses of the book. His simpleness is contrasted with Walter's infatuation with scientific theories. When Walter Shandy quotes Locke on the

“succession of ideas” (129), Uncle Toby automatically finishes the sentence for him. Walter is baffled for a moment, thinking he has found another champion of scientific progress and rational mind.

Do you understand the theory of that affair? replied my father/Not I, quoth my uncle./- But you have some ideas, said my father, of what you talk about?/No more than my horse, replied my uncle Toby./Gracious heaven! Cried my father, looking upwards, and clasping his two hands together – there is a worth in thy honest ignorance, brother Toby - 'twere almost a pity to exchange it for knowledge. (*Tristram* 130)

In spite of being a rationalist in everything else, Walter appreciates Toby's simpleness, seeing in it something essential which should not be replaced by the new scientific theories. Uncle Toby's simpleness is a rejection of all the material worldliness. Carol Stewart sees uncle Toby as the embodiment of the Christian ideal and asserts that both brothers “represent the old order” (155) of the landed gentry. She sees Tristram's circumcision, uncle Toby's wound and even the Shandy Bull (expected to impregnate the cows of the villagers) emblems of a sterility of the “older ideals” (155).

R.F. Brissenden, on the other hand, sees the Shandy brothers as a social community. He regards *Tristram Shandy* as “a novel of family life” (193) in which individual failings are compensated for, through dialogue and “sympathy” while individuality is preserved and respected (194). In the fluctuating world of commercial progress, Shandy Hall is a social community of individuals who lack totality of representation, but collectively they offer an ethical community of solidarity, belonging and social bonding.

Parson Yorick, on the other hand, is portrayed as an uncouth clergyman. It is his wife's projection to turn a destitute widow into a midwife, much-needed in the community. People had to ride seven miles to get the nearest midwife and a new midwife would serve those within a four mile radius. She collects half the sum necessary to pay for a midwife's licence and Yorick completes the rest. Thus the pair of them seem to be championing an institutional charity, collecting money for turning a destitute woman into labour force. However Sterne hints at the existence of a hidden motive which may be the cause of Yorick's personal contribution.

Yorick loved a good horse and he paid considerable sums for one. However as a clergyman he could not refuse to lend his horse when the need for a midwife occurred. Thus his horses only lasted about a year before they had to be renewed. After a couple of horses, Yorick decided to keep his last horse and he rode it for five years. The horse seemed to invoke a sense of “humility” (*Tristram* 15) for the sorry state he was in. On the other hand, Yorick was in possession of a magnificent saddle, an item of luxury not exactly befitting a clergyman. Yorick kept this saddle in his study and used a plain saddle with his horse. The horse and its rider was a frequent joke in the parish. Yet he refrained from purchasing a new steed, because a new horse each year meant that he would have to cut on charity. Wearing down a horse every year for midwife crisis meant that

it confined all his charity into one particular channel, and where, as he fancied , it was the least wanted, namely to the child-bearing and child-getting part of his parish, reserving nothing for the impotent,-nothing for the aged,- nothing for the many comfortless scenes he was hourly called forth to visit, where poverty, and sickness, and affliction dwelt together. (*Tristram* 17)

Yorick forfeits the luxury of a handsome steed and a matching elegant saddle in order to relieve the poor of his parish. This act subverts the opinions on luxury being a good thing as it creates livelihoods. Money spent on luxury cannot relieve the unfortunate. Yorick, having to come face to face with poverty, takes direct responsibility for the poor. Sterne ironically attributes Yorick's charity to his desire of having a new horse again, since a midwife in the parish would put a stop to the lending of the horse. So the money invested on the midwife is an expression of Yorick's self-interest.

Sterne also incorporated one of his own sermons, “Sermon on the Conscience”, as a mislaid sermon by Parson Yorick. The “Sermon on the Conscience” read aloud by Corporal Trim (Uncle Toby's manservant) to an audience of a Catholic (Dr Slop), a devout member of the Anglican Church (Uncle Toby) and a proselyte of modern philosophies (Walter Shandy), sums up Parson Yorick's version of ethics which acknowledges that religion and morality have evolved separately, but they have to exist together, they cannot write each other off.

To have the fear of God before our eyes, and our mutual dealings with each

other, to govern our actions by the eternal measures of right and wrong: The first of these will comprehend the duties of religion; - the second those of morality, which are so inseparably connected together, that you cannot divide these two tables, even in imagination, (tho' the attempt is often made in practice), without breaking and mutually destroying them both. (*Tristram* 93)

However Parson Yorick's version is not enough. In Sterne's world one has to go through a particular, sentimental experience in order to better apprehend the moral sense. Tristram's witnessing his uncle Toby's treatment of a bothersome fly as a fellow creature is presented as such;

the lesson of universal goodwill then taught and imprinted by my uncle Toby, has never since been worn out of my mind: And tho' I would not depreciate what the study of the *Literae humaniores*, at the university, have done for me in that respect, or discredit the other helps of an expensive education bestowed upon me, both at home and abroad since; yet I often think that I owe one half of my philanthropy to that one accidental impression. (*Tristram* 79)

Sterne maintained that *Tristram Shandy* was “a moral work, more read than understood” (qtd. In Keymer 69) invoking David Hume's maxim for sentimental ethics that it should be “more properly felt than judgd” (232). Like Hume, Sterne is critical of ethics based on reason alone. Individual ethics, for Sterne, is an ongoing endeavour since there is not an innate ethical sense. He expressed that while one is born with certain abilities, an ethical sense is not among them (Keymer 68). The sermon that he uses in *Tristram Shandy* was a genuine one, preached during a congregational meeting and also included in his published sermons (Frank 68). However, in *Tristram Shandy*, Yorick is criticized for cutting his past sermon into slips and offering them around to people to light their pipes. When confronted, Yorick claims that the sermon was not qualified for anything else.

I was delivered of it at the wrong end of me - it came from my head instead of my heart - and it is for the pain it gave me, both in the writing and preaching of it, that I revenge myself of it, in this manner - To preach, to shew the extent of our reading, or the subtleties of our wit - to parade in the eyes of the vulgar with the beggarly accounts of a little learning, tinsel'd over with a few words which glitter, but convey little light and less warmth - is a dishonest use of the poor single half hour in a week which is put into our hands - 'Tis not preaching the gospel - but ourselves - For my own part, continued Yorick, I had rather direct five words point-blank to the heart.

(*Tristram* 221-22)

This quotation emphasizes the need for a dichotomy in stressing the ethical concerns of the book. Yorick's sermon acts as a product of the mind with its ecclesiastical and philosophical allusions, its sober tone and academic style. Uncle Toby, on the other hand, represents an ethical code associated with the heart. His gentleness, unquestioning piety, timidity and sympathy are the chief ethical resources. Sterne synthesizes Yorick's intellectual sermon and Uncle Toby's simple and gentle manners into a coherent ethical theory to function in contrast to the mechanical understanding of human nature.

A Sentimental Journey, was published, like *Tristram Shandy*, as a first instalment with several volumes to follow (Jack xv). In spite of the failure of the next instalments, the book nevertheless established itself as a moral work. While *Tristram Shandy* was ignored by the reading public in the decades to come, save for the selections purged of their bawdy content in *Beauties of Sterne*, *A Sentimental Journey* was extensively read. (Ross 19). Furthermore, the book was widely accepted as “the prototypical sentimental novel” (Frank 89)

Parson Yorick, in *A Sentimental Journey*, departs on a sudden journey to France. Contrasting contemporary Britain and France is a recurrent theme in Sterne's fiction. In *Tristram Shandy*, Walter Shandy, even though he is a provincial landlord, praises the fact that the landed-gentry is not a powerful social class in France. He mentions that French estates are deserted by their owners and medieval châteaux are falling into ruin. He makes complacent comments on how

in [France] no man has any country-interest to support;-the little interest of any kind which any man has anywhere in it, is concentrated in the court, and the looks of Grand Monarch: by the sunshine of whose countenance, or the clouds which pass it, every Frenchman lives or dies. (*Tristram* 35)

Walter Shandy is subverting Oliver Goldsmith's political vision of monarchy as a political power too far away from the countryside to destroy it. He criticizes France for not turning its countryside into a commercial enterprise. On the one hand, Walter supports the idea that vagabonds should not get access to the metropolitans and the rural areas should not be depopulated (35). On the other hand, Walter starts “calculating the simple expense of paring and burning, and fencing” (234), when the prospect of closing

the transaction of an enclosed common-land, the Ox-moor, rises. Ox-moor is the chosen project when Walter comes into a windfall of money:

He would go to Rome - he would go to law - he would buy stock – he would buy John Hobson's farm – he would new forefront his house, and add a new wing to make it even – There was a fine water-mill on this side, he would build a windmill on the otherside of the river in full view to answer it- But above all things in the world, he would enclose the great Ox-moor, and send out my brother Bobby immediately upon his travels. (*Tristram* 232)

Walter Shandy criticizes the rural France for falling into decay and rural Britain for depopulation, but he does not hesitate to enclose Ox-moor which would contribute to the depopulation of the rural area. Tristram Shandy, on the other hand, prefers the provincial and traditional life in France since France is not threatened by enclosures, de-forestation, and seizure of common lands. In *Tristram Shandy*, Uncle Toby transforms a part of a bowling-green into a whimsical hobby-garden which points out to the fact that the original pasture kept for grazing is already transformed into a playground for outdoor sports. Uncle Toby tries to save a wood from being razed to the ground by the Dean and Chapter under the pretext of giving it to the poor and the editor's note reads as “Mr. Shandy must mean the poor in spirit; inasmuch as they divided the money amongst themselves” (*Tristram* 409). Shandy Hall and its surroundings are thus being transformed into a man-made wasteland.

Walter Shandy's fascination with modern philosophies and novelties cannot make up for the loss of the traditional social structure of the rural England. Sterne seems to posit this lost social structure in France and especially condemns the examples of travel-writing by the complacent English authors who seem to be unaware of their own stuffiness. Both Tristram Shandy and Yorick travel to France, not to see monuments, abbeys, mechanical novelties and castles but to observe human nature. Yorick claims that “there is more wit and variety of character to feed the mind with [. . .] *an English man does not travel to see English men*” (*Journey* 13).

In *Tristram Shandy*, the adult Tristram complains about his debts and complains about his simple life in the country, bared to the minimums like that of the Rousseau's state of nature, however he hardly sees any virtue or philosophy in it. He is only there because he cannot afford to live in the city. In the eighteenth-century Britain,

previously-unknown expenditures rise, relating to fashion, novelty, ostentation, etiquettes, social gatherings and the Grand Tour, making life relatively too expensive, compared to the provincial France and rural Britain. The young Tristram, on the other hand, while traveling in France expressed that he felt “the kindest harmony, vibrating” and all the things he witnessed “touched upon some secret spring either of sentiment or rupture” (*Tristram* 444). The difference between the young and old Tristrams depict to a certain degree of disillusionment that comes with the age. But the young Tristram travelled from Shandy Hall to France complaining that “a man should know something of his country too” (336). The young Tristram had only the experience of Shandy Hall to compare and contrast France with. The older Tristram is influenced by the metropolitan life.

Sterne's fiction oscillates, for Yorick and Young Tristram, between Shandy Hall and France/Italy. London does not constitute a pivotal place as it does in the most of the eighteenth-century novels. This is because London does not or cannot offer valid examples of universal benevolence. The Shandy Hall offers a valid example of universal benevolence through the sentimentally-induced characters and provincial France offers another example because it is still under the influence of a pre-capitalist, agrarian economic system. Tristram, traversing through the bountiful, green countryside in France, remarks that he has never seen human nature represented to its fullest degree.

[I]t is the most fruitful and busy period of my life; [. . .] by stopping and talking to every soul I met who was not in a full trot - joining all parties before me - waiting for every soul behind - hailing all those who were coming through cross roads - arresting all kinds of beggars, pilgrims, fiddlers, fryars - not passing by a woman in a mulberry-tree without commending her legs, and tempting her into conversation with a pinch of snuff - - In short, by seizing every handle, of what size or shape soever, which chance held out to me in this journey - I turned my plain into a city - I was always in company, and with great variety too; and as my mule loved society as much as myself, and had some proposals always on his part to offer to every beast he met - I am confident we could have passed through Pall-Mall or St. James's-Street for a month together, with fewer adventures - and seen less of human nature. (*Tristram* 375-76)

In contrast to Voltaire's visit to London in which he went to the Royal Exchange and praised it as the centre which creates tolerance and harmony, Sterne makes Tristram travel through rural France/Italy and praises it for the social experiences it still offers.

Voltaire appreciates the commercial exchange while Sterne appreciates sentimental exchange, or as he calls it “sentimental commerce” (*Journey* 9). Provincial France, with its villages, forests, vineyards, fields, crops, festivities, is a more likely place to promote authentic social experience in contrast to rural Britain systematically being destroyed by the newly-rich landowners with commercial fortunes. Even London, with its urban masses and meeting places, seems isolated in contrast to the French countryside since the social exchange is regulated by decorum, class distinctions, mechanism and commercialism. Therefore, in Sterne's representation of eighteenth-century Britain, the emergent commercialism is operating on ethics of self-interest. In his representation of eighteenth-century France, on the other hand, the residual rural estate is operating on ethics of communal interest.

What differentiates Yorick from David Simple and Sir William Thornhill, in his wanderings in France/Italy is his universal benevolence. Yorick does not seek a meritorious pure heart. He does not test people to see if they measure up to a self-imposed standard. He does not rejoice at their moral superiority. Refinement, delicacy and decorum are not among his preferences. In fact, as a man of cloth, it is to a monk that he behaves most uncivilly, out of a sudden repulsion. Sterne criticizes, through Yorick's deliberate avoidance of fellow British travellers, their complacent and overbearing attitudes towards continental Europeans, looking at everything from the vantage point of commercial advancement and urbanization experience.

