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THE LIFE AND WORK OF DAVID FORDYCE (1711-1751)

by

William T. Steven

A Thesis presented for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Glasgow

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## SUMMARY

The study investigates the life and writings of David Fordyce (1711-1751), who has received unmerited neglect, especially as an educational thinker.

A biography is compiled from Fordyce's correspondence, historical records of the University of Aberdeen (where he was student and professor) and other neglected sources, to expand on the scanty biographies (the only ones available) in biographical dictionaries. The social milieu of family and community at Aberdeen and Fordyce's intellectual and literary contacts at Glasgow, Edinburgh, London and Northampton is described, particularly in relation to the phenomenon of the literary and philosophic club, which stimulated Fordyce's use of the dialogue method in his writings. There is description of relevant areas of intellectual milieu: the early development of the Scots Enlightenment; Scots intellectual and literary contacts with England and the continent; aspects of contemporary philosophy and the eighteenth century sentimental movement; educational thought and practice, in particular detail; literary traditions, especially that of the dialogue genre; and the theological setting. These areas are related to Fordyce's thought, including the reflection of literary and cultural affairs in his correspondence.

Then follows exposition of Fordyce's works, firstly of Dialogues concerning Education, 2 vols. (1745 and 1748), noticing elements which may be traditional, but nevertheless revealing a progressive, academic approach to educational problems, the

attitude indeed of social science, which originates in Scotland at this time. Exposition of Fordyce's other works draws attention particularly to the sense in which they are educational textbooks.

Major appendices contain annotated versions of Fordyce's unpublished lecture notes and correspondence.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AUL	Aberdeen University Library
<u>BDES</u>	Robert Chambers, editor, <u>A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen</u> , 3 vols. (Glasgow and London, 1835), revised T. Thomson (1875)
<u>BJES</u>	<u>British Journal of Educational Studies</u>
BL	The British Library
<u>DNB</u>	Sir Leslie Stephen and S. Lee, editors, <u>The Dictionary of National Biography</u> 22 vols. (London, 1885-1900, 2nd edition, 1908-9)
Douglas, <u>East Coast</u>	Francis Douglas, <u>A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland, from Edinburgh to Cullen</u> (Paisley, 1782)
<u>EHR</u>	<u>Review of Economic History</u>
<u>ELH</u>	<u>Journal of English Literary History</u>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
<u>Family Record</u>	A. Dingwall Fordyce, <u>Family Record of the Name Dingwall-Fordyce</u> , 2 vols. (Fergus, Ontario, 1885-8)
<u>Fasti Mariscallanae</u>	Peter J. Anderson, editor, <u>Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the Records of Marischal College and University, 1593-1860</u> (Aberdeen, 1898)
<u>Fasti Scoticae</u>	Hew Scott, editor, <u>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae</u> (Edinburgh, 1867-71, revised, 1926)
Graham, <u>Social Life</u>	Henry G. Graham, <u>The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century</u> , 2 vols. (London, 1899, 2nd edition, 1 vol., 1908)

GUA	Glasgow University Archives
Humphreys	John D. Humphreys, <u>The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D.</u> (London, 1829-31)
<u>JHI</u>	<u>Journal of the History of Ideas</u>
Keith, <u>Aberdeen</u>	Alexander Keith, <u>A Thousand Years of Aberdeen</u> (Aberdeen, 1972)
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
MUL	John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester
Nichols, <u>Anecdotes</u>	John Nichols, <u>Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century</u> , 9 vols. (London, 1812-15)
Nichols, <u>Illustrations</u>	John Nichols, <u>Illustrations of Literary History of the Eighteenth Century</u> , 8 vols. (London, 1817-58)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OSA	Oxford Standard Authors
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association of America</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>Scotland and Scotsmen</u>	Alexander Allardyce, editor, <u>Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre</u> (Edinburgh and London, 1887-8)
<u>SCHSR</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>SNQ</u>	<u>Scottish Notes and Queries</u>
SRO	Scottish Records Office, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh



## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study is to examine the life and work of David Fordyce (1711-51), in relation to his social and intellectual milieu, and to establish his worth as a thinker, especially on education.

The research therefore, is concerned with discovering whether Fordyce is a progressive thinker of some importance who has received unmerited neglect and, if so, to establish the main features of his thought that can be considered to be enlightened, to distinguish between these and any elements that may constitute the intellectual and literary currency of his period and mere borrowings from other writers, and to consider why Fordyce has, if at all, been unjustly forgotten.

In terms of biographical research there was the need first to establish that there is indeed a great sparsity of material in conventional biographical sources and to consider how complete and accurate that material is. Research then involved investigation of various types of resource to create a more complete biography, especially material in manuscript and neglected contemporary or near contemporary references in published works.

In terms of literary research the original published writings of David Fordyce were thoroughly analysed in the light of his social and intellectual milieu, especially those writers and thinkers by whom he may have been most influenced, in order to establish Fordyce's degree of "originality" in the various fields in which he achieved publication. Thorough examination has taken place of Fordyce's extant unpublished writings, i.e., the lecture notes and correspondence (reproduced in Appendices 1 and 2), to cast light on his biography, social and intellectual

milieu and published writings (the main subjects of chapters 1 to 5) and to consider the intrinsic worth of the content of the lecture notes. Research has also been conducted into contemporary criticism of Fordyce's works and into the sparse modern criticism that exists, so that these may be compared with judgements made by the present researcher on the basis of investigations which should be fuller and more accurate.

A supplementary aim has been to edit and annotate all the extant Fordyce correspondence, which has involved discovering, identifying and annotating a multiplicity of references.

Biographical dictionaries are the first obvious biographical resource. The earliest such account of David Fordyce was prepared for the second edition of the Biographia Britannica (1793), edited by Rev. Andrew Kippis, one of Philip Doddridge's former pupils. Kippis presumably would know of the friendship between Doddridge and Fordyce and perhaps even had access to Doddridge's correspondence, but reference to Fordyce's tutorship for a time in Essex is the only detail he includes beyond elementary details of education, publications and death by drowning. Five volumes only were published, however, and Fordyce would have appeared in the first half of the sixth, but "there being no one to complete the work. Twelve years later the 'impression' was almost completely burned, three copies surviving" and the work was discontinued.<sup>1</sup> This unpublished article on Fordyce is quoted in Alexander Chalmers, The General Biographical Dictionary (1814), and appears to be the basis of entries on Fordyce in all later biographical dictionaries.<sup>2</sup> An entry on Fordyce appears in the third edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica (1797), but is even briefer and less informative than Kippis/

Chalmers. John Aikin et al., General Biography (1803), has a short entry on Fordyce, who was a friend of Aikin.<sup>3</sup> The account of Fordyce in John Nichols, Illustrations of Literary History of the Eighteenth Century (1812-15), is based on Chalmers.<sup>4</sup> Later biographical dictionaries like Hugh J. Rose, New General Biographical Dictionary (1850) and J. Gorton, A General Biographical Dictionary (1851) derive their entries on Fordyce from Chalmers. Specially Scottish ones, including Robert Chambers, A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen (1835, revised 1875), William Anderson, The Scottish Nation (1863) and Henry Irving, Book of Scotsmen (1881) add nothing of significance to Fordyce's biography. This is true also of the more modern Dictionary of National Biography. Its account of Fordyce is typically slender and is reproduced here for reference:

FORDYCE, DAVID (1711-1751), professor at Aberdeen, born at Broadford, near Aberdeen, and baptised 1 April 1711, was the second son of George Fordyce of Broadford, provost of Aberdeen. After attending Aberdeen grammar school he was entered of Marischal College in 1724, where he went through a course of philosophy under Professor Daniel Garden, and of maths under Mr John Stewart. He took his M.A. degree in 1728. Being intended for the church he next studied divinity under Professor James Chalmers, and obtained in due time license as a preacher, though he never received a call. In 1742 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Marischal College. By Dodsley he was employed to write the article 'Moral Philosophy' for the 'Modern Preceptor', which was afterwards published separately as 'The Elements of Moral Philosophy', 12 mo, London, 1754. It reached a fourth edition in 1769, and was translated into German, 8mo, Zurich, 1757. Previously to this Fordyce had attracted some notice by his anonymous 'Dialogues concerning Education', 2 vols. 8 mo, London, 1745-8. In 1750 he made a tour through France, Italy, and other countries, and was returning home in September 1751 when he lost his life in a storm off the coast of Holland. His premature end is noticed by his brother, Dr James Fordyce (q.v.), in one of his 'Addresses to the Deity', and a bombastic epitaph from the same pen will be found in the 'Gentlemen's



Magazine' for 1796 (vol. lxvi, pt. ii, pp. 1052-1053). Fordyce's posthumous works are: 1. 'Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching', 12 mo, London, 1752, which was often reprinted, along with James Fordyce's 'Sermon on the Eloquence, and an Essay on the Action of the Pulpit'. 2. 'The Temple of Virtue. A Dream' (by D. Fordyce). Published (with some additions) by James Fordyce', 16 mo, London, 1757 (other editions in 1759 and 1775).

(Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, 1814, xiv, 468-70; Chambers's Eminent Scotsman, ii, 54-5; Irving's Book of Scotsmen, p. 149; Watt's Bibl. Brit.)

G.G.<sup>5</sup>

Genealogical material is the second obvious biographical resource.<sup>6</sup> The only special published work is Alexander Dingwall Fordyce, Family Record of the Name Dingwall-Fordyce, 2 vols. (1885-8), which gives entries of varying lengths on all Fordyces and relations. The entry on David, however, does not add much to the details in Kippis/Chalmers.<sup>7</sup> The publications of Fordyce's famous brothers contain no references to him, apart from a couple of eulogies by James Fordyce, whose published sermons and poetry have been scrutinised. The extensive publications and manuscripts of the medical Fordyces (brothers, John and William, and nephew, George) do not relate to him.

One would have expected the strong tradition of scholarly interest in local history and culture in the north east of Scotland to have thrown up more material relating to the Fordyces and Thomas Blackwell, the younger, Fordyce's relation and a key figure. Yet the masses of volumes of the Spalding Club (founded in 1839 and reconstituted as the New Spalding Club in 1886) contain very little relevant information. The tremendous mine of cultural material of mainly local interest in Scottish Notes and Queries (published at Aberdeen from 1887 "to establish literary links

between cultivated men and women") has virtually nothing directly relating to David Fordyce, his family and circle. Fordyce does appear in a list of famous Marischal College "philosophers and mathematicians" and Blackwell appears as a "historian."<sup>8</sup> The latter receives another minor note.<sup>9</sup> An account of the epitaphs in St Nicholas Church and churchyard includes those for Fordyce's parents, Provost George Fordyce and his wife.<sup>10</sup> A brief account of David Fordyce, taken from the Family Record, appears in one volume.<sup>11</sup>

The standard histories of the University of Aberdeen do not mention Fordyce among distinguished professors or even in connection with mid eighteenth century university history, which is amazing when one considers the encomiums of the late eighteenth century writers, Douglas and Ramsay (quoted below, pp. 22-3). William Knight, Collections on Marischal College 8 vols. (AUL MSS M108-16), Collections regarding Marischal College (AUL MS M107) and Collections on Biography, 2 vols. (AUL MSS M159-60), which presumable gather together all manuscript material available at the time (c. 1823-44) are very disappointing for the present study. Peter J. Anderson, Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen (1906), largely an account of the university's famous sons in various fields, contains nothing on Fordyce in the chapter on "The Aberdeen University Educator" (pp. 319-68), yet, says Anderson, the "University of Aberdeen, beyond all others, is the Teacher's University."<sup>12</sup> Nor is Fordyce mentioned in the chapter on the university's contribution to philosophy (pp. 73-9). Anderson deals only with Thomas Reid, George Campbell, Joseph Beattie, Alexander Gerard and John Gregory (briefly) among Fordyce's

contemporaries or near contemporaries. The series of University Studies under the general editorship of Anderson (Librarian to the University, 1900-14), comprising sixty-seven publications, includes virtually nothing on Fordyce and Blackwell.<sup>13</sup>

The host of general histories of Aberdeen and the north east consulted (see below, p. 100, note 34) hardly mention the Fordyces. Of those mentioning the Fordyces, Watt is typically brief, with a little on David Fordyce, culled from Ramsay of Ochtertyre.<sup>14</sup> Yet, says Watt, ironically: "Education may be regarded as the most distinctive of the industries of Aberdeen" (p. 386). Recent local scholarship in the north east, represented by the writings of Fenton Wyness, Alexander Keith and John R. Allan, virtually ignores the Fordyces and Blackwell.<sup>15</sup> Lord Tweedsmuir, One Man's Happiness (1968), which describes the parish of Belhelvie, where the former Fordyce home, the house of Eggie, still stands, has a chapter entitled "The Fame of the Fordyces" which gathers much of the generally known details of the best known Fordyces, but has several inaccuracies and is largely derived from the Family Record.<sup>16</sup>

Biographical research has proceeded, therefore, firstly to extensive investigation of possibly neglected sources of information, by combing bibliographies and texts relating to Aberdeen in the early and mid eighteenth century, including education at the Grammar School and Marischal College; published works of or on the array of David Fordyce's social and literary contacts, principally at Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London and Northampton. Secondly, an attempt has been made to discover possibly relevant unpublished material in the way of family papers, correspondence, unpublished records of the University of Aberdeen, Town Council and Kirk Session records (particularly of Belhelvie and the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, where Fordyce ministered for a year), and



possibly relevant unpublished correspondence and other papers of David Fordyce and his major social and literary contacts: colleagues, publishers, friends and acquaintances, especially in the formal and informal literary clubs and circles.

As prelude to the evaluation of David Fordyce as writer and thinker, comprehensive reading of books and articles relating to his social and intellectual milieu was undertaken (although in this regard manuscript material was also relevant). This part of the work was to be most extensive since it must try to cover all the potential influences upon David Fordyce: family and neighbourhood culture; the quality of education at school and college, including personalities and scholars who may have influenced him; description of the social and intellectual intercourse at Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Northampton and Aberdeen; travel as education; contemporary thought, controversies and exponents in a variety of areas have had to be described since great breadth of reading is implied by Fordyce's education and career, the number of his literary and academic contacts, the range of topics discussed in the typical philosophical clubs of which he was a member, and the range of his published works and letters. It is appreciated that the eighteenth century was the last period when a man might hope to be generally educated in virtually all main fields of knowledge and this provides difficulties for the researcher: any account of the intellectual milieu must to some extent repeat common knowledge to the interested scholar and making a true evaluation of Fordyce's writings requires the researcher in part to transgress his own specialisms and make judgements that may not entirely keep in mind the "best known and said" in other disciplines. This research, nevertheless, tries to consider all relevant areas of intellectual concern and show how far they are reflected in Fordyce's writings. Inevitably, since Fordyce, in common with other Scots eighteenth century literati, was most interested

in questions of human nature and society, the prototype social sciences, together with theology and philosophy, these, along with literary traditions, must receive most emphasis in an account of intellectual background. Also the assumption that Fordyce's writings on education are of most merit has tended to be borne out by investigation, so that certain background aspects of ethics, divinity and history of philosophy are given less treatment.

Naturally, in the course of this research, in both biographical and literary areas, lines of enquiry and many individual books, articles and documents have been consulted which proved unproductive: much of the work was eliminative. Evaluation of David Fordyce as a thinker is made difficult by the relative scarcity of material on the early figures and movement of the Scots Enlightenment in general.<sup>17</sup> In this sense the problem of David Fordyce is partly a microcosm of investigation into the Scots Enlightenment generally: complex, obscure or poorly documented origins and aspects cause the phenomenon to remain partly an enigma. This is not to detract from the amount of work done on the growth of the Scots Enlightenment, especially among recent scholars. The present researcher has seen it as his business to know their findings in theory and in detail. It may be said at this stage that the excellent work of Anand Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment A Social History (1976), whose declared purpose was partly to consolidate findings of the last half generation of scholars clearly has some overlap with the present research, yet this researcher, who read Chitnis's work in February 1977, is able to

say that only two minor articles were added to his bibliography after close scrutiny of Chitnis's lengthy references and bibliography.<sup>18</sup> Also, as a reviewer points out, Chitnis's work all but ignores Aberdeen's part in the Enlightenment (except in reference to the well documented Philosophical Club of 1758 onwards) and St. Andrews (where, however, there is little of the Enlightenment to consider).<sup>19</sup> Relative ignorance of Aberdeen, at least in terms of the origins and growth of the Scots Enlightenment, is true of studies in general so far, which concentrate on Edinburgh and, to a lesser extent, Glasgow. Admittedly there is a sense in which the Scottish Enlightenment is Edinburgh, but the present research shows the importance of cosmopolitan Aberdeen, especially in its relations with English intellectuals.<sup>20</sup> Besides, Phillipson points out: "Provincial culture is arguably the most neglected area in the study of the Enlightenment, yet it is surely one of its most characteristic manifestations".<sup>21</sup> The present research hopes partly to fill this gap, while not primarily having this as an aim.<sup>22</sup> Chitnis's study also is not concerned with relating social movements to philosophy, except incidentally. He largely ignores the way in which the Scots thinkers assimilated and then diverged from philosophers like Clarke, Shaftesbury and Butler.<sup>23</sup> His work, as a social history, therefore, is weakest on the climate of ideas.

Davis D. McElroy's "The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland, and their Influence on the literary productions of the period from 1700 to 1800" (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1952), which is a monumental work, ignores David Fordyce. Yet R.J. Allen, The Clubs of Augustan London (1933), considers Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education to be the ideal



example of the reflection of club life in literature of the period.<sup>24</sup> Also, McElroy admits he did not generally investigate manuscripts because of the bulk of published material open to him and which is mostly on the second half of the century, the period of major flowering of literary clubs. The present research, in its use of the correspondence, for example, between David Fordyce and Philip Doddridge, Fordyce and George Benson, Thomas Blackwell and John Clerk of Penicuik and between George Turnbull and Charles Mackie, deals with neglected materials and aspects of the development of the early Scots Enlightenment.

Studies of Scots eighteenth century philosophy pay little attention to David Fordyce. The historians of philosophy are naturally primarily attracted to the contribution of David Hume and to the Common Sense School, led by Reid, with whom Hume had friendly confrontation: thus, for example, the works of Laurie, Veitch and Seth.<sup>25</sup> James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (1875), methodically deals with the figures who are considered minor in terms of the history of philosophy: thus David Fordyce is given very brief treatment (pp. 106-7) and with no adequate treatment of his educational philosophy. Likewise D.D. Raphael's catalogue of philosophic writers in British Moralists 1650-1800, 2 vols, (1969), consigns Fordyce to a minor bibliographical entry.<sup>26</sup> The Moral Sense School is described mainly in the works of Raphael (1947) and Grave (1960) but Fordyce is again ignored.<sup>27</sup> This is partly, however, because of eighteenth century philosophy's preoccupation with epistemology and the egoism-altruism debate in ethics, areas which are of indirect importance to Fordyce's educational thought.

Surveys of the thinkers of the Scots Enlightenment almost ignore Fordyce. The major study, Man and Society: the Scottish Enquiry of the Eighteenth Century (1946) by Gladys Bryson considers Fordyce a minor figure, yet a main purpose of the book, as the title suggests, is to show the Scots philosophers' concern for the application of philosophy to the whole field now called the social sciences (e.g. Adam Smith and economics, Adam Ferguson and sociology) but Fordyce is not mentioned in the section on education.<sup>28</sup> His writings, presumably, in her opinion typify the rather dilettante treatment of education in too many eighteenth century writings and this is a charge which will be dealt with later.<sup>29</sup> Louis Schneider, The Scottish Moralists on Human Nature and Society (1967), likewise ignores Fordyce as does all recent literature on the Enlightenment the present writer has examined.

It is the contention of the present researcher that post eighteenth century academic specialisation is one reason (others will be considered later) why Fordyce has been ignored or devalued: those philosophers and sociologists, for example, who have mentioned Fordyce have to some extent committed the error of transgressed authority in passing judgement; they can quite rightly consider his contribution, for example, to mainstream philosophy to be minor. Chitnis correctly points out that the Scots Enlightenment is a "rich area of multi-disciplinary study" but this very fact makes the study dangerous.<sup>30</sup> Swingewood notes this confusion about the kind of investigation involved and the related ignorance of writers' worth.<sup>31</sup>

Specialist studies in education, however, have not given Fordyce much more attention. None of the standard histories of Scottish education mention him: for example, the works of Morgan,



Strong, Clarke, Knox and Scotland (the most recent and comprehensive).<sup>32</sup> This is partly because they concentrate more on the system than thinkers. Fordyce is unmentioned in James Craigie, A Bibliography of Scottish Education before 1872 (1970), yet of eighteenth century writers he mentions, for example, the short, very minor work of the 'Chevalier' Ramsay.<sup>33</sup> Fordyce does appear, however, in the Appendix to Craigie's A Bibliography of Scottish Education 1872-1972 (1974).<sup>34</sup>

Fordyce is virtually ignored in standard histories of educational thought. A short, scathing paragraph on Fordyce's Dialogues, but with authorship confused with his brother, James, and dated 1765, appears in Jacques Pons, L'Éducation en Angleterre entre 1750 et 1800 (1919), which is primarily concerned with the influence of Rousseau's Émile in England and sees Fordyce's work as merely dilettante.<sup>35</sup> The first sign of a genuine revival of interest in Fordyce's educational thought by a writer in English appears in W.J. McCallister, The Growth of Freedom in Education (1931), which devotes a chapter to Fordyce, emphasising his anticipation of Rousseau in terms of one theme only and dealing virtually with only one dialogue (of twenty).<sup>36</sup> A brief entry on Fordyce appears in A Short History of Educational Ideas (1951) by S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton.<sup>37</sup> A very brief summary of Fordyce's educational thought, in relation to its influence upon Thomas Reid appears in Alan W. Bellringer, "Thomas Reid's Lectures upon the Fine Arts" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen, 1968).<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Lawrence, whose The Origins and Growth of Modern Education (1970) drew the present writer's attention to Fordyce, devotes almost as much space to Fordyce as to Rousseau and was directed to Fordyce by the earlier work of McCallister.<sup>39</sup> The evaluations of these writers will be considered later.<sup>40</sup>

It may be, however, that the general ignorance of Fordyce and his writings has the obvious explanation: history and scholarship have assigned him an obscurity he deserves. Fordyce may be one of the platitudinous Moderates dismissed by Stark (who was writing, however, when it had become fashionable to condemn Moderatism in general).<sup>41</sup> Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843, the Age of the Moderates (1973) admits to their frequent platitudinarianism, rather as James Thomson, for example, frequently produced in poetry.<sup>42</sup> Daiches states unequivocally that there were no great thinkers among the divine literati, while Cragg, similarly, calls them "self confident but unoriginal."<sup>43</sup> Besides, Clarke points out, Moderatism contained no radicalism (admittedly he means social and political), related as it was to a stable, agricultural economy, ecclesiastically growing out of the patronage system.<sup>44</sup>

Eighteenth century Scotland produced a plethora of distinguished teachers and lecturers (the quality of university teaching is a characteristic of the Scots Enlightenment) and Fordyce was most generously praised as such: "the finest lecturer in Scotland of his day" says Ramsay of Ochtertyre, who also emphasises Fordyce's orthodoxy.<sup>45</sup> Yet no doubt these men were not often particularly original thinkers: but David Fordyce may be a special case, since education itself appears to be his main area of original thought. John R. Allan describes education in the north east of Scotland, for all its distinguished alumni, as producing the highly efficient second in command, rather than the truly creative thinker or doer, and it must be considered whether Fordyce is in this category.<sup>46</sup>

Conclusions, however, about the worth of David Fordyce as a thinker, together with more analysis of reasons for his obscure status, are reserved for later in this work.

## NOTES

1. Nichols, Anecdotes, vol. 1X, p. 184n.
2. Op. cit., vol. XIV (1814), pp. 468-70.
3. Op. cit., vol. 1V, pp. 159-61.
4. Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 851.
5. Gordon Goodwin.
6. General genealogical source books like Margaret Stuart and J.B. Paul, Scottish Family History (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 175, and Joan P.S. Ferguson, Scottish Family History (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 27, give few references on Fordyces, while Burke's Landed Gentry concentrates on the later Dingwall Fordyce offshoot.
7. Family Record, pp. 97-8.
8. SNQ, vol. VI11 (1894), p. 44.
9. Ibid., p. 103.
10. Ibid., vol. 111 (1889), p. 21.
11. Ibid., vol. 1X (1895), p. 138.
12. Op. cit., p. 352.
13. Also irrelevant are most nineteenth century reminiscences, for example, James Bruce, Aberdeen Pulpit and University (Aberdeen, 1844); Neil N. Maclean, Life at a Northern University (Aberdeen, 1874); Laurence Hutton, Literary Landmarks of the Scottish Universities (London, 1904).
14. William Watt, The History of Aberdeen and Banff (Aberdeen, 1900), p. 362.
15. For example, John R. Allan, The North East Lowlands of Scotland (London, 1952, 2nd edition, 1974); Fenton Wyness, City by the Grey North Sea (Aberdeen, 1965); Alexander Keith, A Thousand Years of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1972). See, however, Alexander Keith, 'Provost George Fordyce and his Family', Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce Journal, vol. XXXVI11 (Spring, 1957), pp. 120-2.
16. Personal communication from the author.
17. The dearth is highlighted early by Henry G. Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901), preface.
18. Op. cit., preface: "to summarise the research of the 60s and early 70s."
19. J.T. Ward in Times Higher Educational Supplement, 4 February 1977, p. 20.
20. Roger Emerson, 'The Enlightenment and Social Structures' in Paul Fritz and David Williams, City and Society in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1973), pp. 99-124, see p. 100. On Aberdeen's significance see p. 108: a "minor capital" with its intelligentsia derived from the local gentry, ministers and merchants, but prior to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, established in 1758, Aberdeen, according to Emerson, lacked a significant enlightened group.



21. N.T. Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment' in Lawrence Stone, editor, The University in Society, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1975), vol. 11, pp. 407-408, see p. 132, note 11. Common Sense philosophy, says Phillipson, was a "cultural triumph of provincial Aberdeen over metropolitan Edinburgh" in 'Towards a Definition of the Scots Enlightenment' in Paul Fritz and David Williams, op. cit., pp. 125-47, see p. 145. Nevertheless people were primarily attracted from Aberdeen and Glasgow to Edinburgh, whose history in the eighteenth century is the Enlightenment in Scotland, according to Phillipson (see p. 130).
22. Preliminary studies of the early Enlightenment at Aberdeen are those of James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (London, 1875), pp. 42-9, 95-106; Alexander C. Fraser, Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), chapter 2 and Henry G. Graham, op. cit., pp. 243-9.
23. Chitnis does, however, deal with the influence of Montesquieu, op. cit., p. 95. Chitnis ignores completely Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843, the Age of the Moderates (Edinburgh, 1973) and H.R. Sefton, 'Robert Wallace: An Early Moderate', SCHSR, vol. XVI (1969), pp. 1-22, in discussion of Wallace as an early Enlightened figure.
24. R.J. Allen, The Clubs of Augustan London, (Hamden, Conn., 1967), p. 166.
25. John Veitch, 'Philosophy in the Scottish Universities', Mind, vol. 11 (1877), pp. 74-91 and 207-34; Andrew Seth, 'Scottish Moral Philosophy,' Philosophical Review, vol. VII, no. 6 (1898), pp. 561-82; Henry Laurie, Scottish Philosophy in its National Development (London, 1902).
26. Op. cit., vol. 11, p. 351, on the basis of The Elements of Moral Philosophy, which alone is mentioned.
27. D.D. Raphael, The Moral Sense (London, 1947); Selwyn H. Grave, The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense (Oxford, 1960).
28. Op. cit., p. 11, on Fordyce as a minor figure; p. 249, note 38, quoting Fordyce for a "neat statement of points in this chapter [chapter 1]"; pp. 184-90, on education, mentioning Turnbull, Gregory and Kames only of Scottish writers.
29. Ibid., p. 190 and see below, pp. 252-3.
30. Op. cit., preface.
31. Alan Swingewood, 'The Origins of Sociology: the case of the Scottish Enlightenment,' The British Journal of Sociology, vol. XXI (1970), pp. 164-80, see especially p. 165 and note 8.
32. See works of John Clarke, H.M. Knox, Alexander Morgan, James Scotland, and John Strong listed in main bibliography.

33. Op. cit., 'Theory and Practice', pp. 94-100. There are a number of omissions besides Fordyce from this section and the work of Mary D. Allan, "Scottish Education in the Eighteenth Century" is wrongly attributed by Craigie to St Andrews University Library. The work is now missing from AUL.
34. Op. cit., pp. 242-3.
35. Op. cit., p. 80.
36. Chapter xiii, pp. 219-26: "A Free Academy."
37. Op. cit., p. 256.
38. Op. cit., vol. 1, pp. lv-i, ccxxvii-i and cclii.
39. Op. cit., pp. 147-55.
40. See below, pp. 251-5.
41. James Stark, Lights of the North (Aberdeen, 1896), p. 213.
42. Op. cit., p. 89.
43. David Daiches, The Paradox of Scottish Culture (Oxford, 1964), p. 45; Gerald R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason (1648-1789) (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 91.
44. Ian D.L. Clarke, 'From Protest to Reaction: The Moderate Regime in the Church of Scotland, 1752-1805' in N.T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, editors, Scotland in the Age of Improvement (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 200-24, see p. 204.
45. Chitnis, op. cit., p. 173. See below p. 22.
46. Op. cit., p. 240.

## CHAPTER 1: BIOGRAPHY

David Fordyce was baptised on 1 April 1711 and so was presumably born late in March, second son in a family of over twenty children of George Fordyce, a merchant, who owned the estate of Broadford, now part of the city of Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> George Fordyce, the younger son of George Fordyce and Barbara Thomson, had followed his father as farmer at Haughs of Ashogle in the parish of Turriff, Aberdeenshire, the father dying in 1681. David Fordyce's father is described as a burghess of that place on 24 September 1689. The Poll Tax Book of 1696 (registering all adults and property after the accession of William and Mary) describes him as a merchant with stock of 5000 merks and "wife and fyve children" and tenant of the "Milne Bruxie" (Mill of Bruxie) in the parish of Deer, some fourteen miles east of Turriff, where he probably moved after his mother's death in 1695. He was still there in 1699 but moved to Aberdeen probably some time before the death of his first wife, Isobel Walker, in March 1705.<sup>2</sup>

George Fordyce took a prominent part in civic and commercial affairs in Aberdeen, although recorded details are slight. He is described as "merchant, captain" in the mustering of the town on 15 March 1708 against the possibility of invasion by the French (during the War of Spanish Succession) in one of few references in town council records.<sup>3</sup> He became a baillie in 1710 and was elected six times as provost, the chief magistrate, from 1718-20, 1722-24 and 1726-28.<sup>4</sup> The appointment as provost

was facilitated by the demise of the old council for involvement in the 1715 rebellion, but, nevertheless, George Fordyce is considered the most interesting provost between the Restoration and the Forty-five, by Alexander Keith, the local historian.<sup>5</sup> George Fordyce's period as provost was one of steady expansion for the city, which, after centuries of continental trading, was now responding also to the benefits of the 1707 Act of Union.

Elizabeth Fordyce, David Fordyce's mother, the provost's second wife, daughter of the Reverend David Brown, minister of Neilston, near Paisley, married George Fordyce around 1707 and bore him at least sixteen children, several of whom died in infancy and of whom seven sons seem to have reached manhood. There had been five girls by the provost's first marriage, two of whom were married by the time of his second.<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Fordyce was a near relation, probably niece, certainly not daughter as some sources suggest, of Rev. Thomas Blackwell, the elder, who in February 1700 moved from the charge of Paisley Abbey, where he had been ordained and inducted in 1694, to Aberdeen as minister of St. Nicholas Church and became professor of divinity at Marischal College, one of Aberdeen's two universities until their union in 1860; Blackwell was later principal of the college, from 1717 until his death in 1728.<sup>7</sup>



David Fordyce went to Aberdeen Grammar School at the customary age of nine. The school curriculum was dominated at this time by Latin grammar for university entrance and methods were probably dull.<sup>8</sup> In Scottish universities the Medieval tradition of lecturing in Latin as lingua franca was not broken until 1729 by Francis Hutcheson at Glasgow University, with a dramatic effect on the quality of education.<sup>9</sup> The kind of education, however, in Aberdeen Grammar School at the time of David Fordyce's attendance may be implied by the following quotation from burgh records:

The highest or fourth class at the grammar school is to be employed by the headmaster in expounding and resolving authors, calculate for their proficiency in themes, versions, poetical compositions, and orations accompanied with a constant repetition of the rules and most abstruse or necessary portions of the grammar (Act anent some regulations in the grammar school, 6 February 1711: John Stuart, editor, Extracts from the Council Register of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen 1643-1747, [Edinburgh, 1872] pp. 345-6).

Yet the Scots educational system in parish and burgh was, albeit fitfully, achieving the objectives of John Knox's First Book of Discipline to provide education for the lads o' pairts in a country which in the early eighteenth century was still primitive in its agriculture, industry and standard of living. Grammar school masters at Aberdeen, like college regents, rotated classes, with the exception of the last which the head master always took and so David Fordyce must have studied under one under-master, which may have been Andrew Howieson (appointed 1718), son of a merchant, or Charles Kay (appointed 1717) and the rector, John Milne (appointed 1717, his predecessor having been deposed by the Royal Commission that followed the Fifteen rebellion),



but nothing particular is known about the character and influence of these men.<sup>10</sup>

The provost farmed an acre or two of his ground at Broadford, the present Berryden and Elmhill area, north west of the town, known colloquially as the Provost's Mire, really a marsh with the Loch burn running through it, later drained, but recalled by the present Loch Street.<sup>11</sup> Some properties west of the town were summer villas, like those of the younger Principal Blackwell and an unnamed Fordyce at Ferryhill near the banks of the Dee, mentioned by the travel writer, Francis Douglas, in 1782.<sup>12</sup> The provost's property was his town house after 1721 when he acquired from the York Buildings Company the lease of lands comprising part of the estates of the Panmure family, forfeited after the 1715 rebellion, occupying most of the parish of Belhelvie about eight miles north of Aberdeen on the sea coast, including the house of Eggie near Balmedie village. The provost had the tack (lease) of two thirds of the parish, while the other heritors were Professor Gregory and Baillie Mitchell of Aberdeen.<sup>13</sup> George Fordyce obtained the tack in the Barony of Belhelvie initially for fifteen years from Whit Sunday 1721 at £500 a year. Then in 1728 he renewed the profitable lease at the same rent for fourteen years to begin on the expiry of the former. Further renewal was challenged by the creditors of the company but unsuccessfully. The land was sold in 1782 for £30,745, according to the historian of the York Buildings Company, which was in financial straits at this time.<sup>14</sup>

There is little to document at Eggie concerning the Fordyce family. To accommodate the large family the provost probably improved the property, a grey L-shaped house still standing on the seaward side of the village of Balmedie (itself called Eggie or Eigie at one time), with green fields leading down to sand dunes and the turbulent coast.<sup>15</sup> Rev. David Brown (Elizabeth Fordyce's brother) was appointed minister of the parish in 1725 (called on 21 March and admitted on 22 July), George Fordyce having been empowered to do so by the York Buildings Company, in accordance with the Patronage Act of 1712, and Brown continued there until 18 October 1744 when he was obliged to resign because of the scandal of his adultery.<sup>16</sup> Belhelvie Kirk Session minutes refer to George Fordyce as Kirk Session member and heritor: he appears as ruling elder and councillor to the synod on 30 October 1725 and 27 March 1726.<sup>17</sup> The only other entry relating to the provost is a note of session approval of an "Act for a Dask for Provost Fordyce and his servants".<sup>18</sup> The correspondence of Thomas Blackwell, the younger, shows that the provost was still using Broadford as his town or winter residence and Eggie for the summer in 1731.<sup>19</sup> David Fordyce writes from Eggie during vacations to his friends, William Craig, George Benson and Philip Doddridge; in term time as undergraduate and professor he was obliged to lodge in the college or town.<sup>20</sup>

Fordyces had no connection with Eggie after 1834, the immediate family, indeed, none after 1782. Jean Fordyce, niece of the provost, married William Dingwall of Brucklay, Aberdeenshire, and Arthur Dingwall Fordyce, the second but elder surviving son, assumed the surname and armorial bearings of his mother's family

and purchased the lands of Eggie and Balmedie in 1782 but never lived there, the property being sold after his death in 1834.<sup>21</sup> The ruins of Brucklay Castle, home of the Dingwall Fordyces, lie near Maud, Aberdeenshire, and present members of the family live in Brucklay House nearby, where portraits of David Fordyce and others of the family now hang. There are no direct descendents of the large family of George Fordyce now known to the present Mr. J. Arthur Dingwall Fordyce.<sup>22</sup>

David Fordyce went to Marischal College in 1724, along with nine others from Aberdeen Grammar School.<sup>23</sup> To begin university at the age of thirteen was normal, since it was virtually the only form of secondary education. By the 1720s Marischal College had achieved considerable vigour, new staff having been appointed after the 1715 rebellion and the college benefitting from the greater prosperity of the New Town.<sup>24</sup> The arts course at Marischal College was still conducted under the regenting system, whereby each professor took a class through the last three years of a four year course, teaching all subjects, except classics and mathematics. Regenting was generally defended on the basis of the personal interest and supervision given along with a general education, but in fact prevented real broadening of the curriculum. Specialised professorships increased in the course of the century and regenting was abandoned at Edinburgh in 1708, Glasgow in 1727, St. Andrews in 1747, Marischal Collège in 1753 and King's College, Aberdeen, in 1799.<sup>25</sup>



David Fordyce studied "philosophy" (the general arts course, deriving from the Medieval artes liberales) under Professor Daniel Gordon, together with mathematics under John Stewart and Greek under his relation, Thomas Blackwell, the younger, who had become professor of Greek in 1724 and later became principal of the college and taught several of Fordyce's brothers.<sup>26</sup> David Fordyce graduated A.M. in 1728. Unfortunately the graduation theses philosophicae for this year are not extant. He then studied divinity under Professor James Chalmers and was licensed but did not receive a call, patronage being required since its reintroduction to the Scottish Church with the 1712 Act.<sup>27</sup> Divinity students, of whom, according to Wodrow, the chronicler, there were thirty-nine at Aberdeen in 1726, were permitted to attend lectures at both King's and Marischal Colleges, about two thirds of them regularly attending for four or five sessions, from the end of December to the beginning of April.<sup>28</sup> Many students became schoolmasters to help support themselves and were then allowed to take one whole session and four partial sessions of the divinity course. Teaching was also popular among those awaiting a charge.<sup>29</sup> Perusal, however, of Ian Simpson's survey of schools and school-masters for the Aberdeenshire parishes reveals no indication that Fordyce was a school master in any county school.<sup>30</sup>

Information about Fordyce's life in the 1730s is sparse, unfortunately, until the latter years of the decade. It is most likely that he was at home to comfort his mother after his father's death at Eggie on 13 May 1733, since his brother,

James, describes David as "the comfort of his widowed mother, my counsellor and example in youth."<sup>31</sup> David Fordyce fell heir to the lands at Eggie with the death of his brother, George, on 11 September 1736.<sup>32</sup>

Information about David Fordyce's movements and thought from around 1735 can be inferred firstly from two unpublished letters to William Craig in Glasgow.<sup>33</sup> Fordyce visited Glasgow in 1735 and heard Francis Hutcheson, the great apostle of the Scots eighteenth century Enlightenment. The general public in Glasgow were encouraged to attend certain lectures, while scholars and laymen met also for symposia in clubs. Fordyce, however, appears to have been introduced to the academic company by his relative, Thomas Blackwell.<sup>34</sup> The letters to Craig show an eager young man entering into debate on philosophical issues, with the creation of fine distinctions between Fordyce's own position and that of Hutcheson.

Fordyce's employment in the mid 1730 s is not known. It is possible that he took temporary control of the family business interests after the death of his brother, George, in September, 1736. Blackwell, however, in a letter to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik of 14 August 1741 says of David Fordyce: "after studying very closely for several years at home, is lately returned from France and England, where he has spent some years more."<sup>35</sup> Between 1733 (when Fordyce had completed M.A. and B.D. courses) and 1738 (when he went to London) may well have been spent partly in teaching, as a private or even travelling tutor, although no evidence of

this has been found. On the other hand, the letter to Philip Doddridge of 6 June 1743, when Fordyce talks about the rewards of teaching (after his appointment at Marischal College), could be interpreted as meaning that Fordyce had not taught classes before.<sup>36</sup> Fordyce probably visited Edinburgh during this period since he is known to have been friendly with George Wishart and Patrick Cuming, later prominent churchmen.<sup>37</sup>

Biographical information for the later 1730 s is largely derived from correspondence with Fordyce's friend, Philip Doddridge, the leading nonconformist divine, founder and principal tutor of Northampton academy and famous for his devotional literature. There are eleven letters by Fordyce to Doddridge extant and a number of references to Fordyce, some quite detailed, in correspondence between Doddridge and others. Some of this material is published, but with alterations and omissions, with most of the Doddridge correspondence.<sup>38</sup> All the extant correspondence of Fordyce, however, together with major correspondence of others relating to him, is reproduced in Appendix 2.

Doddridge received a D. D. from Marischal College on 27 May 1736 and from King's College on 5 July 1737, but it is not certain how any friendships with Aberdeen professors began.<sup>39</sup> John Aikin, however, who may be the model for one of the characters in Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education, later principal tutor at Warrington Academy, had been Doddridge's first pupil at Kibworth, then at Northampton until 1732 and



went to study at Aberdeen, gaining the M.A. from King's College on 5 July 1737.<sup>40</sup> Aikin apparently developed a friendship with Fordyce and became assistant to Doddridge after leaving Aberdeen.<sup>41</sup> Aikin was with Doddridge in February 1738 and left Northampton in 1739. There were relatively strong links for much of the eighteenth century between the English dissenting clergy and their academies and Scottish universities and their mutual influence is discussed later.<sup>42</sup> Since Oxford and Cambridge were closed to nonconformists, a number of English dissenters, like Aikin, although he was born in London of a Scots father, completed their education at Scots universities. Scots divines also sometimes attended English dissenting academies after completing university courses in Scotland. A number attended Doddridge's academy for his divinity lectures and gained preaching experience in neighbouring dissenting congregations before taking up parishes in Scotland.<sup>43</sup> There is no evidence, however, to suggest David Fordyce was actually one of Doddridge's pupils. Fordyce's name does not appear on any list of Doddridge's pupils and the first mention of Fordyce by Doddridge in his published correspondence seems to confirm this.<sup>44</sup> Fordyce, however, must have spent quite some time at Northampton as Doddridge's guest. In the letters, for instance, he sends greetings to Mrs. Doddridge and sometimes to the children. The opening of Fordyce's letter to Doddridge of 23 April 1739 suggests great familiarity (although Fordyce is clearly enthusing).<sup>45</sup> Certainly an intimate acquaintance

with the Northampton academy can be inferred from Dialogues concerning Education. It is certain that its narrative preamble has Doddridge's academy in mind.<sup>46</sup> This fact is naturally of great importance for the interpretation and evaluation of the Dialogues, since it suggests that Fordyce was influenced in his educational ideas by those of Doddridge's academy. Doddridge also seems to have known the Fordyce family and Thomas Blackwell very well. Greetings are passed on in Fordyce's correspondence. Fordyce conveys his mother's thanks for the present of a book of Doddridge's sermons which he found her reading "with great satisfaction" when he went north.<sup>47</sup> There is an unpublished letter to Doddridge from Elizabeth Fordyce, dated 30 July 1747, from Uppingham, where Doddridge had helped David's brother, Dr. John Fordyce, establish a practice.<sup>48</sup> David Fordyce refers to this several times and to his mother's gratitude to Doddridge for helping the sons in their professional careers.<sup>49</sup> This matter is referred to also by Blackwell in the only extant letter by him to Doddridge.<sup>50</sup> In the letter of 20 February 1740 Fordyce writes to Doddridge:

When the fishing season comes on, my mother will remember the pretty present she intends to send you, as a small acknowledgement for the great favours you have shown her sons (Appendix 2 p.371).

Doddridge was repsonsible for the instatement of Fordyce as minister in a church at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, where he preached for the first time around 20 September 1738, in the place of William Hunt, who left in August 1738 to go to a charge at Hackney.<sup>51</sup> In October Doddridge thought that



Fordyce would have a "unanimous and pressing invitation."<sup>52</sup>  
A letter from Fordyce to Doddridge from Newport Pagnell of 3  
October 1739 is extant, but gives no details of the charge  
which Fordyce left early in November 1739. The letter does  
imply that Fordyce left in rather a hurry and hinting at  
some intrigue in the congregation about which he warns  
Doddridge.<sup>54</sup>

From around mid April 1738, however, Fordyce had been  
spending some time in London. We learn this from correspondence  
between Doddridge and the famous Rev., later Bishop, William  
Warburton, writer and critic, editor of Shakespeare, close  
friend of Pope and editor of his works. Warburton says in a  
letter of 1 July 1740 that Fordyce had denigrated him in  
company to whom Fordyce had been introduced by Warburton  
some two years previously. Yet, curiously, in the interval  
between the alleged incident and the letter to Doddridge  
Warburton had written to Doddridge on 12 February 1739:

Young Fordyce has great merit, and will make  
a figure in the world, and do honour to Professor  
Blackwell, for whom I have a great esteem (Appendix 2  
p. 361)

The pugnacity of Warburton is well known and probably partly  
explains the incident. One authority describes him as "a bad  
scholar, a literary bully and a man of untrustworthy character".<sup>55</sup>  
Fordyce shows no malice towards Warburton when he tells  
Doddridge in a letter of 20 February 1740 "We are likewise  
longing to see your friend Warburton's second volume, which  
they say will swell to a third!"<sup>56</sup> Fordyce does sum up Warburton

well, however, in the letter of 23 May 1747, when he mentions a book "which your friend, Warburton, has ushered into the world with a pompous commendatory preface, in which he says he thinks the author wrong, yet recommends the book."<sup>57</sup>

Doddridge mollified Warburton with his reply and Warburton agreed, rather grudgingly, to forget the incident in a reply to Doddridge of 2 February 1741.<sup>58</sup> The incident probably does show an over-zealous desire on the part of David Fordyce to establish and maintain literary contacts, an impression also given by a number of Fordyce's letters.

During this period David Fordyce appears to have been steeping himself in the cultural life of London whenever possible. Since 1736 he had been head of the family and was now clearly enjoying the benefits of prosperity and education. The letter to Doddridge of 23 April 1739 shows he liked to listen to parliamentary debates, a fashionable pastime in London for visitors and inhabitants. He describes one debate with speeches by Walpole and others in detail, concerning the Test Act and dissenters, for Doddridge's benefit.<sup>59</sup> Digests of parliamentary debates were published and may be Fordyce's source for the quotation etc., but he may indeed have heard the actual speeches.<sup>60</sup> The debates, especially popular during this period of growing opposition to Walpole, had been reported by Edward Cave's Gentleman's Magazine since July 1732 from notes taken in the public gallery, but on 13 April 1738 (about the time of Fordyce's arrival in London) the House of Commons decided publication was a breach of privilege and Cave resorted to imaginary debates in a "Political Club".<sup>61</sup> Here again Fordyce shows his



interest in dialogue. In this and several other letters also he shows himself to be avidly taking an interest in new publications. It is certain that he was mixing in coffee-house society, the main breeding ground for literature of the period and partly for Fordyce's own dialogues. Correspondence between Warburton and Tom Birch, the leading literary figure, suggests informal meetings with Fordyce (who also corresponded with Warburton), possibly at Tom's Coffee-house in Devereaux Court, the favourite haunt of Birch and other leading literary figures, later also of Fordyce's friend, Mark Akenside, the poet and physician.<sup>62</sup> Here eminent writers and others gathered for informal disputes chiefly on literature and politics. Fordyce perhaps also attended the Sunday evening sessions of Birch and friends in his house in Norfolk Street in the Strand.<sup>63</sup> Fordyce is no doubt speaking out of personal experience when he says through the mouthpiece, Euphranor, in Dialogues concerning Education that the intercourse that the metropolis affords is a vital part of education:

After our Youth has spent some Time in the the University, according to his Genius and Inclinations, he should come to Town to converse with Men of all Ranks and Characters, frequent Coffee-houses, and all Places of public Resort, where Manners are to be seen and practised, go to the shops of Mechanics, as well as Clubs of the Learned, Courts of Justice, and particularly the Houses of Parliament, in order to learn Something of the Laws and Interests of his Country, and to inspire him with that Freedom, Intrepidity, and Public Spirit, which does, or should, animate the Members of that August Body.

By spending his Time in this Manner for a Year or two in Town, and by an unlimited Commerce with Men of Business, as well as Letters, I engage he will learn more real useful Knowledge than is to be acquired at any Seat of Learning whatsoever in double the Time (Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 11, pp. 304-5).

The letter number CCCXL, "From a Young Gentleman on a Visit in Town", in Fordyce's Complete British Letter Writer (n.d.) probably has an autobiographical basis since it is lengthy, detailed and subjective in tone, including description of the Tower, buildings, theatres, parks and, in a manner suggesting the writer to have been moved, a public hanging.<sup>64</sup>

The popular London Magazine around the time of Fordyce's first visit to the metropolis contains articles on a number of themes with which he was later to be concerned in his writings. An anonymous article of 15 April, "Of the Force of Custom and Habit" (p.185-6), discourses on how custom frequently gets the better of nature. An anonymous 'The Art of Preaching', printed for Robert Dodsley, is noticed (p. 207). An excerpt from Montesquieu's Persian Letters, 'Of Modern Education' (pp. 221-3), criticises a private tutor who knew only classics and not modern 'political' knowledge. This article uses dialogue in part. Montesquieu prefers concentration upon the vernacular, comments satirically on the Grand Tour, declares female education should be broader, longer, more similar to that of men and involve education of both 'Reason' and 'Heart'. A piece on early religious education appears for 28 July (p. 353). A poem of praise to James Foster, the leading preacher and an acquaintance of Fordyce, appears for June 1738 (p. 36) and the Works of Samuel Clarke, the metaphysician, known to Fordyce, are noticed for May 1738 (p. 260). The Gentleman's Magazine around April 1738 does not contain any items of special interest to the present study.



It is clear from the extant correspondence with George Benson that Fordyce mixed in the company of leading dissenting churchmen like George Benson, Nathaniel Lardner and possibly Jeremiah Hunt, but few details of these contacts are known.<sup>65</sup>

A clear revelation of Doddridge's estimation of Fordyce's potentiality, around this time is seen in the letter of 27 February 1739 to his old friend, former pastor and second father (Doddridge was orphaned at age fourteen), the Rev. Samuel Clark of St. Albans.<sup>66</sup> The letter accompanied the first volume of Doddridge's Family Expositor, a companion to Biblical studies which became a popular textbook:

I send you this by the hand of Mr. Fordyce, a young minister who was educated in Scotland, under Professor Blackwell, and who has spent some time at Newport. You will find him an excellent scholar, nor did I ever meet with a person of his age who had made deeper and juster reflections on human nature (Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 359).

Fordyce's letter to Doddridge of 3 October, 1739, a month before he left Newport Pagnell, accompanied an Essay on Human Nature for Doddridge's perusal and criticism. Fordyce says that it is his first serious literary effort and the work of some years. He claims to have had some relatively original thoughts and clarified difficulties regarding the emotions, mental faculties and the principle of "living according to nature", but the manuscript of the essay does not appear to be extant.<sup>67</sup> Fordyce refers to it again in later letters which show that Doddridge read at least part of it and contain requests for it to be sent back at Doddridge's convenience.<sup>68</sup> In this essay Fordyce already appears to be concerned with some of the themes which appear in his later writings.

"According to Nature", for instance, admittedly a neoclassic commonplace, was to be a motto for the academy in Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>69</sup>

Fordyce gave up the charge at Newport Pagnell early in November 1739 to take up employment as private tutor and chaplain in the service of Mr. John Hopkins of Bretons, near Romford, Essex.<sup>70</sup> Philip Morant's History and Antiquities of Essex (1768) describes Hopkins as of Bretons in Hornchurch parish and possessing the great tithes or Rectory in the 'maner' (manor) of Shenfield, sold to his uncle, John Hopkins, in 1720.<sup>71</sup> Referring also to the Maner of Redene or Reden-Court, on the left hand side of the road from Brentwood to Romford almost opposite to Gooshays, Morant says "Some time ago it was purchased by John Hopkins Esquire; who dying immensely rich 25 April 1732, was succeeded by his nephew - John Hopkins Esquire; the present possessor."<sup>72</sup> The Maner of Bretons, bordering on the parish of Dagenham and about two and a half miles from Romford, including the church, says Morant, is "now to John Hopkins Esquire, owner of Reeden-Court, who had built the House here, in which he resides."<sup>73</sup> Hopkins also owned the mansion house of Birch-Hall on the road from Waltham Abbey to Aise Bridge and the Maner of Ramsden Gray, a mansion house he again gained from his uncle.<sup>74</sup> That Hopkins was a property speculator is clear from the Fordyce correspondence, for example, when Fordyce refers to the possibility of Hopkins appearing to bid for property to assist Doddridge in the sale of property he had inherited.<sup>75</sup> It appears from the correspondence with Doddridge that Fordyce probably held this post for about

a year and a half. That Hopkins owned property in different parts is clear from the letters: of four written by Fordyce from a Hopkins country residence two (13 November 1739 and 20 February 1740) are headed "Tooting" and two "Ingateston Hall" (21 July 1740 and 25 September 1740), although it seems likely that the Tooting residence was temporary.<sup>76</sup>

In these letters Fordyce describes the family and his duties as chaplain and tutor. Mr. Hopkins is a rather devious man; at least, he gives no clues about any plans for the family to go to town as Fordyce wishes. Mrs. Hopkins is "generous and pious" and the daughter of "good sense and a fine spirit; but it is a delicate task to manage some of my young pupils, quae cultura multum egent."<sup>77</sup> It is likely that Fordyce uses Latin in reference to the difficulties of his teaching situation for the sake of confidentiality rather than ostentation. In the letter of 25 September 1740 he wrote extensively in French, confiding in Doddridge about certain things he finds "shocking" in his position, for example, "the rustic character of the father who is one of the most rough, grim, capricious men to be found; the whims of the girls...."<sup>78</sup> One early biographer describes Mr. Hopkins as "heir at law to the noted Vulture Hopkins; and having been raised from the situation of a common farmer to the possession of a large estate was coarse and vulgar in his manners."<sup>79</sup> These circumstances, however, probably helped to stimulate Fordyce's great interest in the problems of moral education (see, for example, dialogue viii, which begins with what could be an oblique reference to the Hopkins family). Other aspects, he says, make the situation



more bearable: the mother's kindness, the leisure time for study, the success of his preaching and the thought that he need only stay there until he has gained a more independent position. In the same letter Fordyce says he does not think he will settle in England in a dissenting congregation. A different source, in fact, refers to a letter of introduction on behalf of Fordyce to William Duff, Lord Braco, with regard to a vacancy in the church of Keith at some time in 1740.<sup>80</sup> The author of the letter, which describes him as "a very well accomplished, pretty, young gentleman," is unknown and presumably he did not get the post.

It is likely that Fordyce terminated his employment with Hopkins and journeyed in France, probably in the spring of 1741. The sole reference to this trip is in a letter of Thomas Blackwell, although it may be suggested by remarks in a letter of Akenside to Fordyce.<sup>81</sup> No details of the trip, however, are known. Such travel was part of a gentleman's education and Blackwell commends it as such.

Towards the end of June 1741 Fordyce went to Scotland, spent about two months rambling through the southern and western parts of the country, before taking up a post as an assistant minister in Edinburgh, having spent only a few days at Aberdeen.<sup>82</sup> He does not name the charge to Doddridge, but it is "a collegiate one, the largest and most conspicuous in Scotland," patronised by the nobility and gentry and the minister is Mr. Wishart, brother of the principal of the College. Blackwell's correspondence confirms that the church was the Tron Kirk in the High Street of Edinburgh, where George Wishart



was minister of the joint charge along with the elderly and infirm Matthew Wood, whose place Fordyce took.<sup>83</sup> Fordyce says he is awaiting a call to a charge but the year in Edinburgh was to be followed by his academic appointment at Marischal College. Meanwhile Fordyce's stay at 'Mr Arthur's Taylor in the Advocate's Close' would expose him to the vigorous atmosphere of the Old Town in stair, close, wynd, tavern and market place. In Edinburgh he became very friendly with Mark Akenside, later the prominent poet and physician, who had gone there to train as a dissenting minister but changed his course to medicine after one winter. One of Akenside's biographers says Fordyce and Akenside were of a group of several young men who were later to become distinguished; these in fact included several prospective professors, doctors and one notable inventor and industrialist.<sup>84</sup> The Akenside correspondence shows Fordyce enjoying the social and intellectual intercourse of the Scottish capital, where he met leading members of the nobility, church and medical fields.<sup>85</sup> In his letters to Fordyce Akenside makes critical comments on writings of Fordyce that are probably an early draft of parts of Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>86</sup>

David Fordyce returned to Aberdeen in June 1742 and on 9 September 1742, after due recommendation to the Crown, became Professor of Moral Philosophy and Regent at Marischal College, Aberdeen, in place of Alexander Innes and under John Osborn, Principal from 1728 to 1748.<sup>87</sup> Writing to Doddridge, however, Fordyce says that he has not given up hope of a ministerial charge.<sup>88</sup> The appointment was no doubt an example of nepotism

since Thomas Blackwell, the influential Professor of Greek and Osborn's successor as Principal, was his near relation; yet, while nepotism was common in the Scots universities of the eighteenth century, it did not necessarily have a harmful effect: some families like the Blackwells, the MacLaurins and the Gregories gave distinguished academic service.<sup>89</sup> As regent, Fordyce gave lectures on general and natural philosophy, including some subjects in the category of experimental philosophy, for example, mechanics, optics and astronomy.<sup>90</sup> Bajans (first year students) studied largely Greek under Thomas Blackwell, repairing also the deficiencies of Grammar School Latin teaching. Greek studies had languished at Aberdeen until the appointment of Blackwell who achieved a considerable reputation as a Greek scholar with his Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer (1735), but although he raised standards and broadened the curriculum, he was a pompous pedant.<sup>91</sup> Semis (second year students) studied civil and natural history; tertians studied natural philosophy and magistrands (final year students) moral philosophy. Fordyce took the semis in sessions 1744-5 and 1747-8, tertians in 1742-3, 1745-6 and 1748-9 and magistrands in 1743-4, 1746-7 and 1749-50.<sup>92</sup>

A transcription exists of Fordyce's lectures to the magistrand class in 1743-4 on the history of philosophy. In these lectures (reproduced in Appendix 1 and critically examined in Chapter 5, below) Fordyce outlines doctrines and schools from ancient times, through Medieval and Renaissance thought, until the eighteenth century and incidentally helps us place his own views in perspective.



A testimony to Fordyce's scholarship and teaching ability as professor exists in the manuscripts of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre (1736-1814), the prominent man of letters, later patron of Burns and friend of Scott:

Nowhere in Scotland did science and the belles lettres flourish more during this period than in the two colleges of Aberdeen, particularly in the Marischal, where the good seed sown first by Blackwell and afterwards by David Fordyce produced ere long an abundant crop (Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 469).

He considered Fordyce "superior to Thomas Blackwell in elegance, discretion and intellectual powers," the most eloquent and accomplished of the Fordyces and the finest lecturer in Scotland of his time:

There is no comparison between David Fordyce and John Stevenson [in logic] at Edinburgh whose work is derivative. Fordyce's is without the smallest tinge of scepticism or singularity (NLS MS1635)<sup>93</sup>

Ramsay quotes the testimony of Thomas Reid, librarian at Marischal College from 1733, later professor at King's College, from 1751 to 1764, then successor to Adam Smith at Glasgow University, the foremost figure of the Scottish school of 'Common Sense' philosophers, who attended Fordyce's Sunday evening lectures. His style was so 'pathetic' that the audience felt moved to tears.<sup>94</sup> This was not, however, the emotionalism of 'old light' Calvinist evangelicalism but a blend of sensitivity with dignity which was new to Scotland at this time. Fordyce, therefore, can be seen as playing a part in securing the supremacy of the Moderates in the Church of Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century, with their emphasis on learning and manners rather than original sin. Fordyce's discourse on pulpit oratory, Theodorus, expounds the new style of preaching, but, according to Ramsay, it required Fordyce's genius and temperament to succeed.<sup>95</sup>

Another encomium is contained in the travelogue of 1782 by Francis Douglas who writes:

When we speak of those who have done honour to this college it would be unpardonable to omit the late, amiable Mr. David Fordyce; whose excellent moral writings have fixed his character as a philosopher; and whose unaffected piety, friendly disposition and courteous demeanour made him justly dear to all his acquaintance (Douglas, East Coast, p. 116).

Some inference can be made from examination of Fordyce's class lists about his success as a teacher. The class he took over from Francis Skene in 1742 and which reached graduation in 1744 (the class to which he read the extant lectures on the history of philosophy) contained thirty students of whose future careers eleven are known: six ministers (including Alexander Gerard, subsequently regent and professor of divinity in Marischal and later King's College, and John Aikin, given an honorary M.A.), two advocates, one doctor, one Aberdeen merchant and baillie (Fordyce's brother, Robert) and one Brigadier General under Washington (Hugo Mercer). The class of thirty-two students graduating in 1747 included one minister, one advocate, one doctor and one merchant and benefactor to the college among the few whose careers are known. The ten students under Fordyce graduating in 1750 included three ministers (including William Duff, writer on primitivism, not to be confused with the regent of the same name between 1727 and 1738) and one advocate. The class of 1749-53, which Fordyce managed for one year before his departure on the Grand Tour and continued by Gerard, included four ministers, one doctor (Fordyce's nephew George), one regent and poet (James Beattie) and one schoolteacher.<sup>96</sup>



Fordyce's influence as a teacher, however, must have gone beyond his official classes. He tells Doddridge, for instance, in the letter of 6 June 1743 that, in addition to the public class, he took a private one "to which I read lectures on Morals, Politics and History upon that Plan of which I shewed you a small Part when in England."<sup>97</sup>

It is not unreasonable to assume that the thought and influence of David Fordyce played a part in the reform of the Marischal College curriculum in 1753, codified and published by Alexander Gerard, Fordyce's successor, and more often associated with Blackwell himself.<sup>98</sup> The title of Gerard's work, at least, may be borrowed from the 'Plan of Education' of Euphranor in Dialogue xvii. of Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education. After outlining a generally progressive curriculum, Euphranor goes on to describe specialist studies in law, commerce, medicine and divinity which clearly had universities in mind.

The Minute Book of Marischal College for the period of Fordyce's professorship gives little information about him.<sup>99</sup> His signature generally appears with those of others at the end of minutes but he is not mentioned in the minutes themselves before 1748 and even then generally in matters of domestic importance only to the college. Nor are there any relevant items in the college accounts book of the period.<sup>100</sup>

Volume one of Dialogues concerning Education appeared in February 1745 and volume two in March 1748, but no publisher or printer is mentioned for the first and second editions and the volumes appeared anonymously.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting and possibly important to speculate about

Fordyce's motives for anonymous publication, since this may help explain why he is forgotten; fuller discussion of this point will take place later.<sup>102</sup> Fordyce is known to have submitted the manuscript of the Dialogues to Blackwell, whose criticisms on returning it are recorded:

I cannot digest the form of the Treatise. As it now stands it is neither letters nor conversations, but a faint unnecessary medley of both (as to form, I mean, not the materials). If they be letters, make them really such, which indeed your subject forbids, and the beautiful characters and incidents with which you have already enriched the work must be effected on that model. If they be conversations, as they are and must be, be you at some pains to make them truly so. Well may they be related, and history and narrative interwoven, but you may call them novels, essays, estimates etc. with as much propriety as letters of which they contain little more than 'Sir' at the head and 'your humble servant' at the foot (Family Record, p. 98.)<sup>103</sup>

Blackwell, in his pedantic preoccupation with the form of the dialogues, may have missed the value of their content.

There are no references to the first volume of the Dialogues in the extant correspondence with Doddridge and only one concerning volume two, in a letter from Aberdeen of 22 March 1748, when Fordyce asks Doddridge for his "candid and unreserved criticisms on the Dialogues," referring, presumably, to volume two published that year.<sup>104</sup> The publication of the second volume points to the success of the first, as does the reprinting of both volumes in the same years as first published.<sup>105</sup>

Fordyce's colleagues at Aberdeen who had themselves contacts with the literary world of London (presumably men like Blackwell and William Duncan, M.A. in 1735 and meanwhile a hack writer in London) apparently introduced him to Robert Dodsley, the famous bookseller, publisher of works by major writers of the period, for example, Pope and Johnson, and he employed Fordyce to write a section on ethics for



The Preceptor, a two volume work for the home and school textbook market.<sup>106</sup> This was published in May 1748 and contained twelve divisions on different subjects, with the whole prefaced by Dr. Johnson. Boswell considered it "one of the most valuable books for the improvement of young minds that has appeared in any language."<sup>107</sup> It has been suggested that the discussion on curriculum in Fordyce's Dialogues Concerning Education, volume 11 (notably dialogue xvii), published earlier that year, may have prompted the inclusion of certain topics in The Preceptor.<sup>108</sup> Fordyce's section was the ninth and, like the section on logic by William Duncan, appointed professor of philosophy at Aberdeen in 1753, was published separately, Duncan's The Elements of Logic in 1748 and Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy in 1754. No details on Fordyce emerge from the major collection of Dodsley correspondence in Birmingham Public Library since it relates to the period after Fordyce's death.

Fordyce's interest in travel continued during his period as professor. His visit to London in the summer of 1744 would allow him to prepare for the publication of Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>109</sup> In the letter to Doddridge of 6 June 1743 he declares his intention to go on a "pretty long North Country Journey", while he talks to George Benson in a letter of 20 August 1746 of "having taken a Jaunt to some Parts of the Highlands to see a Country that has been so famous or infamous of late" (in the aftermath, that is, of the Forty-five rebellion).<sup>110</sup>

A letter to Doddridge from London, dated 23 May 1747, contains almost entirely literary news, the only other item, indeed, being mention of a stirring debate in parliament involving the Duke of Argyle, which shows Fordyce's continuing fascination for dialogue.<sup>111</sup> The last extant letter to Doddridge, dated 22 March 1748, from Aberdeen, shows again the avid interest in the exchange of literary news.<sup>112</sup>

Fordyce is first mentioned in the minutes of Marischal College in that of 6 December 1748, when the faculty agreed to confer a D.D. on Reverend James Foster of London, the popular nonconformist preacher whom David Fordyce probably heard and befriended during his visits to the metropolis.<sup>113</sup> The award is "upon application from Mr. David Fordyce" and an excerpt from Fordyce's letter of congratulation appears in the entry on Foster in an early biographical dictionary.<sup>114</sup> Other college records and Fordyce's correspondence show that he also recommended the degree of Doctor of Medicine for several doctors in England (Kervin Wright of Norwich, Thomas Meech of Essex, Matthew Dowdall of Somerset and William Baylie of Worcestershire) and perhaps the D.D. s of ministers like Nathaniel Lardner in 1745.<sup>115</sup> Minutes of 8, 22 and 29 March 1749 refer to Fordyce checking the library because of lost books.<sup>116</sup> In that of 26 February 1750 Fordyce with Professor John Stewart was instructed to make an inventory of instruments for the experimental philosophy class and Fordyce to pin a notice on the college gates of names of students who failed to subscribe for instruments. In the minute of 12 March he reported "that none of the subscribers did attend his lectures." In the minute of 4 June 1750 Fordyce was appointed to wait upon Mr. Thomas Forbes regarding certain college papers. The minute of 24 July contains Fordyce's request for leave of absence for part or the whole of the next session and for his class to be taught by "a Sufficient and Unexceptional Substitute," who was, in fact, Alexander Gerard. Permission was granted for the ensuing session only.<sup>117</sup> Thus David Fordyce was enabled to go on his Grand Tour.



Theodorus: A Dialogue on the Art of Preaching was finished not long before Fordyce went abroad.<sup>118</sup> The Temple of Virtue: a Dream, however, was his last production, left in an unfinished state and published with additions by his brother, James, in 1757. The New and Complete British Letter Writer, a manual of model letters, catering for a public that indulged tremendously in the art of letter writing, may have been written at any time in the middle or late 1740's, there being no date of official publication.<sup>119</sup>

The popular magazines, the Gentleman's Magazine and the Scots Magazine do not review Dialogues concerning Education, although the former includes an excerpt from The Temple of Virtue elaborated by James Fordyce and the Scots Magazine an excerpt from Theodorus with comment.<sup>120</sup> The London Magazine notices Dialogues concerning Education, Theodorus and The Elements of Moral Philosophy while the Monthly Review comments on the latter two works.<sup>121</sup>

Fordyce probably left for the continent in the summer or autumn of 1750 and visited France and Italy, including Rome and other European countries which were the customary destinations for the Grand Tour.<sup>122</sup> It is clear from remarks of Mark Akenside that David Fordyce spoke fluent Italian.<sup>123</sup> An informative letter to his mother from Rome, dated 16 February 1751, tells us that he arrived in Rome, via Leghorn, near the end of January.<sup>124</sup> He describes in detail the pageantry of a Carnival and says he is visiting sites, historic buildings, the opera and plays. He intends to visit Naples before his

return and looks forward to a reunion with the family that never took place. In September 1751 David Fordyce was returning from Rotterdam, one of ten passengers on the "Hopewell" of and bound for Leith, when it foundered in a storm off the Dutch coast and he was drowned.<sup>125</sup> A note in Doddridge's correspondence says:

It is stated that, when the fatal consummation was rapidly advancing, he remained perfectly serene and, as the wreck was parting, employed the last few awful moments in a prayer of intense devotion (Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 364).

No source is given for this information, which may be homiletic invention. Fordyce's brother, James, refers to his brother's death in his Ode on the Death of Men of Talent included in his Poems, published in 1786, the seventh verse of which reads:

And oh, that Brother, much endear'd  
To Youth by him in virtue rear'd  
But most of all to me! -  
Yet, while I mourn the direful night  
That robb'd us of our soul's delight,  
Great God! I bend to thee (Poems, p. 52).

The family genealogist also quotes James Fordyce's Addresses to the Deity, more famous for its eulogy 'On the Death of Dr Samuel Johnson', but which says of David Fordyce:

At length the morning of the Resurrection will dawn, when the sea shall give up its prey, and the dead shall rise incorruptible. Then shall I meet in perfect glory a much loved and long lamented brother, the stay of his father's house, the comfort of his widowed mother, my counsellor and example in youth...<sup>126</sup>

A bombastic epitaph, dated 4 October 1751, from Aberdeen, written by James Fordyce, appears in the Gentleman's Magazine, volume XXI (1751), p. 515, and printed in Appendix 3<sup>127</sup>.

Despite his death David Fordyce's writings continued to sell well, Dodsley paid William Fordyce for the manuscript rights of Theodorus which was published in April 1753 and



November 1754. Theodorus was frequently reprinted with an essay on preaching by James Fordyce who became well known as a preacher to cultured audiences in London after 1760. Further editions of Dialogues concerning Education, which had been reprinted in the same years as publication, 1745 and 1748, followed in 1753, printed in Belfast, in London in 1757, when Fordyce's name first appears on the title page, and in Glasgow in 1768. The Elements of Moral Philosophy, which had appeared in The Preceptor in 1748 and first published separately under Fordyce's name in April 1754, had reached a third edition by February 1758, a fourth in 1769 (all London), and was published abroad at The Hague in 1756 and at Zurich in 1757. The Temple of Virtue was published in 1757, 1759 and 1775 with the additions by James Fordyce.<sup>128</sup>

The present research has thus been able to add flesh and blood to the skeleton of biography which appears in the article by Andrew Kippis which is the basis of the entry on David Fordyce in Alexander Chalmers, editor, The General Biographical Dictionary (1814), in the Dictionary of National Biography (whose entry on Fordyce is based largely on Chalmers) and in the Family Record of the name Dingwall Fordyce (1885) by A Dingwall Fordyce. It has not been possible to fill in all the "dark areas", especially the mid 1730 s.

It is indeed fortuitous that so many of Fordyce's letters are extant, although this must be a meagre proportion of his output. One who published a Complete Letter Writer is likely to have been a prolific writer of letters, that most typically eighteenth century form of dialogue. Most fortuitous is the existence of that last, unconsciously poignant, letter to his mother from Rome.



It is hoped that this fuller biography than has hitherto existed will serve as a basis for more accurate evaluation of David Fordyce's writings and thought.

#### NOTES

1. Alexander Chalmers, editor, The General Biographical Dictionary (London, 1814), vol. XIV, p. 468; Family Record, pp. 97 and 101.

Estimates vary concerning the number of George Fordyce's children. Lord Tweedsmuir, One Man's Happiness (London 1968), in the chapter entitled 'The fame of the Fordyces', pp. 249-263, inaccurately dates David Fordyce's year of birth as 1811 and that of his brother, Alexander, as 1829 (see p. 254).

2. John Stuart, editor, List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen 1696 (Aberdeen, 1844), vol 1, p. 612; Family Record, pp. 98 and 101; William Alexander, Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 7n; Alexander M. Munro, Memorials of the Lord Provosts of Aberdeen (Aberdeen 1897), p. 211; SNQ, 1st Series, vol. 111 (1889), p. 21.

A picture of the tombstone of George Fordyce, the elder, in the Old Churchyard at Turriff appears in Margaret Millar, 'The Fordyces', Scotland's Magazine, January 1973, whose article is culled mainly from the Family Record and Chalmers, op. cit.

3. John Stuart, editor, Extracts from the Council Register of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen 1643-1747 (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 335.

4. William Johnston, editor, A Short Memoir of James Young (Aberdeen, 1861) p. xxx; Keith, Aberdeen, p. 254.

5. Ibid p. 253 and the same author's article in Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce Journal, Spring 1957, pp. 120-2; William Robbie, Aberdeen: its Traditions and History (Aberdeen 1893), p. 260.

6. Family Record, p. 32.

7. Ibid, pp. 23-4.  
Elizabeth Fordyce is considered to be Blackwell's niece by William Knight, Collections on Marischal College, 8 vols. (Aberdeen, 1823-44) vol. 1 p. 371, the BDES. (see entry on 'David Fordyce') and Munro, op. cit., p. 211.

8. James Grant, A History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland (London, 1876), Chapter xiii.

9. T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1969), p. 448.

10. H.F.M. Simpson, editor, Bon Record : Records and Reminiscences of Aberdeen Grammar School (Edinburgh, 1906), pp.118n, 281, 287-8.  
Howieson graduated M.A. in 1703 and Milne in 1706 from Marischal College.
11. Douglas, East Coast, p. 171; Family Record, p. 101; Keith, Aberdeen, p. 291.
12. Op. cit., p. 176.
13. Ibid., p. 284; Family Record, p. 23; David Murray, The York Buildings Company (Glasgow, 1883), p. 46; S.C.H.S.R., vol. XVI (1967) p. 10; William Ferguson, Scotland from 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 139.
14. The Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1797), vol. VII, pp.218-22 ; Murray, op. cit., p. 101.
15. Tweedsmuir, op. cit. p. 249.  
A picture of the house of Eggie (or Egie - David Fordyce uses the former spelling) is included with Millar, op. cit., and another is in the possession of the present writer.
16. S.R.O. Belhelvie Kirk Session Minutes, vol. I, pp. 100 and 104; Family Record, pp. 32 and 101-2; Fasti Scoticanæ, vol. VI. p. 47; S.C.H.S.R., vol. XVI (1962) p. 10.
17. S.R.O. Belhelvie Kirk Session Minutes, vol. I, pp. 101 and 109.
18. A church pew, seat with a book board.
19. S.R.O. Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD 18/5036/15; Appendix 4.
20. Appendix 2, letters 1, 25 and 29 are from Eggie.
21. G. Skene Keith, A General View of the Agriculture of Aberdeenshire (Aberdeen, 1811), p. 120; Burke's Landed Gentry (1871), vol. I, p. 455; Family Record, p. 123; Tweedsmuir, op. cit., pp. 262-3. Pictures of Brucklay Castle appear in Family Record (see title page) and Millar, op. cit.
22. Personal communication from Mr. J.A. Dingwall Fordyce of Brucklay, Aberdeenshire.  
A photograph of the portrait of David Fordyce is in the possession of the present writer.