Yorick's journey is quite abrupt, unplanned and even illegal, since he does not have a passport. Acting on a slighting remark, questioning his proficiency to talk about France without being there, Yorick decides on the spot to leave for France. Yorick as a parson of the Shandy Hall, is a more prestigious member of the dependants but he lacks the firmness and prudence of a clergyman. His funds are also rather scarce but in France he can rise up to being an arbitrary benefactor.

However, while Sterne claimed that he would champion universal benevolence in the novel (Jack xv), Yorick's benefaction is not universal but follows an arbitrariness. Yorick's determination not to give any alms to a mendicant Monk is a reaction against the mechanistic version of charity. As Yorick articulates, right after he announces that even the best accomplished materialist in France could not call him “a machine”

(*Journey 4*),

No Man cares to have his virtues the sport of contingencies-or one man may be generous, as another man is puissant [. . .] for there is no regular reasoning upon the ebbs and flows of our humours; they may depend upon the same causes, for aught I know, which influence the tides themselves - 't would oft be no discredit to us, to suppose it was so; I'm sure at least for myself, that in many a case I should be more highly satisfied to have it said by the world, "I had had an affair with the moon, in which there was neither sin nor shame," than have it pass altogether as my own act and deed, wherein there was so much of both - But be this as it may. The moment I cast my eyes upon [the Monk], I was predetermined not to give him a single sou; and accordingly I put my purse into my pocket. (*Journey 5*)

As the quotation depicts, Yorick challenges deterministic and mechanistic charity which leaves out the social bond created in the act of giving and receiving. Hume, who contested Locke's idea of a logical, precise ethics on the ground that it was not judgement but sentiment through which an individual ought to form his ethical decisions, can be discerned as influential in Sterne's handling of Yorick's charity. Sterne associates Yorick's charitable feelings with that of the moon, the celestial body held responsible for lunacy, since he is defying any deterministic, mechanical and rational acts of charity and the ethics associated with these acts.

Yorick's ethics of charity depends on a social bonding of sentimental commerce, an incorporation of Hume's version of a sentimental ethics. However, his action of withholding money from the Monk, might also be read, as the text suggests, from a Hobbesian perspective. He may be justifying the action of keeping his money in his pocket. Because while he states that he is against mechanistic charity, the two reasons Yorick offers to the Monk have a mechanistic pattern. First he tells the Monk that that as an Englishman he would rather help the poor of his country; "the unfortunate of our own country, surely, have the first rights; and I have left thousands in distress upon our own shore" (*Journey 7*). He, then preaches the Monk that as a member of the Anglican clergy, his creed advises him to distinguish between the deserving poor and the undeserving poor. He finally accuses the Monk for abusing "the love of God" (7) in order carry on an idle life. There is discrepancy between Yorick's reflective defiance of the mechanistic approach and the verbal justification of that mechanistic approach.

Yorick's self-indignation, for the way he has conducted the affair with the Monk, is rather slight at first. However, seeing the Monk converse with a fair lady (Madame de L*** with whom Yorick keeps a lingering yet indefinite flirtation throughout the book), Yorick is horrified that the Monk might tell her about his earlier conduct. The Monk offers him snuff from his old bone snuff-box, showing that he does not resent what passed between them. Yorick makes a present of his tortoise-snuff box to the Monk as an atonement of his earlier callous behaviour and the Monk returns the compliment by making Yorick have his bone-one. The exchange of the snuff-boxes with the presence of Madame de L*** included, creates a sentimentally-charged scene.

Since Yorick's mission in traveling to France is offered as engaging in sentimental commerce, the exchange of the snuff-boxes is the first sentimental commerce in the book. This action manifests Sterne's version of a social charity. Sterne's social charity creates a moment of bonding between the giver and recipient. The social bonding creates mutual comfort and pleasure but a material difference occurs which adds to the recipient and takes away from the giver. In this particular exchange, it is the difference between the market value of the snuff-boxes. However the snuff-box gains a sentimental value, a reminder of this episode, Yorick imbues the bone snuff-box with a sentimental value:

I guard this box, as I would the instrumental parts of my religion, to help my mind on to something better: in truth, I seldom go abroad without it; and oft and many a time have I called up by it the courteous spirit of its owner to regulate my own, in the justlings of the world; they had found full employment for his, as I learnt from his story, till about the forty-fifth year of his age, when upon some military services ill requited, and meeting at the same time with a disappointment in the tenderest of passions, he abandon'd the sword and the sex together, and took sanctuary, not so much in his convent as in himself. (20-1)

Yorick has more respect for the Monk when he discovers that he led a full-fledged life as a man and that his celibacy and out-of-this-worldliness are acquired in his mature years. Like the exchange of the snuff-boxes, the exchange of sexual favours is an important element in Yorick's ethical system. The Monk's only possession is the snuff-box which he offers around and the act of heartfelt exchange is one of the foundation stones of Yorick's universal benevolence. The snuff-box reminds Yorick of its original

possessor, a man caught up in the turbulence of the world during his youth and his abandonment of it in his later age. Yorick identifies with the Monk because he feels the same oscillations between a worldly desire for glory and conquest and a moral righteousness that he needs to preserve and preach. This is consistent with Joseph Chadwick's opinion that Sterne is concerned with characters caught in the ethical dilemma of “objective moral truth – the law of God and Nature” versus “subjective moral truth-the real motives for one's actions” (201). As Chadwick emphasizes Sterne subverts the morally ideal and superior sentimental hero and establishes the sentimental hero who has his peculiar shortcomings and spontaneous outbursts of sentimentality.

The episode of the Monk concludes with a projection of a future encounter in which Yorick sits by the grave of the Monk (Father Lorenzo) and weeps, saying “but I am as weak as a woman; and I beg the world not to smile, but pity me”(Journey 21). The later Yorick, now feminized and tearful, is an older man, who bridged the gap between objective- eternal truths and subjective truths. He underwent a transformation which brought him closer to David Simple of *the Volume Last* and Harley of *the Man of Feeling*, preparing to embrace the transcendental experience and religious comforts an afterlife.

As stated earlier, Yorick does not set out to find morally superior or sentimentally refined people, for he regards people in general as being adequately lovable and acceptable regardless of their gender, class, or disposition. In his sexual encounters, for example, he courts ladies from polite societies, chambermaids and grisets without discrimination. It is the sentimental commerce which renders each encounter valuable. However, even though Yorick as a character seems exaggerated, satirical and whimsical, the affinity between the author and character makes his experiences more genuine and authentic. Unlike landed-gentry benefactors (Sir William Thornhill) having pecuniary reserves for relieving distressed people; Yorick is only a Parson and has to rely on limited resources. Not only his circumstances are narrow but he also refuses a supplicant (the Monk) out of revulsion but when it comes to applicants begging in the streets he can assume the part of a benefactor.

Yorick is surrounded by a group of beggars in Montriul and since it is “the first public act of [his] charity in France” (36) and as a man who has little to give, he makes

up by being thorough of how he gave away his eight sous. Since the sum is fixed and the applicants are many, he sets the standards in order to give away his money. He gives one to a cordial beggar who withdraws his claim so that a female beggar may receive his due; an act which Yorick considers as a union of “beggary and urbanity” (36), peculiar to France. He picks a beggar for his generosity in passing snuff around (reminiscent of the monk), an old soldier, a woman begging only for the love of God (“*pour l'amour de Dieu*”) and one because he called him “My Lord *Anglois*” (37). These standards are clearly set arbitrarily. Yorick who earlier refused the Monk, preaching him about his begging for the love of God to mask his idleness, gives alms to a beggar woman begging with the same supplication.

In France, Yorick can pretend to be an English Lord and play the part of a benefactor, on a fixed sum of money. While succumbing to an applicant's claim on an assumed rationalization of charity, Yorick is enjoying the illusion that he acts like a true benefactor relieving his dependants like an English Lord with his tenants. Sterne usually implies an underlying Hobbesian motive in charitable moments. The woman begging for the love of God has a dislocated hip and Yorick comments on the purity of his action by suggesting that there could be no self-interest in his charity. Thus, any charitable moment has the residual alternative ethics of indiscriminate benevolence and the emergent commercial ethics of self-interest. When his eight sous run out, Yorick notices a beggar crying silently.

Good God! said I - and I have not one single sous left to give him - But you have a thousand! cried all the powers of nature, stirring within me - so I gave him - no matter what - I am ashamed to say *how much*, now - and was ashamed to think, how little, then: so if the reader can form any conjecture of my disposition, as these two fixed points are given him, he may judge within a livre or two what was the precise sum. (*Journey 37*)

Yorick follows a certain pattern in humouring his vanity, generosity and cordiality but the last applicant's tears are taken for the display of a gentler heart and he receives a sum that Yorick finds rather excessive later on when the stimulation of sensibility wears off. Yorick is more affected by tears and feels a greater sympathy for the silent weeping applicant. Kenneth MacLean claims that while *Tristram Shandy* was influenced by Locke's ideas such as formation of the mind, knowledge and ideas, *The Sentimental*

Journey was influenced by Adam Smith's ideas, especially sympathy (*Sympathy* 399).

Smith defined sympathy as the imagined circumstances of the less fortunate which led to an awareness and identification. He argued that this results in the formation of a moral sense as the imagined misery of the other people is “the source of [one's] fellow-feeling” (*Sentiments* 12). Maclean, on the other hand, argues that sympathy creates only a momentary interest which is not registered deeply in the consciousness of the sympathizer and that the sympathy felt for imaginary situations temporarily relieves the moral vacuum without transforming it into a concrete and lingering moral sense (*Sympathy* 408). Yorick's later recollection affirms that he does not sympathize with the applicant in the same degree when removed from his presence since he regrets that he gave away more than he ought to. However, it is the sum he is concerned about rather than having given away his money. He did not act prudently but the memory of the pleasure he felt by giving is pleasing to his moral sense albeit the expense. The satisfaction that he received from assuming the role of an English Lord is, on the other hand, was momentary. This farcical re-enactment, of member of the landed-gentry's patriarchal benevolence towards his tenants, peasants and servants, is repeated once more, when Yorick is persuaded to hire a servant.

A servant! That I do most sadly, quoth I - Because, Monsieur, said the landlord, there is a clever young fellow, who would be very proud of the honour to serve an Englishman - But why an English one, more than any other? - They are so generous, said the landlord - I'll be shot if this is not a livre out of my pocket, quoth I to myself, this very night - But they have wherewithal to be so, Monsieur, added he - Set down one livre more for that, quoth I - It was but last night, said the landlord, *qu'un my Lord Anglois presentoit un ecu a la fille de chambre - Tant pis, pour Madlle Janatone*, said I. (*Journey* 30)

Yorick is again cajoled into hiring a servant (La Fleur) by the gentle flattery of being taken for an English Lord. Under the pretext of serving and honouring an Englishman, the pecuniary motive is not subtly hidden. Yorick was generous to a chambermaid and this act of generosity engenders or obligates others. Yorick feels urged to hire the services of La Fleur in spite of being “so poor a devil as myself” (*Journey* 31) simply because La Fleur is even less fortunate than himself as he is another “poor devil [who] comes to offer his services” (31). Furthermore, having a servant will establish Yorick as

a member of the landed-gentry to the French poor.

Ironically, La Fleur is also trying to reach beyond his class boundaries. When Yorick gives him some money, he fits himself as a gentleman and having a better figure than Yorick, pales him in comparison. As Michael McKeon asserted the erasure of the sumptuous distinctions between social classes increases the status inconsistencies (370). Yorick's ambivalent status is thus complicated by the fact that he is a dependant with a limited income, playing the part of a benefactor and by the fact that he has a servant whom he can ill afford and who looks more like his master rather than his servant. La Fleur mirrors certain qualities of his master such as amorous involvements with chambermaids, charitable satisfaction in giving and universal benevolence. La Fleur is a Catholic and when they set out for Italy, he promises his lady-friends to bring them "pardons from Rome" (*Journey* 33). This depicts that rural France still adheres to the traditional religion and its rituals.

Furthermore, La Fleur is very resourceful. He even provides Yorick with a letter from his personal archives and saves him the trouble of writing one. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick defines the relation between Yorick and La Fleur as "a bond between gentleman and gentleman's gentleman" (23) (Yorick defines it as bond between one poor man in service of another) and insists that this bond is not as arbitrary and casual as it seems but represents the emergent commercial ethics of a servant being paid labour and residual alternative ethics of a servant being a member of an extended community:

Yorick's articulateness about the way he thinks of La Fleur – his need to describe and justify, under the guise of celebrating, the particular, paternalistic shape of the bond between them – is, like the very degree of his emotional investment in La Fleur, a sign not of a stable, hereditary, traditional bond to a servant but of an anxious and ideologically threatened one. Or more precisely: rather than being a sign of a traditional bond, it is an explicit, ideologizing narrative about such a bond and, hence, suggests Yorick's belated and anxious relation to the earlier, stabler relationship. One useful view of ideology is precisely as a narrative that makes explicit, in idealizing and apparently contemporaneous terms, the outdated or obsolescent values of an earlier system in the service of a newer system that in practice undermines the basis of those values. Thus, Yorick not only is not used to but is acutely anxious about this master-servant bond whose 'naturalness' he is so busy justifying. (Sedgwick 26)

La Fleur is presented to Yorick with a recommendation of his “fidelity” (*Journey* 31) which is a quality of the residual servant who was part of the extended community. Yorick, on the other hand, is more interested in what La Fleur can do. He is “determined to make his talents do” (31). He wants the master-servant relationship to be based on functionality.

Yorick, tries to live up to his pseudo-English Lordliness. He calls his community of a spaniel and La Fleur his “empire” (*Journey* 32). However, La Fleur undermines Yorick's complacency by looking more gentleman-like than him. The traditional bond between servant and master cannot be maintained in such circumstances. Yorick and La Fleur bond as equals, united by contractual obligations. Sedgwick asserts that servants in *A Sentimental Journey* are transitional agents of the changing times; they can offer their services to anyone who can pay and maintain the appearance of a traditional bond of the earlier periods (emergent and residual). Peasants, on the other hand, are depicted as projections of a picturesque and pastoral past. Thus Sterne dichotomizes between the agents of an emerging (servants, innkeepers) and residual (peasants) value systems in France.