23. Family Record, p. 97; Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 302.
24. James Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, 2 vols. (London, 1969), vol. I, p. 161.
25. Graham, Social Life, p. 450. Alexander Gerard, Fordyce's successor as professor, seems to have been instrumental in preserving regenting at King's College.
26. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 302; W.E. McCulloch, editor, Viri Illustres Universitatum Aberdonensium (Aberdeen, 1913), p. 112.  
Gordon is mistakenly called 'Garden' in Chalmers, op. cit., and in the D.N.B., 'Jarden' in the B.D.E.S. and 'Jardine' in James Martin, Eminent Divines of Aberdeen and the North (Aberdeen, 1888), p. 262.
27. Chalmers, op. cit., p. 468; Family Record, p. 97; Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 302.
28. T. McCrie, editor, The Correspondence of Robert Wodrow, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-3), vol. III, p. 259. The number of divinity students in 1728 is not known, since they were not required to matriculate.
29. Walter Thom, The History of Aberdeen, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1811), vol. II, p. 75; Margaret Forbes, Beattie and his Friends (London, 1904), p. 6; Ian J. Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872 (London, 1947), p. 75; Marjory Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 9. Cf. William Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen, 2 vols. (Aberdeen 1818), vol. II, p. 100; Rev. S. Mechie, 'Education for the Ministry in Scotland since the Reformation, III', S.C.H.S.R., Vol. XV (1966), pp. 1-20, see p. 10.
30. 'Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872', Ph.D. thesis (Aberdeen, 1942), Book 2, Appendix 1: 'Fasti Magistrorum Ludorum Aberdonensium'. This work does not deal with Aberdeen city, but there is no evidence elsewhere (e.g. H.F.M. Simpson, op. cit.) that Fordyce taught, for example, at the Grammar School.
31. Family Record, p. 102. The quotation is in James Fordyce's Addresses to the Deity (London, 1785), according to Family Record, p. 97, but has not been discovered in the original by the present writer.
32. Family Record, p. 102, but contradicted by Murray, op. cit., p. 46, where it is claimed David Fordyce inherited the estate from his father.
33. Appendix 2, letters 1 and 2.



34. Ibid., p. 354 where "that Champion of the System" is almost certainly an allusion to Blackwell, whose uncle, John Johnstoun, was Professor of Medicine at Glasgow.
35. Ibid., p. 380.
36. Ibid., p. 392.
37. Ibid., p. 359, where the correspondent may be Wishart or Cuming, Cf. pp. 365 and 381.
38. John D. Humphreys, The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge D.D. (London, 1829-31).
39. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 81.
40. Humphreys, vol. V, p. 547; D.N.B. on 'John Aikin'; Herbert McLachlan, Warrington Academy Its History and Influence (Manchester, 1943), p. 48; William Turner, The Warrington Academy (Warrington, 1957), p. 13. According to Turner, Aikin became friendly with William Duncan and David Fordyce. Duncan was in the class of 1731-5 and became a regent in 1753 after a period as a professional author in London (see Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 45 and 308). Turner claims Aikin attended the lectures of George Turnbull, but he left Aberdeen in 1727, and that Aikin does not appear on Aberdeen Matriculation Albums. He received the M.A., however, from King's College in 1737 and an honorary M.A. from Marischal College in 1744 and D.D. in 1774 (see Peter J. Anderson, editor, Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen [Aberdeen, 1893], p. 232; Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 85 and 315). Cf. Appendix 2, pp. 366 and 379.  
Persistent research has failed so far to trace the unpublished letters and memoirs of Aikin referred to in the D.N.B. entry by Arthur Aikin Brodribb.  
No reference is made to the friendships between Fordyce, Doddridge and Aikin in Betsy Rodgers, Georgian Chronicle: Mrs. Barbauld and her Family (London, 1958), which uses Aikin MSS.
41. Humphreys, vol. III, pp. 310 and 331.
42. See below, pp. 119-20.
43. Job Orton, Memoirs of the Life, Character and Writings of Philip Doddridge (Shrewsbury, 1766), p. 120; The Works of Philip Doddridge, 10 vols. (Leeds, 1802-5), vol. I, p. 78.
44. Humphreys, vol. V, pp. 546-547 and MSS in Dr. Williams' Library, London (on the authority of Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, formerly Librarian, New College, London).
45. Appendix 2, letter 8.
46. Dialogues concerning Education, vol. I, pp. 8-10.
47. Appendix 2, p. 382.
48. Ibid., letter 31.
49. Ibid., pp. 366, 371 and 377.

50. Ibid., letter 21.
51. Frederick W. Bull, 'A History of the Independent Church, Newport Pagnell', Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, vol. IV, No. iv, p. 265.
52. Appendix 2, letter 5.
53. Ibid., letter 7.
54. Ibid., letter 10. The suggestion is of secret negotiations for a successor.
55. Sir Paul Harvey, editor, The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1946), p. 834. David Fordyce's friend, Mark Akenside, the poet and physician, was one of many others who unavoidably offended Warburton.
56. Appendix 2, p. 370.
57. Ibid., p. 406.
58. Ibid., letter 17.
59. Ibid., letter 8.
60. There is a faint possibility that Fordyce had learned the shorthand of Jeremy Rich used at Northampton Academy (see J.W. Gibson, 'Dr. Doddridge's Academy', Phonetic Journal, vol. XLV (1886) p. 158).
61. John Wain, Samuel Johnson (London, 1974) p. 89.
62. Appendix 2, p. 360; Alexander Dyce, op. cit., p. xxxvi.
63. John Hawkins, Life of Dr. Johnson (London, 1797), vol. 1, pp. 207-8.
64. Op. cit., pp. 207-13.
65. Appendix 2, letters 27-9, 33. Lardner was a correspondent of Doddridge (see Humphreys, vol. V, p. 98).
66. Ibid., letter 7. Rev. Samuel Clark is not to be confused with Clarke, the metaphysician. (Both receive entries in the D.N.B.).
67. Appendix 2, pp. 366-7.
68. Ibid., pp. 377 and 378. The MS was still with Doddridge in August 1741 (see ibid., p. 382). The MSS returned from Doddridge by May 1743 may be early drafts of Dialogues concerning Education (see Appendix 2, pp. 392-3).
69. See vol. I, frontispiece, where the slogan appears in Greek.
70. Chalmers, op. cit., vol. XIV, p. 269.
71. See vol. II, p. 55.
72. Ibid., vol. I, p. 64.
73. Ibid., p. 69.



74. Morant, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 163, 201.
75. Appendix 2, pp. 369-70.
76. Ibid., letters 11, 12, 15 and 16. Fordyce says, from Tooting, that Hopkins has not "fixed on any Place of settlement."
77. Ibid., p. 370.
78. Ibid., p. 375.
79. John Aikin et. al., General Biography, 4 vols. (London 1803), vol. IV, p. 161. Aikin's sources, however, include Kippis's collections for the Biographia Britannica, which in turn may have drawn upon Fordyce's letter to Doddridge.
80. Munro, op. cit., p. 212. There is, however, no evidence in Fasti Scoticanæ of the charge changing in 1740. John Gilchrist ministered at Keith from 1708 to 1754 (see vol. VI, p. 32).
81. Appendix 2, pp. 380 and 385.
82. Ibid., p. 379 "June" is erroneously described as "May" in the letter of 22 August 1741 to Doddridge (see ibid., p. 381).
83. Ibid., pp. 380-1 ; Fasti Scoticanæ, vol. I, p. 136.
84. Alexander Dyce, op. cit., pp. lxxxiii - xci.
85. Appendix 2, letters 22, 23 and 26.
86. Ibid., pp. 385-6, 390.
87. Appendix 2, pp. 391 and 392; Fasti Mariscallanæ, p. 45. Martin, op. cit., p. 262, says bluntly that Fordyce's appointment was an example of nepotism but admits to Fordyce's ability.
88. Appendix 2, p. 392.
89. Ian J. Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872 (London 1947) p. 67; Smout, op. cit., p. 473; Scotland, op. cit., vol. I, p. 145.
90. Chalmers, op. cit., p. 469.
91. James Bruce, Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1841) pp. 304-5; Henry G. Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1908), p. 249.
92. Fasti Mariscallanæ, p. 591.
93. Reference is here made to the original Ramsay MSS where there is omission in the published version. See Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 294.



94. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. I, p.294n. Alan W Bellringer, 'Thomas Reid's lectures on the Fine Arts', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Aberdeen, 1968), p. lv, incorrectly states that Reid heard Fordyce's lectures in the 1730's, although Fordyce was not appointed professor until 1742.
95. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. I, p. 295.
96. Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 314-8, 320-1. Cf. Ralph S. Walker, editor, James Beattie's London Journal 1773 (Aberdeen, 1946) p. 11.
97. Appendix 2, p. 392.
98. Alexander Gerard , Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the reasons of it (Aberdeen, 1755).
99. A.U.L. MS M41.
100. A.U.L. MS M59.
101. Thomas E. Jessop, A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy from Francis Hutcheson to Lord Balfour (London, 1938), p. 128.
102. See below, pp. 165-6 and 248.
103. The MS source for this passage has not been traced.
104. Appendix 2, p. 411.
105. Jessop, op. cit., p. 128.
106. Chalmers, op. cit., p. 469.
107. James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson LLD, 6 vols., ed. G.B. Hill, rev. L.F. Powell (Oxford, 1934-50), vol. I, p. 192.
108. Allen T. Hazen, Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications (New Haven, 1937), p. 172n.
109. Appendix 2, p. 394.
110. Ibid., pp. 394 and 403.
111. Ibid., letter 30.
112. Ibid., letter 32.
113. A.U.L. MS M41.
114. John Aikin et. al., op. cit., vol. IV, on 'James Foster', Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 83; D.N.B. under 'James Foster'; Appendix 2, letter 34.

115. Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 83 and 115; Appendix 2, 398.
116. A.U.L. MS M41. John Skene, brother of Professor Francis Skene, who followed Thomas Reid as librarian in 1737, was dismissed in 1750 as "guilty of very great negligence" (See Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 74).
117. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 45; Appendix 2, p. 417. Knight, op. cit., vol. I, p. 371, says incorrectly that Robert Pollock, professor of divinity took the classes.
118. See 'The Advertisement' to Theodorus.
119. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 45, suggests publication in 1790, as do Katherine G. Hornbeak, 'The Complete Letter-Writer in English, 1568-1800', Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. XV (1934) 3-4; and the British Museum Catalogue; James F. Kellas Johnstone and Alexander W. Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1929-30) suggests publication around 1755. A.U.L. catalogues the work as 1773.
120. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXVII (1757), p. 261; Scots Magazine, vol. XIV (1752), p. 216.
121. London Magazine, vol. XVII, p. 144; vol. XXI, p. 195; vol. XXIII, p. 191; Monthly Review, vol. VI, pp. 416-30; vol. X, p. 394.
122. Family Record, p. 97; 'Advertisement' to Theodorus.
123. Appendix 2, p. 388.
124. Ibid., letter 35.
125. Family Record, p. 97. "Aberdeen Journal" Notes and Queries, vol. I, p. 39, (for 8 October 1751) confirms the loss of the "Hopewell" and ten passengers, naming David Fordyce and two others: 'McKenzie, brother of the late Earl of Cromartie, and George Forbes, officers in the Dutch service.'
126. The present writer has been unable to find the passage in the original work.
127. The epitaph also appears in vol. LXVI (1796), part ii, pp. 1052-3. Martin, op. cit., p. 262, says incorrectly it was written in 1796.
128. Ralph Straus, Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher and Playwright (London, 1910), pp. 334, 347 and 352; Jessop, op. cit., p. 128; DNB under 'James Fordyce'.

## CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL BACKGROUND

It is worthwhile to consider the social influences upon David Fordyce which may have influenced his thought. Thus some account is given here of his parents and his best known brothers and their achievements; aspects of community life in Aberdeen during Fordyce's lifetime; education at Aberdeen Grammar School and at Marischal College, including some description of the leading college professors; Glasgow and Edinburgh, their colleges, professoriate and club life at the time of Fordyce's visits and residence; London life, especially in coffee houses and literary circles at the time of Fordyce's visits; the social and intellectual stimulation of Northampton, and then of Marischal College during the time of Fordyce's professorship; and, finally, some account of the eighteenth century passion for travel as education and its probable impact upon Fordyce. In all of these areas there has been some attempt to add to knowledge generally available.

Provost George Fordyce (1663-1733), David Fordyce's father, was clearly a successful businessman and local government official. The quantity of his stock as mentioned in the Poll Book of 1696, before moving to Aberdeen, his early rise and continued part in civic affairs, the maintenance of the villa and land at Broadford, together with the estate at Eggie, seven miles north of Aberdeen, and the advanced education of so many of his family, suggest a man of prosperity and ability.<sup>1</sup>



Unfortunately information on the character and outlook of the man and his second wife is sparse. The provost's tombstone in St. Nicholas Churchyard extols his integrity:

By his integrity in public and goodness in private life he left a better monument in the memory of the good than could be raised to him in posterity.

This eulogy may be confirmed by the little evidence that is known of his public life and some anecdotal evidence of his dealings as a businessman. George Fordyce's second period of office (1722-3) is known to have coincided with bad harvests and he was responsible for the magistrates' decision to purchase large quantities of meal to sell at a reasonable price to the poorer inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> A letter of Thomas Blackwell, the younger, to the influential nobleman, fellow classical scholar and antiquarian, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, of 24 November 1731 describes George Fordyce as "a Man of the greatest Worth and Consideration in this Town" and "not only a regular and legal but a conscientious Man."<sup>3</sup> Blackwell, admittedly, is seeking Clerk's assistance in clearing his relative from the effects of an apparently false charge of tax evasion. A servant in charge of the farm at Eggie had "contrary to his Orders and without his Knowledge concealed four Bolls of Bear in Malt." The Excise Officer "tampered" with the servant and failed to report the matter to his superior, whereupon Fordyce claimed he himself would. The Officer's subsequent threats were rendered harmless by an investigation by the District Supervisor and Fordyce's good character affirmed, although a record of malt kept by the said servant since 1725 not charged with duty had to be put before a Justice of the Peace.

The zeal and frequent bullying of the new Excise Service established in Scotland between 1723 and 1742 on the English pattern, as one consequence of the Union, was notorious. Nevertheless, smuggling continued to be a major eighteenth century industry vigourously defended on the grounds of "free trade" and the Shawfield riots of 1725 and Porteous riots of 1736, in Glasgow and Edinburgh respectively, showed the government could be inconsistent and insensitive in dealing with the practice.<sup>4</sup> Blackwell's Memorandum suggests that the Provost should at least be given the benefit of the doubt, if he was not in fact a man of extraordinary integrity. There is no other evidence, however, about the provost's qualities as a tacksman except that he was a successful one. The claim was frequently made in the eighteenth century that the tacksman was greedy and unscrupulous (Dr. Johnson called the Highland tacksman a drone), yet many tacksmen were responsible and Dr. Johnson in fact generally approved of the system.<sup>5</sup>

As heritor and elder in the parish church the Provost seems to have played a responsible part, for example, as Session representative at synods. Earlier he was a correspondent with Robert Wodrow of Eastwood, near Glasgow, man of letters and church historian, giving anecdotes of ecclesiastical matters in the North East, while the letter of Thomas Blackwell, senior, to George Fordyce from London of 1 January 1912, where Blackwell was a church representative on the patronage issue, likewise suggests that Gerge Fordyce was a responsible churchman.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth Fordyce (1688-1760) was married to the provost for twenty-seven years and widowed for a similar period, until her death on 30 May 1760. The inscription on the family tomb in St. Nicholas Church mentions her

sanctity of mind, sweetness of manners and simplicity of heart, a temper equally composed and affectionate; a long life free from strain, filled with usefulness, and finished in hope (Family Record, p. 33).

Other glowing words appear in the obituary in the Aberdeen Journal

the most exalted piety, the most extensive benevolence and the most unconfined charity were the leading principles of her blameless life (Family Record, p. 33).

David refers frequently to his mother in letters to Doddridge. Her letter to Doddridge of 30 July 1747 suggests devoutness and that she was a main force behind her sons' advancement: no doubt the friendship with Doddridge was cultivated partly for this reason, but patronage, it should be remembered, was then the accepted convention.<sup>7</sup> The letter of David Fordyce to his mother from Rome reveals a strong bond of affection between them and all "the fireside."<sup>8</sup> James Fordyce thanks her in an elegy for a religious upbringing and says that, as a mother, she permitted ample play, yet he felt eager to study because of her encouragement.<sup>9</sup> Although social and domestic histories of eighteenth century Scotland tend to stress repressive upbringing of children in the earlier part of the century at least and usually attribute the formality and severity to the influence of Calvinism, it has also been suggested that this position has tended to caricature.<sup>10</sup>



Elizabeth Fordyce may well have been one who properly blended discipline with kindness, whatever the prevailing social attitudes to upbringing. It is possible that the fictional account of a mother encouraging learning amongst her children in Dialogue xi of Dialogues concerning Education (vol. 1, p. 413) is based on the Fordyce household. David Fordyce's intention (tragically unfulfilled) to return from Rome to "the fireside" where "we will laugh till our sides crack" does not suggest a dreary family life.<sup>11</sup>

The Provost's eldest son, George, (1709-36), who graduated from Marischal College in 1727, carried on the family business in Aberdeen and lived at Broadford, but died shortly before the birth of his son, George, in 1736. That son and six of his uncles, John, David, James, William, Alexander and Robert all attended Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College, William and Alexander becoming Lord Rectors and David Professor in the College.<sup>12</sup> Robert (M.A., 1744) is described as "Baillie and stocking merchant" so he probably carried on the family business, although not immediately after the death of his brother, George.<sup>13</sup> The other brothers included three leading physicians, a preacher, banker and writer all making an impact upon London and elsewhere. The Dictionary of National Biography has entries on the five Fordyces, excluding John and Robert. James, Alexander and George were members of Dr. Johnson's Club and so are described by one enthusiastic Aberdeen local historian as "Johnson's Aberdeen circle", although he did not in fact think of them as such a coherent group.<sup>14</sup>

Without an entry in the DNB and other biographical dictionaries is John Fordyce (1717-60), the fifth surviving son (the third and fourth sons, both named Thomas, died in infancy), who graduated M.A. in 1735, was educated at Leyden, but left on 1 December 1737 without a degree, became an army surgeon, then practised at Uppingham in Northamptonshire from 1739. He then practised in London, from 1769 until his death, having become L.R.C.Ph. in 1757.<sup>15</sup> The two more famous medical Fordyces trained with him at Uppingham.

James Fordyce (1720-96), who graduated M.A. in 1737, was licensed for the church in 1743 and served in charges at Brechin (from 1745) and Alloa (1753), before going to the Presbyterian charge at Monkland Street, London, in 1760, when he also received a D.D. from Glasgow University.<sup>16</sup> He had gained a reputation as preacher before going to London and there attracted fashionable audiences as the most popular Presbyterian preacher for over a decade. Boswell, on 15 May 1763, in his London Journal, notes going to Fordyce's meeting at Monkland Street where he heard the famous Blair (Hugh) speak, but the "whole vulgar idea of the Presbyterian worship... made me very gloomy. I therefore hastened to St. Paul's, where I heard the conclusion of service, and had my mind set right again."<sup>17</sup> In 1771 he married Henrietta Cumming who first met him with his brother William at the home of the family of Balcarres in Fife, with whom she was then governess.<sup>18</sup> She had previously been at La Motte's dancing school in Edinburgh with one of Fordyce's sisters and it is clear from the memoirs and correspondence of Alison Cockburn that she was a blue-stockings.<sup>19</sup> The Platonic relationship of James and Henrietta Fordyce in marriage is described in her

memoirs, which give some details also of William and Alexander. By 1772, when James Fordyce was involved in the fall of his brother, Alexander, through failed financial speculation, his popularity as a preacher was already waning and friction with Rev. Toller, nephew and successor to Rev. Samuel Lawrence, Fordyce's fellow minister at Monkland Street, hastened his decline. In 1783 he retired to Hampshire where he enjoyed a close friendship with Lord Bute, then moved to Bath in 1792. Boswell commented on James Fordyce thus:

Nay, though Johnson loved a Presbyterian the least of all, this did not prevent his having a long and uninterrupted social connection with the Reverend Dr. James Fordyce, who, since his death, hath gratefully celebrated him in a warm strain of devotional composition (James Boswell, Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson [OSA, 1965], p. 1388.)<sup>20</sup>

Sir William Fordyce (1724-92), who graduated M.A. in 1742, was apprenticed to a local practitioner in Aberdeen and to his brother at Uppingham in 1743, then going to Edinburgh University but not completing his studies in medicine.<sup>21</sup> He volunteered for the army, becoming a surgeon in the Guards until the peace in 1748, when he travelled and studied in France and was in Turin in 1750 (the year David Fordyce began his Grand Tour), returning to London later that year. He retained his connection with the army but had a large practice in London, was knighted in 1782, became a F.R.S. and L.R.C.Ph., and in 1790 Lord Rector of Marischal College, where he left a bequest for the library and a thousand pounds for a lectureship in agriculture.<sup>22</sup>

Alexander Fordyce (1729-89), the youngest son, became banker in London and achieved notoriety in producing a major domestic financial scandal of the later eighteenth century.



He started in the hosiery business in Aberdeen, but ambition took him to London and partnership in the banking firm of Neale, James, Fordyce and Downe. In 1770 he married the second daughter of the Earl of Balcarres, Lady Margaret Lindsay, and stood twice for Parliament as member for Colchester, but was defeated, according to one Lord, because "he had a damned Scotch Presbyterian face, which so prejudiced the voting mobility against him, that he durst no more show himself."<sup>23</sup> His speculations suffered through extravagance and recklessness and the ensuing crash and bankruptcy of Fordyce and Company caused an immediate sensation on 8 June 1772 and ruined firms and individuals, including friends and relatives of Fordyce, in London and Scotland, notably Heron and Company, the "Ayr" Bank. He had become Lord Rector of Marischal College shortly before the crash. An anecdote is told of the Quaker who, when asked to be a creditor, declared: "Friend Fordyce, I have known many men ruined by two dice, but I will not be ruined by Fourdyce."<sup>24</sup> The economic implications of the fall are well documented.<sup>25</sup> Newspaper coverage is summarised by Lord Tweedsmuir and interesting domestic reactions are included in Henrietta Fordyce's Memoirs.<sup>26</sup>

The nephew, George Fordyce (1736-1802), was apprenticed to his uncle at Uppingham in 1751, for four years, and in 1758 completed his M.D. at Edinburgh under William Cullen, then studying at Leyden and later in 1759, moving to London where he subsequently became a distinguished teacher and lecturer, F.R.S. in 1776 and F.R.C.Ph.<sup>27</sup> His eagerness for success in the metropolis is shown in a letter to Cullen at Edinburgh of

9 August 1760: "my uncles have treated me all along in such an haughty overbearing manner and with so much ill temper."<sup>28</sup> Will told him to spend fifteen or sixteen years in the country, then to come to town, or if he married a lady of fortune he may come sooner.<sup>29</sup> An offer of £200 a year at Chichester prompted George Fordyce to say that he could starve anywhere. He is considered (in his uncles' eyes) a disgrace to the family. He followed Akenside at St. Thomas's Hospital, lectured on medical science for three hours each morning, six days a week, for thirty years, with a lecturing style that was unrefined but effective. An inveterate frequenter of taverns and coffee houses, although reputedly a poor conversationalist, George Fordyce died of gout. One anecdote tells of his visit in a drunken state to a wealthy female patient and, muttering to himself, "Drunk, by God!" examined her. The following day Fordyce, thinking he had lost a lucrative patient, received a letter from the lady who "too well knew that he had discovered the unfortunate state in which she was when he had last visited her, and she entreated him to keep the matter secret and in consideration of the enclosed": the envelope contained a hundred pound note.<sup>30</sup>

James, William and George Fordyce contributed considerably to the literature of their subjects. James published sermons, addresses and poems. The poems are second rate, but his sermons achieved enormous popularity, his Sermons to Young Women (1766) going through many editions and translations. Rev. Mr. Collins in Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice considers Fordyce's Sermons for the edification of Lydia Bennett (at the end of

chapter eleven). Women were, of course, the main expanding market for devotional and other literature in the eighteenth century and Fordyce's Sermons were favourite Sunday reading for young ladies recovering from the balls and other diversions of London, Bath and Tonbridge Wells. James Fordyce's Addresses to the Deity (1785) is most famous for its eulogy on Dr. Johnson. The bombastic epitaph on David Fordyce, however, (see Appendix 3) is scathingly introduced in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1796 as "A complete specimen of that redundancy of thoughts and words which are the truest characteristics of all the Doctor's compositions."<sup>31</sup> The sermons of James Fordyce are listed in his wife's Memoirs and in standard bibliographies, where an account of the publications of the medical Fordyces can also be found.<sup>32</sup>

The Fordyces are in many respects typical figures of the Scots eighteenth century Enlightenment: lads o' parts whose opportunities were created by native ability and traditional Scottish virtues, responding to increased prosperity and resulting in significant contributions to the fields of commerce, scholarship, philosophy, divinity, medicine, banking and education. Likewise Alexander Keith sees the Fordyces, over two generations, as "representing most picturesquely the characteristic versatility and ambition of the Aberdonian."<sup>33</sup>

The comparative isolation of Aberdeen and the North East lowlands caused the growth of a strong local culture which modern communications and developments have hardly eliminated. Until the advent of railways the region was largely cut off by



mountains, the Cairngorms and the Mounth, to the west and south, while the geographical position made the burgh well placed for the development of trading with a productive hinterland and ready access to continental ports. For centuries before the Union of 1707 Aberdeen boats had sailed more across the North Sea to Germany, Holland and the Baltic countries than to the Forth or England, creating a cosmopolitan outlook, with a steady exodus of merchants, soldiers and students going abroad and communities of exiles facilitating trade in certain North European ports.<sup>34</sup>

In the early eighteenth century Edinburgh was five or six days away by coach or horse, over rough tracks, so that most travellers used the sea route or travelled through Fife, taking ferries at the Forth and Tay. Wade's roads, built between 1725 and 1737 for strategic purposes, hardly affected Aberdeen. Around 1777 the first regular coach service to Edinburgh was established, claiming to do the trip in three days in a vehicle called the "Fly".

Histories of Aberdeen are thin on the first half of the eighteenth century, since the most striking period of expansion began later with industrialisation. The only item of civic history, apart from the Jacobite rebellions, which is well documented is the notorious kidnapping of Peter Williamson, which is irrelevant to the present study. The town did not grow substantially in the two hundred years prior to 1750, when it was still largely the medieval town around the Castle Hill to the east, Gallow Hill to the north and St. Katherine's Hill to the west, the chief streets being the Gallowgate,

Broadgate and the Castlegate. Most of the town was clustered around the Castlegate and Gallowgate, with a substantial area taken up by the Trinity and St. Nicholas churchyards and some gardens and hilltops. The valley of the Denburn, later the course of the railway running beneath Union Bridge, and the Loch (later drained) were natural boundaries to the west and north west, the Dee to the south, while the harbour and sea lay to the east. (St. Katherine's Hill was later removed and Union Terrace built.) The first published map of Aberdeen, by James Gordon in 1661, with a verbal description of the burgh, does not differ much from the plan of G. and W. Paterson of 1746.<sup>35</sup> Gordon claims the buildings are of stone and lime, slated, of at least three or four storeys, the houses clean, beautiful and neat, with galleries of timber ("forestairs") on to streets paved with flintstone. More recent historians, however, are wary in accepting Gordon's account. Defoe, who visited the town during the reign of William III, says that most of the houses are of stone.<sup>36</sup> In the eighteenth century there must still have been some houses constructed in the medieval manner with wood and heather thatching. Edicts prohibited thatching in 1716 and wooden houses in 1731, following a bad fire in the Gallowgate, and again in 1744 a civic edict banned wooden houses as fire hazards. The granite, however, for which Aberdeen was to become famous was increasingly used in the eighteenth century and an important export trade established, London streets being paved with granite by 1764. Sanitation at this time within

and without the buildings was very poor, but probably no better or worse than in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Aberdeen's population in 1707 was around 8,000 (around 6,000 according to Kennedy). The figure for 1755 by Rev. Dr. Webster of Edinburgh, the pioneering census-maker, was 10,488, that of Aberdeenshire 116,168 and of Scotland 1,265,380.

Civic and commercial life grew with the rights and privileges of being a royal burgh. Burghers or burgesses, who included country gentlemen like George Fordyce, monopolised trade in the district and magistrates supervised commercial affairs including the thriving markets and fairs. The Town Council was chosen from the merchant burgesses who formed a powerful Merchant Guild and from this body Magistrates were largely drawn, with some representatives of skilled craftsmen of the Incorporated Trades. According to Francis Douglas, writing in 1783, the town was governed by a Provost, four Baillies (probably one for each quarter of the town), a Dean of Guild, a Treasurer, ten merchant and ten trades councillors, elected annually.

Woollens of different sorts (plaidings, fingrams, serges, stockings) were the chief produce of the area in the earlier part of the century. This is bound to have been the main business of George Fordyce, although he (and his sons, presumably,) is known also to have supplied tobacco to taverns and public houses between 1717 and 1740.<sup>37</sup> The woollen trade prospered even at the beginning of the century, through continental markets, when there was poverty and starvation elsewhere in Scotland, as consequences of the protracted



religious and political struggles, poor harvests and the failed Darien scheme, until the benefits of the Union were gradually felt. The Union of 1707 was favourably received in Aberdeen as merchants saw the advantages of access to English markets and the colonies. Aberdeen, however, maintained direct connections with Scandinavia, Russia, the Low Countries, France Spain and Portugal; the stocking trade with Germany and Holland was still her largest area of export. In the seventeenth century the manufacture had been chiefly of "fingrams" (woollen cloth, spun from combed wool on small wheels) for export and serges for local use, but gradually the famous, lucrative hosiery trade took over in Aberdeenshire and Kincardine until about the mid eighteenth century and contributed about £100,000 to the county annually. The comment of Clerk of Penicuik in Observations upon the Present Circumstances of Scotland (1730) that the Aberdeen stocking trade was declining does not appear to be particularly accurate: it prospered generally until the impact of the French Revolutionary wars and the technological changes of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>38</sup> Weaving had been important in Aberdeen from medieval times and had been invigorated by the settlement of Flemish weavers in the seventeenth century and firmly established by the 1670s, but the producers (rich and poor in town and country) were obliged to use the merchants as middle men, who (like George Fordyce) frequently bought or took a lease on estates, financed improvements on the land, like the growing of wool and later flax for the

textile trade, and capitalised on Continental contacts. The merchants of Aberdeen imported lots of wool from the Lowlands and north of England, distributed them to the spinners and knitters throughout the county to supplement local supplies of wool and to permit finer work. The hose was brought to Aberdeen weekly by the workers or peddlers or sold to merchants at country fairs. By 1771 twenty-two mercantile houses were engaged in this trade.

Obtaining a "tack", like that of the Eggie lands, was not financially difficult and it could operate for the duration of a life and those of one or two named persons afterwards. Payments were not usually in terms of farm produce: most farming was of a subsistence nature until the work of the great improvers like Grant of Monymusk later in the century, but rather from the proceeds of the manufacture of the homespun cloths and knitted stockings for export by the subtenants and crofters in parishes like Belhelvie, which had a population of 1,471 in 1755, according to Sinclair.

The first large scale manufacture of linen, not cottage based, took place in 1749 at Broadford, still outside the town, and in the second half of the century considerable commercial expansion was achieved with the erection of various mills so that the handcraft industry was gradually superseded. The Industrial Revolution, however, only gradually altered the settled entrepreneurial role of the town, mainly because of the absence of coal and iron whose development was to scar the Scottish central lowlands.

It is clear that the attenuated education of David Fordyce, several of his brothers, and other like them, could only take place because of the background of commercial success in family and community.

The Jacobite rebellions did not curb Aberdeen's steady commercial advancement. The Episcopal leanings of the North East, together with geographical isolation, had permitted relative peace between the Restoration and Revolution of 1689. Jacobites occupied the town during the Fifteen and Forty-five, but, despite support from civic and academic leaders and landowners, the population as a whole welcomed their defeat and supported Cumberland in 1745. The Jacobite Town Council was ejected after the Fifteen and one with Hanoverian sympathies installed. This must have facilitated the rise of George Fordyce, whose family, along with the Blackwells, had clear Hanoverian loyalties. A letter to Doddridge from Elizabeth Fordyce, for example, indicates relief at being free of the threat of popery after the Forty-five (although David Fordyce tells her in a letter from Rome that he missed the honour of kissing the Pope's toe!)<sup>39</sup> James Fordyce, who took up his charge at Brechin in 1745, listed Jacobite suspects for the government.<sup>40</sup> Thomas Blackwell, the elder, was the only surviving professor at Marischal College after the Fifteen and his son describes Cumberland's movements in Aberdeen and shows his clear support in a letter to Clerk of Penicuik.<sup>41</sup>

In church and other affairs the North East was a great centre of Moderatism. The canniness of the Scot has most often been localised here. Episcopalianism and moderate Presbyterianism triumphed here during and after the politico-religious conflicts



of the seventeenth century, the famous clergymen-scholars of the Aberdeen Colleges at the time, the "Aberdeen Doctors", typifying the conservative response of the community to the strife associated with "enthusiasm".<sup>42</sup> Besides, political struggles hampered the serious business of trade. This tolerant outlook and capacity for dialogue was fostered also by the educational system and such traditional occasions for social contact as the markets and fairs. David Fordyce's reaction to the evangelical visit of George Whitfield, the Methodist, and his willingness, in Rome, to kiss the Pope's toe show his emancipation and toleration.<sup>43</sup> Other indications that the period was a relatively secure one are the licensing of the first "café" by the magistrates in 1700 and the institution of dancing schools in the 1720s, showing a demand for refinement reflected partly also in the schools. The appointment of a teacher of French and German in the town in 1702 and in 1719 no doubt was in keeping with its role in international trade but also shows a broadened conception of the curriculum.<sup>44</sup>

Of recent local historians Alexander Keith sums up the culture as "at once classical and tentatively speculative" while John R. Allan describes the people as "conservative, conscientious, practical and full of commonsense, patience and perseverance." Above all, of course, the Aberdonian is reckoned to typify the Scots characteristics of hard work and thrift. The latter feature is reflected in David Fordyce's correspondence when he reminds Doddridge in a postscript that "a penny saved is a penny gained." In the letter of 21 July 1740 Fordyce invites Doddridge to visit him in Essex and says in a postscript that

he has enclosed "the Money I owe you" (the remainder, in fact, of his November salary from Newport Pagnell) and tells Doddridge to use it to pay for the visit! In the letter to his mother from Rome he stresses how economic he is being and that "An English gentleman has offered to take me in his Chaise to Naples, which will save me Expense."<sup>45</sup>

Education at Aberdeen Grammar School in David Fordyce's time was fairly typical of Scottish Burgh Schools. Children convened at 7 a.m. for an arduous nine or ten hours a day, for five years (other Burgh schools varied between four and seven), and the class, in the tradition of Scots democracy, brought together laird's son and crofter's, taught by the same teacher until the final class taken by the headmaster.<sup>46</sup> The Town Council and Marischal College authorities had drawn up new regulations for the Grammar School in 1700. The child had to be nine years of age (from 1710 at least), unless of a "large capacity and engyne", and good at English and arithmetic; speaking of English was a punishable offence, since the ars grammatica was the staple curriculum in all classes, irrespective of age, ability or future employment and although Latin was no longer the lingua franca. The list of textbooks in 1710 includes many classical and Vulgar Latin authors, together with works of the grammarians. Rudiments of the Latin Tongue by Thomas Ruddiman, the Edinburgh scholar and publisher, although a Marischal College graduate, became the standard work

in 1714, although it in fact leant heavily upon its predecessors. Exercises comprised recitation, verse making and Latin writing, although a little French was taught, but no Greek (as in some burgh schools), a little music, but no geography, for instance, until 1834. The Catechism was the other important element in the curriculum, in keeping with the intentions of the First Book of Discipline to make moral and spiritual guidance go hand in hand with the gaining of knowledge and expertise. Discipline was probably as severe as in most burgh schools and all were subject to inspection and supervision by the Council, together with college and ecclesiastical authorities. Aberdeen, in fact, pioneered the transfer of power to the laity from the church. Although relations between universities and burgh schools were poor elsewhere in Scotland, special involvement of Marischal College professors is illustrated by Thomas Blackwell's lectures in the Grammar School which commenced in February 1749. Grammar School Latin teaching was consolidated in the first year at College, but at Aberdeen must nevertheless have been generally effective, it has been argued, since it was not until the 1830 Commission that separate studies in Humanity were established at the University.<sup>47</sup> It is also noteworthy that Aberdeenshire, prior to 1872, had a higher proportion of graduate teachers than the country in general, a basis, perhaps, of the value the North East has traditionally put upon education.<sup>48</sup>



A significant feature of educational method was the formal disputation, a relic of scholasticism (reflected also in the classic "flytings" of late medieval Scots writers) with scholars paired as antagonists "who may be as equal as can be for stirring up emulation," to encourage deductive thinking. The matter of whether the great Scots theoreticians and inventors of the eighteenth century were mainly deductive or inductive thinkers is in dispute, and will be touched on later.<sup>49</sup> The Aberdeen "Doctors" of the seventeenth century were famous for their syllogisms and the ancient habit of disputation on graduation day was followed by Aberdeen graduands in Arts, impugning and propugning a thesis, this medieval habit lasting in Marischal College until 1765, with many theses philosophicae being preserved, but, unfortunately, not those of David Fordyce's class in 1728. Thus Scots students developed the "scholastick itch of disputing all things", carried on also in the student debating societies and preparing them particularly for careers in the Church, with its presbyteries, synods and General Assembly (the recurrent heresies and schisms of the eighteenth century are significant also in this respect), and in the law with its Court of Session. Student capacity for dialogue in the Grammar School was encouraged also in public performances of plays and colloquies.<sup>50</sup>

David Fordyce's liking of the dialogue form should be seen, therefore, against a background of native tradition as well as the examples in classical, French and English Augustan literature and the practice of the contemporary philosophic clubs.