Tristram and Yorick face the persecution of French law personified by the King himself, in *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey* respectively. When a commissary from the post-office seeks him out in the name of the King, to demand an extra fee for his travelling, Tristram tries to convince the man that since he does not know the King, he may not owe him any money and tries to bend the law to his own purposes. In a sudden change of temperament, Britain suddenly represents the ideal commonwealth with its liberal politics and advanced law system. “I will go to ten thousand Bastiles first” says Tristram and pays homage to England, “thou land of liberty, and climate of good sense, thou tenderest of mothers - and gentlest of nurses” (*Tristram* 368). Yorick, on the other hand, left England without a passport and is terrified on being sent to Bastile. He tries to play down his fears by reducing Bastile to an architectural mundaneness:

And as for the Bastile! the terror is in the word [. . .] the Bastile is but another word for a tower - and a tower is but another word for a house you can't get out of [. . .] The mind sits terrified at the objects she has magnified herself, and blackened: reduce them to their proper size and hue she

overlooks them [. . .] the Bastile is not an evil to be despised - but strip it of its towers - fill up the fossè - unbarricade the doors - call it simply a confinement, and suppose 'tis some tyrant of a distemper - and not of a man which holds you in it - the evil half vanishes, and you bear the other half without complaint. (*Journey* 70-71)

Yorick's fear of Bastile is associated with “the threat of confiscation of property, the terror of gaols and halters, and illegibility of others” (Frank 77). However Sterne's emphasis that the “terror is in the word” seems impregnated with other meanings. Rather than expressing an admiration of the British legal system and an abhorrence of French Monarchy, Sterne is emphasizing that Bastile is just another word for the prison system which is much more efficient and just as much inhumane in Britain. Liz Bellamy draws attention to this fact and quotes a passage from William Godwin's *Things as They Are; or The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794) which seems to express Sterne's hidden meaning directly:

Thank God, exclaims the Englishman, we have no Bastille! Thank God, with us no man can be punished without a crime! Unthinking wretch! Is that a country of liberty where thousands languish in dungeons and fetters? Go, go, ignorant fool! and visit the scenes of our prisons! Witness their unwholesomeness, their filth, the tyranny of their governors, the misery of their inmates! After that show me the man shameless enough to triumph, and say, England has no Bastille (qtd. In Bellamy 167)

Yorick's fear only kindles his imagination to the degree that he sympathizes with a caged starling. Imagining himself as a captive, he feels that the starling is lamenting the loss of its liberty with his song. Adam Smith's definition of sympathy, as feeling the imaginary pain to be real, fully relates to the caged starling. La Fleur buys the starling for a bottle of Burgundy and Yorick brings it back to England with him. However the starling is swiftly reduced to a commodity-like status. “Lord A begg'd the bird of me - in a week Lord A gave him to Lord B - Lord B made a present of him to Lord C - and Lord C's gentleman sold him to Lord D for a shilling - Lord D gave him to Lord E - and so on - half round the alphabet”(*Journey* 74). The bird finally passes to the lower orders as an emblem of upward-mobility and it stays caged. Markman Ellis defines the starling's “circulation” as the “parody of social mobility” (76).

Yorick who initially felt such a profound sentimental bond with the starling has only one more use for it; he adds it as a crest to his heraldry. By the time, *A Sentimental*

Journey was published, Sterne amassed enough property to pass for a member of landed-gentry, “through enclosure and influence of friends” (Frank 200). Yorick has a similar status mobility upwards. He moved up from being a poor dependant to a man designing his heraldry. As he grows in terms of social status, Yorick/Sterne prefers actual commercial exchanges and markers of status in a later age instead of sentimental commerce. The starling served Yorick to present the Bastille episode as a sentimental experience and by adding it to his heraldry; Yorick appropriates the starling's pathetic memory of being a captive that he once sympathized while he is not concerned with its lifetime imprisonment.

Yorick kept Father Lorenzo's snuff-box but he let go of the starling, La Fleur's parting gift. Within the Sternean concept of sentimental commerce, Yorick seems to have bestowed no sentimental value on La Fleur because there was not a sentimental commitment and La Fleur was an emergent commercial element. Father Lorenzo, on the other hand, is a residual alternative. While La Fleur imitates the manner of upper classes, Father Lorenzo begs for the “wants of his convent and the poverty of his order” (*Journey* 6). Father Lorenzo is, thus, a member of a traditional community nurturing a sense of belonging.

Yorick's giving away the starling can be contrasted to the dead ass they met on the road. The donkey belongs to a peasant-pilgrim on his way back from St. Iago in Spain. He went to offer his thanks for his son, whose life was delivered in answer to his prayers, according to his belief. The ass and the owner had a relation based on love and when they lost one another during the voyage, each searched for the other without eating and drinking. The owner blames himself for riding the ass for so long a road. This extension of responsibility and protection for another species subverts the commodification of commercial ethics. When La Fleur offers the pilgrim some money, he is rejected for “he did not want it-it was not the value of the ass” (*Journey* 40). The spaniel and the starling, pets with commercial value circulate without taking a hold while animals who stayed with their owners and were included in their extended communities are considered as fellow-beings.

Carol McGuirk argues that Sterne uses “a series of histrionic gestures” in order to oscillate from a pathetic situation (“pathos”) to a bathetic one (“bathos”) and the fellow-

beings that seem to evoke so much sentimental response in Yorick act as “stage props” (505). She maintains that “[m]en of the world follow a survival principle; men of feeling look after the lost causes” (506). Thus Yorick's (and Tristram's) universal benevolence for the beggars, chambermaids, dumb creatures (the starling, the dead ass) and lunatics (Maria) are attempts to assume the part of the man of feeling in order to parade as one. This reading subverts Sterne's expressed authorial intention that he was writing a novel to promote universal benevolence and love for our fellow beings. Thus the sentimental journey becomes a sight-seeing tour in order to hunt down a suitable object to invest with sentimental rhetoric.

One trait that remains constant in sentimental character, however, is the hero's egotism in pursuing the humble; for the lower the object he encounters and reclaims, the more status he achieves in alone perceiving its significance. His acuteness notices these humble or pathetic things, his goodheartedness accepts them, and his virtuosity triumphs in communicating their significance to readers. (McGuirk 507)

McGuirk is echoing the self-assertive Hobbesian voice in the narrative which is always judging the purity of Yorick's sentimental actions. Sterne's sentimental ethics cannot be limited to this simple formula. Sterne discriminates between what McGuirk refers to as “the stage props”. Some of the sentimental paraphernalia are passed on while some are retained for the sentimental value they provide. As mentioned earlier, Yorick held on to the bone snuff-box, because this particular object incorporated the residual communal ethics of the monk and therefore, it was always in Yorick's pockets. The starling, on the other hand, after having served as the pathetic element of a genuine sentimental experience, is put into circulation as an emergent element of the commercial ethics.

Sterne thus associates the acts of keeping and putting into circulation, with the economic systems of mercantilism and commercial capitalism. In mercantilism, the wealth/bullion is kept at the treasury of the state, as “accumulation of precious metals” (*Wealth* 815). In commercial capitalism the wealth/money, “the great wheel of circulation, the great instrument of commerce” (*Wealth* 371) travels through markets and commodities. Therefore, the caged starling which is put into circulation acts like an organic currency unit. Since it cannot have a utility function as in the case of the snuff-box, it ends up as an emblem on Yorick's heraldry. The starling stands for the

sentimental value it once generated and also the commercial value which Sterne/Yorick receives from his published books/sermons, which allows him to receive and alter an emblem of heraldry in his name. Ironically, Sterne himself generates a commercial value following his death. Grave-robbers dig his body and sell it to a medical school; he is restored to his grave when someone recognizes him at the dissection table. (Keymer 19) Actual experience thus confirms what Sterne is theorizing as a sentimental experience. Some of the sentimental experiences (commerces) in *Journey*, are, thus negated by the text itself. As progressive narration tends to be emergent and inset narratives and episodes offer residual values, the emergent sometimes writes the residual off but as the case of the snuff-box proves, sometimes the residual overwrites the emergent.

Sterne uses the circulation metaphor, which is originally related with commerce, to apply to French people who socialize more frequently and with less decorum, reserve and class-distinction. He likens the French people to a coin put into circulation; in France the coins are rubbed of their distinctive legends and precious metal through frequent exchange and become more homogenous and indistinguishable. In terms of social classes, people mix more frequently and show common characteristics which strengthen the idea of a community. In England, on the other hand, since the social exchange is low, the coin symbolizing English people keeps its distinctive legend:

The English, like antient medals, kept more apart, and passing but few peoples hands, preserve the first sharpnesses which the fine hand of nature has given them - they are not so pleasant to feel - but in return, the legend is so visible, that at the first look you see whose image and superscription they bear. - But the French [. . .] have so many excellencies, they can the better spare this - they are a loyal, a gallant, a generous, an ingenious, and good temper'd people as is under heaven. (*Journey* 90)

Yorick's comments are still indubitably relevant for the provincial France. In Paris, Yorick wanders into a shop and meets the grisset who keeps the shop, laments the fact that women are being drawn into the commercial world. Yorick exclaims to the grisset "it is not good for thee to sit alone - thou wast made for social intercourse and gentle greetings, and this improvement of our natures from it, I appeal to, as my evidence" (*Journey* 54). Yet Yorick observes that the grisset is also like a pebble polished by ceaseless interactions with customers all day long. However it is her confinement to a

shop which Yorick finds limited and unfulfilling for the grisset. She meets customers all day long but this does not fit into Sterne's vision of universal benevolence. The grisset is out of harmony with her surroundings which Yorick finds poignant. According to Sterne, the grisset is stuck in the marketplace of commercial ethics, without forming a communal bonding with anyone. Yorick engages in commercial exchanges with the grissets, in the novel, buying gloves and ruffles, pitying their predicament for venturing into commercial world (also testing the ground to see if there is any chance of further involvement).

Sterne is, thus, theorizing his vision of universal benevolence which is meaningful, harmonious and virtuous in provincial France but suffocating, unnatural and pitiful in commercial Paris. Sedgwick pointed out that such a distinction only exists in Yorick's fantasy. There is universal benevolence in France only for Yorick," a male, unpropertied, English, valetudinarian intellectual of middle age" and only "he is mobile, encompassing, universal; others are fixed, static, limited" (Sedgwick 31). However, travelling or circulating is not necessarily negative in Sterne's vision. Like a metal coin which wears off through constant rubbing and passing on, the traveller/circulating object, is being cut off from a fixed, static, limited, existence. Yorick set out to search for residual but still meaningful values to fill the moral vacuum at its point of origin, which is Britain. The very first line of the novel is "They order, said I, this matter better in France" (*Journey* 3). It is never completed therefore whether the remark, related to a dish or justice being served better, remains ambiguous. There is ultimately something better in France in the sense that being in a different stage of implementation to emergent commercial ethics, there is more homogeneity, harmony and communal belonging in the society, which still adheres to rituals of Catholicism and agrarianism. So in this sense the *Journey* is more like a pilgrimage to an idealized past.

Towards the end of his narrative, Yorick meets Maria, the French girl from of *Tristram Shandy*, who is presented as the epitome of rural simpleness and picturesqueness. While she is still dressed as an ideal peasant girl, however, she has replaced her goat from the earlier narration, with a little dog. This shows that the idealized pastoral and picturesque country girl Maria prefers a pet of commercial value to the traditional farm animal. Sitting by Maria, Yorick finds an inner source that defies

“any combination of matter and motion” and declares “I am positive I have a soul; nor can all the books with which materialists have pester'd the world ever convince me of the contrary” (*Journey* 114). By indicting the materialist authors who defined the social relations in terms of physical phenomena like Locke's theory of attractions and repulsions or Hobbes's theory that social relations were based on fear, Sterne is refusing the emergent commercial ethics of self-interest on the ground that it is soulless, automated and unfulfilling, creating an ethical vacuum which was only closed at the far end of his travels into the residual alternative ethics of communal interest.

On the other hand, there are those that came down the social ladder despite fulfilling traditional obligations. Yorick meets in France, a Marquis who gave up his nobility and delivered his sword to be guarded by the Court until he could claim it back. The way to claim it back was through either warring or commerce and the parting with the sword symbolizes parting with a purity that commerce would taint.

WHEN states and empires have their periods of declension, and feel in their turns what distress and poverty is [. . .] The Marquis d'E * * * * had fought up against his condition with great firmness; wishing to preserve, and still shew to the world some little fragments of what his ancestors had been - their indiscretions had put it out of his power. There was enough left for the little exigencies of *obscurity* - But he had two boys who look'd up to him for *light* - he thought they deserved it. He had tried his sword - it could not open the way - the *mounting* was too expensive - and simple œconomy was not a match for it - there was no resource but commerce. (*Journey* 80-81)

The contrast between the past as obscure and future as light is crucial in the sense that the emergent commercial ethics of self-interest outshines and puts into obscurity previous orders which once stood for social values and meanings. Yorick's idyllic provincial France with its picturesque peasants is also being destroyed by the pervasive influence of commerce. The Marquis was successful after spending 20 years in Martinique so the restoration of his nobility depends not only on commerce but also on colonization. However, his sword is not the same; it is rusty and when the Marquis notices this, he sheds a tear which baths the rust in the sword and exclaims that he will find “some *other way*” (*Journey* 82) to remove the rust. The setting of the rust parallels the commercial taint that the Marquis is subjected to and the restoration of the nobility is to a lesser man, cut off from his ancestral valour. The Marquis is aware of the fact and

emphasizes that he will try to rectify his shortcoming, with some other ordeal than commerce.

Sterne offers France (to a smaller degree Italy and Spain) as a residual alternative ethics of communal interest in contrast to a Britain under the pervasive influence of emergent commercial ethics of self-interest. Using Parson Yorick, an Anglican clergyman, engage in social relations with the people he meets, Sterne contrasts the rural simpleness, directness and communal existence of the French with Yorick, suggesting that there are Hobbesian motives in Yorick that the French cannot recognize. By empowering Yorick with the symbolic validation of the rural estate, as the benefactor landlord to beggars, servants and grisets, Sterne transforms him from the rationalist at the beginning of the novel to a man who rediscovers his soul within the social relations he forms. Yorick's journey is a kind of pilgrimage to a residual past in which bonding with people creates meaning and fulfilment. Emergent commercial ethics of self-interest created a vacuum of meaning in social relations in Britain and Yorick relocates them in the rural agrarian communities again. Ironically, Yorick almost never sets foot in an authentic and natural rural community. He is either travelling on a ship or coach, or staying at an inn or passing through interiors of shops or customs. His very journey itself is a commodified version of a pilgrimage.

CHAPTER IV

**DISINTEGRATION OF THE RURAL-COMMUNAL ETHICS IN
MACKENZIE'S *THE MAN OF FEELING***

Henry Mackenzie (1745-1835) was a Scottish novelist coming from the heart of the Scottish Enlightenment, “a sustained interrogation of human nature that consistently sought to account for the individual in relation to social institutions, economic structures, and historical conditions” (Vickers xi). He was born and educated in Edinburgh, receiving a degree in Law from the University of Edinburgh. Mackenzie worked in London Exchequer for a couple of years and even manifested a wish to remain there. However, he returned to Edinburgh and lived there for the rest of his years as an eminent citizen. He was a founder and an ardent participant of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was also involved in the “Spectator”-like Scottish periodicals, “The Mirror” and “The Lounger” (for which he was dubbed as the “Scottish Addison”). He was appointed as the Comptroller of Taxes for Scotland and held this office for 36 years until his death. (Scott 163-67)

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) the Scottish novelist, was one of the earliest biographers of Mackenzie and he pays homage to Mackenzie for his long-spun, local presence in Scottish literature:

It is enough to say here that Mr. Mackenzie survives, venerable and venerated, as the last link of the chain which connects the Scottish literature of the present age with the period when there were giants in the land, the days of Robertson, and Hume, and Smith, and Home, and Clerk, and Fergusson [. . .] He has, we believe, shot game of every description which Scotland contains (deer, and probably grouse, excepted), on the very grounds at present occupied by the extensive and splendid streets of the New Town of Edinburgh; has sought for hares and wild ducks where there are now palaces, churches, and assembly-rooms; and has witnessed moral revolutions as surprising as this extraordinary change of local circumstances. These mutations in manners and in morals have been gradual indeed in their progress, but most important in their results, and they have

been introduced into Scotland within the last half-century. (167)

Scott praises Mackenzie for witnessing and experiencing a Scotland in transition and transformation. Edinburgh especially underwent major transitions and man-made monuments of this progress are contrasted by natural countryside. Mackenzie can charter this progress because he was there from the very beginning. For Mackenzie, Edinburgh is “a sort of mimic metropolis and cannot fairly pretend to the same licence of making a fool of itself as London or Paris” (qtd. in Gottlieb 46). This suggests that though highly urbanized, Edinburgh has a Scottish identity and homogeneity and people are more resistant to the bouts of fashion, luxury and leisure. Scott also underlines the fact that the ethical attitudes of the individuals changed. He refers to them as “moral revolutions” but stresses the fact that the change was gradual and subtle. According to Scott

the principal object of Mackenzie, in all his novels, has been to reach and sustain a tone of moral pathos, by representing the effect of incidents, whether important or trifling, upon the human mind, and especially on those which were not only just, honourable, and intelligent, but so framed as to be responsive to those finer feelings, to which ordinary hearts are callous. (171)

Mackenzie is largely known for his three novels; *The Man of Feeling* (1771), *The Man of the World* (1773) and *Julia de Roubigné* (1777). His first two novels stand as mirror images of the two rivalling ethical systems of the period. Harley of *The Man of Feeling* embraces the sentimental ethics, trying to restore the effects of a “moral revolution” which has unsettled old harmonies, hierarchies and balances. Sir Thomas Sindall of *The Man of the World*, on the other hand, welcomes this “moral revolution” and exploits it to the point of villainy. As Peter Burnham encapsulates, “the characteristic pose of the man of the world is selfish calculation: even in charity we see that it is by such devices as that of calculating the chances of deception that worldly men rationalize their selfishness” (125).

The Man of Feeling has a member of the landed gentry as its protagonist. Harley suffers from financial problems and is advised by more worldly friends to go to London to seek the help of a baronet. His trip turns out to be fruitless but Harley encounters a panoply of people, among them beggars, gamblers and prostitutes. He also makes visits to some popular places. He reconciles a fallen woman to her father. On a visit to

Bedlam, he meets a young girl who has lost her sanity. He meets a misanthrope who shies away from polite society. On his way back home, he meets an old soldier, who turns out to be small farm-owner from his parish, old Edwards. Through this connection, Harley discovers the level of depredation that the countryside is suffering because of the enclosures. While trying to come up with a solution to dress the social wounds around him and also save himself, Harley cannot confess his love for Miss Walton and when she goes beyond boundaries and confesses her love, Harley's heart cannot bear the emotional intensity. Having already suffered from a fever which he caught while attending to old Edwards, his heart stops.

As this brief summary of the novel suggests, the narrative is episodic and disjointed. Mackenzie employs the narrative technique of discovered manuscript. The only surviving copy has missing fragments since it was being used as wadding paper. This surviving copy is supposedly written and left behind by a mysterious person. He is referred to as the Ghost. Mackenzie himself opted to remain a ghost writer to *The Man of the Feeling* and the first edition was printed anonymously. Like Sarah Fielding and Laurence Sterne before him, Mackenzie preferred obscurity. But the popularity of the work attracted fraudulent acts of passing as the author. The publishing house revealed the identity of the author. Interestingly, Mackenzie experiments with the narrators, absenting them from the text itself whenever he can. Thus, the discoverer of the manuscript, the Ghost (at one point in the text, he is referred to as Charlie, a friend of Harley's) and the mysterious owner of the handwritten notes in the margins of the manuscript remain almost anonymous and retreat back into obscurity. As the discoverer of the manuscript (a brief I-narration at the beginning) salvages the text from being used for wadding paper, he points out that if there was an eminent novelist's name on it, he might even shed tears for its sentimental pathos. However, contrary to Mackenzie's anticipations of a literary failure, the anonymous work received great acclaim.

Among the early enthusiasts of the novel, Lady Louisa Stuart (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's granddaughter) provided an important remark about the popularity, impact and after-effect of the novel. "I remember so well its first publication, my mother and sisters were crying over it, dwelling upon it with rapture! And when I read it as I was a girl of fourteen not yet versed in sentiment, I had a secret dread I should not cry enough

to gain the credit of proper sensibility” (qtd. in Harkin 319). The last comment was elsewhere employed to emphasize the point that the cult of sensibility, the hype that it was creating, was already in decline. According to Paul Goring, this remark emphasized that the sentimental novel was, by then, dissociating itself from its initial ethical purpose of serious moral and social criticism. It became a medium for advertising sentimental feelings of the readers of the age in order to be esteemed as a refined person (142-43). However, it is essential to take into consideration the reasons for such a reaction. *The Man of Feeling* called for a sentimental response under the guidelines of Hume’s maxim that a moral sense ought to be “more properly felt than judgd” (232). In Louisa’s case, it is a society made up of mother and sisters who are already “versed” in proper moral sense. They make up a sentimental community and Louisa wants to feel and express the communal moral sense. She is afraid that her sentimental upbringing did not prepare her for a genuine moral sense.

The ethical concerns of Mackenzie’s age are reflected in his works. *The Man of the World*, for example, starts with Parson Annesly’s being disinherited for choosing to become a clergyman. His father is an adherent of Mandeville and he has the same contempt of anything interfering with money-generating and accumulating practices.

That feeling which prevents the acquisition of wealth, is formed for the support of poverty. The contentment of the poor, I had almost said their pride, buoys up the spirit against the depression of adversity, and gives to our very wants the appearance of enjoyment. (10)

Mr Annesly, a merchant, leaves his fortune to his nephew, a haberdasher by trade, who possesses the virtue of living for getting richer. Cut off from his inheritance, Annesly walks through the streets of London feeling shunned by a mercantile society, identifying himself with Cain. He is sent out into the world, “an unsheltered, unfriended outcast” (12) for choosing a profession out of sentimental reasons and despising money. Annesly seeks the solace of a friend of his father’s. His father often referred to this friend, Wilkins, as the “drone in the hive of society” (12) for taking out his money out of trade and living on the interest. This is again another Mandevillian reference. The bee-hive is the busy, bustling, dynamic commercial world generating money for honey. Drones are anyone who do not generate money/honey but feed upon it. Even though Annesly leads a virtuous and isolated life in a parish and raises two sentimentally-refined children,

Billy and Harriet, he cannot protect them from the machinations of Sir Thomas Sindall, a libertine aristocrat. Sindall corrupts Billy and causes him to be transported, rapes Harriet and abandons her pregnant. Harriet and Annesly die. Harriet and Sindall's daughter, Lucy, is somehow restored to Sindall's household. When she grows up, Sindall decides to seduce her who is unaware that he is her father. Billy returns to avenge Annesly and Harriet and mortally wounds Sindall who learns on his deathbed that he was on the verge of committing incest. So the "Man of the World", who gratifies all his desires with a total disregard for other people's feelings, dies as a penitent. It is also the death of old money and old blood which is corrupted through selfish pursuits of pleasure.

Mackenzie returned to the idea of commerce and money-generating, in his last novel, *Julia de Roubigné*. This time he shifted the setting to France and employed French characters. Julia's parents came down the social ladder after they lost everything in a lawsuit. Savillon, a protégé of Roubigné's, was a part of the family and Julia and Savillon formed a sentimental bond; an innocent and vague connection insinuated rather than declared. Savillon joined his bachelor uncle in Martinique in order to make a fortune by commerce, under his guidance. Slave-owning plantation communities in the island asked for a different morality than the sentimental ethos Savillon was raised up with. Cut off from the sentimental society of the Roubignés, Savillon feels "cast, like a shipwrecked thing, on the other side of the Atlantic, amidst a desert, of all others, the most dreadful, the desert of society, with which no social tie unites me" (*Julia* 14). Savillon needs to adapt to this society in order to accomplish what he came for, to make a fortune and restore himself back to the Roubignés and his friend Beauvais.

I must unlearn feelings in which I have long been accustomed to delight: I must accommodate sentiment to conveniency, pride to interest and sometimes even virtue itself to fashion. It is supposed that in these wealthy islands, profit is the only medium of opinion, and that morality has nothing to do in the *system*. (19-20, my italics)

There was a semantic transition in the word *system*, which meant (from 1630s on) a "set of correlated principles, facts, ideas" and from 1806 on it had been employed to stand for the "prevailing social order" (Harper n/a). Mackenzie is referring to a system of moral principles but Martinique is also an economic system in which the prevailing

social order is an absolute commercial capitalism in its most concentrated state. Isolated from mainland's hierarchies, customs, traditions and moral checkpoints, and empowered through commercial fortunes and slavery, the Martinique community built a system in which all organic mainland ties are replaced with money and the material joys and comforts it brings. Furthermore, commercial greed is replaced in Savillon's uncle, with a new element. The emphasis is shifted from money as the ultimate target to money-making itself as the essential fulfilment which would result in the accumulation of capital. Savillon's uncle

continues the labour of the race, though he has already reached the goal; not because he is covetous of greater riches, but because the industry, by which greater riches are acquired, is grown necessary to his enjoyment of life. I have been long, said he yesterday, a very happy man, having had a little less time and a little more money, than I know what to make of. (*Julia* 21-2)

The isolated life in Martinique cannot reproduce the public life in mainland, simply because it depends on slavery. The social mobility is frozen except for the plantation owners. In Martinique, the last remnants of the bond between the master and the servants are broken since slaves replace servants. As Mackenzie emphasizes, a "master of slaves has seldom the soul of a man" (*Julia* 43). In the preface, Mackenzie declared that *Julia de Roubigné* was to be his last novel. He lived nearly six decades keeping his word. He depicts, in his final novel, whether intentionally or not, a world order in which new money (made through slavery and disenfranchisement from sentimental ethics) replaces old money (lost through lawsuits) with tragic consequences.

In Mackenzie's first novel *The Man of Feeling*, old blood and old money are symbolized by the virtuous figure of William Harley. He has "the antiquity of a family, now possessed of bare 250 l. a year" (*Feeling* 8). Harley runs his "paternal estate" (11) with difficulty. While the family dates back to a distant past, in "degrees of precedency" (9), Harley does not stand in the top ranks. The top ranks are occupied with newcomers from newly-moneyed classes who bought estates and titles. Interestingly, the discoverer of the manuscript mentions that his dog is an excellent beast but that he lost his pedigree. Mackenzie correlates the dog's pedigree with the degrees of precedency. The value of the dog and the social ranking of an estate-owner rely on a printed licence and both are now commodities. Harley is shunned in the church by these newcomers, for he

stands in the lower echelons according to the degrees of precedence.

Harley still carries on his responsibilities as a member of the landed-gentry. His maiden aunt, Mrs. Margery, keeps house for him. His servant Peter was born in his household and he became more than a servant over the years. After losing his parents at an early age, Harley received a discontinuous and random education, not sufficient to follow one of the rising professions. He is criticized for not having the capacity of generating money but also for not holding in esteem those who have.