Marischal College, Aberdeen, was founded in 1595 by George, fifth Earl Marischal, on the lines of the great medieval universities of Europe, as was its pre-Reformation counterpart, King's College, a mile away in the Old Town, founded by Bishop William Elphinstone in 1494-5. Aberdonians have thus been able to boast of having for centuries two distinct degree-granting bodies while the whole of England had no more and Scotland, which in 1755 had a population of around 1.5 million, had five. After the Reformation the 'Aulton' of Aberdeen, clustered around the cathedral of St. Machar, since it lacked the commercial possibilities of the New Town, sank into obscurity, although King's College shared partially in the Enlightenment of the later eighteenth century. Marischal College was installed in the former Grey Friars monastery in the Gallowgate (now Broad Street), a dilapidated building by the early eighteenth century, but sporadic rebuilding took place, mainly by voluntary subscription, notably between 1737 and 1741, under William Adam, (best known as designer of Guy's Hospital) and father of Robert and John, the more famous architects and decorators.<sup>51</sup> A public hall, library, public school, divinity hall, observatory, natural philosophy apparatus room, class rooms and lodgings for three professors, who paid rents, were now available. Classes took place in the lower parts of the building while masters lodged above, with students in parts of the third and fourth storeys. Fordyce may well have been partly visualising these new buildings, which were largely completed during his period in England, when he described the ideal academy in Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>52</sup>

According to the charter Regents were required to eat and sleep in the college, as were students, and no wives or maidservants were admitted, but by the mid eighteenth century students boarded out in the town, either because of swelling numbers or being unable to afford the common table. Life was primitive and discipline strict: the students convened at 6 a.m.; fines, corporal punishment and expulsion were possible, the latter actually carried out by Thomas Blackwell, the younger; students were required to speak only in Latin or Greek in public conversation and wear the scarlet gown with long open sleeve and professors the black gown with Geneva sleeve. A Commission of 1717 demanded the wearing of the gown "constantly" that "thereby raging and vice may be discouraged."<sup>53</sup> The session began on 1 November and lasted till mid April or early May, all students preparing for the M.A. degree after four years, the only degree in the early part of the century, except for theology for graduates preparing for ordination to the Church of Scotland. Students graduated around age sixteen or seventeen and were generally a social mixture as could be found in parish and burgh schools.<sup>54</sup> The Principal of the College was concerned with administration, teaching Scripture and languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew, - although Thomas Blackwell the younger knew also at least some French, Spanish and Italian), but<sup>in</sup> the early part of the century, says Graham, was "expected to possess well nigh omniscience," while the Regents covered all the subjects except mathematics, medicine and divinity, taught by specialist professors. The Scots universities had originally intended



by their foundation charters to restrict professors to classes of subject and Marischal College professors were limited to particular branches for some years after the foundation in 1593 and probably till 1643, although it is not known precisely when the regent system took over.

In 1690 control of the universities passed to the Crown from the Church, although a Commission of the Scots Parliament demanded that professors subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith as well as the Oath of Allegiance. After the Union, State recognition of the universities is illustrated by the granting of the right to copies of all books registered at Stationers Hall, a right retained at Aberdeen until 1836, and a move which must have had a significant effect upon standards. David Fordyce, in a letter of 6 June 1743, tells Doddridge he is anxious to catch up on such books by Doddridge as have arrived in the College library.<sup>55</sup> The quality of education, however, in the early eighteenth century was poor, partly through the political and ecclesiastical troubles and partly, it has been said, because of a general torpor in the world of learning, true also of Oxford and Cambridge. It seemed that the invigorating power of the Renaissance and Reformation was spent, with a general withdrawal into scholasticism in curriculum and method. The Aberdeen professors in 1715 were largely pro-Stuart and paid the penalty for sympathy with the Jacobite rising: a Royal Commission to the Universities in 1717 removed all the professors in Marischal College except Thomas Blackwell, the

elder. The Chancellor, the tenth Earl Marischal, involved in the rising, forfeited his title in 1716 and the family of the founder ceased to be head of the college.<sup>56</sup> A period of peaceful development followed with relative freedom from Church and State and benefit from the increasing prosperity of Aberdeen New Town. Data on University history are thin, unfortunately, for the ensuing period, the period of David Fordyce's connection: Bulloch typically describes it as "intensely local" but with little documentation.

Salaries were low: the Principal received £60 a year and Regents less, though supplemented by fees. It is not surprising that even notable Scots professors resigned and gained employment as tutors to sons of noblemen. The private or travelling tutorship had a long and respectable tradition and was undertaken by Renaissance humanists and others, including Erasmus, Vives, Comenius, Fénelon, Hobbes and Locke, all of whose writings on education were probably familiar to Fordyce.<sup>57</sup> Colin MacLaurin, the mathematical genius and friend of Newton, became Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College in 1717, then travelling tutor to the sons of Lord Polwarth in 1722; he returned to Aberdeen for some months in 1725 but by the end of the year had accepted a better paid post at Edinburgh University, Newton having offered the Town Council to pay £20 a year of MacLaurin's salary, an offer refused, but the salary was settled at £50 per annum plus fees. George Turnbull (1698-1749), graduate of Edinburgh in 1721, gave up the responsibilities of teaching the range of the curriculum on a low salary, became a travelling tutor, "turned chaplain and parson", says David

Fordyce (who did the same), finally entering the English Church and writing a number of books, until recently consigned to obscurity. Eight unpublished letters to Charles Mackie, Professor of History at Edinburgh, reveal his alarm at his impecuniousness, the willingness to be a travelling tutor as long as it pays and his sounding out of Mackie about the possibility of an appointment at Edinburgh University, his preference being for a professorship in law.<sup>58</sup> In fact after six years abroad Turnbull wrote "books in excess of demand" in London, took orders in the Irish branch of the Anglican Church and died at The Hague in 1749 in search of health.<sup>59</sup> Turnbull does not appear to have taught Fordyce (although he taught, among others, Thomas Reid, two of Blackwell's brothers, James Barclay, the educationist, and John Stewart, future professor of mathematics), but probably influenced Fordyce nevertheless. Others saw the college post as a stepping stone to the church, still generally considered a higher rank and certainly better paid. This may be the implication of David Fordyce's remarks to Doddridge in the letter describing his appointment at Marischal College, where he talks of "my little preferment" - probably not a statement of mere modesty.<sup>60</sup> It must be remembered, however, that the diversion of figures originally destined for the church into other fields, through the expansion of knowledge and commercial possibility, is a characteristic feature of the eighteenth century and the Scottish Enlightenment, and true of a number of Fordyce's colleagues and acquaintances.<sup>61</sup>



The colleges of Aberdeen were badly affected by inflation in the 1730s and 1740s. Blackwell pleads with the Duke of Roxburghe and with Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baron of the Exchequer, in several letters, for aid over college finances, in the years 1730, 1732, 1733, 1742 and 1745.<sup>62</sup> On 1 April 1730, for example, Blackwell asked Clerk's influence regarding finance needed particularly to develop the experimental philosophy class; otherwise they would face ruin. A previous unsuccessful approach to the gentry had been made in 1726. Discussion of the possible union of King's and Marischal Colleges in 1747, abandoned through disagreements about a possible site, was certainly an economic measure and so also, it has been argued, were the curricular reforms of 1753.<sup>63</sup> William Knight's Collections on Marischal College gives insights into the financial condition of the college from the time of the 1717 Visitation.<sup>64</sup> Notable debts are registered, for example, for 1717 and 1730, when funds were at "a very low ebb." On 26 July 1727 a request was made to Thomas Blackwell then in London to petition the Queen and Prince of Wales for an increase in salaries.<sup>65</sup> It seems likely also that the extensive award of honorary degrees to Englishmen during the eighteenth century, which the prestige of the Scottish universities permitted, was mainly as a source of income. The matter is referred to in rather a calculating tone by David Fordyce in a letter to George Benson.<sup>66</sup>

Thomas Blackwell, the elder (1660-1728), the only surviving professor at Marischal College after the purge of 1717, a graduate of Glasgow University, had ministered at Paisley Abbey and then at Aberdeen, St. Nicholas, from 1700, gaining the

divinity chair in 1717 and was Principal till his death in 1728.<sup>67</sup> Replacements for the four Jacobite members of faculty dismissed in 1717 were David Verner, John Anderson, George Cruden and Patrick Hardie. Anderson was followed by George Turnbull, who was followed by William Duff (later antagonist of Blackwell, the younger) between 1727 and 1738, followed by Alexander Innes, 1739-42, who was followed by David Fordyce.<sup>68</sup> Young blood was appointed to professorships, including Colin MacLaurin (1696-1746) in mathematics, foremost British mathematician and friend and companion of Newton, replaced on 4 September 1727, when he removed to Edinburgh, by the less able John Stewart, nicknamed John "Triangles", professor until 1766, translator of Newton and teacher and later colleague of David Fordyce. Daniel Gordon, formerly a student of theology at St. Andrews, David Fordyce's philosophy professor, was appointed on 15 October 1724 and died in 1729. James Chalmers, Fordyce's professor of divinity, was much loved but not erudite, according to Ramsay. John Osborn, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, followed Thomas Blackwell, the elder, as Principal on 8 June 1728, until his death in 1748.<sup>69</sup> Colin MacLaurin, George Turnbull and Thomas Blackwell, the younger, are considered by A.C. Fraser to have been the leaders of the new philosophy in the college at this time.<sup>70</sup>

The leading figure and restorer of standards in the college of the period, however, is generally acknowledged to be Thomas Blackwell, the younger (1701-57), eldest son of Rev. Thomas Blackwell, educated at Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College.<sup>71</sup> He was appointed Professor of Greek in



December 1723 and Principal from 1748 until his death. He elevated Greek studies and was probably mainly responsible for the curricular reforms and abolition of regenting in 1753. As Principal, he tightened discipline, expelling some uncooperative students and was energetic and generally benevolent, though, by all accounts, arrogant and affected.<sup>72</sup> Douglas probably understates when he declares in his travelogue of 1782 that Blackwell had "a few foibles".<sup>73</sup> He usually dressed formally in the manner of Queen Anne's reign. Ramsay describes his pedantry at length: his writings had as much ornament as his conversation and appearance.<sup>74</sup> He married Barbara ("Baby") Black, daughter of Agnes Fordyce (daughter of Provost George by his first marriage) and James Black, Aberdeen merchant and Dean of Guild, but had no children. That he should have become principal when not an ordained minister illustrates the greater emancipation of the mid century, although three laymen principals had been appointed in the seventeenth century, according to Knight.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, Blackwell's appointment came as a surprise to David Fordyce and others.<sup>76</sup> His religious opinions were considered to be heretical, his nickname being ratio profana, satirically modelled on his father's theological work Ratio Sacra (1710).<sup>77</sup> A letter to his uncle, Dr. Johnstoun, Professor of Medicine at Glasgow, about his marriage illustrates Blackwell's pomposity well.<sup>78</sup> It is his erudition, however, that is obvious in the correspondence with Clerk of Penicuik.<sup>79</sup> The correspondence, 48 letters by Blackwell and 5 by Clerk, his fellow antiquarian and classical scholar, concerns mainly Greek and Roman literature, Blackwell's publications and a considerable array of other writings, recent publications and general literary gossip, together with college and civic affairs.



Blackwell's literary affectation derives partly from his extravagant admiration for the writings of Lord Shaftesbury and adoration of the other contemporary English verse and prose classics he considered sequels to those of Greece and Rome. In a letter to Clerk of 5 February 1731 Blackwell says:

I confess I have a prejudice in favour of my Lord Shaftesbury. He fell into my Hands when I was very young and put Literature and all sorts of Knowledge in such a Light to me as I think I ought almost out of Gratitude be blind to his Faults or, as my Friends', have a great Inclination to excuse them (SR0 Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/9.)<sup>80</sup>

Commentators agree that Blackwell spread the taste for polite letters in the North East, but, according to Ramsay, some of his followers, particularly David Fordyce, were more gifted.<sup>81</sup> Ramsay says Blackwell was not particularly popular among his colleagues who disliked his affectation and "Bentleyan . . . arrogance", yet of his students "some of them . . . continued as long as they lived to believe that he had fed them with hidden manna".<sup>82</sup> David Fordyce, however, condemned Blackwell's

Letters concerning Mythology in a letter to George Benson:

"I cannot help thinking there is too much Learning thrown away on so trite and stale a Subject and which after all is rather curious than useful."<sup>83</sup> Joseph Beattie, also, considered

one of Blackwell's best students, criticised the Life of Homer<sup>84</sup>.

Yet Blackwell was among the first of the Scots eighteenth century literati to get into print in London with some success. His

Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer was published

anonymously in 1735, sold 1500 copies in four months and achieved a second edition in 1736.<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Cockburn in a letter of 28

August 1735 talks of its "great vogue in London" and that

"the Queen was pleased with it."<sup>86</sup> Letters concerning Mythology appeared in 1748, with parts of the seventh and eighth letters by an anonymous dead scholar. Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, 3 volumes (1755-63) and the other works, which made considerable impact at the time, are not entirely forgotten: a thorough assessment, particularly of the work on Homer, by an Italian critic appeared in 1959.<sup>87</sup> Dr. Johnson gave the Memoirs mixed praise, recognising it "to be the work of a man of letters: that it is full of events displayed with an accuracy, and related with vivacity" but revealing something of the author's vanity.<sup>88</sup> Besides, Johnson objected to unthinking admiration of the Augustan period when, he considered, Roman society had become corrupt.<sup>89</sup> The Memoirs was in fact Blackwell's first literary effort intended for publication, written in 1729, but when in London to promote it in 1732 he feared it was "too great a risk in reputation and expense" and had his treatise on Homer published instead, although it too was delayed "through the greed of the Bookseller."<sup>90</sup>

Recent critics, however, see Blackwell as the influential figure among the Scots thinkers, including James Burnet (Lord Monboddo), Joseph Beattie, George Campbell, William Duff, James Gregory and James MacPherson, all students or colleagues and early anthropologists, contributing to the debate on primitive and modern civilisation.<sup>91</sup> Blackwell's study of Homer, particularly, has been considered a main early eighteenth century text in the relation of literary genius to environment, although a historical dimension had partly been introduced into the study of literature and its background by the Ancients and Moderns controversy. The interest in primitivism probably partly prompted the correspondence between Blackwell and



Montesquieu. In a letter of 15 August 1751 Blackwell enthuses about Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes (1721) and dedicates his own Memoirs to Montesquieu, whose L'Esprit de Lois and Lettres Persanes had recently been published in Scotland, and who writes to Blackwell in commendation of the latter's proposed edition of Plato (which did not transpire).<sup>92</sup>

Blackwell was closely connected with George Berkeley, the philosopher, in the mid 1720s, when the latter asked him to join the missionary enterprise in the Bermudas, as a professor in the College Berkeley was to establish there. Blackwell was to leave with the group from Gravesend in September 1728 but felt unwilling to make the sacrifice; nevertheless Blackwell's admiration for Berkeley is clear from the Memoirs.<sup>93</sup>

Blackwell died of consumption at Edinburgh on 6 March 1757, on his way to the Continent to recover and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard. The Aberdeen Journal obituary by Alexander Gerard praises his capacity to inspire and his sense of taste, and a memorial is contained in the Back Wynd Wall of St. Nicholas Churchyard in Aberdeen.<sup>94</sup>

Two affairs involving Blackwell are the only personal records of college life of this period. In November 1731 colleagues conspired, with two local clergymen and magistrates to depose him, with an attempt to break up his class by Dr. Mackail, Professor of Medicine, the excuse being that he read heathen authors, and an appeal was made by his opponents to the Lord Advocate. Blackwell wrote to Clerk: "I am growing ill natured and am just upon the point of abandoning My L<sup>d</sup>. Shaftesbury's Schemes [i.e. his ethics of benevolence]." <sup>95</sup> Later Blackwell writes that the Faculty has admitted that



there is no truth in the scandal surrounding his name, that it was perpetrated by "an unhappy Foreigner", who had been ten or twelve years in the town, Schroeter, a German teacher of French and music, organist to the chapel, a hard drinker who resorted with a gang of boys. Blackwell was supposed to have fathered the illegitimate child of a Mrs. Hay, but his name was cleared and Schroeter "starved into a little sense."<sup>96</sup>

In 1734 Blackwell was involved in a lawsuit with William Duff, who replaced Turnbull as regent between 1727 and 1739, (not the William Duff who wrote some early anthropology). Duff apparently assaulted Blackwell, who calls him "a strange unhappy man" and quarrelsome.<sup>97</sup> Duff was charged with neglect of duty and quarrelling in February 1736 and in January 1738 was expelled from the College and went to London, where The Case of William Duff, Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal University of Aberdeen: showing the Barbarous Treatment of an Honest Family was published in 1739.

In 1735 Blackwell applied for the post of Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh, vacated by John Ker on 2 October 1734. In a letter Blackwell asks Clerk for details of the post (and probably by implication for patronage), which he obviously did not get.<sup>98</sup> Blackwell may have been keen to get away from unpleasantness in the college or gain the more lucrative fees or simply a culturally superior environment. The recovery of lost manuscripts referred to in Knight's Collections on Marischal College would probably help to evaluate this intriguing, controversial and important figure, probably one of the most underestimated in the Scots Enlightenment.<sup>99</sup> He probably by his own initiative made contact with leading figures,

including magnates, men of letters and church men, for example, Clerk, Berkeley, Doddridge, Warburton, Birch, Rundle, Sykes, Foster and Montesquieu, and helped to launch a variety of contributors to the literature of the Enlightenment, including David Fordyce, most of the subsequent members of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and others.

Glasgow, at the time of David Fordyce's first visit in 1735, was "a neat little burgh laid out in the form of a cross", stretching, at the most, somewhat over a mile north to south and three quarters of a mile from west to east, with the main part clustered within a few hundred yards of the Mercat Cross.<sup>100</sup> The eulogies of foreign visitors are striking when one considers the squalor produced by hasty industrialisation a century or more later. Daniel Defoe's description published in 1727 (although he had made a number of trips to Glasgow in connection with the Union) is famous: "'tis the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted", while Edward Burt, "agent" with General Wade in Scotland between 1724 and 1728 (writing in 1725-6), calls Glasgow "the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw". McUre, in the first history of Glasgow, published in 1736, gives an idyllic picture:

The city is surrounded with cornfields, kitchen and flower gardens, and beautiful orchards, abounding with fruits of all sorts, which by reason of the open and large streets, send forth a pleasant and odoriferous smell.

These accounts clearly ignore the dreadful insanitation, but the problem was common to all principal towns and cities in Europe.

The population of Glasgow in 1708 was reckoned to be 12,766 and 17,043 in 1740. There was no real industry in the town prior to the Union, the benefits of which took place slowly: the linen trade was expanding in the 1730s and the tobacco trade in the 1740s, but the trade with the American colonies and the West Indies which produced enormous prosperity later in the century was still in its infancy. Most of the shops were in the High Street and Trongate within colonnades. While folk of different social levels lived and mixed on the "common stair" or gathered at the Cross or in taverns, merchants and professional people customarily did business in "change houses", clubs, taverns and coffee houses, generally dining at home in the evening and then resorting to a club or tavern.

Up High Street were the grey buildings of the College and its quadrangles where seven new chairs had been created between 1707 and 1727, breaking with the tradition of appointing mainly local parish clergymen to professorships. Gershom Carmichael, first Professor of Moral Philosophy and teacher of Francis Hutcheson, is claimed by some to be more typical of the transition from the old thought to the new, than his pupil, while John Simson (1688-1740), appointed Professor of Divinity in 1714, achieved notoriety in facing two charges of heresy, that of Arminianism in 1714-17, which he successfully rebutted, and that of Arianism in 1726-29, as a consequence of which he was suspended from teaching and ministerial functions in 1729, although he drew a salary until his death. Dr. Johnstoun, uncle of Thomas Blackwell and Professor of Medicine from 1714, was considered a free thinker and heathen according to Ramsay and very lazy according to Wodrow. He may be the figure satirised



in the figure of Crab in Roderick Random by Tobias Smollett, Johnstoun's assistant in 1736.<sup>101</sup> Thomas Blackwell, who must have introduced David Fordyce to Glasgow circles, had other connections at Glasgow. His father was a graduate and, in an undated letter to Clerk (probably of early 1730), Blackwell says that his brother George (M.A., Marischal College, 1726) was to be "the next Royal Burgess in the College of Glasgow" and in 1732, through Clerk's help, was "settled in a new erection in the Gorbals of Glasgow" (presumably a ministerial charge - he was later Minister at Bathgate). Clerk also helped the brother Charles Blackwell with regard to a bursary at the College. According to Matriculation Albums, George graduated in 1733 (presumably in divinity) and Charles in 1733.<sup>102</sup>

Robert Simson (1687-1768), Professor of Mathematics, famous geometrician and clubman, held symposia at an inn in the neighbouring village of Anderston, but Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), who succeeded Carmichael in 1729, was probably the most influential figure, the father of the Scots Enlightenment, popularising ethics with a minimum of revelation, especially the concept of benevolence (modifying that of Shaftesbury), which became a keynote for the Moderate clergy; many of Hutcheson's students, it seems, admired Shaftesbury more extravagantly than Hutcheson, whose orthodoxy was never questioned. His appointment when the reforms of the 1727 Commission, including the abolition of regenting, were beginning to take effect, coincided with the start of a brilliant period, with curriculum and method dramatically affected by Hutcheson's habit of lecturing in English. His public lectures on Sunday evenings were popular and influential, among both town and gown.

Fordyce's correspondent William Craig (1709-84), was son of a Glasgow merchant. He received his M.A. on 29 January 1736, and was appointed library keeper to the university on the same date (although licensed for the ministry on 2 January 1734, according to Hew Scott's Fasti).<sup>103</sup> He was concerned in the building of a new library that same year, but on 4 February 1737 he resigned and took up his first charge at Cambusnethan in April, later returning to Glasgow charges at the Wynd and St. Andrew's.<sup>104</sup> In 1742 he tried for the post of divinity professor (held briefly by Michael Potter, following Simson's death) contested also by John MacLaurin (brother of Colin) and William Leechman, who gained the post by the casting vote of the Lord Rector. Craig gained a reputation for manners, was known as 'the George Wishart of Glasgow' (Wishart, the leading Moderate preacher, was Fordyce's partner at the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, from 1741-2), was Dean of Faculties in Glasgow University from 1748 to 1751 and was given a D.D. in 1764. His published sermons, Twenty Discourse on Various Subjects, 3 volumes (1761), and An Essay on the Life of Jesus Christ (1767), the latter allegedly Socinian in emphasis, typify the Moderate outlook in their concern with refined morality and elegant expression. In the latter, for example, he sees Christ's purpose as "to plant the principles of virtue, and religious wisdom in the hearts of men" (page 5), while the longest chapter elaborates on social ethics rather than redemptive act.<sup>105</sup> Craig, incidentally, was father of Lord Craig, the Court of Session judge, and uncle of Mrs. McLehose, the Clarinda of Burns.

Wodrow notes the existence of several student debating societies in the 1720s: the Triumpherian or Trinampherian, Eleutherian and AntiCappadocian.<sup>106</sup> The first of these was later called the Sophocardian Club as a tribute to William Wishart (the title translates his name into Greek), minister of Glasgow Tron Kirk in 1724 and one of Hutcheson's electors, brother of George, and later Principal of Edinburgh University, like his father of the same name. George Wishart attended the meetings and gave a paper and it is likely that Hutcheson did too.<sup>107</sup> Details of two student clubs of which non students, gentlemen, merchants and ministers were admitted are given in the autobiography of Jupiter Carlyle who commenced divinity lectures at Glasgow in 1743.<sup>108</sup> The best known eighteenth century Glasgow clubs, however, are that of Robert Simson held on Sundays in the Anderston taven and Cochrane's Club, established in 1752, but growing out of an earlier society in the 1740s and whose proceedings directly influenced The Wealth of Nations of Adam Smith (appointed professor in 1751) who was a member. Smith began as a student at Glasgow in 1737, but the standard work on him in this connection contains very little on Glasgow University at this time.<sup>109</sup>

It was probably in Glasgow, therefore, that David Fordyce, having completed his formal education, got his first major opportunity to flex his intellectual muscles and encounter literary and philosophical societies: thus his complaint to Craig that he has no one at Aberdeen "with whom I can enter into the Depths of Philosophy".<sup>110</sup>



David Fordyce lived, worked and mixed in intellectual circles in Edinburgh from the summer of 1741 until he became regent at Marischal College in September 1742, although he must surely have visited Edinburgh before, at least in the company of Blackwell in 1735.<sup>111</sup> His employment as assistant minister at the Tron Kirk, a joint charge held by George Wishart - called there in 1731--and the infirm Matthew Wood (1676-1741), minister there since 1715, who died in October 1741, gave opportunities to meet the best people in the congregation and elsewhere.<sup>112</sup> The centrally situated Tron Church was commonly used to give preaching experience and public notice to young preachers.<sup>113</sup> Rev. George Wishart (1712-1795), D.D., was a foremost preacher, influenced by the English divines and termed the "Addison of Scottish preachers" yet "perfectly intelligible to every hearer of common sense", according to Ramsay. He had a reputation for saintliness, untouched by a charge brought against him in the General Assembly.<sup>114</sup> The Tron Kirk, named after the beam used for publicly weighing merchandise, founded in 1637 and dedicated in 1641, at the junction of the High Street and what is now South Bridge, (losing its east, west and south transepts between 1785 and 1789 to make way for the bridge and Hunter Square), in 1740, says Ramsay, was as popular a gathering place for the genteel as the Playhouse. When Defoe visited the Tron he observed that fashionable people customarily noted each other's presence after the sermon. Records of seatholders exist for the period 1744 to 1842 and include the Duchess of Montrose, Lords Hailes, Monboddo and Braxfield, Adam Ferguson and James Boswell.<sup>115</sup> Wishart's brother, William, the younger (d. 1753), D.D., was

Principal of the University from 1737 until his death.

Fordyce is likely also to have met the Edinburgh elite as a result of Blackwell's letter of introduction to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755), Baron of the Exchequer for over forty years and man of letters.<sup>116</sup>

Fordyce was friendly also with Rev. Patrick Cuming (1695-1776), Professor of Church History at Edinburgh from 1737 to 1762. He mentions Cuming in the letter to Doddridge of 13 April 1739 and possibly alludes to him in the letter to Craig of 23 December 1735.<sup>117</sup> Ramsay defines Cuming as traditional in theology but modern in style, his sermons having the fluency and pathos for which Moderates were to become famous, steering a middle way between lukewarmness and "enthusiasm".<sup>118</sup> He impressed the Earl of Islay, the Scottish minister, later Third Duke of Argyll (from 1743), so that, as leader of the General Assembly, Cuming was much consulted, particularly on matters of patronage and was recognised leader of the Moderates, as opposed to the Popular party, until Principal Robertson's reign from 1763. Cuming was famous also as a conversationalist. Some commentators, however, are more critical: Graham dismisses Cuming as the "courtly, plausible and pliant, henchman of Lord Islay" while Jupiter Carlyle also considered him a conniver. Cuming's influence in ecclesiastical matters, however, declined after the eclipse of Islay with Walpole's fall and the change of government in February 1742.

Edinburgh at this time was still the largely medieval town cramped onto the ridge running from the Castle in the west to Holyrood in the east, encircled by walls and suffering from



poor sanitation and the congestion of over-population. Its setting hindered expansion: the Burgh Loch lay to the south and the Nor' Loch on the site of the present Gardens and Waverley Station. Buildings thus went continually upwards, along the mile long High Street and Canongate and the lower parallel Cowgate, some to ten or twelve storeys with steep narrow staircases and innumerable wynds and closes diverging from the main thoroughfare. In this human rabbit warren all classes mixed inevitably on the common stair: the poor in the cellars, the middle classes and aristocracy on the middle floors and artisans and merchants above. In 1722 the population was around 40,000 and in 1755 57,000 (the combined parishes of Canongate and St. Cuthbert's being 47,570), a desperate situation until the New Town was conceived across the Nor' Loch in the 1760s. Life in the streets, however, was, says Graham, "homely, frank and convivial" if insanitary and the taverns played a leading role in business, leisure and informal education. There is little of special civic importance documented for the time of Fordyce's stay. Arnot mentions the severe weather of early in 1740 (described also in Carlyle's autobiography), when the Forth was frozen above Alloa, with ice at the Queen's ferry and general hardship, but notes nothing else until the Jacobite rebellion.<sup>119</sup>

The Capital was the centre of politics, justice and culture (Glasgow by comparison was provincial), but after the Union Edinburgh still had little of the elegance of the "Athens of the North" that the New Town was to become. In the first decade after the Union, however, the club life, now as well documented as the London coffee houses, began to be formed in the howffs of the High Street, while the Society for the Reformation of



Manners had already been established in 1700. The clubs of the literati, it has been argued, became the significant fourth institution, after Scots law, education and kirk preserved in the Act of Union, which gave a cultural focus after the dissolution of parliament. Members of the Easy Club reflected the new appetite for English books and periodicals by naming themselves after Addison and others (although later they switched to 'Gavin Douglas' etc., showing the schism in Scottish life and thought that was developing since the Union.) The Rankenian Society (meeting in Ranken's tavern from about 1716 onwards) was to be one of the most famous and typical of eighteenth century Scots literary clubs. The two Wisharts were members as was George Turnbull (an Edinburgh graduate), Colin MacLaurin, John Stevenson (Professor of Logic), Charles Mackie, (Professor of History), Archibald Murray of Murrayfield, Advocate and Rev. Robert Wallace.<sup>120</sup> By the mid 1720s the number had grown to nineteen. Meetings included literary conversation, discussion of new publications and the giving of papers followed by discussion, although little detail of their discussion is known. The society seems to have discussed at least Shaftesbury's Characteristicks, the rationalist metaphysics of Samuel Clarke who influenced Hutcheson, and Berkeley's Idealism. Ramsay sums up the intellectual climate thus:

It is well known that between 1723 and 1740, nothing was more requestwith the Edinburgh literati, clerical and laical than metaphysical disquisitions. These they regarded as more pleasant themes than either theological or political controversies, of which, by that time, people were surfeited. The writings of Locke and Clarke, of Butler and Berkeley, presented a wide and interesting field of inquiry.<sup>121</sup>

George Wishart was also a member of Ruddiman's Club (founded by Thomas Ruddiman, printer, grammarian and Marischal College graduate) and Fordyce may have been introduced to the distinguished company of any of these societies. Certainly he joined the company of the most distinguished student literary society. Older students traditionally indulged in taverns, playhouse and a variety of sport.

Edinburgh University had undergone reform under Principal Carstares, who had been in Holland during the Troubles. Regenting was abolished in 1708, the sequence of studies altered and courses diversified and expanded: Dutch influence was clear especially in medicine and law for which Scots students had gone to Holland for generations. Medical students did not necessarily proceed to graduation and often attended Arts classes also.

In August 1734 a small, informal society was formed in a tavern by six medical students including George Cleghorn and Alexander Russell, (after Russell had been offered a body for dissection), resulting in meetings to exchange dissertations on medical subjects once a fortnight.<sup>122</sup> In the summer of 1735 all left Edinburgh except Cleghorn who continued the society along with others and in 1737 there were ten students in the body, now formally constituted and later to be known as the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh and the oldest of eighteenth century societies still in existence in Scotland (not to be confused with the Medical Society which later became the Philosophical Society). Its first purpose was to give the students experience in preparing the type of discourse required for



graduation, but graduates could be members and "reason, philosophy and experiment" were to become the keynotes of weekly meetings in a tavern near the university, with a President each week and a different member giving a discourse.<sup>123</sup>

Mark Akenside (1721-70), the poet and physician, who came to Edinburgh in 1738 to study divinity but changed to medicine after one year, joined the society in December 1740 and his speeches are known to have impressed William Robertson, then a divinity student, later the leading Moderate and Principal of Edinburgh University.<sup>124</sup> Akenside, with whom Fordyce was closely associated and corresponded, went to Leyden to study medicine in 1741, published his The Pleasures of Imagination in 1744, which reflected, among other things, the debate between rationalism and empiricism, but henceforth his reputation in London rests more on medicine than literature. Dr. Johnson makes no reference to the Edinburgh society in Lives of the English Poets where he attacks Akensides's iconoclasm.

Also closely connected with Akenside in the group was John Roebuck (1718-94), who joined just before Akenside. Educated at Doddridge's academy, he became a medical student at Edinburgh in 1737 and graduated M.D. in 1743. Roebuck wrote to Doddridge on 5 March 1740 giving an account of the College and mentioning he has been introduced (through Doddridge) to Dr. Wishart and Colonel Gardiner, Christian convert, who died at Prestonpans and whose Life Doddridge wrote.<sup>125</sup> Roebuck tells Doddridge that the company in which he circulated was not interested in religion. Roebuck was attracted to chemistry under Joseph Cullen and James Black (later a close friend), was a great admirer of Bacon's experimentalism, and while still a student applied scientific method to industrial problems. In



1749 he managed the manufacture of oil of vitriol at Prestonpans, later founded the Carron Iron Works and partnered James Watt, becoming a major figure of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>126</sup> Roebuck was very friendly also with Robertson and David Hume.

Francis Hume (1719-83), who joined the group in 1740, became one of the most distinguished doctors. He became an army surgeon in 1742, serving in Flanders where he had the opportunity to study at Leyden. He was appointed first Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh in 1768 and gained a European reputation with his Principiae Medicinae.<sup>127</sup> It is clear from Fordyce's correspondence with Akenside and Doddridge that he was intimate with this group which welcomed visitors.<sup>128</sup> Others connected with the group and friends of Fordyce include William Richardson, from 1768 Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University, and probably James Russell, sometime surgeon, later Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. Russell was cousin to Joseph Black and shared residence as a student with his relative, Adam Ferguson, in College Wynd.<sup>129</sup> Also in the group was one of the famous Blairs, either Hugh (1718-1800), who graduated in 1739, later famous preacher and Professor of Belles Lettres at Edinburgh, or, more probably, his relative, John, doctor, protégé of Lord Bute, tutor to the Duke of York, and from 1761 prebendary at Westminster, who came to the university in 1740.<sup>130</sup> His expansion of Hugh Blair's notes produced The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the Year of Christ, 1753, published in 1754. Another was probably William Cleghorn (1718-54), who graduated M.A. in January 1739 and gained the chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh in 1745, also offered to Francis Hutcheson and refused to David Hume on account of his Jacobitism or apparent

atheism.<sup>131</sup> Cleghorn had taught the moral philosophy class for three years before becoming professor in June 1745. One scholar calls him a "nonentity", but it would be difficult to appear otherwise beside Hume.<sup>132</sup> Cleghorn is a participant in Ferguson's recently published Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt.<sup>133</sup> Alexander Carlyle describes exploits with Cleghorn in his autobiography and gives details of others in Fordyce's Edinburgh circle, including Francis Hume, MacLaurin, John Blair and Cuming.<sup>134</sup> The best known member of the Medical Society, however, is probably Oliver Goldsmith who joined in January 1753. The classic work on Scots eighteenth century literary societies, by Davis D. MacElroy, unfortunately has no information on this club for the period 1737 to 1745.

David Fordyce probably arrived in London in mid April 1738 and spent his time there and at Northampton before preaching with a view to taking up the pastorate at Newport Pagnell around 19 September.<sup>135</sup> He probably visited London again when he had the opportunity while at Newport Pagnell and when with the Hopkins family at Tooting and Ingateston, although he was frustrated when the family failed to go to town in the winter of 1739-40.<sup>136</sup> He was in London probably in March 1739 and certainly by 23 April and again by June 1741 (probably some time after finishing employment with the Hopkins family). He was in London again in May 1747(after the academic session), probably partly to prepare for publication of The Preceptor and the second volume of Dialogues concerning Education.

The metropolis at this time, with a population over half a million, reflected striking extremes of dignity and degradation which have been well documented and which defy generalisation: civility and art culture coexisted with crime, mobbing and brutal punishment. Filth, rubbish and insanitation affected even the minority of stylish paved streets and maintained mortality rates: in the first half of the century there was a regular excess of deaths over births, although the population continued to expand through immigration.