[Harley] was frequently told of men, whose fortunes enabled them to command all luxuries of life, whose fortunes were of their own acquirement: his envy was invited by a description of their happiness, and his emulation by a recital of the means which had procured it. (*Feeling* 9)

Old money and old blood that Harley represents are discredited in contrast to new money and higher degrees of precedence. Harley is criticized for his lack of ambition, lack of acquisitive spirit and lack of entrepreneurial skills. He is urged to be polite and attentive to a distant relative in order to secure her inheritance, but Harley fails. Therefore, his friends come up with a new plan that he should go to London and seek the support of a baronet with connections to the court in order to request the lease of some crown-lands next to his estate. For this purpose, Harley decides to go to London.

Harley, as “a child in the drama of the world” (*Feeling* 14), meets other children, dumb beasts and mad women. John Locke’s ideas, pertaining to children, idiots, savages and illiterate people being closer to a form of innate truth, seems to be relevant here. Even the self-claimed “Misanthropist” whom Harley met in London, seems to bond with a three year-old child. Rousseau’s admonition, that the more refined and polite a society is, the more unlikely it is to attain happiness and moral fulfilment, can also be discerned from this pattern. Other than being (or being in the company of) more simple-minded, the people Harley meets are mostly the victims of circumstances. These circumstances are the results of the rapid transformation brought on by commerce, progress and commodification.

Harley encounters a beggar on his way to London. The beggar used to be a labourer but after losing his health, he is reduced to begging and fortune telling. His dog, which he stole, begs too. The beggar added fortune-telling to his trade, since

almsgivers wanted him to have a certain defect or a kind of mutilation as “some security for their money” (*Feeling* 17). The beggar was the first person Harley met and this is significant since almsgiving is an individual form of charity which is rebuked by Mandeville and others for encouraging idleness. The act of giving –and-receiving alms is held in high contempt since money spent in charity cannot be channelled into luxurious consumption to generate money for livelihoods. Mackenzie underlines the fact that the beggar was an industrious member of the community until his health failed him. Ironically, this is an entrepreneur-turned beggar. He is like a mobile and singular fairground sideshow with his fortune-telling act and trick-performing dog. In this estranged world, where unknown and adrift beggars are accepted as idle or treacherous, he came up with a new trade. His alms-receiving is no longer an act of charity but an act of commercial exchange. James D. Lilley interprets the inclusion of the dog into the trade as an endowing the “public” commodity exchange with “private” sentimental exchange (650).

The next person Harley meets is a fashionable-looking gentleman who tells amusing anecdotes from polite circles and knows his way around the city. After his departure, Harley is told, he was a footman, raised to become a gauger by his employers and has assumed the part of a born-and-bred gentleman since. He is resented, not because of his pretentious acts but for the fact that people are fooled as to estimate him a true gentleman and pay him more attention and respect than his social rank and material circumstances vouched for. This resentment is the outcome of status inconsistencies and the blurred boundaries between social classes. Harley, although a representative of old blood and old money, cannot feel the same resentment.

Harley began to despise him too, and to conceive some indignation at having sat with patience to hear such a fellow speak nonsense. But he corrected himself, by reflecting, that he was perhaps as well entertained, and instructed too, by this same modest gauger, as he should have been by such a man as he had thought proper to personate. And surely the fault may more properly be imputed to that rank where the futility is real, than it is feigned; to that rank, whose opportunities for nobler accomplishments have only served to rear a fabric of folly, which the untutored hand of affectation, even among the meanest of mankind, can imitate with success. (*Feeling* 23)

The gauger passes off as a gentleman quite efficiently, because the difference, between

new money made by trade and new money made by a profession, is in volume. The gauger annoys the nouveau riche because “with a few shillings in his pocket, he will talk you three times as much as my friend Mundy there, who is worth nine thousand” (*Feeling* 22). The affectation of the gauger plays on the status inconsistencies of the people who climbed up in the world through commercial fortunes and want to make it into polite circles by befriending urban elites. When their golden ticket in to the polite society turns out to be an ex-footman impersonating a gentleman, they resent the fact that they cannot tell the difference. Worse still, there may not be a difference but only a medley of assumed poses. However, the lease of the crown-lands that Harley was persuaded to embark upon, is later given to the gauger, because he pimps his sister to the Baronet. The crown-land revenues are transferred to an ambitious employee who can act the part of a refined gentleman and who can serve the Baronet better, rather than Harley who has an adjacent estate to those lands and is part of the rural community.

Harley visits Bedlam next. In Bedlam, he is again fooled by an inmate passing himself as a visitor. Among the inmates is a person who made a considerable fortune in the Royal Exchange. He decided to buy an estate “to realize his money” (*Feeling* 24). Yet, he always found some petty excuse not to see the deal through and return to his stock trade. However his speculatively-made fortune was lost through the same means. The investment would withdraw financial sources from the commercial market and invest them to the rural area. The inmate could not adjust to the idea of a rural life in which speculative fortunes would be no more. The inculcation, that money withdrawn from commerce would be idle and lose its generative capacity, breaks the inmate's resolution in buying an estate. However, the Royal Exchange is a precarious and insecure place and the loss of the fortune and the securities it offered causes the inmate to lose his sanity. But it is the poignant story of a young lady that Harley is particularly interested. Her wealthy father would not have her marry to the man of her preference because of a difference not in birth but in respective fortunes. Her lover, Billy, seeking to better his circumstances in the West Indies, died of a fever. This incident was augmented by the fact that her father insisted on her marrying a rich man old enough to be her grandfather. As a result, the young lady lost her faculties while her father lost his fortune and “died almost a beggar” (*Feeling* 26).

The lady gives Harley a ring, plaited out of thread, because he was sympathetic to her. It is a keepsake, a token of her sentimental heart, reminiscent of the snuffbox in *A Sentimental Journey*. In fact the lady herself is reminiscent of Maria from the same work. Both characters are estranged from the reality because of the loss of a loved one. However, Mackenzie's character is embedded in a commercial world which caused her loss. Without the money-grubbing instinct of the father, there would not be such a tragic outcome of events. It is not just sentimental susceptibility on the lady's part; she lost her moral compass in such a material world. "I am grown naughty of late; I have almost forgotten to think of heaven: yet I pray sometimes; when I can" (*Feeling* 26). The clash of harsh reality with the spiritual values once-embraced, caused the mental breakdown. The commodification of the lady as an asset to attract more wealth has its counterpart in David Simple's Nancy, who chose to marry the man old enough to be her grandfather but died in a couple of months. Furthermore, the Bedlam building itself is an embodiment of institutional charity. Its name referred to a priory (Bethlehem), dating back from the Catholic Britain. Initially intended for the Catholic clergy, it was later turned into a hospital for lunatics and rebuilt in 1675 (Drabble 80). As element of a commercial network of sightseeing, Bedlam depicts how institutional charity based on rational and detached premises degenerates into a freak show.

Harley meets a Misanthropist next. Contrary to his label, the Misanthropist is presented at first playing with a small child. But even the child's sister, older by a couple of years, is out of his range of compassion since "she has woman about her already" (*Feeling* 29). The Misanthropist finds solace in the fresh, innocent temperament of the little girl, while the older girl already started repeating the grown-ups. The Misanthropist is a Hobbesian proselyte in judging every action on the basis of self-interest. According to him, people always act out of selfish motives, if they find any satisfaction from doing good deeds; it only comes from advertising one's self, before an audience. The misanthropist is a self-imposed "Diogenes" (27), associating him with the Athenian philosopher who chose to live in poverty (116). His best friend and fiancée eloped together leaving him with a broken heart and in enormous debts.

He abjured all confidence in any thing of human form; sold his land, which still produced him a very large reversion, came to town, and immured himself with a woman who had been his nurse, in little than a garret; and

has ever since applied his talent to vilifying of his species. (*Feeling 29*)

The Misanthropist is a social hermit. He claims that he likes living in isolation, but ironically his garret (or hermitage) is situated in a metropolis. His misanthropy is an embitterment carried too far. He cannot or dare not live the life of a hermit. The Misanthropist does not reside in his garret but dines out and keeps company to spread his wisdom, sometimes with words and sometimes his looks.

The philosopher turned his eye upon him; he examined him from top to toe, with a sort of triumphant contempt. Harley's coat happened to be a new one; the other's was as shabby as could possibly be supposed to be on the back of a gentleman: there was much significance in his look with regard to this coat: it spoke of the sleekness of folly, and the threadbareness of wisdom. (*Feeling 30*)

The Misanthropist may elaborate on Hobbes's views and find himself above the society but his actions show that, man is not a selfish animal as he claims but a social one. The Misanthropist built himself a defence mechanism so that he will not be betrayed again but he still needs to be a part of society.

Harley's next encounter happens to be a total stranger in a park. Harley's faith in physiognomy places this as a benevolent man. Indeed the stranger is lamenting the fact that he has not any money to give to a beggar. Harley steps in to give the beggar some money. The stranger seems to be the essence of benevolence; he despises money unless it provides some comfort or pleasure to someone else, "our money is most truly ours, when it ceases being in our possession" (*Feeling 34*).

When Harley and the stranger discuss how charity should be conducted, the stranger offers the more benevolent approach. Harley opposes giving alms to common beggars on the ground that they might be fraud. The stranger suggests that it is difficult to distinguish and furthermore, since even the frauds might be victims of circumstances, alms ought to be given without discrimination. He then invites Harley to a shabby cider house. He explains that it is run by an old servant of his and he sometimes visits there for the sake of charity. Harley ensures that he "would much rather enter it than the most celebrated tavern in town: to give to the necessitous, may sometimes be a weakness in the man; to encourage industry, is a duty in the citizen" (*Feeling 35*). Harley is persuaded to a game of piquet and loses most of his money in the game. The benevolent

man turns out to be the very fraud that Harley was expressing a disgust for. Harley's modern and urban opinions considering charity were a late conversion since Harley gave alms to a total stranger as the episode with the beggar depicted. These modern views seem to be urban novelties picked up during his stay in London. Harley acclaimed, at the beginning of the book, that through frequent social exchange, not only dross but sometimes precious metal is lost too. This episode suggests that Harley is being recruited to modern views through social exchange, since his way of life did not formerly vouch for such attitudes.

Harley next meets a prostitute, a fallen woman, who was seduced and abandoned . The narrator suggests that Harley started to lose his purity when he takes the ailing woman to a tavern; with “what impulse he did this, we did not mean to enquire; as it has ever been against our nature to search for motives where bad ones are to be found” (*Feeling* 37). Miss Emily Atkins (the fallen woman) is the daughter of an officer and was raised under his ethical guidance which privileged a code of honour. Like Henry Fielding before him, Mackenzie finds honour a an unchristian virtue. Miss Atkins, raised for politer circles and city manners, entices and enchants the rural community they retreat to, when her father is reduced to half-pay. Like so many literary characters of fallen women/odd women before her, Miss Atkins is without a mother figure (therefore inadequately inculcated by Christian principles) and reading books has formed her ideas.

I was soon weaned from opinions, which I began to consider as the dreams of superstition, or the artful inventions of designing hypocrisy. My mother's books were left behind at the different quarters we removed to, and my reading was principally confined to plays, novels, and those poetical descriptions of the beauty of virtue and honour, which the circulating libraries easily afforded. (*Feeling* 42)

Miss Atkins, believing she met her equal in terms of sentiment and liberal-mindedness, is seduced by a nobleman's son. By degrees, she moves on from being a kept mistress to “the common use of town” (*Feeling* 49). Harley interferes with her father who, according to his honour code, attempts to kill his daughter. The parent opts for his natural affections rather than honorary obligations. Yet even in his act of forgiveness, he cannot reconcile to the Christian virtue which he associates with the “idea of pusillanimity” (42) and wishes that his daughter was dead rather than her

honour was lost. Mackenzie returned to the theme of honour being an unchristian, unnatural and inhuman practice of morality in *Julia de Roubigné*. Julia was poisoned by her husband Montauban who falsely believed that his honour was injured. Montauban was an officer too, inculcated with the same honour code. He had inherited his title and fortune. Mackenzie and other authors as well opposed this honour code by religious premises. A standing army was a novelty of the age and officers became professionals like the lawyers or physicians. However, in times of peace and reduced-pay, these officers created trouble, bypassing religious and legal mediums of atonement. Typically a capitalist social order needed an army to protect or acquire new markets. The army displaced men in masses, confined them to an all-male society and disciplined them into becoming active soldiers. The officers tried to bring the rigid mechanical structure of the army into civilian lives. The disastrous marriage of Julia de Roubigné and the attempt on Miss Atkins's life depict how precarious it is for army-turned men and the people they are in contact with.

However, not all army-turned people have succumbed to this code of life. After it is ascertained that Harley is not going to get the crown-lands, Harley leaves London. Though he starts his journey on a stagecoach, at the first opportunity he continues on foot. He comes across an old soldier. From the first moment, the old soldier makes his appearance; he is presented as a part of the natural scenery, only a signpost disrupting the harmonious layout.

An old man, who from his dress seemed to have been a soldier, lay fast asleep on the ground, a knapsack rested on a stone at his right hand, while his staff and brass hilted sword were crossed at his left [. . .] A rock, with some dangling wild flowers, jutted out above where the soldier lay; on which grew the stump of a large tree, white with age, and a single twisted branch shaded his face as he slept. (*Feeling* 63-64)

The solid images of rock and stump represent a long-lasting growth on a firm foundation. The man's agedness and military apparel are presented as both disruptive and negative, with the shepherd's staff and soldier's sword crossing one another. In fact the allegory could be extended to the rock being a symbol of the Catholic Church ("on this rock I will build my church" (Rieu 82)) and the tree being a symbol of the monarchy. Furthermore, the oak tree was a resilient symbol of the eighteenth-century

Britain (Hahn 9). George Hahn draws attention to the fact that supporters of the Patrician values associated the oak tree with the social order of the landed-gentry. Edmund Burke (1729-97), politician and writer, likened the landed-gentry to “the great oaks that shade a country, and perpetuate [its] benefits from generation to generation” (qtd. in Hahn 10). This is consistent with the image of a single branch left to provide a shade for the sleeping soldier. Mackenzie equates the tree with the social order of the landed-gentry.

Mackenzie, among the sentimental novelists of the eighteenth century, stands out in his use of the countryside as a symbol of a vanishing world. Maureen Harkin interprets the “landscape of ruin and melancholy” in the novel as “passionate discourses against the forces of historical change that are invariably represented as at work dismantling traditional structures of social life” (322). In the introductory chapter of the novel, the founder of the manuscript notices Harley’s deserted estate for its forlorn situation: “a single crow, that perched on an old tree, by the side of the gate, seemed to delight in the echo of its croaking [. . .] carving on the bark of some of the trees [was] indeed the only mark of human art about the place” (*Feeling* 3). In Harley’s estate, the trees were not cut for panoramic view or large-scale farming but were abandoned to petty vandalisms of lovers. This suggests that lovers are free to trespass the now abandoned estate which is now almost a common ground. The image of the tree appears again in the hand-spun, damask table-cloth of Harley’s aunt, a “Royal Oak” along with “a view of the battle of Worcester” (81). As the explanatory note elucidates, by working out the battle (in which royalist forces were defeated by the parliamentary forces) and the tree (that King Charles II hid in), Harley’s aunt expresses her “royalist, aristocratic, and anti-trade sympathies” (119). Intended as an heirloom for next generations, the table-cloth suggests a continuity of the past traditions, values and loyalties. She chides Harley for not knowing the ancestors of their neighbours and never troubling himself about these issues.

[Y]ou are to blame, nephew, for not knowing a little more of them; before I was your age, I had sewed the pedigree of our family in a set of chair-bottoms, that were made a present of to my grandmother, who was a very notable woman, and had a regard for proper gentility, I’ll assure you; but now-a-days, it is money, not birth, that makes people respected; the more shame for the times. (*Feeling* 80)

Pedigree is transformed into a document. The dog, at the beginning of the book, lost its valour because his document of pedigree was lost. Harley and his aunt descended down the social ladder because the documents of the pedigree in their neighbourhood are altered. Property and title switched hands. Separate, therefore smaller-in-scale properties joined to create larger precedences. Harley's aunt's needlework histories of the family and the monarchy are doomed to become obsolete. Harley's aunt cannot escape the patronizing attitudes of the new rich. The newly-rich treat her rudely as she is a poor relative from a now insignificant estate. However, Mrs. Dorothy Walton attempts to rectify matters in her parlour, "she spoke of the precedency of family, and the disparity there is between people who are come of something, and your mushroom-gentry who wear their coats of arms in their purses" (*Feeling* 81).

The explanatory note associates the mushroom-gentry with transitory and rootless but quickly-growing "*nouveau-riche*" (119). Mushroom-gentry was a term broadly used in eighteenth-century Britain. McKeon exemplifies certain derogative comments on "Mushroom surreptitious Peers" (222). Mackenzie contrasts the tree symbol with that of a mushroom. The tree (landed-gentry) grew in soil or rock, organically and over time, providing shelters for small creatures, proving shade and comfort against rain or shine and producing a fresh load of fruits, nuts or berries each year. The landed-gentry, in a similar fashion, kept lives going for the tenants, supported the parish and ensured that the old and feeble were looked after, treating servants as members of the family. The mushroom (the *nouveau-riche*) is quick to grow, but lasts for a short while and it is found in plenty growing upon trunks and roots. The *nouveau-riche* can come into easy and quick money, acquire properties and titles and destroy the depending livelihoods either for profit or pleasure and sever all organic ties between master and servants. Harley's world is in a transition from the solidity of the tree to the sponginess of the mushroom (Marx's allegory that all solid things melt in the cauldron of Capitalism finds here an earlier proponent). The last tree symbol is significantly the old tree in the church-yard. Harley expressed a desire to be buried under "the only one in the church-yard, in which there was a cavity worn by time" (*Feeling* 98). Before his death, Harley sat in the hollow of the tree, watching its branches. The tree is being hollowed like the falling pillars of the social order; the landed-gentry. The grave does not just hold the physical body of Harley; it also holds his dying family line, as a member of the landed-

gentry. Mackenzie extended the symbolism of the tree in *The Man of the World*. The inheritor of a large estate is making renovations but “I have heard of him say, that he conceived a certain esteem for an old tree, or even an old wall, that would hardly allow him to think of cutting the one, or pulling down the other” (218). These old trees and walls represent a past social order whose existence must be maintained as a part of the decorum or scenery. They are residual markers in a new dominant social order.

Harley is not the only vanishing member of the social order. The soldier that he met, as it turns out, is old Edwards, whose family for several generations possessed the South-hill farm.

That farm had been possessed by my father, grandfather, and great grandfather, which last was a younger brother of that very man’s ancestor, who is now lord of the manor. I thought I managed it, as they had done, with prudence; I paid my rent regularly as it became due, and had always as much behind as gave bread to me and my children. But my last lease was soon out [. . .] and the squire, who had lately got a London-attorney for his steward, would not renew it, because, he said, he did not chuse to have any farm under 3000 l. on his estate; but offered to give me preference, on the same terms with another; if I chose to take the one he had marked out, of which mine was a part. (*Feeling* 65-6)

Old Edwards is the tenant-farmer, the other indispensable element in the system of the landed-gentry. Both the estate-owner and the tenant farmer come from old blood like the old trees and walls. Blood cements both parties in tradition, obligation and dependency. However, as money of the nouveau-riche becomes the valid cementing agent, the rural community dating back several generations starts to fall apart. Old Edwards cannot pay his rent when but he is spared from imprisonment by his prudence. Old Harley and his family are turned out from their farm in which “there was not a tree about it that I did not look on as my father, my bother or my child” (*Feeling* 66). The trees, once more, symbolize the continuity, endurance and solidity of tradition, heritage and time. Furthermore, they accentuate the fact that man and nature lived in harmony in the system of the landed gentry. Trees stand monument to the natural growth, and their presence assures that the system is still-going. Old houses and trees are the twin-victims of the prospect gardens, plantation farming and leisure activities. Harley and Old Edwards come across the standing walls of the schoolhouse in South-Hill which was pulled down and mourn over their memories. Harley is especially susceptible to these

changes as he sees a small hut, which he helped to erect in the past, in ruins. He knows that these changes are permanent and irreversible.

Apart from the trees, canine symbolism is repeated throughout the novel. Other than the hunting-dog of the founder-of-the-manuscript in the beginning, there is the lap-dog in Silton-Hall, whose ears are pinched by the narrator for sleeping in the deceased Mr. Silton's favourite spot. The lady of the house lavishes the dog with kisses and sympathies. The lap-dog symbolizes the emergence of a new order in which a dumb beast can rise up to the status of the venerable old man. The old man passed away and what replaced him is not his descendant but a pet dog. The lap-dog symbolizes the dehumanization of familial and communal ties, the transference of compassion from humans to animals and preference for canine loyalty. In a transitioning world in which old loyalties are severed off for more profit, the dog symbolizes a new, ephemeral and limited loyalty. As old Edwards and his family are turned out of their farms, their farm-dog, Trusty, tries to follow them but torn between the dilemma of loyalty to property and loyalty to property-owners, the old dog dies by the "gooseberry-bush" (*Feeling* 66). The Primroses of the *The Vicar of Wakefield* boasted of making the best gooseberry wine, so the gooseberry-bush might suggest the culinary tradition of wine-making at home. The death of the old dog by the gooseberry-bush confirms the death of a life-style. It is the death of the domestic comforts, old loyalties and the sense of security. Another dog, in the novel, is a pointer owned by Jack, Old Edwards's son. When the dog is killed by the gamekeeper of the adjoining land, Jack attacks the gamekeeper. This brings him under judicial attention in harsh terms, for the gamekeeper was a servant of the Justice. Since he cannot pay a certain fine, he is forced to be recruited into the army. The landowners are often the local Justices having the last say about their property and the people living in it. So the law protecting the property-owner and the arbitrary local Justices are enjoined in oppressing the dependent, landless and powerless people.

When the punishment is decreed, Edwards's old maid, who continued to stay with them, offers her life's earnings to spare Jack, but to no avail. It is then that Old Edwards decides to join the army in order to spare his son and his son's family. However his sacrifice was in vain since Edwards finds his son and daughter-in-law both died leaving behind two orphans. The orphans, a girl and a boy were left in the care of the village

teacher who lost her social function when the schoolhouse was torn down. The elder of the orphans, the boy, trusts on their labour to see them through life. “[My sister] can knit already, and I shall soon be able to dig: we shall not starve” (*Feeling* 74). MacKenzie, thus, gives a voice to posterity, which is confident in the value of their labour.

Harley takes Old Edwards and his grandchildren home and gives them a small farm of his, recently vacated. However, Harley cannot actually afford the part of the benefactor. His return, without the lease of the adjoining land from London, is a threat to the rural community he is gathering in his estate for its sustainability is at stake. Furthermore, the news that Miss Walton is to be married to Sir Harry shatters his hopes for the future happiness. Harley went to London in order to procure the lease of the joining land so that he could get new tenants who would pay more than his customary tenants, and the difference would give him some leverage. However, he failed to accomplish this and his tenants are deserting him. Harley’s aspiration for future happiness with Miss Walton is no longer viable since it will not be a match among equals, a fact that Harley cannot ignore. One last attempt to approach Miss Walton is also futile. Harley has the key to the gate that leads into the Waltons’s residence. But when he unlocks it and takes a few steps, the lap-dog barks at the intrusion. Harley’s “resolution fail[s]” (*Feeling* 84). The lap-dog is the harbinger of the new social order. Harley thinks that he cannot function in such a world in which money is the determiner of social value and his diminishing revenues place him and his aunt in lower echelons of the society.

Mackenzie dealt with the themes of dispossession and displacement in the rural areas more profoundly than most of the other eighteenth-century novelists. He elsewhere offered utopian solutions for this displacement.

The new proprietor took a singular method of improving its value. He lowered the rents, which had been raised to an extravagant height, and recalled the ancient tenants of the manor, most of whom had been driven from the unfriendly soil, to make room for desperate adventurers, who undertook for rents they could never be able to pay. (*Man* 215)

Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling* does not offer such simple and reductionist solutions. It depicts the downfall of the landed gentry and the dissolution of old values

(precedencies). Mackenzie creates a manifold system which is doomed to fail with Harley as the lord of the manor, old Williams as the tenant farmer and old trees and walls as the pillars of a bygone era.

Marxist philosopher Ellen Meiksins Wood (b. 1942-) argues that even though urban centres receive more attention in locating the origins of capitalism in Britain, there is an agrarian origin of capitalism, peculiar to England. She argues that the Glorious Revolution removed the last defences against the surge of appropriation by the landed classes. By passing parliamentary acts for enclosures and common lands, the productivity and function of the land and its ownership were redefined. Wood argues that land, according to the new order of things, had to be either productive, generating cash or it had to give satisfaction aesthetically. Either way, this meant that traditional rural communities were destroyed en masse. Customary tenants, like old Williams, were thrown into the competitive rent market. Productivity became the keyword. Anything unsatisfactory in terms of profit-making such as trees, shrubs or flower gardens were removed. Wood argues that John Locke's definition regarding the private property of land was crucial in defending the enclosures. Locke emphasized the word "waste lands" in contrast to the common lands and valued enclosure as it meant transforming a terrain from a natural, valueless state. (Wood 95-124). According to Locke

unimproved land is *waste*, so that any man who takes it out of common ownership and appropriates it to himself -he who removes land from the common and encloses it- in order to improve it has given something to humanity, not taken it away. (qtd. in Wood 157)

In a similar manner, landlords, who turned customary tenants out for failing to compete with the high rents, increased the value of the land, since the high-rent payers made improvements on land to get more profit. Consequentially, "land in England was concentrated in far fewer hands, and the propertyless mass was growing rapidly" (Wood 133). Wood highlights that Locke differentiated between active and improvement-focused landlords and landlords who passively tried to maintain the customary order of living on rent. Locke referred to the latter as parasitic. Mandeville referred to merchants who withdrew from commerce and lived on their capital as drones. Harley, in this respect, is a parasite or drone on society, neglecting his land and keeping his traditional rent-paying farmers. The only improvement he makes is to build a miniature mill for the

diversion of Old Edwards's grandchildren. He sends over Peter, "who acted in Harley's family as valet, butler and gardener" (*Feeling* 75), to arrange a garden for the cottage he provided Old Edwards with. Like David Simple in *Volume the Last* and Burchell/Thornhill in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Harley works as a manual labour. There is obviously a pattern of associating the characters representing sentimental virtue with manual rural labour. However, Harley is not actually in a productive labour engagement. He builds a miniature-scale of the progressive, modern farm (like Uncle Toby's miniature-scale battle-ground) to serve as a playground for the children.

There is a fragmentary inset narrative, entitled "The Pupil". Edward Sedley, a young man, is to travel abroad since that is what fashionable young men do. He is provided with a tutor, Mountford, a gentleman who descended down the social ladder. As Sedley's father tactfully tries to offer him a job under the pretension of asking for a favour, Mountford is quick to point out he is a dependant, no longer a welcome friend as in the past. "I can hear of dependence, since it is dependence on my Sedley - Dependence!" answered my father; there can be no such word between us: what is there in 9000 l. a-year that should make me unworthy of Mountford's friendship?" (*Feeling* 8). When Sedley befriends count Respino, an Italian pleasure-seeking young aristocrat. Mountford gently shows Sedley the consequences of Respino's actions. Respino caused a family to suffer under debt, imprisonment and sickness because he could not enjoy the wife's favours. So Mountford is sentimentally indispensable for he represents the moral compass in the narrative.

Mackenzie draws parallels between Mountford and Harley. This fragment, coming right after Harley's despondent state of mind, signifies a reaction against evaluating people for their pecuniary worth rather than their sentimental worth. Harley should not show pride and let money be an obstacle in his matrimonial choice. The Waltons did not allow money to interfere in their esteem for Harley. Mr. Walton gave Harley the key to his estate, symbolically accepting him as a member of the household. Mrs. Walton supported Harley's aunt against the ladies of the newly-moneyed classes. Miss Walton extended her generosity to Old Edwards's grandchildren and by so-doing; she implied that she is ready to play the part of a benefactress for Harley's tenants.