The pleasures for Fordyce, as with the young Samuel Johnson on his first visit to London a year before, would be partly those of the sightseer, observing the attractive buildings, churches, taverns, theatres, clubs, book shops, markets, pleasure gardens, broad thoroughfares and residential squares, but being the centre of politics, government, commerce, culture and the arts was London's chief source of fascination. Letters to Doddridge show Fordyce's interest in parliamentary dialogue, with an account of a speech by Walpole in 1738 and reference to one by the Duke of Argyll in 1747.<sup>137</sup> Details of debates might be picked up from talk, newspapers or periodicals in coffee houses but possibly direct from the public gallery since verbatim publication had recently been banned by Walpole. The role of the coffee house in the intellectual life of the period is one of the best known facts of literary history: from their beginning after the Restoration there were about 550 in 1739, the great majority in the City or within easy distance of the Strand. According to Misson, the late seventeenth century traveller:



Coffee-Houses which are very numerous in London, are extremely convenient. You have all manner of news there; you have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please; you have a Dish of Coffee; you meet your Friends for the transaction of Business, and all for a penny, if you don't care to spend more.<sup>138</sup>

Above all the coffee houses encouraged that liberalism, true especially of the emerging middle classes, over which Voltaire enthused during his visits in the 1720s. Scots exiles were later to gather particularly in the coffee house in Cockspur Street, although they did not form a closed circle: otherwise they would not have made the impact on London life that they did. Fordyce is bound to have visited the Grecian coffee house in Devereaux Court, made famous in The Tatler and The Spectator and still popular with Tom Birch's circle and later Mark Akenside.<sup>139</sup> The atmosphere of London clubs, taverns and coffee houses has been described as democratic and convivial, but Scotsmen noticed dissimilarities from the Scottish equivalent. Scots taverns and coffee houses might provide food, drink and social intercourse, but the literary clubs had no parallel in London: the Scottish concern with self improvement, with the language and form of debate as much as content, with general philosophic principles, brought together men of widely different occupations to discuss as wide a variety of topics, yet sure of their unity of interest and in an atmosphere of good humour and equality, without the rivalry of their English counterparts.<sup>140</sup>

Thomas Blackwell, who returned to Aberdeen in October 1735 after fifteen months in London, presumably gave Fordyce introductions to some of "the best people" in London.<sup>141</sup> Fordyce's

first acquaintance was probably with William Warburton and Tom Birch, then leading literary figures.<sup>142</sup> The irascible Rev. William Warburton (1696-1779) continually courted controversy, his principle publications by then being The Alliance of Church and State (1736) and The Divine Legation of Moses (1737-41), on the Bangorian and Deist controversies respectively.<sup>143</sup> Warburton's friendship with Blackwell seemed to include mutual admiration; Warburton tells Rev. Dr. Stukeley, in a letter of 11 January 1736, he intends passing on to Blackwell a copy of his latest pamphlet if he is in London, since Blackwell is mentioned in the book, and "I'll pay this tribute to real merit in literature" (referring to the latter's treatise on Homer).<sup>144</sup> Warburton defended Blackwell against criticism, including charges of atheism, in his work and a letter to Birch of 17 August 1737 expresses eagerness to see Blackwell if he is in London.<sup>145</sup> Yet Blackwell later appears to have revised his opinion of Warburton, since in his Letters concerning Mythology (1748) he calls him a "mere antiquary".

Rev. Thomas Birch (1705-66), historian and biographer, Fellow and later Secretary of the Royal Society, a D.D. of Marischal College in 1755, was an inexhaustible author and editor, with unlimited knowledge and acquaintances in the London literary scene. "He knew more small particulars than anybody" and, according to Johnson, "a stream of anecdotes like the Thames." Birch was chief adviser to Edward Cave, proprietor of the Gentleman's Magazine, but although "brisk as a bee in conversation.. no sooner does he take a pen in his hand than it becomes a torpedo to him and numbs all his faculties!"<sup>146</sup> Birch edited the works of Francis Bacon, published in 1740, and Fordyce, who was familiar with Bacon's ideas, would know Birch's edition well. Fordyce possibly attended Birch's Sunday evening gatherings at his house in Norfolk Street on the Strand.



Fordyce probably met other literary figures through Blackwell's acquaintance with Alexander Gordon, secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, which existed mainly to facilitate publication.<sup>147</sup> Alexander Blackwell, the Principal's brother, (M.A., Marischal College, 1926) who trained as a physician, went to London as a corrector and printer, set up his own business in May 1733, and assisted in the publication of his brother's Life of Homer but went bankrupt in 1734. On 30 June 1739, however, he was named as candidate to follow Gordon as secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, although his ultimate fate was execution in Stockholm on 9 August 1746 for political intrigue.<sup>148</sup>

Other friends Fordyce must have met included clergymen like James Foster (1697-1750), the eloquent, controversial, Deistic preacher (although he in fact upheld the Christian revelation against Matthew Tindal), who from 1728 gave popular Sunday evening lectures at the Old Jewry. He was popular with all ranks: "wits, free-thinkers, numbers of clergy; who, whilst they gratified their curiosity, had their professions shaken, and their prejudices loosened."<sup>149</sup> In a letter to Benson Fordyce notes the advertisement for Foster's Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue (1749-52) "in which I suppose we shall have all his common place Divinity."<sup>150</sup> Foster was a close friend of Roger Gale (1672-1744), the antiquary, who was a fellow student and intimate friend of Clerk of Penicuik and well known to Blackwell.<sup>151</sup> Other friends included Arthur Sykes (1684?-1756), the Latitudinarian divine, preacher at King Street Chapel, Westminster, where Dr. Samuel Clarke, the leading metaphysician, had been his friend and rector. Fordyce became a friend and correspondent of Sykes



although no letters appear to be extant.<sup>152</sup> Sykes and Foster were literary acquaintances also of Thomas Blackwell, as was Thomas Rundle (1688?-1743), Bishop of Derry from 1735.<sup>153</sup> The letters to George Benson also suggest that Fordyce mixed freely in dissenting circles, including Benson, Nathaniel Lardner, Jeremiah Hunt and others. Fordyce probably joined Benson's literary society, which met once a week in winter and included Hunt, Lardner and Benjamin Avery.<sup>154</sup>

When staying with the Hopkins family at Tooting, Fordyce spent "several agreeable hours" with Henry Miles (1698-1763), the dissenting minister and scientific writer, well known for his sociability, who was an assistant at Old Jewry, then minister at Tooting solely from 1744. Miles corresponded with Doddridge and assisted Birch in his edition of the works of Robert Boyle.<sup>155</sup>

The range of writers and thinkers with whom Fordyce was acquainted in London must have encouraged his desire to achieve publication and the dialectical method of dialogue when he finally did.

David Fordyce probably spent much of the summer of 1738 at Northampton as guest of Philip Doddridge, before preaching at Newport Pagnell for the vacancy around 20th September. Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), the leading nonconformist divine, was well known, indeed criticised, for his great hospitality and many hours must have been spent in friendly debate. The types of conversation are a matter of conjecture but may have been similar to those between Mark Akenside and Doddridge.

The former was referred to Doddridge by Fordyce and arrived at Northampton in June 1744, enjoyed "amicable debates" with Doddridge and, like the Fordyces, Doddridge's help in his career.<sup>156</sup> Akenside and Doddridge discussed the opinions of ancient philosophers on future states of rewards and punishments and immortality or the ancients versus the Christian revelation, such subjects being pursued for two or three evenings.<sup>157</sup> Typical subjects of conversations and inquiries in the company of Doddridge are known to have been mentioned frequently by John Roebuck, former pupil of Doddridge and a member of the Edinburgh Medical Society, in company later at Edinburgh.<sup>158</sup>

Northampton was the intellectual centre of a stable and prosperous county and Doddridge's academy, transferred from Market Harborough in 1729, met at first in a house in Marefair and later in larger premises in Sheep Street belonging to Doddridge's friend and patron, the Earl of Halifax.<sup>159</sup> The atmosphere of intellectual freedom and progressive attitudes to curriculum and methodology must have impressed Fordyce. Theological and general higher education of a high standard was provided, and the belles lettres encouraged, at this period of the decline of Oxford and Cambridge. Doddridge's enlightened methods derived partly from those of his own tutor, John Jennings, at Kibworth till his death in 1723, and from the educational thought of his close friend, Isaac Watts. A number of authors and viewpoints were put forward during lectures and students expected to read widely and follow up references in the library. Doddridge was thus an early comparative theologian

(although not in the anthropological sense). The method recalls the Sic et Non of Abelard and the fraternal atmosphere of the Medieval universities before they were perverted by a degenerate scholasticism. In fact Doddridge was a moderate Calvinist and evangelical. The pleasures of tobacco, playing cards and the society of women, like the Colliers of Deleprey (although Doddridge was devoted to his wife), were acceptable.<sup>160</sup>

Fordyce spent some time also with Doddridge's "second father", Samuel Clark (1684-1750), the nonconformist minister at St. Albans, a theological writer, devout man and intimate with Doddridge, Watts and Job Orton, Doddridge's assistant from March 1739 and his first biographer. Fordyce probably visited Clark en route between Northampton and London. Fordyce was certainly with him around the end of February, beginning of March, 1739, and probably in early June of that year.<sup>161</sup>

Northampton, therefore, probably gave Fordyce experience of both formal and informal dialogue in an atmosphere that was tolerant, refined and informed.

Strangely there is no record of David Fordyce's involvement in a literary club at Aberdeen during his period as professor there, 1742 to 1751. He talks to Doddridge of "our society met in a body" (and similarly to Benson), but this probably means the professorate. A literary and theological society, however, was formed among students at Marischal College in January 1742, led by George Campbell, later Professor of Ecclesiastical History.<sup>162</sup> Alexander Gerard,



Fordyce's protégé and replacement, later Professor of Divinity in Marischal and King's Colleges, was a member; all the other members later entered the church. More famous and well documented was the Aberdeen Philosophical Society or "Wise Club", meeting in the New Inn, founded by Thomas Reid and James Gregory in January 1758, some five or six usually attending each meeting (James Fordyce was one of two visiting members), the minutes of which are preserved. This society produced some of the best known works of the Scots Enlightenment. Thomas Reid (1710-96), who graduated in 1726, completed divinity studies, then spent some years as college librarian, during which time he was much impressed by David Fordyce, before taking the charge of New Machar in 1737. Later professor at Marischal College, then Adam Smith's successor at Glasgow University, Reid first expounded the content of his Inquiry into the Human Mind (1764), the principal answer to the scepticism of David Hume in epistemology, at Wise Club meetings. Likewise Gerard's Essay on Taste and Essay on Genius, which influenced Kant, James Beattie's Essay on Truth, the important books on Miracles and Rhetoric by George Campbell, grew out of these discussions. Education was among the topics of the Wise Club. Gerard, for instance, raised the question:

"In what manner the general course of education may be conducted so as it may answer best as a preparation for different businesses in life?"

When one considers the formal and informal literary groups among which Fordyce mixed, it is not surprising the dialogue form should be his favourite literary method. Its use by so many eighteenth century neoclassic writers was clearly not simply out of a desire to ape classical models like the dialogues of Plato, Cicero and Lucian, or even French models,

but reflected a real appetite for debate in contemporary society among academics and laity. London coffee house society and the ubiquitous learned societies throughout England and Scotland were among the most vital educational agencies of the period. Then the present rift between general and special education had hardly begun: the classically educated man eagerly followed the progress of the new sciences but especially questions of human nature and society, taking an interest, philosophically, in the principles behind them. All the principal Scottish philosophers, it is now well known, were members, some of several, of these clubs, which stimulated learning and research by providing a forum for the expression and modification of views. These scholars were fully aware that debate is particularly vital in the field now termed the social sciences where much of their classic work lies, for example, Adam Smith's in economics and Adam Ferguson's in sociology, and this was the case with David Fordyce also.

Individual dialogues of David Fordyce may have originated in papers given at philosophical society meetings. 'The Sanatory Part of Education' (Dialogues xix and xx), for example, may have been given in essence to the Medical Society of Edinburgh or Theodoms, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching, possibly as a guest before the Aberdeen theological society. Certainly Fordyce seems to have had experience of philosophical societies in all the major Scottish cities, London and elsewhere. In his case also, as is known to have happened with members of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and others, material for books and essays which originated in the societies was used



probably in university lectures.<sup>163</sup>

It is not surprising that David Fordyce was enthusiastic about travel in an age when it was seen as a supreme form of education. On 14 August 1741 Blackwell tells Clerk that Fordyce "after studying for several years at home, is lately returned from France and England, where he has spent some years more, has seen the best people..<sup>164</sup> On 22 August 1741 Fordyce wrote to Doddridge that en route to Edinburgh from England he "rambled through the southern and western parts of the country [Scotland] about a couple of months."<sup>165</sup> On 6 June 1743 he tells Doddridge of his intentions of going on "a pretty long north Country Journey".<sup>166</sup> On 20 August 1746 Fordyce tells Benson of a jaunt to the Highlands. Alexander Fordyce also is known to have journeyed in the Highlands and may have joined David Fordyce on one of these trips.<sup>167</sup> Travel in one's own country first is recommended by George Turnbull in Observations upon Liberal Education (1742).<sup>168</sup> The visits by Fordyce to the Highlands permitted the comparison of "primitive" and "civilised" societies, in the striking differences of Highland and Lowland cultures, which Johnson and Boswell failed to observe in their trip of 1773 because of the transformation of Highland society since the Forty-five rebellion. The differences were surely in the minds of Blackwell and his disciples as they wrote. It has often been pointed out that the social changes in eighteenth century Scotland provided raw material for the early Scots social scientists, even when they did not explicitly refer to the local and



particular. The primitivism - civilisation debate is touched on by Fordyce in his debate of nature and nurture (particularly Dialogue vi). In addition to the classic work, An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), by Adam Ferguson, there exists his recently published Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt (with Robert Adam, William Cleghorn, David Hume and William Wilkie) which deals with ethical matters against a natural setting.<sup>169</sup> Fordyce was probably also acquainted with some of the literature of travel in Britain: Defoe's Tour (1727) was best known, but probably Fordyce also knew Roger Gale's published account of his trip to Scotland in 1742.

The trip between London and Scotland was generally done by the shorter sea route. Blackwell describes an overland trip northwards in correspondence with Clerk, including stops at Cambridge to meet Conyers Middleton, the polemical professor, and at Studley, near Ripon, Yorkshire, where he enthuses at length on the formal gardens and classical pieces: the Royal Gardens dated from 1727, with their exquisite water gardens, canals and pools, statuary and the classical 'Temple of Piety', made for John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer and notorious participant in the South Sea Company scandal. Fordyce probably made a similar tour along with another visit to Glasgow in 1741.

The trip to France and probably the Low Countries was probably made in the spring of 1741, although Fordyce makes no reference to it in the letter to Doddridge of 1 June 1741. Mark Akenside writes to Fordyce, probably in May 1742, of the latter's "reflections on the face of society in those countries you have been travelling through."<sup>170</sup> The trip may have been

as travelling tutor to one of the Hopkins family, although there is no reference to any of the children being of an age for such travel and the last letter from Ingateston which is extant (25 September 1740) suggests Fordyce was not in a mood to stay in that service too long.<sup>171</sup> Other travelling tutors, however, like George Turnbull, suffered the arrangement because it was convenient and lucrative.

Most Scots travelled then as now, however, not least because their country could not accommodate all its trained manpower: the jibes of Dr. Johnson were actually commonplaces. Meanwhile Scots, like the Fordyces, continued to fertilise life and work in London and abroad. Scots connections with the Continent had been maintained over centuries in trade and culture, especially with the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, and at times when England's relations with her continental neighbours were poor. Scots law students traditionally finished their education at Leyden and Utrecht and medical students, like the medical Fordyces, Mark Akenside and others of Fordyce's Edinburgh circle, also continued their studies in Holland, although they were among the last for whom this was a pattern because of the growth of studies in the vernacular and the strong native Scots law and medical faculties.

The Grand Tour, however, was the pièce de résistance.<sup>172</sup> The London to Dover stage (76 miles) was generally completed in a day and, if wind and weather were favourable, one crossed the Channel, usually to Calais: by mid century a regular packet did the trip two or three times a week. Then post chaise took one to Paris by Boulogne and Amiens on roads among the best in Europe. In Paris one saw the sights: buildings, libraries



gardens and theatres, and made trips to Versailles and Fontainebleau; developed the cosmopolitan outlook and patronised arts and letters, gaining correct manners through "constant collision with good company", as Lord Chesterfield declared, in the salons and on the fringes of the court.

Fordyce perhaps visited Port Royal, home of enlightened forms of education and easily reached from Versailles. Thomas Innes (1662-1744), historian, antiquarian and prefect of studies at the Scots College in Paris, 1701-27, where Scots Catholic clergy were trained in a liberal atmosphere, unlike the rigidly orthodox Scots College in Rome, came from the North East of Scotland, was grand uncle of Alexander Innes and friend of Charles Rollin, the leading French educationist whose works Fordyce knew. Fordyce, therefore, may have experienced the schools of Port Royal at first hand.<sup>173</sup>

The Grand Tour, which Fordyce embarked on in 1750, by mid century was attracting professional people and nouveau riche, in Scotland largely through the relative peace and prosperity afforded by the Union, whereas before it had been the prerogative of older landed aristocracy or, more commonly, the young aristocrat with his tutor to help cultivate the literary, aesthetic and political outlook. Best known to Fordyce of Scottish academics who had experience of this were George Turnbull, who travelled with a member of the Wauchope family and in letters to Charles Mackie declares he is looking for other pupils, and Colin MacLaurin, whose trip was cut short in France by the death of his pupil.<sup>174</sup>

Not all saw the Grand Tour as a necessary part of a gentleman's education: the criticism of Adam Smith is famous: the young man generally returned "more conceited



unprincipled, dissipated and incapable of serious application", while others like Locke, Burnet and Turnbull considered it more useful for older people.

For all the sophistication of Paris, Italy remained the ultimate destination for the inquisitive Scot as much as his English neighbours. Fordyce probably had as his vademecum Thomas Nugent's newly published The Grand Tour or a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France (1749), which remained the standard guide, superseding Misson's A New Voyage of Italy (1695 etc.). Fordyce is likely to have read also Joseph Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy (1705). Among previous tourists who probably informed him was Sir John Clerk of Penicuik who toured the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and Italy in 1697. Fordyce's route was certain to have been the classic one from Paris through Lyons, the Roman towns of the Rhone valley to Marseilles, thence by boat to Leghorn, where he arrived around the end of January 1751, and which had a British colony. Others, like Addison, sailed to Genoa or went through the Alpine passes to Turin or Venice. The latter, along with Florence, Pisa, Rome and Naples were usually visited. In Rome one saw the sites of antiquity and customarily sent rhapsodic letters home. Jonathan Richardson's Account of the Statues and Bas Reliefs, Drawings and Paintings (1722) was a standard work of reference. The art, architecture and antiquities were supplemented by intercourse with the fashionable society of Rome. Fordyce seems to have spoken good Italian and French, according to evidence in his correspondence.<sup>175</sup> The spectacle at the Theatre or Opera was amusing (it was sometime fashionable to decry the music) and the religious processions

impressive, though one should denigrate unnecessary pomp and ceremony. Something of this typical ambiguity of response is evident in Fordyce's letter from Rome to his mother.<sup>176</sup>

The annual Carnival, with its horse racing and masked balls, noted by Fordyce, received its most famous literary account in the writing of Horace Walpole, who toured in 1739, and was recorded also in the drawings and engravings of the Scots artist David Allan.<sup>177</sup> The British generally stayed around the Piazza di Spagna, meeting in coffee houses like the Caffè degl' Inglesi. At Naples trips were made to Vesuvio and Pompeii, the traditional limits of the Grand Tour.

The wealthy might return with paintings, sculptures and marbles; all gained at least a veneer of culture and their classical education made more meaningful. It has been suggested that the Scots Calvinist outlook particularly appreciated the discipline of classical ideals.<sup>178</sup> The return trip was usually through the Brenner Pass to the Low Countries; Germany was generally avoided till later in the century, although Montesquieu said one should travel in Germany, sojourn in Italy and think in England.

It is amusing to note that, in a letter of Ramsay of Ochertyre of 15 August 1809 to the wife of James Dundas, it is said that the lady of Sir Thomas Miller (the Lord President), who, when coming in sight of Rome, was asked if she had seen anything like it, replied, "I think it reminds me of Aberdeen."<sup>179</sup>

David Fordyce sadly did not live long after the completion of the Grand Tour, the consummation of an eighteenth century education, but the passion for travel and, above all, intellectual intercourse clearly reflects his belief in the educational process as being interactionist.



## NOTES

1. Family Record, pp. 101-2; Alexander M. Munro, Memorials of the Lord Provosts of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1897), p. 211; Keith, Aberdeen, p. 254.
2. Alexander Keith, Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce Journal, vol. XXXVIII (Spring, 1956), p. 120.
3. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers GD 18/5036/15. For the full text of Blackwell's 'Memorandum concerning a Subpoena' see Appendix 4. In another letter to Clerk Blackwell seeks help to relieve a Mr. Black (probably a relative of his wife) who had been "persecuted by Customs Officers" with regard to contraband, but he is "a fair trader and his son trades to Holland with our Manufactures and brings home a little tea" (SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers GD 18/5036/9, 5 February 1731).
4. Graham, Social Life, pp. 526-9; William Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 140-2, 144-5, 160, 308; Atholl L. Murray, 'Administration and the Law' in T.I. Rae, editor, The Union of 1707 Its Impact on Scotland (Glasgow, 1974), pp. 34-5. Cf. Robert Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1858), vol. 111, p. 339; Dorothy Marshall, Eighteenth Century England (London, 1962), pp. 14-5.
5. J.A. Symon, Scottish Farming Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1959), pp. 91-2; Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland (OSA), p. 78.
6. Robert Wodrow, Analecta, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-3), vol. 11, p. 175; cf. vol. IV, p. 15; Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, vol. 1 (Aberdeen, 1891), p. 203.
7. Appendix 2, pp. 407-8.
8. Ibid., p. 418.
9. James Fordyce, Poems (London, 1785), p. 111: 'To the Author's Mother, who died many years ago: an Elegy.'
10. Graham, Social Life, p. 344, says "piety was forced into their poor little lives and all that was bright and genial was forced out"; Marion Lochhead, The Scots Household in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1948), pp. 224-5, talks of "sadism" and "brutality"; Marjory Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 3. William Alexander, Sketches of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 127, takes the moderate view of family authority: pictures of severity in family conduct, he says, are often caricatures and Puritan theology probably never suppressed humanity except with a limited number of fanatics. Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1840, The Age of the Moderates (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 74, stress that Graham's "scholarship was vitiated by intense prejudices."
11. Appendix 2, p. 418.
12. Family Record, pp. 93-6 (Alexander); pp. 97-8 (David); p. 102 (George, d. 1736); pp. 105-9 (James); p. 111 (John); pp. 115-7 (William). Entries on sisters appear on pp. 97, 99-100, 105, 111 and on half-sisters pp. 92, 96 and 105. Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 301, 308, 309 and 313.



13. Family Record, pp. 112-3; Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 315.  
Cf. SNQ, 1st series, vol. IX, p. 151.
14. W. Keith Leask, Interamna Borealis (Aberdeen, 1917), p. 290; James Boswell, Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson (OSA, 1965), pp. 339, 558, 594, 900 (on Dr. George Fordyce) and 280, 1388 (on Dr. James Fordyce).  
The B.D.E.S. has entries on David, George, the younger, James and William; John Gorton, A General Biographical Dictionary (London, 1851), has entries on the same and Alexander; William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1863), has entries on these five and bibliographies for George, James and William.
15. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 308; William Munk, editor, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians (London, 1878), vol. 11, p. 212. David Fordyce refers to the difficulties of his brother establishing himself in Northamptonshire in letters to Doddridge of 23 April 1739 and 3 October 1739 (see Appendix 2, pp and ). Cf. Doddridge to Sir James Stonhouse, Humphreys, vol. IV, p. 336.
16. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 309; D.N.B. under 'James Fordyce'. Letters of March 1760 to Dr. Lawrence concerning Fordyce's appointment at Monkland Street are contained in EUL Laing MSS II. 644, 13.
17. Frederick H. Pottle, editor, Boswell's London Journal 1762-3 (London, 1950), p. 259.
18. Henrietta Fordyce, Memoir of the late Mrs Henrietta Fordyce, relict of the Life of James Fordyce D.D. (London, 1823), p. 15.
19. T. Craig Brown, editor, Letters and Memoirs of Her own Life by Mrs. Alison Rutherford or Cockburn (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 33.
20. For James Fordyce's poem on Johnson see his Addresses to the Deity (1785), no. vi.
21. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 313.
22. D.N.B. under 'William Fordyce'.
23. William Johnston, editor, Memoirs of James Young of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1861), p. xxx.
24. Ibid.
25. E.g., Johnston, op. cit., p. 174; A.W. Kerr, A History of Banking in Scotland (Glasgow, 1884), p. 82; Graham, Social Life, p. 525; Henry Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1962), p. 321; T.J. Checkland, Scottish Banking A History 1695-1973 (London, 1975), p. 129; H. Hamilton, 'The Fall of the Ayr Bank', EHR, vol. VIII (1956), pp. 405-11.
26. Lord Tweedsmuir, One Man's Happiness (London, 1968), pp. 258-62; Henrietta Fordyce, op. cit., pp. 53-4. There is no evidence for the claim in the correspondence of Alison Cockburn (pupil, friend and correspondent of Henrietta Fordyce, nee Cuming) that the financial disaster resulted in "one brother driven to death and another to insanity" (Brown, op. cit., p. 107n).



Toller's Sermon to Tradesmen (1775) (extensively quoted in Gorton, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 778) uses the fall of Alexander Fordyce as a moral exemplum, but perhaps Toller's brush with James Fordyce over the charge in Monkland Street coloured his criticism.

27. D.N.B. under 'George Fordyce'.
28. EUL MS La 11. 647/175.
29. Alexander Keith, op. cit., declares that "the Fordyces knew how to pick their wives." David Fordyce, of course, remained single.
30. W.B. Howell, 'Dr. George Fordyce and his Times', Annals of Medical History, n.s., vol. 11 (1930), pp. 281-96, includes the anecdote on his drunkenness (p. 289), wrongly attributed by Tweedsmuir, op. cit., p. 253, to John Fordyce. Cf. James Boswell, Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. G.B. Hill, rev. L.F. Powell, vol. 11, p. 274, note 6.  
Most of the George Fordyce MSS are in the library of St. Thomas's Hospital; two MSS are in CUL and two in AUL (MS 505, a miscellany of lectures from 1778-9. and MS 239, a treatise on chemistry). The BL includes, curiously, a MS of a Plan for an artificial hen for hatching eggs (1786), MS 33554 f. 182.
31. Vol. LXVI, part ii, p. 1053.
32. See the bibliographies in BL catalogues; D.N.B.; Henrietta Fordyce, op. cit., pp. 61-2; for George Fordyce's voluminous writings see note 30, above; and Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1802. An interesting scholarly debate has arisen over the authorship of the Preface to James Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women (1766), reputedly written by Dr. Johnson. Allen Hazen, Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications (New Haven, 1937), pp. 33-8, presumes the preface is by Johnson, but is challenged first by R.W. Chapman, reviewing Hazen's book, in RES, vol. XLV (1938), pp. 259-65, claiming the preface is at least partly by another hand (see p. 362). Arthur Sherbo, 'Some Observations on Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications' in John H. Middendorf, editor, English Writers of the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1971), produces stylistic evidence (similarities between the Sermons and the Preface) to suggest that Fordyce composed it himself.
33. Op. cit. p. 120.
34. Histories and other works concerning Aberdeen and the North East consulted for the present account include those of Alexander, Allan, W.S. Bruce, Douglas, A. Keith, Kennedy, Robb, Robertson, Thom, Watt, Wilson and Wyness, together with the three published Statistical Accounts, general histories of Scotland and those specifically on the eighteenth century.
35. James Gordon of Rothiemay, Description of Both Towns of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, c. 1661); G. and W. Paterson, A Survey of New and Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1746), reproduced at the end of William Robb, Aberdeen : its Traditions and History (Aberdeen, 1893).
36. According to Defoe the houses were mainly of stone and four storeys high: see A Tour thro the Whole Isle of Great Britain (1727, Everyman edition, 1962), vol. 11, p. 400; John R. Moore,



- Daniel Defoe, Citizen of the Modern World (Chicago, 1958), p. 179. Cf. John Stuart, editor, Extracts from the Register of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 365.
37. William Knight, Collections on Marischal College, vol. 1, p. 183.
  38. SHS publications, 4th series, vol. 11, pp. 195-201. Isabel F. Grant, 'An old Scottish Handcraft Industry in the North of Scotland,' SHR, vol. XV111 (1921), pp. 277-89.
  39. Appendix 2, pp. 407 and 417.
  40. NLS MS 3730, f.2 (1746).
  41. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/47. Cf. EL MS 32863.
  42. Robert S. Rait, The University of Aberdeen : A History (Aberdeen, 1895), p. 274.
  43. Appendix 2, pp. 382-3 and 417.
  44. William Kennedy, alphabetical index to the first 67 volumes of Aberdeen Council Register (AUL MS 595), vols. LV11 and LV111.
  45. Appendix 2, pp. 415 and 417.
  46. Histories concerning Scottish education and of Aberdeen Grammar School and University consulted for the present account of education at Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College include those of Boyd, Bulloch, M.L. Clarke, Curtis, Grant, Gray, Kerr, Knox, Morgan, Rait, Scotland, H.F.M. Simpson, Ian J. Simpson and Strong.
  47. S.J. Curtis, A History of Education in Great Britain (London, 1953), p. 552.
  48. Ian J. Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872 (London, 1947), p. 66.
  49. See below, p. 129.
  50. See also John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, 2 vols. (2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1882), vol. 1, p. 274.
  51. See also Thomas Blackwell, An Account of the Erection of the Marischal College and University in the City of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1736.)
  52. Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 9.
  53. See also Statua Academiae Mariscallane Universitatis Aberdonensis: Mores, disciplina, sacra, vicina Academiae [Aberdeen, 1741].
  54. T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1840 (London, 1969), p. 449, claims the social democratic mixture was true only of the skilled artisan/trained clerk occupational levels upwards.
  55. Appendix 2, p. 394.
  56. Cf. Thomas Blackwell to the Duke of Roxburghe, NSL MS 7047, f. 147.
  57. A sample of distinguished eighteenth century Scots who tutored is contained in C.R. Fay, Adam Smith and the Scotland of his Day (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 14-6.
  58. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 40; EUL MS La 11, 91: see letters of 1725 to 1733. (One letter of Thomas Turnbull, minister at Greenlaw, of 9 August 1731, has erroneously been assigned to the George Turnbull discussed here.)



59. Alexander C. Fraser, Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 21.  
See also James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (London, 1875), pp. 95-106; J. Veitch, 'Philosophy in the Scottish Universities', Mind, vol. 11 (1877), pp. 74-91 and 207-34, see pp. 212-3; G.E. Davie, 'Berkeley's Influence on Scottish Philosophers,' Philosophy, vol. XL (1965), pp. 222-34. David F. Norton, 'George Turnbull and the Furniture of the Mind', JHI, vol. XXVI (1975), pp. 701-16, increases Turnbull's status, but ignores a number of studies of him. There has been a revival of interest also in Turnbull's works on painting, which were inspired by his foreign travel: see Marcia Allentuck, 'Fuseli's Translations of Winckelmann: A Phase in the Rise of British Hellenism' in R.F. Brissenden, editor, Studies in the Eighteenth Century, 11 (Canberra, 1973), pp. 163-186, see pp. 174 and 175n.
60. Appendix 2, p. 392.
61. Cf. Anand C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History (London, 1976), pp. 45 and 240.
62. Thomas Blackwell to the Duke of Roxburghe, NLS MS 7047, f. 147; 7065, f. 40; SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/7/23/24/27; Blackwell to Mure of Caldwell, 17 June 1726, NLS MS 5073, f. 33.
63. Donald J. Withrington, 'Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century' in N.T. Phillipson and N. Mitchison, editors, Scotland in the Age of Improvement (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 169-99, see especially pp. 185-6 and 192.
64. E.g., vol. 11, pp. 575 and 594.
65. Ibid.
66. Appendix 2, pp. 401-2 Cf. Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Eighteenth Century Education (London, 1951), p. 54.
67. Family Record, pp. 23-7; Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 29. On the Blackwell family see Family Record, Appendix, pp. vii-ix.
68. Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 44.
69. Ibid., p. 54. On MacLaurin's dismissal see Stuart, op. cit., pp. 368-9.  
Forty-six sermons of James Chalmers of 1713 and a volume of sermons of 1720-22 are in MSS in New College, Edinburgh.
70. Op. cit., chapter 2.
71. Family Record, pp. 21-3; Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 291.
72. Alexander Bower, An Account of the Life of Joseph Beattie (London, 1804), p. 25; James Bruce, Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1841), p. 305; Henry G. Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1908), p. 249.
73. Op. cit., p. 117.
74. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, pp. 291-3.
75. Knight, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 33.
76. Appendix 2, p. 413; Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 29.
77. Ibid.
78. Quoted in Family Record, p. 22.

79. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, Blackwell to Clerk, 1728-48, GD 18/5036 et seq.; Clerk to Blackwell GD 18/5037 and GD 18/5033.
80. Cf. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 292-3.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 292.
83. Appendix, 2, p. 414.
84. Knight, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 358.
85. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5039. Some sources, e.g., B.D.E.S., mistakenly give 1746 as publication date. Blackwell also published Proofs of the Inquiry into Homer's Life and Writings, being translations of the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian and French notes (1747).
86. Quoted in Donald M. Foerster, Homer in English Literature (New York, 1947), Appendix, 'The Reputation of Blackwell's Enquiry in England,' pp. 124-6.
87. Gustavo Costa, La Critica Omerica di Thomas Blackwell (Rome, 1959).
88. Quoted in Family Record, p. 23.
89. James Boswell, Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson (OSA, 1965), p. 221.
90. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/21, 16 September, 1732; GD 18/5036/25, 28 February 1733.
91. J.W.H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1951), pp. 183-4; Donald M. Foerster, 'Mid Eighteenth Century Scotch Criticism of Homer,' Studies in Philology, vol. XL (1943), pp. 425-46; 'Scottish Primitivism and the Historical Approach,' Philological Quarterly, vol. XXIX (1950), pp. 307-23; Homer in English Literature (New York, 1947); James Kinsley, 'The Music of the Heart,' in Donald A. Low, editor, Critical Essays on Robert Burns (London, 1975), pp. 124-36, see p. 125; Roy H. Pearce, 'The Eighteenth Century Scottish Primitivists: Some Reconsiderations' ELH, vol. XII (1945), pp. 203-20; Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel (London, 1957), p. 245; René Wellek, The Rise of English Literary History (Chapel Hill, 1941), p. 62; Lois Whitney, 'English Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins,' Modern Philology, vol. XXI (1924), pp. 337-78, and 'Thomas Blackwell, a Disciple of Shaftesbury,' Philological Quarterly, vol. V (1926), pp. 196-211.  
Blackwell is ignored in Rudolf Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship From 1300 to 1850 (Oxford, 1976), but chapter XII, on Richard Bentley's contemporaries and successors, seems thin.



92. NLS MS 3648, f. 50 (Montesquieu to Blackwell); F. Gebelin and A. Morrizze, Correspondence de Montesquieu, 2 vols. (Champion, 1914), vol. 11, pp. 322-3 (Blackwell to Montesquieu), reproduced in R.A. Leigh, French Studies, vol. V (1951), pp. 154-6.  
Blackwell offered the Foulis brothers notes for their edition of Plato in 1751 but was refused. He then intended his own edition but the work was not carried out: see Alexander C. Fraser, The Life and Works of George Berkeley, D.D., 4 vols. (Oxford, 1871), vol. IV, p. 327n.
93. Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 84n and 153 and his Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 23.
94. 'A Character of Dr. Thomas Blackwell' quoted in A.F. Tytler, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Kames (Edinburgh, 1814), vol. 111, p. 74; Family Record, p. 23.
95. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/13/14/15/17.
96. Ibid., GD 18/5036/17.
97. SNQ, 1st series, vol. 1 (1889), p. 164; Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 42-3; Knight, op. cit., vol. 1. Blackwell quarreled also with Turnbull over the rectorship: see McCosh, op. cit., p. 96. Ironically Blackwell later wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on 20 January 1756 that Marischal College "I have endeavoured to retrieve from Disaffection and Scholastic Wrangling" (BL MS 32862).
98. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/32.
99. "Principal Blackwell's papers shown to me by Mrs. C. Ross", quoted by Peter J. Anderson in SNQ, 1st series, vol. 111 (1889), p. 36.
100. Histories and other works on Glasgow and Glasgow University which have been consulted for the present account of Glasgow and its university around 1735 include those of Addison, Coutts, Daiches, Duncan, Eyre-Todd, Gibson, Mackie, MacGregor, McUre, Murray, Reid and Strang, together with histories and other general works already cited.
101. J.D. Mackie, The University of Glasgow 1451-1951 (Glasgow, 1954), pp. 169 (quoting Wodrow) and 224, but not according to B.D.E.S. under 'Tobias Smollett.'
102. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/6/24/28/34; W. Innes Addison, The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858 (Glasgow, 1913), pp. 11 and 15.  
Charles, curiously, graduated M.A. in 1733 and M.D. in 1743 at Marischal College, according to Fasti Mariscallanae, pp. 114 and 306.
103. GUA 26639, Clerk's Press 45; Fasti Scoticae, vol. 111, p. 433; Addison, op. cit., p. 128.
104. GUA 26639, Clerk's Press 27, pp. 67, 71-3, 82-3.
105. Cf. Ian D.L. Clark, 'From Protest to Reaction: The Moderate Regime in the Church of Scotland, 1752-1805' in Phillipson and Mitchison, op. cit., pp. 200-24, see p. 207.
106. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. 111, p. 183; David Murray, Memories of the Old College of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1927), p. 512.