Old Edwards came back from the West Indies, with 200 pieces of gold. The origin

of this money is not for his services for the colonialist warfare. He was court-martialed for helping a native Indian escape from torture. Old Edwards was back-lashed 200 times and turned away penniless. The Indian found him and delivered him to a safe place and gave him the money. So the money is not tainted with commercial greed, plundering and torturing of the colonialists but it is given in exchange for compassionate help, to compensate the physical evils old Edwards endured on behalf of the Indian. It is an exchange at the rate of one gold piece per lash. Through Harley and old Edwards, Mackenzie criticizes the colonialist expansion and exploitation. Harley voices an early opinion against colonialism:

I cannot throw of the man so much, as to rejoice at our conquests in India. You tell me of immense territories subject to the English: I cannot think of their possessions, without being led to enquire, by what right they possess them. They came there as traders, bartering the commodities they brought for others which their purchasers could spare; and however great their profits were, they were then equitable. But what title have the subjects of another kingdom to establish an empire in India? To give laws to a country where the inhabitants received them on the term of a friendly commerce? You say they are happier under our regulations than the tyranny of their own petty princes. I must doubt it, from the conduct of those by whom these regulations have been made. They have drained the treasuries of Nabobs, who must fill them by oppressing the industry of their subjects. (*Feeling* 76)

The man that Harley cannot ignore at the beginning of the speech is neither the nabob nor the colonial Englishman. It is the dispossessed, the dependent native subjects through whose labour, wealth is created. The Indian, oppressed by the nabob, is another victim like the English small farmer or peasant oppressed by landowners. While colonial capitalism is destroying the social structure abroad, the agrarian capitalism is destroying the social structure in rural Britain. Harley, always and foremost, thinks of the lower echelons of the society. Old Edwards, on the other hand, excuses the English colonialists on the ground that “there are great temptations in a great degree of riches, which is no easy matter to resist” (*Feeling* 77). He claims that everyone can be tempted; no one would be immune to the call of the riches. The riches, in this context, refer to luxury, fashion and aspirations for higher classes. Mackenzie underlines the fact that there is always a form of exploitation, coercion or dispossession behind the glorified tales of commercial and individual success and the commercial ethics of self-interest is rooted in the centre of this process. Maureen Harkin defines Mckenzie's conception of

commerce, in the novel as a “force that promotes tyranny and destruction abroad, while corrupting the culture that ostensibly benefits by it” (326). The corruption of the cultural values is most emphasized in the dominant materialistic world-view.

Harley’s world privileges the moneyed people. The ability of making money has become the cardinal virtue and there is an alternative degree of precedence, in terms of income. While Harley is only worth 250 l. a-year, Miss Walton is an heiress to 4000 l. a-year and Mr Sedley has 9000 l. a-year. The types of coaches and the number of livery servants are expressed as markers of worldly success. As Harley tells the amiable Mr. Stilton

The immense riches acquired by individuals have erected a standard of ambition, destructive of private morals, and private virtue [. . .] This I hold to be an alarming crisis in the corruption of a state; when not only is virtue declined and vice prevailing, but when the praises of virtue are forgotten, and the infamy of vice is unfelt. (*Feeling* 62)

Old Edwards was resilient to the temptations of riches, but being old and frail, he was not immune to endemic diseases. He brought back a fever, which he passed on to Harley. The fever, the alternative cost of colonialism, weakened Harley. Furthermore, his aunt, aware that Harley was in love with Miss Walton, concluded “according to the conceptions of the world, the love of a man of Harley’s fortune for the heiress of 4000 l. a-year, is indeed desperate” (*Feeling* 93-4). Harley, on the other hand, rejects this opinion.

There are some feelings which perhaps are too tender to be suffered by the world. The world is in general selfish, interested, and unthinking, and even throws the imputation of romance or melancholy on every temper more susceptible than its own. (*Feeling* 95)

Harley is expressing his earlier opinion that it is the desire for riches and the ethical system depending on the idea of self-interest (and the adoption of this system in the management of public affairs) which is corrupting the social fabric. Private virtue cannot exist in a milieu in which the individuals, the countryside and the colonies are subject to the ongoing market-based, competitive and ruthless capitalist invasion. “I know your worth” (*Feeling* 96) says Miss Walton, a worth that, in her opinion, far exceeds the 250 l. a-year that the social order sizes up Harley with. It is the worth of a

virtuous, sentimental and responsible man who would rather perish along with the dispossessed people of his former community than adapt to the new agrarian landscape, where the notions of progress and grandeur of the nouveau-riche jointly destroyed the traditional rural community. Robert L. Platzner refers to Harley's death as the "martyrdom of an unfallen soul within a modern Babylon of great wealth, misery and insensitivity" (60). Babylon stands for the cosmopolitan London, but the influences of the riches created there, wreaks havoc in the rural areas as well. Harley's death fragments his household as well. What happens to old Edwards and his grandchildren remains untold. In *The Man of the World*, Miss Walton and Peter resurface as minor characters. Miss Walton set up Peter with a business in town after Harley's death. She carries on the part of the benefactress and refuses to marry, arranging that she will be buried in the same grave with Harley. Harley's aunt died a short while after Harley. So Harley's existence was a cementing power for his immediate associations. When he perishes, they start to disintegrate.

Harley is not the only perishing element in the text. Charles, the mysterious ghost-writer also disappeared. The text itself is fragmented. This is not exactly a narrative novelty but Mckenzie makes a conscious effort of putting together and possibly recreating an earlier phase of social structure, which can no longer make sense in a totality.

Thus, the scenery of ruin and disappointment and the damage to the manuscript show a melancholy prospect not in order to express resignation and pessimism, but in order to call out for a community of men of feeling to salvage the fragments and turn back the process of destruction. The reader is invited-and even pressed not only to read about but also to *be* the true man of feeling, buying into an institutionalized culture of tears and compassion. (Csengei 956-7)

So the fragmented text itself, Harley, old Edwards, old trees, broken walls and deserted villages are ruins that have been brought together to create a "structure of feeling". As Raymond Williams, who coined the term, argued, in the eighteenth-century British literature, the country house, its owner for a couple of generations and patriarchal ties in the rural community centring around the idea of a "responsible civilization" (*Country* 27) were selected and reorganized into a coherent and then-contemporary ethical system. The pace, depth and focus of capitalism drastically changed the way of life and

the fabric of society in the eighteenth-century Britain. The resulting void, in terms of ethical concerns and traditional responsibilities, was filled with the cultural construction of an idealized rural community that supposedly existed before the enclosures, plantations and landscape gardening. Even though it was not viable any more, it existed as a moral compass; it was residual.

In his representation of Harley, Mackenzie takes a nostalgic look into the past for a hero who represents the older medieval ideals that those in positions of authority, the aristocracy in particular, had an obligation to assist the less fortunate in their times of need. However, as with most nostalgic representations, this one does not accurately represent the social relationships as they had existed in the past and that can be summed up with the term "noblesse oblige." Instead, Mackenzie's representation of Harley is a reaction against the social changes brought about by commercialism. (McDaniel 63)

Mackenzie's Harley is thus an embodiment of a "structure of feeling", a value of the past that is preserved in the present but transformed with a reactionary attitude. Maureen Harkin argued that Mackenzie emphasizes Harley's existence as an "anachronism" (327). She adopts Raymond Williams's definition of the residual, as something that was an active and powerful component of an earlier social order and still makes an impact in the cultural productions of the current order. She argues that "Harley clearly represents the possibility of such an alternative, or oppositional stance. But questions about how much authority this accords to Harley, or whether the text establishes his practise as a pattern of conduct still remains" (329). Burnham foresees two possible reactionary closures for the sentimental novel. A typical reactionary closure is either a total refusal of the present and/or a wilful affiliation of a transcendental alternative or it alerts the people to take action against social injustices (127). Harley's death, in this sense, is a closure that refuses the mercenary world of commerce and endorses the other world as the ultimate ethical validation. For Harley, the other world "was a scene of dissimulation, of restraint, of disappointment. I leave it to enter on that state, which, I have learned to believe, is replete with the genuine happiness attendant upon virtue" (*Feeling* 94-95). Like David Simple before him, Harley espouses traditional ethics of Christianity as closure. But, they only do so after their immediate communities of extended families and dependants cannot be preserved any longer.

Henry Mackenzie writes from the multiple perspectives of remembering the traditional rural community, witnessing the shift from the rural to the urban experience and evaluating this shift and its consequences as a civil authority. He reconstructs the past rural order from the memories of Harley and old Edwards and uses their shared experiences to indict the commercial wealth of the nouveau-rich which wreaks havoc upon the rural areas. Mackenzie emphasizes the corruptive influence of commerce in multiple aspects. Old trees, torn-down buildings and abandoned farms of the rural Scotland are presented as residual elements of the landed-gentry. The London episodes reveal the corruption of the bureaucracy, the alienation of the individuals cut off from their communal ties and the commodification of social exchange. The traditional rural estate is represented with Harley, an old blood landed-gentry with an egalitarian worldview. The traditional tenant-farm is represented by the aged and frail old Edwards whose physical decline mirrors the dissolution of the social fabric of the rural communities. Harley's death without an heir disintegrates the existent community, throwing the estate into decay and oblivion. In *The Man of Feeling*, Mackenzie offers the rural estate and the countryside as an ethical alternative to the emergent commercial, colonial and agrarian capitalisms. However, he also emphasizes the fact that the rural estate is falling into ruin and exists as a cultural construction. The resilient, hopeful and confident grandchildren of old Edwards, recognizing at an early age their potential as manual labour, are left behind, to constitute the rise of the labour as a new social force.

CONCLUSION

Eighteenth-century Britain was a period of transition. The Glorious Revolution (1688) limited the powers of the monarchy and established Britain as essentially a parliamentary power. The scientific revolution challenged the authority of the Church, in terms of hierarchically organizing the social order, explaining phenomena and establishing its own value system in order to create meaning. The commercial revolution opened new markets in colonies, introduced financial instruments and urbanized commercial centres. The agrarian revolution disrupted the traditional rural estates and the agricultural communities. The eighteenth-century British experience simultaneously involved a prospering commercial state, a growing urban experience, an empowering of the parliamentary politics, a social construction of the public space, the dispossession and displacement of the rural communities, a destruction of the agrarian economic system, a radical alteration of the British countryside and harsh penal laws resulting in inhumane confinement in prisons, transportation and capital punishment. The eighteenth-century British novel emerged in the midst of these profound changes. The early prototypical novel was associated with commercial aggrandizement, social isolation and a reductionist approach to ordinary human experience, emphasizing individual entrepreneurial ventures.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the sentimental novel was the dominant literary genre. The sentimental novel was concerned with the rivalling ethical theories of the period. Self-interest based ethical theories were influenced by Thomas Hobbes, Bernard Mandeville and John Locke. Communal-interest based ethical theories were influenced by Adam Smith, David Hume, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Emergent commercial capitalism promoted the commercial ethics of self-interest which severed the social ties, the sense of communal belonging and the feudal system of obligations and loyalties. Residual sentimental ethics, on the other hand, offered an alternative value system which privileged the communal values and solidarity. These ethical theories were developed in a flux of assertions and counter-

assertions. Commercial ethical theories of self-interest, rationalized ethics and mechanistic optimism were promoted earlier. The sentimental ethics of communal interest was a reaction to the commercial ethics. These two ethical theories challenged, revised and even appropriated one another in a flux of printed material.

Cultural Materialist critic Raymond Williams's concepts of "structures of feeling" and "residual-dominant-emergent" elements are instrumental in analysing such fluctuating periods. The literary text is read as the immediate medium in which the status quo is challenged and alternatives are produced. The emergent class needs to indoctrinate its own value system and ethics in order to subvert the existing system and to organize itself into a coherent and stable social power. In contrast to the individualized, self-interested and rationally justified experiences represented by emergent commercial capitalism, experiences of rural communities, existing in a social web of feudal obligations provides a residual alternative. The eighteenth-century sentimental novel is the ideal medium for presenting this residual alternative. The novel incorporates the residual alternative which is a reworking of the value system of an ideal past which recreates, to a certain extent, the social experience associated with it.

Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple* (1744) and *Volume the Last* (1753), Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768) and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771) are the exponents of sentimental ethics of communal-interest. These novels construct alternative residual ethics in contrast to the emergent commercial ethics of self-interest. The novels offer a panorama of the dispossessed and marginalized victims suffering under the expansion of commercial and agrarian capitalism. Furthermore, these novels depict their characters as individuals suffering through social downward mobility, revealing their survival attempts under a precarious, unchecked and commercial-oriented world. In defiance, these individuals attempt to either protect, expand or be a part of rural communities operating on a basis of solidarity and harmony.

In these novels, the rural estate of the feudal society is reworked as the residual alternative to the emergent commercial capitalism. The novelists introduce rural communities in different stages of commercial implementation and depict how their ethically-validated model of the rural estate offers an alternative in which meaning and

fulfilment to the lives of the individuals are emphasized. The novels represent and thus reconstruct rural festivities and harvest feasts in their novels as a genuinely fulfilling experience. They make a preference of the various social experiences rather than the institutions which replaced them.

The novelists associate emerging institutions of charity, marriage and law with the emergent commercial ethics and offer personalized and private alternatives peculiar to these institutions. Instead of institutionalized charity, which disrupts the bond between relievers and relief-seekers and targets a specific group of people chosen by meritocratic principles, their characters are demonstrated as either relievers for the poor in their community (*David Simple, The Vicar of Wakefield*) or universally benevolent (*The Sentimental Journey, The Man of Feeling*). Instead of institutionalized forms of marriage based on entrepreneurial premises, the characters pursue or stay loyal to the possibility of companionate marriages based on sentimental compatibility (*David Simple, The Vicar of Wakefield*). When law as an institution serves the interests of the propertied classes, they seek comfort in divine justice (*Volume the Last, The Vicar of Wakefield, The Man of Feeling*).