107. McCosh, op. cit., p. 63, claims Hutcheson did not mix in student clubs.
108. James Kinsley, Anecdotes and Characters of the Times (the Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle) (London, 1973), pp. 40-2.
109. W.R. Scott, Adam Smith as Student and Professor (Glasgow 1937), pp. 31-6.
110. Appendix 2, p.352. Fordyce, in fact, made similar complaints about Tooting: see Appendix 2, p.370.
111. Histories of Edinburgh and Edinburgh University consulted for the present account include those of Arnot, Bower, Catford, Chambers, Grant, Horn and Youngson and a variety of works on the Scots Enlightenment, since it was centred largely on Edinburgh.
112. Appendix 2, p. 381; Fasti Scoticanæ, vol. 1, p. 140.
113. Hugo Arnot, The History of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1779), p. 275. Unfortunately Tron Kirk Session records do not appear to be extant for Fordyce's period there.
114. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 308, 321; Henry MacKenzie, An Account of the Life and Writings of John Hume (Edinburgh 1822), pp. 18-9.
115. Dugald Butler, The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1906), chapter x; W. Forbes Gray, Historic Churches of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 70.
116. Appendix 2, letter 19.
117. Ibid., pp. 365 and 359.
118. Cuming's lectures on ecclesiastical history (6 volumes, 1738 onwards) are preserved in New College, Edinburgh.
119. Arnot, op. cit., pp. 210-1; Kinsley, op. cit., p. 29, says the severe weather lasted from late December 1739 for three months.
120. Davis D. MacElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement (Washington, 1969), p. 23; Tytler, op. cit., vol. 111, p. 175 and Appendix viii.
121. Quoted in Ian S. Ross, Lord Kames and the Scotland of his Day (Oxford, 1972), p. 60.
122. MacElroy, "The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth century Scotland", Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 375, and op. cit., p. 131.  
Of the two volume typescript "A Century of Scottish Clubs 1700-1800", promised in the preface to MacElroy's Scotland's Age of Improvement, only volume 1 was found at all three locations by the present writer.
123. MacElroy, Ph.D. thesis, p. 365; Douglas Guthrie, editor, History of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh 1737-1837 by James Gray (Edinburgh, 1952), pp. 2 and 30.

124. Akenside came to Edinburgh in 1738 according to a signature on a document for admission to Edinburgh University Library (EUL MS Da.2.1, p. 61), although the D.N.B. says 1739 (also incorrectly saying he attended Doddridge's academy). Guthrie, op. cit., says wrongly that Akenside joined the Society in January 1741. Cf. Alexander Dyce, editor, The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside (London 1857), p. iv; Charles Byrke, On the Life, Writings and Genius of Akenside (London, 1832), p. 16.
125. Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 429.  
AUL MS 2334, Philip Doddridge to James Gardner, 27 September 1739, recommends the bearer (Roebuck), a student in physic, come to Scotland to study.
126. Appendix 2, p. 390; R. H. Campbell, The Carron Company (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 3, 7 and 16-7.
127. Guthrie, op. cit., p. 27; John D. Comrie, A History of Scottish Medicine (London, 1932), pp. 317-9.
128. Alexander Bower, The History of the University of Edinburgh, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817), vol. 111, Appendix v, pp. 366-7.
129. Bower, op. cit., p. 103; Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh, 2 vols. (London, 1884), p. 350; Guthrie, op. cit., p. 26; MacElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement, p. 59.
130. Robert M. Schmitz, Hugh Blair (New York, 1948), p. 14. Less likely is the Patrick Blair who graduated in 1738, mentioned in A Catalogue of Edinburgh Medical Graduates 1705-1846 (Edinburgh 1846), p. 3.
131. Less likely is that references are to George Cleghorn, one of the founders of the group, later Professor of Anatomy at Dublin (see Comrie, op. cit.); Grant, op. cit., p. 337.
132. Ross, op. cit., p. 83. Cleghorn's reputation is redeemed, however, by Douglas Nobbs, 'The Political Ideas of William Cleghorn, Hume's Academic Rival,' JHI, vol. XXVI, (1975), pp. 575-86: examination of a student's notes of his lectures vindicates the Council's choice. Nobbs says there is no record of club membership by Cleghorn, except of a University Debating Society (p. 577).
133. Ernest C. Mossner, 'Adam Ferguson's "Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt" with Robert Adam, William Clegorn, David Hume and William Wilkie' in C. Camden, editor, Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Alan D. McKillop (Chicago, 1963), pp. 297-308, see p. 299.
134. Kinsley, op. cit., e.g., pp. 17, 29, 58, 61-5, 96-8, 102, 116-8, 131, 157, 185-7, 189, 190.
135. Of the many works on Augustan London and coffee house society in particular those of Allen, Chancellor, Clifford, George, Humphreys, Lillywhite, Margetson, Plumb, Rogers and Rudé have been particularly useful.



136. Appendix 2, p. 370.
137. Ibid., pp. 362-5 and 406.
138. Quoted in E.B. Chancellor, The Eighteenth Century in London (London, 1920), p. 129.
139. Costa, op. cit., p. 15; Bryant Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses (London, 1963), pp. 243-5; Donald F. Bond, editor, The Spectator, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, p. xix.
140. MacElroy, Ph.D. thesis, p. 567.
141. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/38; Appendix 2, p. 360.
142. Appendix 2, letter 3.
143. Over 840 letters of Warburton are contained in the BL and some published in Letters from an Eminent Prelate (2nd edition, London, 1809) and Nichols, Illustrations and Anecdotes, but none to or from Fordyce and Blackwell seem to be extant.
144. Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 35.
145. Ibid., pp. 37 and 69.
146. DNB under 'Thomas Birch'. Cf. John Hawkins, Life of Dr. Johnson (London, 1797), vol. 1, p. 206; J.L. Clifford, Young Samuel Johnson (London, 1955), p. 180.
147. There are a number of references to 'poor Gordon' in Blackwell's correspondence with Clerk: see Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/4/21/35. Cf. Appendix 2, p.365 and Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5037; Nichols, Anecdotes, vol. 11, p. 92 and Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 69. On Gordon and Alexander Blackwell see J. Nichols, Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer (London, 1782), pp. 555-6.
148. B.D.E.S. under 'Alexander Blackwell.'
149. John Aikin et al., General Biography (London, 1803), vol. IV, under 'James Foster.'
150. Appendix 2, p. 413.
151. There are many references to Gale in the Blackwell - Clerk correspondence and Gale checked the Life of Homer prior to publication. For correspondence between Clerk and Gale see SRO MS L1006(43).
152. Appendix 2, pp. 371, 405 and 411. Cf. Humphreys, vol. IV, p. 336.
153. Appendix 2, p. 360.
154. Ibid., letters 27, 28, 29 and 33. W. Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London, 4 vols. (London, 1808-14), vol. 1, pp. 113-25, vol. 111, pp. 381-3.
155. For letters of Miles to Doddridge see Humphreys, vol. 111, pp. 333 and 370, vol. 1V, p. 40. Cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Philip Doddridge 1702-51 His Contribution to English Religion (London, 1951), p. 84.



156. See letter of Doddridge to James Stonhouse, Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 336. Cf. Bucke, op. cit., p. 43.
157. Biographia Britannica (London, 1793), vol. V, p. 276.
158. Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. 1V (1798); pp. 65-6.
159. The account of society and education at Northampton here and in chapter 3 draws mainly upon the biographies of Doddridge by Orton, Gordon and Nuttall and the studies of dissenting education by Ashley Smith, Hans, McLachlan and Parker.
160. Cf. Appendix 2, p. 376.
161. Appendix 2, pp. 361 and 365.  
Cf. Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 383.
162. See Introduction to George Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols. (1815), by George S. Keith, vol. 1, pp. viii, xiv and lxix note.
163. E.H. King, 'A Scottish "Philosophical" Club in the Eighteenth Century', Dalhousie Review, vol. L (1970), pp. 201-18, see p. 218 note 8.
164. Appendix 2, p. 380.
165. Ibid., p. 381.
166. Ibid. p. 394.
167. Ibid., p. 403; Henrietta Fordyce, op. cit., p. 23.  
Alexander Fordyce also journeyed to France.
168. P. 464.
169. See note 133, above.
170. Appendix 2, p. 385. Akenside toured Holland with two of his Edinburgh friends from Leyden in April or May 1744.
171. Ibid., p. 375.
172. The following account of the Grand Tour draws particularly upon the works of R.S. Lambert, editor, The Grand Tour (London, 1935); Constantia Maxwell, The English Traveller in France 1698-1815 (London, 1932); Basil Skinner, The Scots in Italy in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1966); Joseph Burke, 'The Grand Tour and the Rule of Taste' in R.F. Brissenden, op. cit., pp. 231-50; George B. Parks, 'Travel as Education' in R.F. Jones et al., editors, Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope (Stanford, 1951), pp. 264-90.
173. Ruth Clark, Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 230-55.
174. EUL MS La 11, 91, letter of 23 September 1731 from Marseilles.
175. Appendix, 2, pp. 387-8.
176. Appendix 2, letter 35.
177. Stella Margetson, Leisure and Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1970), p. 74.
178. Skinner, op. cit.
179. Barbara L. H. Horn, editor, Letters of John Ramsay of Othertyre 1799-1812 (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 215.

### CHAPTER 3: INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

This chapter outlines the intellectual climate at the time of David Fordyce's writings, including aspects of the early development of the Scots Enlightenment, particularly Scots intellectual relations with the Continent and with England, especially after the Union; relevant philosophers and philosophical assumptions in the Scots Enlightenment; the eighteenth century sentimental movement; educational thought on the Continent, in England and Scotland; contemporary educational practice, especially in Scottish schools and universities and English dissenting academies; relevant aspects of theological and ecclesiastical background; David Fordyce's relations to the Scots and English literary traditions and the history of the dialogue genre.

Fordyce's considerable reading, reflected in his correspondence and lectures, shows a keen awareness of the intellectual climate and consideration of this, including ideas that were probably peddled in the literary-philosophical clubs and circles he frequented, is necessary to decide to what extent his writings register the commonplaces of his period and to what extent he is an original or, in some sense, classical thinker.

The years at Aberdeen Grammar School, at Marischal College in arts and divinity, and further years spent studying at home (while he may have been a schoolmaster or running the family business), the periods at Newport Pagnell, Ingateston and



Edinburgh and when employed as regent at Marischal College must have been spent in extensive reading. Latin was obligatory at school, Latin and Greek at college, and Fordyce was fortunate to be taught by the well-read Thomas Blackwell, who, although Professor of Greek, seems to have known also Italian, French and Spanish, as well as Latin. Evidence in Fordyce's correspondence and lecture notes suggests that he too was fluent in Italian and French, while the correspondence generally contains many literary references. He keeps Philip Doddridge, for instance, informed of new publications and Blackwell says Fordyce can do the same for Sir John Clerk. Fordyce, however, at the close of his lectures, advises his students that it is best to be master of one good book on any particular subject.

In order to assess the importance of Fordyce's writings, however, it is important firstly to consider to what extent the Scots Enlightenment was advanced by the time of his writings (the 1740s). It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the disputed question of the origins of the Scots Enlightenment, nor, indeed, with theories of the European Enlightenment, but the present study, nevertheless, casts light at least upon aspects of the former debate. One element in the generation of Enlightenment which is reflected repeatedly in Fordyce's career and social and intellectual relations is the catalytic effect of dialogue. The tremendous reading of Fordyce and Blackwell kept them abreast of intellectual developments and this is probably a typical feature of Scots intellectuals between the 1720s and 1740s. Carmichael, the



Simsons and Hutcheson at Glasgow and members of the Rankenians were also well-read, assimilating and adapting the thought of English and Continental writers. During the crucial decades after the Union the reading appears to have been reinforced frequently by personal and literary contact. The careers of Blackwell and Fordyce may be paradigmatic in this respect.

Those gaining continuous employment in Grub Street in the decades after the Union do not appear in general to have returned to Scotland to fertilise its cultural life (although William Duncan, M.A. 1735, then literary hack, returned to Marischal College as professor in 1753). The theory of the nobility wintering in London after 1707, causing cultural disintegration at home, is now generally discredited, but there is little evidence, either, of the opposite: that returning aristocrats did much more than encourage Improvement in a fashionable way, except in their new economic approach to estate management. Likewise Scots political involvement in London bore little relation to the Enlightenment. The Scots intellectuals especially appear to have made significant personal contacts, for example, the Simsons with Newton and Clarke, MacLaurin with Newton, Clarke and Hoadly, Blackwell with Berkeley and many others. Because coffee house society was already highly developed in London, visiting Scots might meet a host of other prominent intellectuals: this at any rate is abundantly clear from the correspondence of Fordyce and Blackwell. Contact between Rankenians and English intellectuals, however, appears to have been mainly literary.

The correspondence of Fordyce and Blackwell suggests that their relations with English and Continental intellectuals were of equals. There is little to support a 'provincial' or 'wave' theory of the Enlightenment, of the inferior Scot apeing the superior English or Continental, but instead general and even profound respect for Scots scholarship. The hesitancy about publication evident in the correspondence of Blackwell and Fordyce cannot be used to support a provincialist theory : it was true even of the greatest English authors, like Johnson, in this period of the transition from aristocratic patronage to dealing with the booksellers.

Cultural influences in the decades after the Union for the Scots involved assimilation and adaptation of thinkers some of whom had their hey-day in England long before. Publications like The Spectator became perennial favourites, but the sermons of Benjamin Whichcote, for example, edited by Shaftesbury in 1699, were published in Edinburgh in 1742 by William Wishart (around the time Fordyce was working alongside his brother) and at Aberdeen in 1751 (presumably under the influence of Fordyce and Blackwell). But during the 1720s to 1740s there seems to have been a rapid speeding up of the process of digestion. Fordyce and Blackwell avariciously digested works as they appeared.

The writings of Fordyce suggest that the literary assimilation led to imitation, elaboration and development, so that the early Scots Enlightenment can be seen essentially as a period of extensive input of ideas (there had been a dearth of thinkers for some time before and after the turn of the century, although not of the intellectual traditions that made Enlightenment

possible), mulled over in the crucible of the developing literary-philosophical clubs and college classes, leading to an amazing output. It is perhaps significant that in the writings of George Turnbull (published slightly earlier than Fordyce's and much of it based on Rankenian discussions) original elements are combined with severe literary indigestion.

The catalytic effect of dialogue was combined with distinct intellectual traditions, described in various studies of the Scots Enlightenment and referred to later in this chapter, for example, cosmopolitanism, the general system of education, the belief in general education and an interdisciplinary approach to education and culture, so that the rapid growth and refinement of ideas expressed in an extensive literature was, given certain other conditions, a predictable outcome by mid century.

Recent historians have stressed the importance of trends in Scottish society before the Union that help to explain the distinction later in the century, while acknowledging the effects of the Union at first to be ambiguous.<sup>1</sup> Relative peace and tolerance after the political and ecclesiastical disputes of the previous century have generally been considered a prerequisite for Enlightenment, yet traditions of culture, tolerance, scholarship and cosmopolitanism were still present in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, certainly in the North East (and not just among Episcopalian families as has been suggested), also perhaps in Edinburgh, in Church, Bar and University, and even the theologically conservative West of Scotland could



produce a prolific, if unEnlightened, man of letters like Robert Wodrow of Eastwood.<sup>2</sup> Meikle, however, emphasises that prominent late seventeenth century men of culture are hardly forerunners of the Enlightenment.<sup>3</sup> At Aberdeen, for instance, it is clear that Thomas Blackwell, the elder, who died in 1728, is not an early Enlightenment figure, although his son certainly is.

The experience of Fordyce and his circle suggests cosmopolitanism was a medium of Enlightenment. Scots links with the Continent, stronger than with England before the Union and founded in the Middle Ages by traders, scholars, soldiers of fortune and aristocrats, were perpetuated into the eighteenth century, producing, according to Dugald Stewart, one of the first historians of the Enlightenment, "a constant influx of information and liberality." The links with Holland were continuous over several centuries, the powerful one with France somewhat broken in the sixteenth. The works of Dutch professors (like Grotius and Puffendorf), <sup>- the latter doctor - German</sup> at Leyden, Groningen and Utrecht, were prescribed reading for Scots students and Fordyce refers to them.<sup>4</sup> Scots links with Holland around the turn of the century are illustrated by, for example, Alexander Pitcairne, Robert Sibbald and William Carstares, all connected with reform at Edinburgh University. The Dutch connection was preserved in the eighteenth century, although medical and law faculties had fully grown at Scots universities. Studies were still taken in Holland by figures like Alexander Carlyle, Mark Akenside and others of Fordyce's Edinburgh circle and by two of his brothers. Figures like Pitcairne and Ruddiman, the grammarian, are, however, in Meikle's category of latter-day vernacular humanists, a tradition associated particularly with Aberdeen.<sup>5</sup>

The avid following of the literature of the Scots Enlightenment by Continental readers in the latter eighteenth century presupposes a degree of contact and mobility which in fact stretched back to the time of the Makars, so that, despite the low standards of the Scots universities at the turn of the century, it is not strictly true to speak of a rise from "obscurity to European celebrity" or to suggest that Scottish Enlightened culture in general developed from a position of primitive isolation on the perimeter of Europe.<sup>6</sup> The sudden "burst of genius" that made Scotland "the people most distinguished for literature in Europe", according to David Hume, out of proportion to its size, after 1745 is undeniable, but must nevertheless be seen against the background of a cosmopolitan tradition. Jessop, bibliographer of the Scots philosophers, points out: "To find the now forgotten David Fordyce, who died at the early age of forty, described in Germany six years after his death as 'celebrated' makes one realise how closely the philosophical literature of Scotland was being followed on the Continent."<sup>7</sup> David Hume's masterpiece A Treatise of Human Nature (1739), it is well known, "fell deadborn from the press" in Britain but was noticed on the Continent. Gerard's Plan (1753), which brought the Marischal College curriculum into line with developments elsewhere, was published at Riga in 1770, while the enormous popularity of Scots authors in France has been well illustrated.<sup>8</sup>

The cosmopolitanism of the Scots surely stimulated their moral philosophy, in the comparative study of human nature, society and institutions. What Smollett called the Scots



"addiction to travelling" may have been the outcome of scholastic tradition, economic necessity, political reality or the Calvinist impulse for self realisation, but the Scotsman found in the strangest of places has nevertheless become a figure of lore. A political relationship with France had gone in the seventeenth century, but entrepreneurs, like Joseph Black, wine merchant of Bordeaux, friend and philosophical companion of Montesquieu (correspondence between whom has unfortunately been lost) and father of the professor of chemistry at Edinburgh, Grand Tourers like Clerk of Penicuik in 1697, and, later, Jacobite exiles and others were commonly to be found in France.<sup>9</sup> The reception given in Paris to leading figures of the Scots Enlightenment like Adam Ferguson and David Hume (whose first visit was between 1734 and 1737) is well known; le bon David, indeed, was said to be more at home in Paris than London. Nearly a third of Voltaire's 'British visitors' are reckoned to have been from Scotland. Meanwhile nearly half of Adam Smith's library was composed of French works and works even by relatively obscure European authors had many subscribers in the North East among academics and laity.<sup>10</sup> The French philosophes who visited England, however, did not reach Scotland, although their works did. French works began to appear in the late 1740s on the presses of Scots printers like Urie and the Foulis brothers in Glasgow. From 1750 there was a stream of works like those of Montesquieu, with whom Blackwell was corresponding at this time. Voltaire was not published till 1750 at Glasgow, but was known in Edinburgh since 1741.<sup>11</sup> In any case works of the philosophes had already been published in London. Fordyce does not quote them, but perhaps read them when in France and probably knew particularly the works of Montesquieu.



After the economically disastrous years around the turn of the century, the Union with England brought ambiguous advantages. Commercial gain was not immediately obvious, nor, indeed, despite trends before the Union, are the reasons for the new passion for Improvement in nobility, gentry, lawyers, ministers, academics and men of letters. Ideals of stability and development, however, were being sought in commerce as much as in culture in both Scotland and England. Greater travel in and commerce with England inevitably caused Anglicisation, with a consequent fear of provincialism that at times was to become obsessive; simultaneously there was a resurgence of indigenous Scottish culture and both aspects are well covered in literature of the Enlightenment. The nobility particularly were attracted to the trappings of English culture, yet sponsored immense agricultural improvement, generally benevolent, although not always appropriate. Improvement in agriculture and medicine, the increased demand for labour, migration and emigration, urbanisation and industrialisation, are typical features of Fordyce's lifetime, but accelerating in the second half of the century. Meanwhile the Patronage Act of 1712 allowed heritors to exercise their preference for ministers versed in English manners, leading to the dominance of the Moderate clergy for the duration of the Enlightenment. The problem of the need for patronage is, incidentally, well illustrated in Fordyce's career. Improvement in knowledge and expression has been shown to have been perhaps even more the aim of the ubiquitous literary and philosophical clubs than conviviality: "It may indeed be said that in taverns Scots modern literature was born and the first public it addressed was in a public house" says Graham,

although in fact Scots vernacular literature is generally seen as decadent after this period and the literature of the Scots Enlightenment was often ignored in the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The schismatic elements in Scots culture developing in Fordyce's period are evident, for example, in the pseudonyms of Alan Ramsay in the Easy Club, first 'Isaac Bickerstaff' after The Spectator, vehicle of English gentility, and later 'Gavin Douglas' as the vernacular revival was promoted. Most characteristic, however, of Fordyce's period for the present study is the way in which the "improving" societies gave a focus to the cultural aspirations of the educated elite.

Academic Scots, like David Fordyce, who had worked as private tutors in England or abroad, probably played an important role in popularising new ideas in universities and literary clubs. The residential tutor in Scotland was often ill-paid and considered of lowly status, while his counterpart in England tended to have a more prestigious and lucrative employment. Most of the leading figures of the Scots Enlightenment had such posts and some, like George Turnbull, Colin MacLaurin and Adam Smith, resigned from a regency or chair to do so.

Scots after the Union were not slow to seek literary employment in London. Edinburgh, after all, had no Grub Street: there was no professional literary class; the literati were usually ministers, lawyers or professors (David Hume was exceptional in this respect as in others).<sup>13</sup> In London the prejudiced might talk of the "gude conceit" and clannishness of the Scots, but they were often respected and successful.



The jibes of Dr. Johnson on the attractions of England to Scots were typical and not from personal animosity: Boswell and five of Johnson's six assistants with the Dictionary were Scots. Fordyce and Blackwell, Turnbull and Duncan of his immediate Aberdeen colleagues and acquaintances had some enormous literary success and acceptance in literary circles is abundantly clear from the correspondence of Fordyce, Blackwell and others.

The experience of David Fordyce suggests that the relationship between the Scots universities and the English dissenting academies was an important piece of dialogue and it is clear that there was much movement both ways. The question of which had stronger influence has awaited investigation and the present study, inasmuch as it deals with the topic, suggests the relationship was one of dialogue and catalysis.<sup>14</sup> Dissenting tutors were frequently educated in Scotland because of exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge. Warrington, for example, which opened in 1757, sought to ape the Scots universities; four of its tutors had been educated at Glasgow, two at Edinburgh and one at Aberdeen. English dissenting students frequently roved and, like the Scots, frequently went to Holland, the "schoolmaster of Britain", particularly around the turn of the century. The popularity and influence of Scots philosophers in dissenting academies has been shown in their choice of textbooks and references in lecture notes.

John Aikin, tutor at Warrington from 1758 to 1780, used Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy as the basis of his course and Doddridge refers frequently to Fordyce's



writings in his divinity lectures.<sup>15</sup> At Glasgow Carmichael's habit of encouraging students to find out for themselves impressed the dissenters, while Hutcheson, professor from 1729 to 1746, made a major impact, along with Leechman, professor of divinity from 1742, and to a lesser extent, John Simson and Adam Smith. The stress on the experimental sciences in dissenting academies is reckoned by McLachlan to be due to the influence of the Scots universities:

Scottish culture was realistic, modern and progressive and Scots modes of thought, methods of instruction and textbooks made their way during the last half of the eighteenth century into the English Academies whose teaching was improved and their curriculum widened by the contact of their pupils and tutors with the universities of Scotland. (H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts [Manchester, 1943], p. 33).

Thomas Blackwell was probably typical in gaining pupils for Marischal College on his frequent trips to England: he tells Clerk of Penicuik, for example, of a batch of "English gentlemen" he is bringing north in a letter of 16 October 1735.<sup>16</sup> Hans's survey of persons of the period in the Dictionary of National Biography shows a high proportion of Englishmen trained at Scots universities.<sup>17</sup> John Roebuck, in his first year as a student at Edinburgh, tells Doddridge of their being 35 English students there in 1740.<sup>18</sup> A significant number of Scots students also studied partly at dissenting academies like Northampton. Matriculation albums and other sources examined in the course of the present study, however, suggest that the human traffic was very largely northwards while that of ideas was a more complex dialogue. It must be said, for instance, that the educational philosophy of the Scots Enlightenment and English dissenting academies had similar roots in thinkers like Bacon and Locke and in changing social demands.

The experience of David Fordyce suggests that the early Scots Enlightenment was a period of dialogue through a thorough acquaintance with contemporary philosophic thought. 'Philosophy' was, of course, a comprehensive and correlative term to the Scots eighteenth century thinkers, implying general principles in all fields of study, but for the present purpose conventional areas are intended. The rationalist, idealist philosophies of innate ideas from Plato, through Aquinas, Descartes and even Berkeley, were generally rejected although present in debate, for example, among the Rankenians. With Locke they reacted against the mechanical-mathematical model of the universe in Descartes and innate ideas which subordinated facts to principles with no empirical proof. The empiricism of Bacon, Newton and Locke had a great general impact on the Scottish school and led to the Scots formulation of a Sensationalist philosophy that emphasised Sentiment rather than 'Reason', typically to be found in Hutcheson, Smith and Hume and reflected also in Fordyce's writings. In keeping with early eighteenth century thought in general, the Scots reacted against the 'enthusiasm' that had plagued the seventeenth century in favour of Locke's reasonableness. Only David Hume took empiricism to its logical conclusion, that no knowledge is valid without previous sense experience, the position of complete scepticism that in effect reduced the prestige of reason, while the majority of the Scottish school stood by the theory of a Common Sense of morality, formulated best in Reid's Inquiry but in fact being a development of notions of moral sentiment in Cumberland, Shaftesbury and Hutcheson that, by emphasising subjective reactions, played a large part in



creating the cult of sensibility later in the eighteenth century and even, it has been suggested, Scots Kailyardery in the nineteenth.<sup>19</sup> Empiricism for Locke related to the tabula rasa model of the human mind with all knowledge apparently being from sensations, although Locke, unlike some of his followers, added the important corollary about the role of reflection upon sensation. Influence of Locke's Essay concerning the Human Understanding is evident at Marischal College in the 1720s from graduation theses of 1730 under David Verner.<sup>20</sup> The notion that empirical method can be applied to human nature and society, the basis of the modern social sciences, is generally agreed to be a specially Scottish development and David Fordyce's contribution to the study of education should be seen in this light. The idea had been hinted at in Newton, but starts to emerge especially in the writings of George Turnbull, which will be considered more fully later.

Rational empiricism in the tradition of Bacon, Newton and Locke inspired the rise of modern science, with value-free investigation, yet still in the eighteenth century there was the tendency to follow the Renaissance humanist tradition, based on Christian and Classical conceptions of man's intellect and moral nature as ideally the same and to call this 'Reason.' So, along with the fascination for 'experimental philosophy', there was still the tendency to conclude with Pope that the proper study of mankind is man and with Dr. Johnson that "he who thinks rationally must think morally." 'Nature' might mean 'whatever is' or 'what ought to be' but ideally was, among other things, a breakdown of the division between these:



thus Pope's 'whatever is, is right' and Grotius, whom Carmichael and Hutcheson followed, saying "what is nature judge by those in whom nature is least corrupt", i.e., the civilised. Meanwhile argument and evidence (e.g. from travellers' tales) concerning the Noble Savage and Original Goodness were used in support or contradiction. The Ancients' plea to 'follow Nature', supported by Puffendorf's account of natural law and Shaftesbury on ethics led the Moral Sense School to see Benevolence as preserving natural order. The Utilitarian philosophy that this implies achieves its classic statement in Hutcheson's "greatest happiness for the greatest number", although 'Utilitarianism', like 'Sensationalism', was to take on a pejorative meaning later.

The letters of Fordyce to Craig in 1735 show disagreement with Hutcheson's account of the moral sense: Fordyce declares the moral sense is aware of further qualities than Hutcheson allows and so develops the kind of faculty psychology which was to become typical of the Scottish School and the basis of William MacDougall's psychology, but also Fordyce declares benevolence is not the only criterion of goodness and appeals to abstract moral principles and not just the utilitarian one, a viewpoint influenced perhaps by his reading of Joseph Butler's Fifteen Sermons from the Rolls Chapel (1728) and further developed by Butler in The Analogy of Religion (1736).<sup>21</sup> To Butler conscience is more a rational than emotional faculty and potentially superintends all human operations.

The Scots belief in the relative uniformity of human nature was also the outcome of Calvinist theology combined with the neoclassic concern for universals which was a commonplace

notion of the European Enlightenment. Sociology and anthropology, largely established by the Scots moralists, were later to challenge that faith, and Darwin and Freud had still to complicate the issue of man's origins and nature. Nor incidentally were the Scots thinkers generally aware that the social order of the Enlightenment was bound to disintegrate through economic and industrial change.

The Scottish School generally reacted against Calvinist stress upon Original Sin and the Egoism of Hobbes in favour of an optimistic view of human nature encountered already in the Characteristicks (1711) of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and earlier in the Cambridge Platonists and the Latitudinarian divines, important since the 1670s and 1680s and later including figures like Bishop Hoadly and Arthur Sykes whose works Fordyce knew and the latter also personally. The best writers of the period, for example, Swift, Butler and Dr. Johnson opposed Shaftesbury's optimism without adopting the cynicism of Mandeville. Not all the Scots, however, accepted Shaftesbury as fully as Thomas Blackwell although Shaftesbury was said to have "great general influence on the Scottish School in general and particular points."<sup>22</sup> Scots canniness generally qualified the notions of human perfectibility in the easy Deism (which Shaftesbury encouraged but did not profess) that visualised God as the benevolent geometrician who was rationally discoverable and which too easily dismissed mystery and tragedy. Clerk warns Blackwell against accepting Shaftesbury in the naive form, while Ramsay of Ochtertyre infers that David Fordyce was a more independent thinker than Blackwell.<sup>23</sup>



Fordyce tells Craig (who is clearly a disciple of Hutcheson), that Shaftesbury and Hutcheson tend to devalue conscience and alludes to the "pernicious effects on the world" of Shaftesbury's system.<sup>24</sup> Adam Smith, in the recently discovered lectures, declares Shaftesbury to be superficial, while, of modern scholars, Raphael says there is no coherent theory in Shaftesbury and Grean tries to show coherence in the dialectical method.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless the Hobbesian notion that primitive man is not more virtuous than civilised man, that life can be nasty, brutish and short, a view reiterated by Mandeville when Deism and Benevolence were most fashionable, tended to be rejected by the Scots, although they fully appreciated the value of civilisation. The Classical notion that virtue and aesthetics are linked was repeated in the Cambridge Platonists and Shaftesbury and systematised in Hutcheson, while Shaftesbury's conception of the moral sense, in analogy with the physical senses, was further developed by Hutcheson and became a typical feature of the Scots School, in keeping with its moderate Calvinism and general rejection of innate principles. The moral sense intuitively recognises virtuous acts and inclines a man towards benevolence, which gives pleasure. In Shaftesbury good breeding expressed itself at best in the club and a cultivation of serenity, but Hutcheson omitted the dilettante element. David Hartley, in his Observations of Man (1749) considered the moral sense to be acquired, but to the Scots generally moral ideas were acquired by experience, while nature provides the capacity for moral perception.



Major and minor English thinkers were discussed by the Rankenians and others in Edinburgh in the 1720s, including Shaftesbury, Clarke and Berkeley (of whom Reid, at Aberdeen, was an early disciple and Blackwell a close acquaintance). There was no equivalent prototype philosophical club at Aberdeen in the 1720s or 1730s when Fordyce was a student, but he knew the ideas of George Turnbull and Colin MacLaurin, both regents at Marischal College in the 1720s and Rankenians (MacLaurin after his move to Edinburgh in 1727). Turnbull in The Principles of Moral Philosophy (1740) quotes Newton and Pope on the adoption of the experimental approach in human affairs, follows Berkeley in epistemology, and says he used the material as a lecture course twelve years before.<sup>26</sup> Books in the Advocates' Library during the period of Fordyce's residence in Edinburgh included the philosophy of Bacon, Collins, Woolston, Locke, Berkeley and Butler.<sup>27</sup>

The impact of George Berkeley (1685-1753) on the Scots philosophers is disputed. Boaken argues the Scots misunderstood Berkeley, while Davie claims the Scots were not generally followers but were excited by the paradoxes in Berkeley's immaterialism.<sup>28</sup> Ramsay mentions Locke, Clarke, Butler and Berkeley as common stimuli to debate around 1728 when Edinburgh and Glasgow were "swarming with metaphysicians", according to Ramsay, in student and other societies. The Rankenians were corresponding with Berkeley before he went to Bermuda in 1728.

George Turnbull, undergraduate at Edinburgh, 1717 to 1721, and Rankenian, lectured on him at Marischal College, between 1721 and 1726, to classes that included Reid; John Stevenson at Edinburgh gave his students essays on Berkeley in the early 1730s, while MacLaurin discoursed on elements of physics and mathematics implied by Berkeley.<sup>30</sup> Turnbull's The Principles of Moral Philosophy (1740) and MacLaurin's The Discoveries of Isaac Newton (1748) both reflect Rankenian discussions, follow Newton, attack a priori thinking in the Continental rationalists and wish to apply experimental methods to moral subjects.<sup>31</sup> Turnbull's arguments are illustrated and supported by quotations from Berkeley, Hutcheson and Butler. Fordyce quotes Turnbull's definition of moral philosophy with implied approval to Doddridge.<sup>32</sup> Familiar also to Fordyce would be the first systematic examination of Berkeley, The Nature of the Human Soul, published in 1733, the year Fordyce probably finished his divinity course at Marischal and King's Colleges, by Andrew Baxter of King's College, Aberdeen.

Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), not to be confused with Doddridge's friend and minister at St. Albans, follower of Newton and leading English metaphysician of the early eighteenth century, expounded a rationalism in his two Boyle lectures of 1704-5, A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God and The Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion. Clarke's theories encouraged Deism, although he believed in the importance of revelation, and related benevolence or sympathy to equality and similarity between men as rational creatures rather than natural affections or Moral Sentiment as in Hutcheson. Clarke's Works were published in May, 1738, around the time Fordyce was in London, and Fordyce shows his respect for Clarke by saying that Euphranor, leader of the imaginary academy in

Dialogues concerning Education, has something of Clarke's intellectual status.<sup>33</sup> Fordyce became a friend and correspondent of Clark's co-pastor, Arthur Sykes.<sup>34</sup>

1724 to 1736 have been called "busy years for British moral philosophy" and it is clear from Fordyce's writings that he was acquainted with the writers and philosophies mentioned here.<sup>35</sup> The intellectual dialogue produced by contact with such philosophers and others in the second quarter of the century produced in the Scottish School a particular blend of philosophical assumptions, when combined with native traditions, against which the thought of David Fordyce can be seen. The empirical and pragmatic emphasis, for instance, ensured that their thinking was applied and productive, while their awareness of the unity of all knowledge ensured that the moral basis of their investigations was never forgotten. Since 'philosophy' still meant study of the general principles in all disciplines there was no apparent rift yet between arts and sciences. Of Fordyce's circle, Francis Hume, as Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh, pioneered the chemistry of bleaching for linen products, investigated plant nutrition and recommended the boiling of water against epidemics. The industrial involvement with James Watt and others of Fordyce's club-mate, John Roebuck, is famous. The latter was a typical figure of the Scots Enlightenment although English by birth, a former pupil of Doddridge, who studied the industrial



application of chemistry while a student at Edinburgh. After study at Leyden, a modified Grand Tour and practice at Birmingham, he returned to Edinburgh, established with William Cadell the sulphur works at Prestonpans, the Carron Iron Works and worked with Watt on the early development of the steam engine.

The social theorists were also empirical and pragmatic, although hardly in the manner of the modern social scientist. Buckle's view, that the Scots thinkers were primarily deductive, has been discredited, but it is worth remembering that the confusion has arisen partly because their empiricism included introspection, now general discredited as a method by orthodox psychology.<sup>36</sup> Fordyce emphatically rejects deductive systems in his lectures.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the Scots social theorists are founding fathers, but with an essential moral perspective and commitment that modern social science, in its struggle for objectivity, does not make obvious. The pioneering population survey of Dr. Webster, minister of Edinburgh's Tolbooth Kirk, in 1755 but applicable to some years earlier and the First Statistical Account of Sir John Sinclair of 1790-8 illustrate the experimental and utilitarian emphasis, while the fact that these surveys were carried out by local clergy shows the emphasis of their education and interests. Breadth of interest is illustrated also by the compilation of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in Edinburgh between 1768 and 1781. Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (1773) is reckoned to have been stimulated by mixing with Glasgow merchants,

professors, professional people and informed laity informally in Glasgow taverns and in Provost Cochrane's Political Economy Club and later the Glasgow Literary Club, although documentary evidence of the connection does not appear to exist.<sup>38</sup> The histories of David Hume and William Robertson were more investigative than the traditional "philosophy teaching by examples", but still meant to be of moral value, as was Adam Ferguson's Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), which largely established social anthropology. Didacticism was generally acceptable to Augustan literary criticism and so Blackwell offers his Memoirs of the Court of Augustus in the hope that vice will be cured and virtue affirmed, but allied to this is the new historical and cross cultural emphasis.<sup>39</sup>

It has been said that one could hardly avoid being a sociologist in Scotland at this time, since the transitions in Scots society made it a microcosm.<sup>40</sup> The different cultures of the Highlands and Lowlands, both in transition under the influence of political and socio-economic forces, provided living examples of sociological problems. The journey of Johnson and Boswell was ultimately a moral investigation, in fact too late to see authentic tribal life, and David Fordyce's trips to the Highlands would have a similar investigative purpose. Adam Ferguson, born near the Highland line, was well qualified to speak on the primitivism-civilisation debate and his recently published Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt takes a series of topics in general philosophy rather as Fordyce does with educational issues in Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>41</sup> A city like Edinburgh, also, with its social sandwich in the tenements of the Old Town, inevitably stimulated analysis by thinking men.

Scots legal studies were linked to moral philosophy and political science in the manner of Dutch legal studies and so inevitably the influence of law lords like Monboddo and Kames went far beyond the Bar. Agricultural improvement was encouraged partly by societies, the first agricultural one founded in 1723, with a large membership, including gentry, law lords and professors and had a considerable influence. The Farming Club in the North East at Gordon's Mill from 1758 to 1765 included six Aberdeen professors, together with improving landlords and others.<sup>42</sup> Dr. William Fordyce gave £1,000 in 1790 for a lectureship in agriculture at Marischal College, although no appointment was made until 1840, while Mrs. Barbara Blackwell, Thomas Blackwell's widow, in 1793 donated money for a professorship of chemistry, an English prize essay and salary improvements. The Scots thinkers considered ethics, psychology, jurisprudence, sociology, economics, anthropology, political economy, history, theology and aesthetics but none in a purely abstract and unrelated way, because of intellectual tradition and because the group was related by ties of friendship, of master and pupil or of academic succession or the fraternity of the club, philosophically akin but not forming a consensus.<sup>43</sup> They combined breadth and depth in a unique way (reflected partly still in the ordinary M.A. degree in Scots universities) and, not surprisingly, the fine balance of general and special education is one of the concerns of David Fordyce's educational thought.



In the movement of ideas it is always difficult to measure the relative importance of men of genius and of circumstances. The Scots Enlightenment comprises largely the response of native traditions and wit to widening horizons, opportunities and new ideas and the promotion of Enlightenment through dialogue, although of individuals Hutcheson is generally seen as the father figure. His appointment in 1729 after the academic reforms that instituted the professoriate gave scope to his talents: his lectures in English and his introduction of English and European philosophers influenced not only his students (Scots, English and Irish) but also the educated laity of Glasgow and visitors from Edinburgh, Aberdeen (like Blackwell and Fordyce) and elsewhere. Yet Graham talks of a revival of philosophy and science by 1730 and one must not forget earlier leaders who are at least transitional figures.<sup>44</sup> Hutcheson's distinction was essentially as a teacher for sixteen years, despite his extensive philosophic publications. His teacher at Glasgow from 1711, Gershom Carmichael, has been seen by some as more the leader of new thought, since he included Continental thinkers in his Compendium, which Hutcheson followed.<sup>45</sup> In theology others see churchmen like Principal Carstares, William Hamilton or Robert Wallace as the originators of Moderatism, because of their capacity to spread tolerance after the era of persecution and conflict.<sup>46</sup> At Aberdeen, with the new appointments following the failed Fifteen rebellion, Blackwell, the younger, MacLaurin and Turnbull are clearly the leading figures.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the appetite and opportunity for dialogue, formally in clubs or in other ways (e.g., in prolific letter writing), seem to

be more significant in the generation of ideas in the Enlightenment than any individual leader.

David Fordyce's writings must be seen against the background of the powerful eighteenth century sentimental movement. Its philosophical roots were mainly in Shaftesbury and Hutcheson's emphasis on the intuitive moral sense, including one to Benevolence, rather than Original Sin or the Self Love of Hobbes and Mandeville, with an equivalent stress on the Benevolence of God and a consequent emphasis on human emotion. Weeping comedies and highly emotional fiction, with paragons of virtue as heroines, were a mid century outcome not intended by the philosophers. Fordyce's attempt at fiction in dialogue xi of Dialogues concerning Education bears strongly the influence of this tradition, yet Philander, generally a spokesman for Fordyce, says "the Bulk of Modern Fiction is of a wretched Taste, and very extravagant."<sup>48</sup> In a letter to Doddridge Fordyce says that the latter's Life of Colonel Gardner "melted his heart" and in another letter shows his interest in popular sentimental novels and drama, including the novels of Richardson: the heroine of Clarissa, for example, is "another divine creature" to follow on from that of Pamela.<sup>49</sup> Some of the best literature in the movement was less sentimental, for example, the best poetry of Thomson who was a friend of Fordyce.<sup>50</sup> Nor did the religious joy of the Methodists always include the ecstasies of extreme evangelicalism. The accompanying humanitarianism has been well described: the welfare reforms, regarding, for example, hospitals, prisons, slavery, treatment of the insane and animals. Fordyce's concern with psychiatry ("The sanatory Part of Education") should perhaps be seen against this background of social conscience in schools,



hospitals and prisons.<sup>51</sup> The effects on education are particularly striking, with the rapid growth of educational provision , especially for the generally illiterate English masses, the swing to belief in education as an unfolding of inner propensities and the development of feeling, instead of imposition from without, and the reaction against the stultifying training in classics. Important events during Fordyce's period of writing include the establishment of the Foundling Hospital in 1741 and John Newbery 's publication of A Pretty Little Pocket Book, the first book specifically for children, in 1744. It is interesting to note that Crane, historian of the cult of sensibility, quotes Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy to typify the mid century position on the subject.<sup>52</sup>

To establish the worth of David Fordyce's writings on education it is necessary to consider the kind of educational thought that was prevalent in his time, amongst both theoreticians and practitioners. Not that it is usually possible in the history of ideas to establish simply cause and effect in terms of influence.

Thomas Reid, the prominent Scots philosopher and admirer of Fordyce, claimed that the rules of education were to be found in Plato, Xenophon and Quintilian, among the ancients, and in Milton, Locke, Turnbull (Reid's regent at Marischal College), Fordyce, Berkeley, Rousseau and others among the moderns.<sup>53</sup>

The educational thought of ancients like Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and Quintilian, was still making an impact in the eighteenth century because of the prestige of classical writings



and their place still in curricula and Fordyce would be well read in these. Thus, for example, Plato's conception of education as approximation towards ideals, the blending of 'music' (the arts) and 'gymnastic' and a developing curriculum in mathematics and abstract studies as befitted Philosopher-Kings, his hint at the use of play, the indivisibility of intelligence and goodness (an ideal for all Greeks) and the Socratic concern with eliciting principles already 'known': the appearance of similar ideas as neoclassic commonplaces in Augustan literature testifies to their strength and fundamentality.

Of the moderns the writings of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) were a quarry for later thinkers in education and other fields, almost as Aristotle was for the Scholastics. His often repeated criticisms that universities and schools were too concerned with words rather than things, dominated by authorities of the past and creating professional men only, played a large part in the swing to the practical sciences and more utilitarian studies and from Scholasticism in the eighteenth century. His stress upon observation and experience, education as growth and adaptation was to be elaborated by various writers, the emphasis on concrete experience and practical preparation for life especially mediated to the eighteenth century by the Puritan reformers Comenius, Hartlib, Dury, Woodward, Milton and Petty. Dicta of Bacon, whose works were republished by Fordyce's acquaintance Thomas Birch in 1740, are mentioned in Fordyce's lectures on the history of philosophy and are reflected in mid century reform in Scottish universities and schools and in English dissenting academies.<sup>54</sup>

The tractate Of Education (1644) by John Milton (1608-74) stressed the training of a gentleman in a community of scholars for personal virtue and public responsibility, with a fundamentally religious purpose and virtue considered ultimately more important than learning. Mental and physical were to be properly balanced, abstract studies like logic and metaphysics put at the end of a course, while Milton's criticism of too much formal grammar and exercises in composition (the "grammar grind") was often heard from the Renaissance into the eighteenth (and even twentieth!) century, not surprisingly since the Renaissance's rediscovery and revival of the classics had put the curriculum out of step with contemporary needs and given classics an exaggerated status and extended life, although there was no longer the Scholastic need for a lingua franca. Some of Milton's own suggestions, however, were hardly digestible; his concern is with content rather than form and his methodology vague. The tradition of educational thought from Milton, as with Locke, had a major impact on eighteenth century educational theory and, it has been claimed, was particularly acceptable in Scotland.<sup>55</sup>

The influence of John Locke (1632-1704) upon eighteenth century philosophic thought together with educational practice is paramount, although he was arguably not a particularly original educational thinker. An Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690) and Some Thoughts concerning Education (1693) indicate the theoretical and practical basis for the breeding of gentlemen: the rejection of innate ideas, although acknowledging the synthesising power of 'Reflection' and the presence of innate differences (in Of the Conduct of the



Understanding); the concern for rational self control and physical well being, conduct and manners, with academic learning subservient and, much later, the liberalising Grand Tour, but not in adolescence. In methodology, Locke saw the need to make learning attractive and stimulate the desire to learn, prevent aversion, take advantage of curiosity and first hand experience, teaching according to the capacity of the child, disapproving of excessive strictness and, indirectly at least, advocating the investigation of child psychology. His curricular recommendations tend to the utilitarian: French is preferable to Latin, whose grammar requires first a fluency and is irrelevant for those following a trade (but a gentleman should learn a trade); subjects like law and geography are included along with dancing and other pursuits of a gentleman; languages should be learned more by reading and talking than learning rules by rote. But the very empiricism Locke advocated was to make his curriculum too encyclopaedic; beyond the eighteenth century one man could not be expected to master many branches of knowledge. Also, despite sympathy with the child, Locke maintained an essentially subject, teacher and society centred tradition of education.

Locke in his educational writings was partly perpetuating the ideal of the Renaissance gentleman well versed in the arts and sciences, physical and social pursuits, in turn based partly on Classical and Christian ideals. Locke's anti-bookishness and stress on virtue before scholarship appealed to the new commercially orientated middle classes. Meanwhile eighteenth century booksellers' shelves "groaned under the weight of conduct books", generally extolling Christian humanist virtues, as did so many sermons and periodicals of



the time.<sup>56</sup> William Darrell's The Gentleman Instructed (1702), which was a pastiche of earlier conduct books together with extensive borrowings from Locke, was nevertheless "important and influential" according to Mason, historian of conduct literature.<sup>57</sup> It forms a dialogue between Eusebius and Neander, the former an elderly nobleman retired from the world, who comments on the beau monde, in religious tone and gives good practical advice. Darrell's work may have been partly a model for Fordyce's Dialogues. Typical educational topics in courtesy literature since Elyot's The Governour (1531), the first book on education in English, were the virtues; the qualities of the good mother, attendants, companions and tutors; public versus private education; and a trend towards a "practical" curriculum.

Thomas Elyot's The Governour (1531) and Roger Ascham's The Scolmaster (1570) were republished in 1743, while Fordyce was probably working on his Dialogues, and bore the influence of Plato, Quintilian (his Institutio Oratoria, 92-5 A.D., rediscovered in 1416, strongly influenced Renaissance humanists generally), Erasmus, Castiglioni (whose The Courtier, c. 1516, is a dialogue) and others. Elyot proposes a Platonic liberal education, stressing languages, morality, social, physical and artistic pursuits, with some notions of individual differences, the importance of early influences, play and personal experience, while Ascham combines a Humanistic learning with traditional elements of English chivalry and discreet methods.

Also in the courtly tradition is Lord Halifax's Advice to a Daughter (1688), a popular if cynical work, admired by Addison and Steele, and recommended by Fordyce when discussing female education, along with The Spectator, Fénelon, Rollin and Hutcheson.<sup>58</sup> The intention of The Spectator (1711-2) to blend amusement with moral refinement is as well known as the role of the coffee houses from which it sprang; educational themes recurring in its pages include a progressive education for women, a trend to utilitarian, especially vocational, education, the use of the vernacular, the unsuitability of the classical curriculum, and, above all, moral education, including disapproval of corporal punishment.

The Grand Tour was the generally agreed natural climax to a liberal education, although many considered it more appropriate to older age groups, with whom it was indeed popular. Locke's private pupil, Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, however, remains the archetypal Grand Tourist, the elegant gentleman intent on completing a classical education. Occasionally the mentor might take his ward to hear lectures at Continental universities as Turnbull did with the young Wauchope at Groningen. Some, like Adam Smith, considered it productive of affectation, but all agreed on the objectives of education through meeting countries and men. The religious motive predominated in its early modern form, strengthened by the motives of the Northern Reformation, but the ideals of the Renaissance humanist dominated the eighteenth century: the search for ancient ruins and marvels (mirabilia) and the ideal of good government (ratio gubernatoris), motives political, aesthetic and moral variously stressed by writers like Bacon, Milton, Newton, Burnet and Addison.

It is uncertain whether Fordyce knew the educational writings of many of the earlier Renaissance humanists, like Erasmus, at first hand. Perhaps he did know the enlightened writings of Jean Luis Vives (1492-1540), whose colloquies were part of the Latin prescription at Aberdeen Grammar School.<sup>59</sup> Vives has an anti Scholastic stress on induction and first hand experience, the use of the mother tongue, play, a sympathetic relationship and consideration of individual differences and growth from within.

Educational thought on the Continent was making some impact in England before Locke made his major impact on the French philosophes. The ideas of John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the Moravian, were well known, as were his text-books. His Great Didactic (c. 1632, 1657-8 in Latin) particularly interpreted the empiricism of Bacon, emphasising things before names, practical examples before rules, personal experience before traditional authorities, use of the mother tongue and concepts of natural propensities, growth from within, maturation, arousing the desire to learn, the educational use of toys and enlightened forms of discipline. Despite the recognition of individual differences and enlightened methodology, however, the psychology is generally simplistic.

The works of Fénelon (1651-1715), Archbishop of Cambrai, were admired by Fordyce, including Treatise on the Education of Girls (1687; London, 1707), Instructions for the Education of a Duke (1721) and the moral fables Telemaque (1699; London, 1742) and Dialogues of the Dead (1679), didactic conversations between historical characters. Fénelon reacts, like Locke,



against Descartes in favour of the mind as tabula rasa, seeing education therefore as the means to create a good or bad society and character, a notion developed in the writings of the philosophes. Fénelon, however, is generally more conservative than Locke, his psychology weak, subjects and methodology vaguely treated except for religious education. Enlightened aspects include emphasis on the importance of example as well as precept, the need for pleasure and profit in learning and to "follow and help nature", some anticipation of Rousseau's negative education, the indirect moral instruction of fables and activity, curiosity and observation.

Fordyce may have read the satirical New Maxims concerning the Education of Youth (1718; London, 1740), by the Swiss J.P. de Crousaz, which was influenced by Locke but places strong emphasis on self education. Fordyce certainly quotes the name of Charles Rollin (1661-1741) with approval and probably knew the work generally of the Little Schools of Port Royal and may have visited the place. Rollin's Treatise on Studies (1726-8), Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres (1732; London, 1737), and New Thoughts concerning Education (1735; London, 1737) follows the liberal stream of thought from Locke, expounding a more child-centred philosophy of making the inner outer, stressing the need for a loving relationship between teacher and pupil, learning through play, the education of feeling, exploring the environment, knowing the pupil's dispositions and abilities and activity and freedom generally.

Some cross fertilisation of thought between British and French intellectuals must have been a feature of the 1720s to

1740s, although Leslie Stephen sees Deism as the only major thing held in common.<sup>60</sup> Huguenot exiles had made an impact in London coffee houses, having a pragmatism, empiricism and stress on individual conscience in common with Locke. The ideas of Fénelon were popularised in England by returning emigres.<sup>61</sup> The Anglomania of the period was encouraged by writers like Prevost, Voltaire and Montesquieu, reflected especially in adulation of Locke's common-sense philosophy and dismissal of cloudy metaphysics and admiration for English traditions of prosperity and freedom. Voltaire's visit to England from 1726 to 1729, Montesquieu's in the autumn of 1727 and Rousseau's later encouraged personal contact of intellectuals and the cosmopolitanism and even philanthropy typical of the period.

Émile (1762; London, 1763) by John Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), published eleven years after Fordyce's death and the classic statement of child-centred educational theory, nevertheless owes much to its predecessors, especially Locke and Montesquieu. Again virtue is the main aim and "things" and personal experience (learning by doing) are more educational than abstract words. There must be early training of habits, emotions and senses, the intellect not until age twelve since childhood involves the "sleep of reason", and original goodness in the child must be preserved against a corrupting environment. The teacher is not non-interventionist, but observes the concept of readiness, uses discovery methods and play, creating motivation by a "regulated liberty". No direct moral lessons, including fables are necessary, although moral, religious, social and aesthetic education may be more formal in adolescence. Considering what the child is capable



of learning rather than what he ought to know, respecting the child's nature at each stage, rather than considering him a miniature adult to be hurried into the adult world and fostering a discipline in an originally innocent nature, which grows naturally from the lessons of experience, should make compulsion and corporal punishment unnecessary.

It is particularly important to compare Locke and Rousseau, and Fordyce with each of them, since they are accepted giants of the history of educational thought and historically Fordyce comes between them. Thus Locke, for example, had no conception of the ideal state of nature and degeneration as in Rousseau, nor was he as anti-bookish, and while Locke's qualified version of the tabula rasa suggests a relatively passive intake and processing of sense impressions, Rousseau stresses the unfolding of nature, the natural development of innate capacities in both intellectual and moral spheres. In the latter at least Locke's model is more authoritarian and established a rationalist tradition against which the Sentimental movement rebelled.

Histories of Scottish education ignore many of the writers on the subject and some summary of these, particularly those whom Fordyce had probably read is given here. The section on the history of educational thought in Craigie's bibliography is particularly weak and not entirely accurate.<sup>62</sup>

The earliest writing exclusively on education by a Scot after the First Book of Discipline seems to be The Instruction of a Young Nobleman (1607) by James Cleland, a resident in England, restating ideas in Castiglioni, Elyot and others in



the courtly tradition, and stressing the value of foreign travel.<sup>63</sup> Already mentioned is John Dury (1596-1680), a Scot who grew up on the Continent, friend and colleague of Hartlib and Comenius and with similar ideas to the latter. Dury's The Reformed School and other writings, published between 1645 and 1654, emphasise vocation and the sciences, yet stressing mere knowledge is not the primary aim of education, that learning should be pleasant, things and words must go together, with adaptation to individual needs and capabilities, which the teacher should study.

Thoughts on Education was written about the end of 1668, but posthumously published in 1761 by Gilbert Burnet, son of an Episcopalian father and Presbyterian mother, Marischal College graduate, minister at Saltoun and Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, then Bishop of Salisbury from 1689 to 1715 and most famous for his The History of My Own Time (1723-34).<sup>64</sup> Burnet's educational writings owe much to Milton, having a similar overall moral stress. The object of education is to produce straight growth, especially by sowing the "seeds of religion" (with a Latitudinarian emphasis). The choice of mother, cleanliness and right company are vital. Punishment should be minimal before age seven or eight; praise and kindness are the best forms of encouragement and the best punishment is a withholding of rewards. The traditional debate of public and private education is partly dealt with: school encourages emulation and recreation, but good company cannot be guaranteed. Moral education involves learning maxims and reading Scripture; the teaching, however, is heavily weighted towards rational discourse with examples. In intellectual development it is important to "know things" before one thinks of ordering them. The commonplace criticisms of

Latin grammar appear: modern languages may be learned by six or eight months residence in, for example, France or Holland by dull boys, yet the years spent on Latin grammar scare rather than invite; rules are best taught by practice. The curriculum should include history, geography, classics and modern languages, natural history, law, management, agriculture and manufactures. Fordyce clearly could not have read Burnet's work since it was not published till 1761, but the ideas seem to have been current at the time of writing, when Burnet was minister at Saltoun.

The Character of a Generous Prince (London, 1703) by James Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, stresses courage, justice, prudence and temperance (the Aristotelian virtues), is anti-popish and ecclesiastical strife and holds up the character of King William as an example.<sup>65</sup> Rules of Good Deportment, or of Good Breeding For the Use of Youth by Adam Petrie, 'the Scottish Chesterfield', was published at Edinburgh in 1720.<sup>66</sup> Including borrowings from French originals, the work covers the usual courtly topics, for example, dress, bearing, conversation, treatment of friends and servants, marriage and recreations, with an underlying Puritan morality. Plan of Education for a Young Prince by Andrew Michael Ramsay, the 'Chevalier' (1686-1743), was published in London in 1732 and 1736, in Glasgow (3rd edition) in 1741 and 1742. Ramsay, born in Ayr and educated in Scotland, spent most of his life on the Continent and was disciple and biographer of Fénelon. Ramsay talks of training the understanding, the imagination and the heart, the first through early teaching of classics, then mathematics, but he is generally anti-pedantic; the imagination through poetry, mythology, rhetoric, principles of theology, painting and music; the heart through social and political virtues with examples from history and Fénelon's tales rather than "tedious moralising."<sup>67</sup>



Observations upon Liberal Education (1742) by George Turnbull (1698-1749), Edinburgh graduate, regent at Marischal College, 1721-25, travelling or resident tutor to the Earl of Wauchope and the Duke of York, among others, is mainly in the Lockean tradition but diffuse and vague, stylistically, indeed, a mishmash of letters, dialogue, personal comment and exposition. It may indeed have been imitation of this work that produced Blackwell's criticism of literary incoherence in the first draft of Fordyce's Dialogues. Turnbull mentions a variety of authorities, ancient and modern, at the beginning and Locke, Fénelon and Rollin especially of the moderns in the text, together with unacknowledged borrowings, for example, from Hutcheson. There are some exercises on stock themes, for example, choice of tutor and the public-private issue. Turnbull advocates a Baconian concentration upon things rather than words (although his own discourse is most wordy), the Lockean aims of rational self control (with as early as possible an appeal to reason) and training in good habits, using praise and channelling curiosity, with the need for more practical studies. Moral examples should be used from history (as in Fénelon) and good taste and virtue are associated (as in Shaftesbury and Hutcheson). There is study of art as a means to moral truth and the traditional stress on the priority of moral education.

Fordyce would know also A Treatise on Education (1743) by James Barclay (1713?-66), one of Turnbull's pupils and graduate along with Reid at Marischal College, master at the High School in Edinburgh and then of Dalkeith Academy. Barclay's work is influenced especially by Milton and Locke.<sup>68</sup> It devotes much space to the reform of classics teaching (he



published also Rudiments of the Latin Tongue and The Greek Rudiments after the Plan of Mr Ruddiman), yet stresses the importance of the vernacular and the unsuitability of classics to many pupils. He would widen the curriculum to include, for example, arithmetic, history, geography and experimental subjects and the polite arts for ladies. He recommends the moral tales of Fénelon and early religious training, stresses the role of encouragement, curiosity and discussion and declares that one should not work "against nature" but "prescribe proper means to accomplish her intention." The teacher should gain the respect of the pupils who should be "caressed into obedience": the need for corporal punishment should be rare. Barclay, however, was the schoolmaster of Ramsay of Ochtertyre, whose brief account of him suggests he was a highly eccentric, even perturbing, individual. Ramsay went to Dalkeith in 1749, where many boarders were taken because of the reputation of Barclay, considered one of the first schoolmasters in Scotland to rule by moral discipline rather than corporal punishment, says Ramsay. Yet one wonders what one is to make of the following:

He seldom whipped, but when in a passion substituted different degrees of shame according to the offence, viz., setting them on the floor with their breeches down; making them crawl round the school, which he called licking the dust; or putting them naked to bed in a play afternoon, and carrying off their clothes. This method soon made him exceedingly popular, both with parents and children, and contributed not a little to the flourishing of his school. (Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. x).

His teaching methods too were "showy"; he was good at translations and at estimating the characters of pupils. But punishment lost its terrors: Ramsay talks of "wilder lads, some of whom took a comfortable nap on a play afternoon."

Thoughts on Education (Edinburgh, 1747) by James Burgh is a pamphlet written in the aftermath of the Forty-five, intent on seeing education as a means to avoid vices and follies that produced the disaster. There is a stern call for education to prevent error. Age six to sixteen is seen as the important period for "forming and breaking his temper", encouraging good qualities and crushing bad ones, in preparation for this life and the next. Burgh discourses on grammar, spelling and punctuation, the essentiality of Latin and Greek and is antagonistic to the childish fables of heathen literature. Writing is improved mainly by practice. Drawing, music, mathematics, accounts, geography, astronomy, history and biography should be in the curriculum. Burgh is anti-popery, anti-party disputes, warns against worldliness and stresses the ongoing and supreme value of religion. His stated authorities are Grotius, Locke and Clarke, but his outlook is clearly conservative and polemic.

After the publication of Rousseau's Émile in 1763 Scotsmen were among the host of writers who registered their sentiments on upbringing and education in writing that was largely derivative. William Craig, Fordyce's Glasgow friend, for example, in a published sermon on religious education declares instruction should be "given in a soft and gentle manner; and with as little appearance of rigour and restraint as possible" and should be accompanied by "mild and gentle reasonings", reproof being given "with calmness and composure" according to the discipline of love.<sup>69</sup> James Gregory's A Father's Legacy to his Daughters (1777), which is in the courtesy tradition but reflecting the new status of women, was highly regarded. The best, however, is probably



Some Loose Hints upon Education (1783) by Henry Home, Lord Kames, which stresses the need to begin early, have a strong practical element in lessons, first hand experience before formal instruction, "doing" rather than being told, example being considered preferable to precept, the use of educational toys, the need to make learning a pleasure, acknowledging that the home is more influential than formal education and the ultimate aim of education being the morally good citizen. The emphasis is firmly on emotional development in the tradition of the eighteenth century sentimental movement.

Fordyce's writings on education, therefore, can be seen in the light of several traditions, classical, Renaissance, humanist, those of conduct literature, the English dissenting academies, the Scots Reformed tradition and certain Scots writers and it must be decided, therefore, to what extent his thought is merely derivative.

Some account of eighteenth century educational practice should be related to the writings of the theorists, who at times influenced, and at others diverged from, or were ignored by it. At the same time it helps establish the worth of Fordyce's educational thought. Thus in England the most vital educational practice was not to be found in the Grammar or Public Schools, where secondary education had sunk to a low level, their practice largely unaffected by the criticism of Locke, Continental thinkers and others. The wealthy were attracted to Locke's recommendation of the use of a private residential tutor, as Locke was with the Earl of Shaftesbury,



or a travelling mentor for the Grand Tour, or to the aristocratic decadence, with its lethargy and social climbing, of Oxford and Cambridge, severely criticised by Adam Smith after his experience at Baliol. The alternative and productive universities of the period were those of Scotland and Holland, the Nonconformist "universities" or "universities of private enterprise", i.e., the dissenting academies, and the metropolitan "penny universities", the coffee houses.

The practices of Philip Doddridge at Northampton were influential and progressive, although he was not a particularly original thinker. The atmosphere of liberal inquiry had been the habit of his own tutor, John Jennings, at Kibworth, and the theory was extensively the same as Isaac Watts's whose popular Improvement of the Mind (1741) David Fordyce must have read and possibly Watts's earlier On the Education of Children and Youth (1710). The former work concerns the education of the boy, Eugenio, a name Fordyce uses for one of the participants in his Dialogues. Training for a vocation, social duties, leisure, the overall religious purpose and need for specialisation and experimentation, respect between teacher and pupil, self education, curiosity, play and observation of nature, were among the main features.

Excluded from Oxford and Cambridge by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, the dissenters established academies that in the eighteenth century were still migratory, students roving in the manner of medieval universities, and sometimes held in the house of a leader. The curriculum tried to suit general and specific vocational needs, with no mere following of tradition or apeing of the universities, but providing a liberal education in languages, mathematics, pure and applied sciences and religion,

the basis, it has been said, of the modern curriculum. English belles lettres were taking over from Hebrew and Classics, although Doddridge's course at Northampton, from 1729 to 1751, included these in the first year course, with optional French; then logic, rhetoric, geography, metaphysics; geometry, algebra (although Doddridge treated mathematics briefly), physics and experimental philosophy (mechanics etc., with some apparatus available); natural and civil (including ancient and ecclesiastical) history, mythology; and finally ethics, 'comparative', systematic and practical theology. Courses, however, were tailor-made for individuals and only three fifths of his students entered the ministry.<sup>70</sup> The utilitarian emphasis is clear in Doddridge's statement that, although Classical literature was valuable "yet it would be Impudence to yourself, and an Injury to the World, to spend so much Time in your Closet as to neglect your Warehouse, and to be so much taken up with the Volumes of Philosophy or History, Poetry or even Divinity, as to forget to look into your books of Accounts."<sup>71</sup> Such an emphasis can easily be related to the needs of the rising middle classes and the Weber-Tawney thesis on the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism.

A stress upon individual experience and discovery is clear in Doddridge's theory: "Acquaintance with the world of men will be better learnt by converse as anatomy is better learnt by dissection than by books alone."<sup>72</sup> Doddridge's lecturing was in English, in the morning only, punctuated by dialogue, (interruption was encouraged), and students were expected to take abundant notes (at Northampton in Doddridge's version of Jeremy Rich's shorthand) and follow up the multitude of



references from divinity to mechanics in contemporary literature. The controversial method of presentation by Doddridge followed Jennings of whom he said: "He encouraged the greatest freedom of enquiry" in that he "doesn't accord with the system of any particular body of men, but is sometimes a Calvinist, sometimes a Romonstrant, sometimes a Baxterian, sometimes a Socinian and using all kinds of authors" with "no fear of heretical passages".<sup>73</sup> Yet Doddridge expected students ultimately to commit themselves. Joseph Priestley, who went to the academy in 1752, just after Doddridge's death when it transferred to Daventry, says "students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance" and tutors also were of different opinions, the tutor and sub tutor for example, might be orthodox or heretical.<sup>74</sup>

The family atmosphere and paternalism of Doddridge especially helped to make the academy successful. Sir James Fergusson sent his son, John, to Northampton late in 1743 or early in 1744 on the recommendation of Colonel Gardner and was impressed by the degree of moral supervision, not felt to be present in universities.<sup>75</sup>

Some account of educational practice in Scotland must begin with Knox's blueprint in the First Book of Discipline of 1556 for a public, national system of general and higher education, with a school in every burgh and virtually all parishes, together with colleges in major towns, to give the mass of the population a basic education largely unparalleled in Europe and advanced education for the lad o' pairts. The aim, of course, did not



entirely materialise, through the rapacity of the barons, but sufficiently for this to be accepted as an important factor in the explanation of the Scots Enlightenment, after the aim was reaffirmed in the 1696 Act for Settling Schools of the Scots Parliament. The Scots educational system from the start combined intellectual, moral, religious and community values: parents were to raise their children in learning and piety till the commonwealth have profit by them and schools to provide moral, intellectual and technical education with grammar and Latin. To the Reformers education and self-improvement established true religion and justified a man in the eyes of God, although, paradoxically, Justification by Faith was a central Calvinist doctrine. The twin aims of learning and piety were not to be divorced: mere knowledge was not enough since it could be used for good or ill, a point stated memorably by Fordyce. Religious education, however, was still narrow and conservative in the eighteenth century with learning of the catechism and Sunday attendance at school after church service for examination, and church influence and control were major until the nineteenth century in the appointment of schoolmasters and right of inspection as well as in curriculum.

The constant drilling in Latin grammar supposedly facilitated study of wide fields of knowledge but involved much drudgery, particularly when combined with strict treatment based on the concept of Original Sin both in home and school, the latter in many places a hovel where long hours were spent under an inadequately rewarded schoolmaster.

Curricular development and educational theorising in Scotland were minimal until mid century, with little progress  
consideration of  
in/ for example, age, ability, personality, motivation or

future employment. When reform in Scottish education took place it was more through cultural and economic change than the specific influence of thinkers, although Strong argues, without evidence, that the ideas of Comenius, Locke and Rousseau gradually became known.<sup>76</sup> Reaction against the ars grammatica, in favour of more utilitarian studies, in response to new industrial and commercial needs, was reflected in the establishment of the "academies", liberal, practical, scientific and commercial in emphasis, as at Ayr in 1746, with subjects like arithmetic, geometry, algebra, physics, navigation, surveying and literature and at Perth in 1761, teaching science, classics, mathematics, modern languages and commercial subjects like book-keeping.

A continuous system from parish or burgh school to university, was part of Knox's vision and was supposed to grade, examine and reward effort in the lad o' pàrts, at least, irrespective of social origins. The university arts curriculum in the early eighteenth century, however, was still Medieval, based on the Aristotelean trivium and quadrivium, but it aimed at a high level of general education prior to specialist professional studies in divinity, law or medicine. Deliberate preparation for active life was, by comparison, hardly true of the eighteenth century English universities. In the early eighteenth century there were about 1500 students at the five Scots universities, similar numbers to Oxford and Cambridge, although the relative populations of Scotland and England were of the ratio 1:5.

After the lethargy of the early century the abolition of regenting established more specialist, practical and relevant studies. Instead of the regent teaching all subjects by the



exposition of set books and testing by disputation, more independent thought was possible, further facilitated by the dispensing with lectures in Latin. In the letter to Doddridge of 6 June 1743 Fordyce explains the range of the Marischal College arts course and implies that it is too comprehensive.<sup>77</sup> The abolition of regenting at Glasgow in 1727 had been followed by an attempt by the principal and professors at Marischal College in 1733, but foiled by Francis Skene.<sup>78</sup> The 1753 changes in the Marischal College curriculum were typical of the move to teach the most abstract studies last, thus reversing the Scholastic order. The responsibility for these major changes has been variously associated with Principal Blackwell ("his directions and mainly his exertions" according to James Bruce), with Alexander Gerard (editor of the published Plan and student of Fordyce) by others and with Reid (according to Bulloch, the Aberdeen University historian).<sup>79</sup> It has been argued, however, by Bower, Joseph Beattie's biographer, on the basis of style that the Plan is partly Blackwell's.<sup>80</sup> The thinking behind the Plan of Education, whose philosophical roots are in Bacon, Newton and Locke, in rejection of the ancient and Scholastic philosophers, as recorded by Gerard and minuted by the College on 11th January 1753, however, is certainly also that of David Fordyce and recalls his lectures on the evolution of philosophy and discussion of curriculum in Dialogues concerning Education.<sup>81</sup> 'Plan of Education', indeed, is the title for Euphranor's curriculum in Dialogue xvii, which goes on to deal with specialist studies in divinity, medicine and law, the higher degree subjects in the Scots universities. In Gerard's Plan classics stayed in the first year course, while



mental philosophy (logic, psychology, metaphysics, ethics and politics), important in Scottish universities from earliest times, were removed to the last year, while the second year was to be spent mainly with civil and natural history, geography and mathematics, and the third year with the pure and applied sciences. In rejecting the former order it was admitted that beginning with logic, then dealing with ontology, pneumatology, morals and politics, and lastly natural philosophy had meant that "experiment was quite neglected; science was to be reasoned out from general principles, either taken for granted, or deduced by comparison of general ideas, or founded on very narrow and inadequate observation." Philosophy was now "an image not of human fancies and conceits, but of the reality of nature, and truth of things." Again, "As material objects are the most familiar to young minds and experiments and reasonings about them are most level to their capacities" there was to be definite empirical emphasis and in all parts of the course the application of principles to the practical arts of life pointed out. An early attempt to expand experimental philosophy (mechanics, optics, chemistry, hydrostatics and husbandry) at Marischal College in 1726 failed through lack of funds. Apparatus for natural philosophy seems to have been available in 1717, but Reid, undergraduate between 1722 and 1726, considered the treatment of the subject to be "slight and superficial".<sup>82</sup> Some aid was being received from the Commission of Supply for the County; between 1721 and 1735 graduates in Arts were giving voluntary sums for the purpose and there are references to apparatus in the minutes of the period of Fordyce's professorship, 1742 to 1751.<sup>83</sup> The aim in 1726 was that those less good at

mathematics could get the useful parts of natural philosophy  
"especially all sorts of machines in husbandry and common life."

Fordyce's educational thought, which spans all age groups, can thus be seen against the background of a changing and incomplete contemporary educational provision in Scotland and England.

Signs of increased moderation were already present in the theological and ecclesiastical climate of Scotland when Fordyce was a divinity student between 1728 and (probably) 1733. In the years following the Union Scotland shared in the general reaction against the feud and faction of "enthusiasm", although occasional intolerance was still reflected in treatment of supposed heretics. The General Assembly continued to have a parliamentary role, reflected particularly in the attenuated debates over the implications of the Patronage Act of 1712, but increasingly one of cultural dissemination, in the annual visits to the metropolis and provision of a forum. Meanwhile prevalence of the Moderate voice was made easy by the power of the relatively educated and Anglicised patrons who appointed clergy after 1712. Already in Glasgow teachers like Carmichael, John Simpson and Hutcheson, well read in the enlightened thought of Continental rationalists and English thinkers were setting a new tone, encouraging a generation of clergymen from Scotland, Ireland and England to stress rationalism and morality instead of dogma. Miss Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell declared that "the time when the Scotch Ladys went farthest wrong" was between 1730 and 1740:



There was still in the county something of a teast [taste] for good morals, which was improved by a set of teachers among us, most of whom had their education abroad or had traveled with young Gentlemen.....Professor Hamilton and the two Mr. Wisharts at Edinburgh; Professor Hutcheson; Craig, Clerk and Principal Leechman in the west; those taught that whosoever would please God must resemble him in goodness and benevolence, and those that had it not must affect it by politeness and good manners (quoted in H.M.B. Reid, The Divinity Professors in the University of Glasgow 1640-1903 [Glasgow, 1923], p. 245).