Chronologically, these novels chart how the representation of the rural estate as a residual ethical alternative loses its intensity in terms of meaning and power. The representation of the labour force, on the other hand, gains momentum as an emergent social force. Members of the landed-gentry are depicted while helping their tenants in manual labour (Sir William Thornhill, Harley). Prisoners are organized into a labour force and they are dramatically changed by the experience (by Dr. Primrose). The class boundaries between master and servant are blurred (Wilkinson, La Fleur). These representations are not crucial to the narration. However, they emphasize that a labour united by communal interest is a rising power, likely to challenge status quo. They herald the advent of an organized labour force, thereby creating hope for communities united by communal interest.

The novelists also employ inset narratives which parallel the main narrative in terms of offering residual alternatives, emphasizing social criticism and offering a fresh perspective. The inset narrative sometimes offers the perspective of the female experience and emphasizes that gender-based victimizations or threats are endured

(*David Simple*). Or it offers a perspective of the foreign, historical or cultural experience which elaborates on the main narrative itself (*David Simple*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, *A Sentimental Journey*). The inset narrative can be deliberately fragmented by the novelists to emphasize the incompleteness of the residual alternative to function in an emergent commercial world (*A Sentimental Journey*, *The Man of Feeling*).

Sarah Fielding, as a female novelist, writes from the perspective of a self-educated, downwardly-mobile and intellectually-aspiring woman. Her two novels are more philosophically-sophisticated and her salient female character Cynthia displays an independent spirit, resourcefulness and elevated understanding without trespassing the boundaries of respectability, propriety and gentility. Fielding, as a female novelist, seeks independence, self-sufficiency and recognition through her writing. She uses a titular male character but her female characters reveal the particular female predicaments of her class. Fielding emphasizes the social persecution of the unmarried and dependent women, whom she refers to as toad-eaters, implying that they have to succumb to appalling behaviour from other men and women. However, she ascertains that her female characters are promoters of sentimental ethics of communal values. In *Volume the Last*, she presents Mrs Orgueil, who is an agent of commercial ethics of self-interest while masquerading as a sentimental person. The contrast between Cynthia and Mrs Orgueil is often emphasized in the novel, condemning Mrs Orgueil for her acquisitive-competitive urges and lack of female solidarity. Fielding's sentimentally-idealized female characters display an independence and strength. They refuse to marry their mercenary suitors, thwart rape and seduction attempts and keep their strength and sanity. The representation of the idealized women by male novelists differs dramatically. In their novels, women are presented as weak, gullible and naïve. They can be victimized easily, requiring a saviour to deliver them to safety. Their novels, in this respect, reproduce the patriarchal status quo in contrast to Sarah Fielding's defiant female characters. Easily seduced (Olivia Primrose and Miss Atkins) or out of touch with reality (Maria and Lady in Bedlam), these characters are passive, obedient and marginalized.

While Sarah Fielding lived on the periphery to the urban and cosmopolitan centre, Goldsmith, Sterne and Mackenzie, shared the experience of being outsiders to the

eighteenth-century urban Britain. Goldsmith came from rural Ireland. Sterne was Irish-born and British-bred. Mackenzie witnessed the rural-to-urban transition in Scotland. Consequentially, their representation of the rural estate differs in terms/degrees of historical authentication, commercial penetration and ethical validation. Sarah Fielding, in *David Simple*, regarded the rural estate as a niche community that could circumvent commercial expansion and maintain former value systems in the hands of ethically validated people. In *Volume the Last*, however, she charted the dissolution of the rural estate as it was increasingly surrounded by the commercial ethics of self-interest. Goldsmith's rural estate is culturally constructed out of past Irish experience but he contrasts two distinctive rural estates; one situated in the crossroads of commercial hub and the other, still preserving, to a great degree, the communal ethics. Sterne's rural communities are reworked from his travels to France, a region still possessing fragments of feudal traditions. Mackenzie's testimony of a disintegrating rural Scotland constitutes his version of the rural estate.

The authenticity and concreteness of the settings differ in terms of the personal experiences of the novelists. Sarah Fielding is critical of the joint forces of commercial and agrarian capitalists wreaking havoc on the countryside. However, the countryside she depicts is more of an constructed ideal, lacking physical or quotidian details. Oliver Goldsmith, on the other hand, borrows from his childhood memories and his setting is a mixture of the traditional, Catholic and Irish rural areas and the contemporary British commercial and urban experience. The latter encircles the rural communities in the form of a series of novelties such as newly-built roads, tea drinking, family paintings and card-playing. Laurence Sterne's rural settings are set in France and Italy. Experiences of earlier visits as a young man and the reflections of the older novelist are projected to a fictional rural setting in which the easy-going, socializing and universally benevolent agrarian communities are contrasted to the competitive, acquisitive and rational individuals promoted by a commercial, urbanized and institutionalized Britain. Henry Mackenzie was, in terms of testimony and continuity, a part of the transformation of the rural Edinburgh. His rural setting is filled with symbols of natural and social destruction such as decaying trees, pulled-down buildings and abandoned estates. The settings in the novel function as residual values reworked from a bygone era.

The novelists also differ in terms of totality of representation. Sarah Fielding uses an omniscient narrator and brings her narration to full closure. Oliver Goldsmith employs a first person narrator and his observations and statements often reveal ironic gaps in representing the reality. Laurence Sterne also uses a first person narrator, but his narration is not linear like that of Goldsmith. Sterne's narrative is fragmented, episodic and often non-conclusive. Henry Mackenzie uses multiple narrators and fragmented narratives. When put on a chronological scale, the representation of the residual communal ethics by the novelists reflect that the organization of their fictional material becomes more disjointed. The fragmented narratives overlap with the disintegration of the social order. The texts, increasingly, turn into cultural constructions to indict the emergent commercial ethics.

In reworking the rural estate as the residual alternative to emergent commercial ethics, the novelists resurrect the social experience associated with it. Members of the landed-gentry, tenant-farmers and socially inclusive extended families are offered as ethically-validated models. The feudal obligations still create meaning. There is nothing for the displaced and dispossessed to return to other than where they lived as part of an organic community (Old Edwards). The novelists contrast these experiences with people who are proselytes of the emergent commercial ethics. They reveal these proselytes to be materialist, greedy and insatiable, without attributing these characteristics to human nature itself. They emphasize the fact that these people are indoctrinated by commercial ethics. By transferring villainy to a whole economic system and its indoctrinations, these novels reinforce the innate goodness in people and their capability to reform.

The novelists construct residual alternative ethics to emergent commercial indoctrinations of economic prudence, meritocratic charity and competitive-acquisitive urges. The novelists wish to highlight their characters as imprudent, universally charitable and distributive. David Simple, a young Sir William Thornhill, Parson Yorick and Harley are often put into situations where they act in such a manner. In contrast to the accumulation and concentration of capital that commercial ethics calls for, the residual alternative ethics is distributive and dispersive, hence egalitarian. The novelists recreate the feudal web of economic responsibility of the patriarchal landlord of the rural estate through their characters.

In the novels, the emergent commercial ethics reduces land into commodity, disregarding all forms of life related to it. The residual alternative ethics, on the other hand, regards land as an essential part of the human social experience and reveres organic life. The symbiotic relation of man and beast is associated with residual ethics, naturalising the animals as members of the extended social communities. The pilgrim suffering after the death of his donkey in *A Sentimental Journey*, the Primroses growing poorer after selling their old plough horses in *The Vicar of Wakefield* and the old Edwards's dog who dies as they are vacated from their farm in *The Man of Feeling* emphasize this relation. The then coming-into-fashion of pet-dogs, on the other hand, is associated with the emergent commercial ethics. Mrs Orgueil cares for her pets more than she cares for her fellow beings. A lapdog appropriates the deceased landed-gentry's place in *The Man of the Feeling*. Pets with pedigrees become properties and thefts concerning them are harshly punished like the penalty of whipping an old soldier in *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

In conclusion, Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple, Volume the Last*, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* were all written during the social upheaval of rampant commercial progress of the eighteenth-century Britain. They were the immediate and challenging response against the radical indoctrinations of commercial capitalism which reduced social experience into commercial exchange, severed the social ties and put the blame on the people who were victimized by the destruction of traditional centres of production. By depicting the victimized and marginalized people in an active search for meaning and fulfilment by social associations, these novels expressed hope that human experience cannot be contained within the limits of *cash nexus*. By reworking the feudal rural estate as a residual alternative ethics into the sentimental novel, they drew attention to the retrievability and therefore perseverance of the past experiences in the present. They registered Raymond Williams's concept of "structures of feeling" in the dispossessed, displaced and marginalized communities of eighteenth-century Britain, recreating the authentic experiences of the people in a social network. Furthermore, these novelists fabricated a resistant space, for their contemporary readers, in which they negotiated possibilities of social reform. In so doing, these novelists established the novel genre as

a cultural medium in which, implicitly or explicitly, social problems were addressed and social reforms were recommended. The accessibility of the prose fiction and the comprehensive representation of different social classes within the novel form intensified the reception of the novel as part of a network of forces shaping the individual consciousness and public conscientiousness. The influence and impact of the nineteenth-century novel, in the social reforms and political reactions of the period, had its precursors in the ethical negotiations within the eighteenth-century novel.

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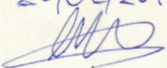
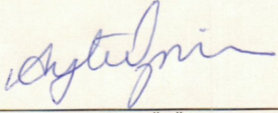
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APPENDIX 1 DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORTS

 <p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ YÜKSEK LİSANS/DOKTORA TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU</p>
<p>HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA</p>
<p>Tarih: 20/02/2017</p>
<p>Tez Başlığı: On Sekizinci yüzyıl Etik Formasyonlarında Raymond Williams'ın "Duygu Yapıları"nın ve "Kalıntı-Yükselen-Egemen Öğeleri"nin Yansımaları: Sarah Fielding'in <i>The Adventures of David Simple</i>'i Volume the Last'ı, Oliver Goldsmith'in <i>The Vicar of Wakefield</i>'i, Laurence Sterne'in <i>A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy</i>'si and Henry Mackenzie'nin <i>The Man of Feeling</i>'i</p>
<p>Yukarıda başlığı/konusu gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 235 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 17/02/2017 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda belirtilen filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 3 'tür.</p>
<p>Uygulanan filtrelemeler:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç, 2- Kaynakça hariç 3- Alıntılar hariç 4- 5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç
<p>Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.</p>
<p>Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.</p>
<p>20/02/2017  Tarih ve İmza</p>
<p>Adı Soyadı: Olcay Çolak</p> <p>Öğrenci No: 13225079010</p> <p>Anabilim Dalı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı</p> <p>Programı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı - Doktora</p> <p>Statüsü: Doktora</p>
<p>DANIŞMAN ONAYI</p> <p style="text-align: center;">UYGUNDUR.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> Prof. Dr. Aytül ÖZÜM</p>



**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT**

**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

Date: 20/02/2017

Thesis Title: Raymond Williams's "Structures of Feeling" and "Elements of Residual-Emergent-Dominant" as Reflected in the Ethical Formations of the Eighteenth Century: Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple, Volume the Last*, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*.

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1. Approval and Declaration sections excluded
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I respectfully submit this for approval.

20/02/2017

Date and Signature

Name Surname: Olcay ÇOLAK

Student No: 13225079010

Department: English Language and Literature

Program: English Language and Literature - Ph.D.

Status: Ph.D.

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Aytül ÖZÜM

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORMS



**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KURUL İZİN MUAFİYETİ FORMU**

**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA**

Tarih: 20/01./2017

Tez Başlığı: On Sekizinci yüzyıl Etik Formasyonlarında Raymond Williams'ın "Duygu Yapıları"nın ve "Kalıntı-Yükselen-Egemen Öğeleri"nin Yansımaları: Sarah Fielding'in *The Adventures of David Simple*'ı *Volume the Last*'ı, Oliver Goldsmith'in *The Vicar of Wakefield*'ı, Laurence Sterne'in *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*'si and Henry Mackenzie'nin *The Man of Feeling*'i

Yukarıda başlığı/konusu gösterilen tez çalışmam:

1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır;
2. Biyolojik materyal (kan, idrar vb. biyolojik sıvılar ve numuneler) kullanılmasını gerektirmemektedir.
3. Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir.
4. Gözlemsel ve betimsel araştırma (anket, ölçek/skala çalışmaları, dosya taramaları, veri kaynakları taraması, sistem-model geliştirme çalışmaları) niteliğinde değildir.

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Kurullar ve Komisyonlarının Yönergelerini inceledim ve bunlara göre tez çalışmamın yürütülebilmesi için herhangi bir Etik Kuruldan izin alınmasına gerek olmadığını; aksi durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

20/01/2017

Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı: Olcay ÇOLAK

Öğrenci No: 13225079010

Anabilim Dalı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı

Programı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı

Statüsü: Y.Lisans Doktora Bütünleşik Dr.

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HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
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ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
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ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY

Date: 20/01/2017

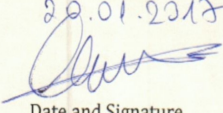
Thesis Title: Raymond Williams's "Structures of Feeling" and "Elements of Residual-Emergent-Dominant" as Reflected in the Ethical Formations of the Eighteenth Century: Sarah Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple, Volume the Last*, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*.

My thesis work related to the title/topic above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

20.01.2017

Date and Signature

Name Surname: Olcay ÇOLAK

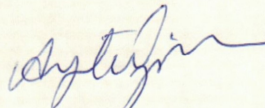
Student No: 13225079010

Department: English Language and Literature

Program: English Language and Literature

Status: Masters Ph.D. Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL



Prof. Dr. Aytül ÖZÜM