The charges of Arminianism and Arianism against Simson finally resulted in suspension, but nevertheless encouraged metaphysical enquiry. Likewise the failure of heresy trials against George Wishart and Archibald Campbell of St. Andrews in the 1730s indicate that intolerance was fighting a losing battle. In Edinburgh the church was increasingly represented among the literati, with seven clergymen, including the Wisharts, among the Rankenians and Carstares, Hamilton and Wallace were among the most influential early Moderates. Aberdeen also was developing a reputation for learning and manners and good relations between Moderates and aristocracy that derived partly from Episcopalian traditions, but which nineteenth century reaction was to call a "dead sea of Moderatism".<sup>84</sup>

Strict Calvinism generally was giving way to liberal theology, yet, paradoxically, Calvinist stress upon predestination was accompanied by a sense of freedom: despite Justification by Faith, Works are implicit in the powerful Scots quest for personal achievement and moral earnestness. Yet eighteenth century Scotland produced no theologian of note, despite an intellectual clergy and the appetite for debate that



Presbyterianism seemed to encourage at all levels of society. Most religious controversy was ecclesiastical: between conservatives and liberals, Evangelicals and Moderates, including three secessions (the first in 1732), but hardly theological, possibly, it has been suggested, because of the restraints of the Westminster Confession.<sup>85</sup> Approaching the level of serious theological discussion was the impact of the Marrow controversy and Baxter's Inquiry (1733), the reply to Berkeley. Theological discussion in England, meanwhile was popular and voluminous on Deist, Bangorian and other controversies, but not always fundamental: Mark Pattison was to call Locke's The Reasonableness of Christianity (1695) "the solitary thesis of Christian theology in England for the greater part of the century."<sup>86</sup>

The older Scots style of preaching a series of sermons on an "ordinary" text in a singsong tone (deriving largely from open-air preaching), was gradually being replaced by shorter sermons, frequently read to ensure an elegant style and with a refined sentiment and benevolent ethics. The evangelical preaching of Whitefield in Scotland in 1741 and 1742 and the ecstatic effects of the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals were more extreme manifestations of the new sensibility. Fordyce writes to Doddridge of Whitefield's visits with approval, saying "Some of our ministers have given him their pulpits, which is thought odd in our strict presbyterian kirk."<sup>87</sup> The published writings of Thomas Blackwell, the elder, and the unpublished sermons of James Chalmers, Fordyce's professor of divinity, are pre-Enlightened in style and content.<sup>88</sup> Of Moderate sermons those of Hugh Blair were most famous, while those of Fordyce's friend, William Craig, typify well the Moderate desire to spread refined taste and moral instruction, even if

platitudinous.<sup>89</sup> The representative selection of Moderate sermons, The Scotch Preacher (Edinburgh, vol. 1, 1775), in the first three volumes, contains sermons of George Wishart, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, William Leechman, Patrick Cuming and James Fordyce, all friends, colleagues and acquaintances of Fordyce, including his brother. James Fordyce's sermon on "Unlawful Pleasure", preached before the General Assembly on 25 May 1760, includes a lengthy extempore effusion (later "recollected").<sup>90</sup> Alexander Carlyle appears in volume 11 (1776), Gerard and George Campbell in volume 111 (1779), while a fourth volume was added in 1806. Ramsay of Ochtertyre, however, sees David Fordyce as the principal innovator in homiletic technique.<sup>91</sup> Ramsay, orthodox in religion, and generally disapproving of sentiment in sermons, declared that modern preachers tend to give "spiritual blancmange" for the young, "with whom nothing will go down but the ice cream of sentiment, heightened by the raspberry flavour of style pushed to extreme."<sup>92</sup> Yet he generously praises Fordyce's style and claims he had inferior imitators.<sup>93</sup> These probably include Campbell, author of The Principles of Rhetoric (1776), and certainly Gerard (whom Ramsay names as borrowing Fordyce's sermon techniques), who seem to have had similar ideas on preaching, growing out of the theological club Campbell was instrumental in establishing as a student at Marischal College in 1742. "Eloquence" was later to become a popular topic in the Aberdeen Philosophical Club.<sup>94</sup> Fordyce's style, however, was probably largely based on English models and in keeping with the developing cult of sensibility.<sup>95</sup> The lengthy excerpt from Theodorus which appears in the Scots Magazine for 1752 indicates the acceptability, if not novelty, of its ideas.<sup>96</sup>



It is clear from Fordyce's writings that he was familiar with theological and ecclesiastical movements in England. Through his acquaintance with many leading dissenters he was aware of their ambiguous political status, originating in the Restoration period with the ecclesiastical settlements of 1662 and 1689, settling the Established Church until the nineteenth century, and the pressures of the Clarendon Code and Test Act of 1673. Increased toleration was felt by dissenters by the eighteenth century, especially under Walpole, without too many concessions actually being granted.

Relations between Scots religion and English dissent was no doubt, like the traffic of students between dissenting academies and Scots universities, one of interaction. Doddridge's standpoint was moderate Calvinist and evangelical, not Puritanical, and Arian in tendency. He was sympathetic to Wesley and Methodist stress on personal experience, not entirely agreeing with the prevailing dismissal of "enthusiasm", interested in missions, seen partly in the close relations between the academy and surrounding churches, and encouraging awareness of controversies among his students. Doddridge's Divine Lectures (1763), his theological course, is a comprehensive and liberal, if dated, compendium of eighteenth century theology. Other leading dissenters whose viewpoints were familiar to Fordyce include Isaac Watts (1674-1748), who tended to Arianism and whose "elegance" and "piety" were praised by Dr. Johnson, and James Foster who encouraged Deism in his cry "where mystery begins, religion ends!" English nonconformists were particularly influenced by Clarke's combination of rationalism and Arianism, although they were probably moving from strict Calvinism anyway.

The English eighteenth century theological climate was settled partly by the Cambridge Platonists, whose works, Drummond



and Bulloch claim were little known in Scotland.<sup>97</sup> In fact the popular didactic sermons of Benjamin Whichcote, senior member of the group and acquaintance of many leading dissenters, were published in four volumes in Edinburgh in 1742, during Fordyce's residency there, by William Wishart, his Works published at Aberdeen in 1751 and it is reasonable to assume that Fordyce had a hand in this venture. The Cambridge Platonists rejected fanaticism, Calvinist predestination and reprobation, Hobbesian materialism and ethical relativism, tended to Armenianism, approving of experimental philosophy and the appeal to reason, seeing the moral life as a means to salvation and, as Platonists, the insights of the ancients as confirming Christianity. Related to the Platonists, sometimes as pupils and similar in spirit were the broad group of Latitudinarian churchmen, like Archbishop John Tillotson (whose sermons were enormously popular and whose biography was by Tom Birch), rejecting superstition, enthusiasm, Scholasticism, mysticism (as in the Platonists), but moderate, tolerant, rationalistic and practical. They reconciled the new thought with Christianity in non-theological language and inadvertently caused much of the prudential ethics and complacency of Augustan religion, but also its philanthropic movements.

The scientific revolution encouraged Deism: Newtonian physics and Lockean psychology and metaphysics were confidently assumed to confirm that nature, environmental and human, expressed order and uniformity according to the design of the Creator. Pious pioneers like Boyle and Newton did not fear the separation of 'philosophy' and religion which Bacon had proposed, since their investigations were assumed to be a tracing of God's handiwork. Locke considered the existence of God "the most obvious truth that reason discovers" and its evidence to be "(if a mistake not) equal to mathematical certainty."<sup>98</sup> In his list of prominent

modern philosophers at the end of his lectures Fordyce included William Derham (1657-1735), whose Boyle lectures on Physico-Theology and also his Astro-Theology were attempts to state Christianity in mathematical terms. The protracted controversy between the exponents of natural and revealed religion, which Fordyce followed with all educated people of the time, was a direct outcome of the new scientific thought: the determinism of Descartes and Hobbes required the defence of prophecy, miracles, providence, mystery and superstition. The prestige of Locke whose compromise in The Reasonableness of Christianity, that reason and revelation are complementary, failed to curb the growth of Deism, with its reduction of God to First Cause or Supreme Being, supported by scientific deduction, rationalist criticism of the Bible (although the age of historical textual criticism had still to come) and arguments about the Noble Savage. Clarke's Boyle lectures, elaborating Newtonian physics and Lockean metaphysics and psychology, encouraged the confident Deist assumption of harmony in the universe, reflecting a wise, benevolent Maker, whose order, beauty and benevolence should be imitated, a tone popularised in periodicals like The Spectator. Fordyce shows in his correspondence and elsewhere that he knew many of the major documents of Deism, for example, Thomas Woolston's Six Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour (1729) and Matthew Tindal's Christianity as Old as the Creation (1730), representing Deist subordination or elimination of prophecy, miracle and allegory.<sup>99</sup> Fordyce was familiar too with replies (Tindal got over a hundred and the debate was particularly intense between 1720 and 1740) like that of Dodwell and Butler's The Analogy of Religion (1736) which (along with Berkeley)



effectively crushed British Deism, Butler demonstrating that natural religion could be no more certain of its truths than the champions of revelation and exposing Deism's ignorance of history and the fact of evil. Fordyce agreed with Bishop Hoadly's work on the Sacraments (which removed the element of mystery).<sup>100</sup>

The status of Christ was disputed meanwhile in the Trinitarian controversy. Arianism and Socinianism had been prevalent in the late seventeenth century, but Clarke's The Scirpture Doctrine of the Trinity (1712) was the first major document to cast Christ and Holy Spirit in subordinate roles, although he denied the charge of Arianism. Arthur Sykes, friend and correspondent of Fordyce and co-pastor of Clarke, tended to a similar rationalist and Arian position.

The controversial Bishop William Warburton (1698-1779) and his works were well known to Fordyce. Warburton pragmatically defended the Establishment with scholarly ability but little tact or tolerance, the "enemy of all heresy and indeed of most forms of belief except his own." The Alliance of Church and State (1736) was firmly Establishmentarian, while The Divine Legation of Moses (1737) by syllogism and panoply of learning argued for divine authority in the Mosaic dispensation.

The 1720s to 1740s were vigorous years of theological and ecclesiastical debate, which no doubt encouraged Fordyce's interest in dialogue and the problems of religious education. Fordyce tells Doddridge in 1743 he has never given up hope of a ministerial appointment and since this was his first calling it is not surprising that he kept abreast of theological publications, acquired a reputation as a preacher and wrote a dialogue on preaching.<sup>101</sup>



Fordyce wrote against the background of a number of literary traditions. The Scots literary tradition, which had flowered brilliantly among the late Medieval Makars, was generally weakened and distorted after the Union of Crowns in 1603 and of Parliaments in 1707. In the Makars folk elements and the academic, cosmopolitan outlook were unified, whereas by the eighteenth century Scots literature, like the culture in general, suffered some disintegration. The fashionable adoption of English culture stimulated Scots men of letters but ensured a schism in their creative output. The new passion for Improvement was not always organically related to traditions in letters any more than in, for example, agriculture. Antiquarianism and a vernacular revival in Ramsay, Burns, Scott and others preserved a sense of nationhood, but reflected cultural schizophrenia, while the literati, competing in English and neoclassic genres and formal English prose (although there was no fully fledged Augustanism in Scotland), with some considerable success because of native talent and interests, reflected also, in the obsession with form and linguistic purity, a "dissociation of sensibility." Thus there is a relative dearth and inconsistency in Scots imaginative literature of the period and frequent stiltedness in works in standard English. Blackwell's vehement criticism of Fordyce's mode and style in his Dialogues was typical of the obsession with form. Blackwell's own Life of Homer, a fairly original contribution to literary criticism, goes to extraordinary lengths in formal imitation of Shaftesbury's Characteristics.<sup>102</sup> It must be considered, therefore, to what extent Fordyce freed himself of the tendency to produce the imitative, commonplace and lifeless as a writer of 'North Britain'.

Nevertheless the art of imitation within specific genres ('Kinds') was a basic tenet of neoclassicism, consequent to a belief that art explores universals: the artist produces "what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed" and "just representations of general nature." It was not difficult for such aesthetic concepts to dominate early eighteenth century pre-industrial society in Europe, when there was relative stability, immobility and continuity, human differences seeming to be superficial and the conditions of life to be "laws of nature." But the scientific revolution which was to alter this world order was also already implicit in the thought of the time, along with the shift in thought from the universal to the particular, the permanent to the transient, from 'reason' to 'emotion'. Likewise the foundations of neoclassicism had already been challenged in the Ancients and Moderns controversy (whose educational implications are discussed by Fordyce), the literary counterpart to the philosophical controversies surrounding Aristotle and the Scholastics. Also neoclassicism was being undermined by the acknowledgement of that "grace beyond the reach of art", the qualities of original genius recognised in Shakespeare and Homer that defy the rules of the Ancients and Fordyce deals with the educational implications of this also.

Anonymous imitation of a fashionable genre was a standard way for the aspiring provincial writer to gain acceptability. Samuel Johnson first published his poem London in 1739 in this way. Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life of Homer (1735) was anonymously published in London because of its stylistic imitation of Shaftesbury and his Letters concerning Mythology (1748), partly by an unknown collaborator, was also published anonymously,



although Blackwell had by this time established a reasonable reputation. The Life of Horace which Blackwell intended to publish first was not put to press, Blackwell tells Clerk, through fear of a critical reception.<sup>103</sup> Mark Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination, which gave popular literary expression to the controversy between rationalists and empiricists and the psychology of association, was published anonymously by Dodsley on the recommendation of Pope in January 1744 and only included the author's name when reprinted four months later. Thus Fordyce's anonymous publication of Dialogues concerning Education in 1745 and 1748 was clearly typical. In any case, for political reasons, 1745 was not the best year for a Scot to establish himself with an English public.

The popular dialogue form has its origins in those of Plato, Cicero and Lucian, although those of Plato had most influence. The Platonic dialogue emerged spontaneously from the life of the Academy as those of Fordyce did from that of eighteenth century literary and philosophical clubs and academic circles. Plato illustrates the Socratic method of eliciting truth by question and answer (the value of which Fordyce discusses) and depending for its impact on narrative and dramatic elements and the way personality is able to reinforce thought which is worked towards rather than stated dogmatically. The Ciceronian and Lucianic forms tended to be merely methods of exposition. Fordyce also mentions his admiration for the dialogue of Cebes, The Picture, and the dialogues of Aeschines.<sup>104</sup> The Church Fathers used the form to teach controversial matters.



Augustine's dialogue De Magistro discusses whether ideas are innate or from sense experience and expounds his doctrine of interior illumination, the active gaining of insight by the pupil, whom the teacher, nevertheless, causes to learn. The form was popular in Renaissance Italy and later in France with Fontenelle, Fénelon, Voltaire and Diderot, reflecting the French belief in conversation as a social art or, as in Fénelon's Dialogues of the Dead (1679), the use of historical stories for moral education.<sup>105</sup>

By the eighteenth century the form was generally didactic and sometimes satirical. It was assumed to make teaching palatable, one figure, the principal mouthpiece, generally being allowed to dominate, with others being introduced for relief or a change of viewpoint. Of the principal studies of the genre in this period, it should be noted that Purpus's appears to miss the relation to club life of the period, while Merrill's is an incomplete historical sketch with no bibliography.<sup>106</sup> Addison's discursive Dialogues upon the usefulness of Ancient Medals (1726) follows the tradition of Greek names for his participants, including the name Philander, which appears in Fordyce's Dialogues. Of philosophical dialogues Berkeley follows the Platonic example closely with Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous (1713) and Alciphron or The Minute Philosopher (1732), the latter being seven dialogues where Dion, the narrator (Berkeley himself), with a leisurely narrative introduction, visits the country house of Euphranor (the name Fordyce uses for the leader of his academy) and writes to Theages describing conversations with neighbouring gentlemen during his visit. Berkeley uses an advocatus diaboli in the character of Philocles and an ingenu in Alciphron, both techniques used by Fordyce.<sup>107</sup> Shaftesbury's dialogue

The Moralists, A Philosophical Rhapsody is reckoned to be among the best in literary terms and follows the Platonic form carefully. In Characteristicks, volume III, he claims the good dialogue should be realistic with characters not obviously puppets of the author.<sup>108</sup> His own "conversations on natural and moral subjects" have Philocles in conversation with Palemon, then visiting Theocles in the country, in order to expound Shaftesbury's genteel ethics of natural virtue associated with beauty. Theological dialogues, apart from Berkeley's, that Fordyce knew include the Divine Dialogues (1665; Glasgow, 1743) of Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, and presumably The Marrow of Modern Divinity which sparked off the Marrow controversy in the mid century Scottish church and certainly Matthew Tindal's Christianity as Old as the Creation (1730), one of the leading documents of the Deist controversy.<sup>109</sup> The Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation (three dialogues) by Swift and the anonymous The Conversation of Gentlemen (six dialogues), both published in 1738, perhaps encouraged Fordyce to adopt the genre around the time he was first in London.<sup>110</sup>

After Fordyce the form was largely in decline although it lasted into the nineteenth century but the most important dialogues are by Scots. The two recently published ones of Adam Ferguson are interesting while David Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion (1757) is seminal and is a complex example as regards elucidating the author's viewpoint.<sup>111</sup> The nineteenth century Noctes Ambrosianae of Christopher North (John Wilson) in Blackwood's Magazine, with Wilson as moderator conducting symposia with wit and conviviality among a coterie



of real and talented persons including Lockhart and Hogg, was among the best, although rambling and uneven.

It is clear, however, that the eighteenth century dialogue achieved its greatest impetus from its reflection of the society of salons, clubs and coffee houses, in satire, fiction, comedy and political and philosophical tracts. The Tatler, The Spectator and The Guardian featured typical clubs, with readers avidly following the activities of, for example, Bickerstaff at Will's. Fictitious clubs gave dramatic verisimilitude as well as anonymity and opportunities for satire. Allen, historian of the London clubs, claims: "The depth to which the fictitious clubs penetrated the literature of the period is evident from its use in David Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education, 1745 and 1748."<sup>112</sup> Allan says the reader soon feels almost as intimate with the members (of Fordyce's Philosophical Club) as the devotee of The Spectator does with the Templar and Sir Andrew Freeport.<sup>113</sup> The reading of dialogues, incidentally, is recommended as an intellectual accomplishment by James Fordyce in his best-selling Sermons to Young Women.<sup>114</sup>

The dialogue form clearly is of educational value with its possibilities for clear exposition, dramatic interest and expression of how rival points of view relate to each other. It survives in a pedantic way in foreign language phrase books, but, just as the new cultural situation in the eighteenth century gave it a new life through its reflection of club life, so in the mid twentieth century the dialogue form has taken on a new style and impact in television and radio, from the vapid "chat" show and "talk-in" to some of the cleverest educational use of the media.<sup>115</sup>



It has already been suggested that creative dialogue is central to the early development of the Scottish Enlightenment, while in the writings of David Fordyce it will be suggested that dialogue becomes the basis of an educational theory and method.

#### NOTES

1. T.I. Rae, editor, The Union of 1707 Its Impact on Scotland (Glasgow, 1974), p. vii.
2. Henry W. Meikle, Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland (Glasgow, 1947); T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1969), pp. 173-5. Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. LVIII (1967), pp. 1635-58, emphasises the role of Jacobite-Episcopalian culture in the North East, but is assumed to be exaggerated by Anand C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment a Social History (London, 1976), p. 250. See also the witty rejoinder to Trevor-Roper of Douglas Young, 'Scotland and Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. LVIII (1967), pp. 1967-90. W.J. Coupar, 'Robert Wodrow and his Critics', SCHSR, vol. V (1935), pp. 238-50, and William Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 217, improve on the image of Wodrow as a vigorous writer but of a narrow, superstitious piety in J.H. Millar, Scottish Prose of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Glasgow, 1912), pp. 149-65, and Graham, Social Life, p. 347.
3. Meikle, op. cit.
4. The preface to The Preceptor, 2 vols. (1748), recommends Grotius and Puffendorf and others, to be read along with Fordyce's section on moral philosophy, since the influence of these writers is said to be clear in Fordyce's writings.
5. David Daiches, The Paradox of Scottish Culture (Oxford, 1964), pp. 53-5, and Scotland and the Union (London, 1977), p. 186.
6. Millar, op. cit., p. 176.
7. Thomas E. Jessop, A Bibliography of David Hume and Scottish Philosophy (London, 1938), p. viii.
8. Alison, K. Howard, 'Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau in Eighteenth Century Scotland', The Bibliothek, vol. 11 (1955), pp. 40-63; Henry W. Meikle, 'Voltaire and Scotland', Etudes Anglaises, vol. 111 (1958), pp. 193-201.
9. John M. Gray, editor, Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik 1676-1755 (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. xi and 28; G.P. Gooch, 'Eighteenth Century Anglo French Contacts', Contemporary Review, vol. CLXXXV (1959), pp. 148-51, 226-33; Robert Shackleton, Montesquieu: A Critical Biography (Oxford, 1961), pp. 201-10.



10. J.H. Brumfitt, 'Scotland and the French Enlightenment' in W.H. Barber et al., editors, The Age of the Enlightenment (Studies presented to Theodore Besterman) (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 318-29; Hugh Trevor-Roper, op. cit., pp. 1651-3.
11. Ibid., and see note 8, above.
12. Henry G. Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1908), pp. 7-8.
13. Millar, op. cit., p. 178.
14. Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Eighteenth Century Education (London, 1951), pp. 22 and 55-7; Herbert McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts (Manchester, 1931), pp. 29-33, and Warrington Academy Its History and Influence (Manchester, 1943), pp. 9-10 and 21; J.W. Ashley Smith, The Birth of Modern Education the Contribution of the Dissenting Academies (London, 1954), p.67 etc; William Turner, The Warrington Academy (Warrington, 1957), p. 13 (but not accurate); Donald J. Withrington, 'Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century' in N.T. Philipson and R. Mitchison, editors, Scotland in the Age of Improvement (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 167-92 and note 3.
15. The Works of Philip Doddridge, vol. 1V (1803), pp. 326, 328, 458 and 495; Irene Parker, Dissenting Academies in England (Cambridge, 1914), p. 156; Turner, op. cit., p. 18.
16. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/38.
17. Hans, op. cit., p. 54.
18. Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 430 (5 March 1740). Cf. D.B. Horn, A Short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889 (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 66.
19. D. Daiches, The Paradox of Scottish Culture (Oxford, 1964), p. 83.
20. Peter J. Anderson, Studies in the History and Development of the University [of Aberdeen] (Aberdeen, 1906), p. 73. Cf. Wilbur S. Howell, Eighteenth Century British Logic and Rhetoric (Princeton, 1971), p. 373.
21. Appendix 2, letters 1 and 2. Butler's influence on the Scottish school is ignored by Gladys Bryson, Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century (Princeton, 1945), (although she makes a passing reference to Butler on p. 218): see the review by Ernest C. Mossner, Philological Quarterly, vol. XXV (1946), pp. 136-42.
22. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 276; James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (London, 1875), pp. 29-36.
23. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5037 (23/4 December 1730); Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, pp. 292-4.
24. Appendix 2, p.354.
25. David D. Raphael, The Moral Sense (London, 1947), p. 17; Characteristics, edited John M. Robertson, 1800, rev. with introd. by Stanley Grean (1964), p. xviii, and Shaftesbury's Philosophy of Religion and Ethics (Ohio, 1967), chapter 1.
26. The Principles of Moral Philosophy, pp. xii and 1. Turnbull refers to two university theses [at Marischal College] on the theme of natural and moral relations.

27. Ian S. Ross, Lord Kames and the Scotland of his Day (Oxford, 1972), p. 28.
28. H.M. Boaken, 'Andrew Baxter, Critic of Berkeley', JHI, vol. XV111 (1957), pp. 183-204; George E. Davie, 'Berkeley's Influence on Scottish Philosophy', Philosophy, vol. XL (1965), pp. 222-34.
29. Quoted in Davie, op. cit., p. 222.
30. Anderson, op. cit., p. 75; Alexander C. Fraser, Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 21-3.
31. Cf. Ross, op. cit., p. 70.
32. Appendix 2, p. 370.
33. Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 1, p. 15.  
Cf. Ernest Albee, 'The Ethics of Samuel Clarke,' Philosophical Review, vol. XXXV11 (1928), pp. 304-27 and 403-12.
34. Appendix 2, pp. 371, 405 and 411.
35. William Frankena, 'Hutcheson's Moral Sense Theory,' JHI, vol. XV1 (1955), pp. 356-75, see p. 356.
36. H.T. Buckle, On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect, ed. H.J. Hanham (Chicago, 1970), first discredited by McCosh, op. cit., p. 6n, also by Chitnis, op. cit., pp. 247-8.
37. Appendix 1, pp. 334-9.
38. J.D. Mackie, The University of Glasgow 1451-1951 (Glasgow, 1954), p. 234; W.R. Scott, Adam Smith as Student and Professor (New York, 1965), p. 81; Roger Emerson, 'The Enlightenment and Social Structures' in Paul Fritz and David Williams, editors, The City and Society in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1973), pp. 99-124, see p. 116.
39. Op. cit., preface.
40. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 86; Trevor-Roper, op. cit., pp. 1655-6.
41. Ernest C. Mossner, 'Adam Ferguson's "Dialogue on a Highland Jaunt" with Robert Adam, William Cleghorn, David Hume and William Wilkie' in C. Camden, editor, Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Alan D. McKillop (Chicago, 1963), pp. 297-308. Cf. Duncan Forbes, editor, An Essay on the History of Civil Society (Edinburgh, 1966), introduction.
42. J.A. Symon, Scottish Farming Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1959), pp. 216 and 302.
43. Bryson, op. cit., p. 2.
44. Graham, Social Life, p. 463.
45. McCosh considers Carmichael the transitional figure but Hutcheson the 'real founder'. Mackie also sees Carmichael as the 'link man', while Scott doubts that Hutcheson can be considered the leader. Veitch and Cant consider Carmichael the founder, while Graham considers him stodgy: McCosh op. cit.,



- pp. 36-42, 49-86; J. Veitch, 'Philosophy in the Scottish Universities,' Mind, vol. 11 (1877), pp. 74-91 and 207-34, see pp. 209 and 210; Graham, Social Life, p. 32; Mackie, op. cit., pp. 157, 161 and 234; Scott, op. cit., chapter 13; R.G. Cant, 'The Scottish Universities and Scottish Society in the Eighteenth Century,' Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. LV111 (1967), pp. 1953-1966.
46. James K. Cameron, 'The Church of Scotland in the Age of Reason', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. LV111 (1967), pp. 1939-1952, sees John Simson as particularly influential. H.R. Sefton, 'Robert Wallace: An Early Moderate', SCHSR, vol. XVI (1969), pp. 1-22. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., chapter 1, especially p. 23.
  47. Fraser, op. cit., chapter 2.
  48. Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 1, p. 360. In vol. 1, p. 82, Eugenio makes a scathing attack upon "unnatural Conceits, fantastic Characters, bombast Compliments and extravagant Love" in Romances, Novels and Plays.
  49. Appendix 2, pp. 409 and 406. Cf. S.C. Carpenter, Eighteenth Century Church and People (London, 1959), p. 223.
  50. Alan D. McKillop, editor, James Thomson's The Castle of Indolence and Other Poems (Lawrence, Kansas, 1961), pp. 56-7. Thomson was a friend of Turnbull: see McCosh, op. cit., p. 97n.
  51. Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 11, dialogues xix and xx.
  52. Ronald S. Crane, 'Suggestions towards a Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling",' in Richard C. Boys, editor, Studies in the Literature of the Augustan Age (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1952), pp. 61-87, see p. 62.
  53. Alan W. Bellringer, 'Thomas Reid's Lectures on the Fine Arts', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Aberdeen, 1968), p. ccxvi.
  54. Appendix 1, pp. 336-8.
  55. Bellringer, op. cit., p. ccxvi.
  56. William W. Appleton, 'The Double Gallant in Eighteenth Century Comedy' in John H. Middendorf, English Writers of the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1971), pp. 145-57, see p. 150.
  57. John E. Mason, Gentlefolk in the Making (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 183-4.
  58. Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 11, p. 138.
  59. James Grant, A History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland (London, 1876), p. 341 (on Vives), p. 345 (on colloquies and dialogues), p. 414 (on Erasmus). Cf. M.L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900 (Cambridge, 1959), p. 135, note 4.
  60. Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, 2 vols. (London, 1876, repr. 1962), vol. 1, pp. 74-5.
  61. S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1953, 4th edition, 1965), p. 254.
  62. James Craigie, A Bibliography of Scottish Education before 1872 (London, 1970), pp. 94-100: 'Theory and Practice.'



63. William Boyd, The History of Western Education (London, 1921, 6th edition, 1952), p. 232.  
Bellringer says, incorrectly, that Turnbull's was the first book on education exclusively by a Scotsman.
64. Reprinted in John Clarke, Bishop Gilbert Burnet as Educationist (Aberdeen, 1914).
65. Mason, op. cit., p. 248.
66. Ibid., p. 268.
67. Ibid., p. 194. Mason's account of Ramsay is very brief.
68. Curtis and Boulton, op. cit., p. 255. Cf. Alexander Law, Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1965), pp. 59, 68 and 76. The sole study exclusively of Barclay is Henry Hutchison, James Barclay of Dalkeith 1713-65, unpublished M. Litt. thesis (Glasgow, 1975); see also his 'An Eighteenth Century Insight into Religious and Moral Education', BJES, vol. XXIV (1976), pp. 233-41. The present writer takes issue with Hutchison on certain points. According to Hutchison, Barclay was educated at Haddington and St. Andrews University, where he got a Bursary but is not mentioned in Matriculation Albums, gaining the M.A. in 1732 (M. Litt. thesis, pp. 31, 39 and 45). According to the present writer's investigations, Barclay graduated M.A. at Marischal College in 1726: see Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 301; Anderson op. cit., p. 325. Hutchison discusses similarities and differences on the educational thought of Barclay and Fordyce and, it will be shown later, misinterprets Fordyce. In the present writer's opinion, despite enlightened elements, Barclay is in the tradition of 'vernacular humanists' (see note 5, above). Hutchison also dodges the damning picture of Barclay's discipline in Ramsay, omitting reference to it in his discussion of boarders at Dalkeith (p. 90) and of curriculum and methods (pp. 80-93), but quotes Ramsay on p. 107, saying: "not, perhaps, showing Barclay in as favourable a light as one might have hoped, or wished."
69. William Craig, Twenty Discourses on Various Subjects, 3 vols. (London, 1775), vol. III, pp. 156, 160 and 174.
70. William S. Kelynack, 'Philip Doddridge,' The London Quarterly and Holborn Review, vol. CLXXVI (1951), pp. 327-33. Cf. John Aikin et al., General Biography (London, 1803), vol. III, p. 410.
71. Job Orton, Memoirs of the Life of Philip Doddridge (Shrewsbury, 1766), pp. 109-10.
72. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, editor, Philip Doddridge His Contribution to English Religion (London, 1951), p. 102.
73. Alexander Gordon, Addresses Biographical and Historical (London, 1922), p. 206.
74. Quoted in Parker, op. cit., p. 103.
75. James Fergusson, John Fergusson 1727-50 (London, 1948), p. 26.
76. John Strong, A History of Secondary Education in Scotland (London, 1909), p. 159.
77. Appendix 2, p. 392.



78. New Statistical Account, vol. XI, p. 1171.
79. The Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. XXI, Appendix, pp. 115-20 (by John Stuart); New Statistical Account, vol. XI, p. 1171-2 (by William Knight); James Bruce, Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1841), p. 303; B.D.E.S.; John M. Bulloch, A History of the University of Aberdeen 1495-1860 (Aberdeen, 1895), p. 148; Robert S. Rait, The Universities of Aberdeen : A History (Aberdeen, 1895), pp. 301-12; Peter J. Anderson, Officers of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen 1593-1860 (Aberdeen, 1897), p. 88n; Withrington, op. cit.
80. Alexander Bower, An Account of the Life of Joseph Beattie (London, 1804), p. 49.
81. Minute Book 1729-90 (AUL MS M41), for 1 September 1752 and 11 January 1753. Cf. Scots Magazine, vol. XI (1752), p. 606; George Kerr, Examination of a Pamphlet (Aberdeen, 1826); Knight, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 1401; R. Walker, Handbook to the Quatercentenary (Aberdeen, 1906), pp. 31-6; Peter J. Anderson, Notes on the Evolution of the Arts Curriculum in the Universities of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1908), p. 7; Withrington, op. cit., see especially pp. 185-6 and 192.
82. Dugald Stewart, Life of Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1802), p. 10.
83. New Statistical Account, vol. XI, p. 1186.
84. James Stark, Lights of the North (Aberdeen, 1896), p. 217.
85. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p. 104. Cf. Graham, Social Life, p. 414; Chitnis, op. cit., p. 44.
86. Quoted in Gerald R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason (1648-1789) (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 76.
87. Appendix 2, pp. 382-3.
88. E.g., Ratio Sacra (1710) and Schema Sacram (1710). Cf. McCosh, op. cit., p. 88, and Graham, Social Life, pp. 395-8. Chalmers's unpublished sermons, 43 for 1713 and a volume for 1720-2, are contained in New College, Edinburgh.
89. A reviewer of Craig's sermons in the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, vol. IV (1775), pp. 660-5, reckons the passion for homiletic improvement to have come from France in the late seventeenth century (perhaps thinking of Fénelon's Dialogues concerning Eloquence, published in English in 1722), while English clergy are considered inferior, as is too much "animated and passionate eloquence."
90. The Scotch Preacher, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1775), pp. 313 and 350.
91. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 294.
92. Barbara L.H. Horn, editor, The Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre 1799-1812 (Edinburgh, 1966), p. xviii. Cf. p. 74.
93. Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, pp. 294 and 484.
94. George Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, with a Life by George S. Keith, (1815), pp. viii, xiv, lxix and note. Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 322; McCosh, op. cit., pp. 467-73; 'A Society of Aberdeen's Philosophers 100 years ago,' MacMillan's Magazine, vol. VI (1863), pp. 436-444; Bulloch, op. cit. pp. 174-81; Rait, op. cit., pp. 322-3;



- A.C. Fraser, Thomas Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 50;  
 Walter R. Humphries, 'The First Aberdeen Philosophical Society,' Transactions of Aberdeen Philosophical Society, vol. V (1938); D.D. McElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement (Washington, 1969), p. 44.
95. Bellringer, op. cit., p. lv, supposes Reid's admiration for the sermons of Tillotson and Evans to have derived from Fordyce.
  96. Scots Magazine, vol. XLV (1752), pp. 416-430.
  97. Op. cit., p. 86.
  98. Essay concerning Human Understanding, IV, 10: 1 and 6.
  99. Appendix 2, pp. 360, 393, 404, 406 and 413.
  100. Ibid., p. 360. Cf. Appendix 1, pp. 301-2 where the argument from design is suggested and the theory that the universe, God and morality can be understood but effort is required.
  101. Appendix 2, p. 392.
  102. Maurice Lindsay, History of Scottish Literature (London, 1977), p. 231. The extent of structural imitation of Characteristics is fully described in Alexander F. Tytler, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Kames (Edinburgh, 1814), vol. 1, pp. 229-32 and note. Tytler considers it "disgusting." The Life of Homer was published anonymously because of its imitation of Shaftesbury according to B.D.E.S.
  103. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/21.
  104. Appendix 1, pp. 315-6. The dialogue of Cebes is recommended in the section 'On Human Life and Manners' in The Preceptor, p. 541.
  105. H.C. Barnard, Fénelon on Education (Cambridge, 1966), p. xxxii.
  106. Elizabeth Merrill, The Dialogue in English Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1911, repr. New York, 1970); Eugene R. Purpus, 'The "Plain, Easy, and Familiar Way": The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725', ELH, vol. XV11 (1950), pp. 47-58. Cf. Bartholow V. Crawford, 'The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration', PMLA, vol. XXXIV (1919), pp. 601-9 and 'Teaching by dialogue', Philological Quarterly, vol. 111 (1924), pp. 23-31.
  107. Ellen D. Leyburn, 'Bishop Berkeley, Metaphysician as Moralist' in The Age of Johnson, Essays Presented to C.B. Tinker (New Haven, 1949), pp. 319-28; Donald Davie, 'Berkeley and the Style of Dialogue' in The English Mind, Studies in the English Moralists Presented to Basil Willey, ed. Hugh S. Davies and George Watson (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 90-106.
  108. S. Grean, editor, Characteristics, p. 131.
  109. Donald Beaton, 'The "Marrow of Modern Divinity" and the Marrow Controversy', SCHSR, vol. V (1935), pp. 112-34. The first Scots edition of The Marrow was in 1718 and prompted the anonymous Dialogue First and Dialogue Second, actually by Rev. Robert Riccalton of Hobskirk.

110. Mason, op. cit., pp. 269 and 278.
111. Cf. note 43, above, and E.C. Mossner, editor, "Of the Principle of Moral Estimation: a Discourse between David Hume, Robert Clerk, and Adam Smith", JHI, vol. XX1 (1960), pp. 222-32.  
W.B. Todd, editor, Hume and the Enlightenment, Essays presented to E.C. Mossner (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 74 and note 9, notes over twenty articles and books on the subject.
112. R.J. Allen, The Clubs of Augustan London (Cambridge, Mass., 1933, repr. Hamden, Conn., 1967), p. 166.
113. Ibid., p. 167.
114. James Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, 2 vols. (London, 1766, 1775 edn.), vol. 11, p. 27.
115. An interesting recent revival of the form for educational discussion, with interlocutors representing the major philosophies is Howard Ozmon, Dialogue on the Philosophy of Education (Columbus, 1972).



#### CHAPTER 4: DIALOGUES CONCERNING EDUCATION

Dialogues concerning Education, David Fordyce's principal work, sees education through the eyes of the moralist. It shows the concern of the Scots eighteenth century literati for social investigation that was dispassionate yet ultimately committed and the realisation that adequate description must precede prescription. Arguably in Fordyce can be seen the beginnings of education as a social science.

There are twenty dialogues, eleven in the first volume and nine in the second (dialogue i, however, is introductory), concerned with education and related topics, the most significant of which are: aims and methods, the curriculum (including the problem of general and special education), moral education, fiction and moral values, and psychiatry.

A full appreciation of the work, however, firstly requires appreciation of its literary form. It should be remembered that, despite the modern social scientist's use of formal impersonal discourse, the classic texts in the history of educational thought infrequently use it. The outstanding examples of Plato, Augustine and Vives are in dialogue form, while Rousseau's Émile uses romance and paradox, which (like the dialogue) have encouraged misinterpretation. The formal impersonal treatise had become common by the mid eighteenth century for social, political and philosophical works, yet neoclassic genres like the dialogue persisted, the dialogue mainly because it permits the delineation of the complex growth of an argument, especially in an area where rival points of view and types of evidence must be marshalled along side each other. The form emphasises the

element of value judgement in social investigation, which at the same time causes difficulty of interpretation. Turnbull says the method of conversation is intrinsically interesting and "affords more room than any other for stating objections, and setting things in a variety of lights."<sup>1</sup> To Shaftesbury, the "plain, easy and familiar way" of dialogue was a reflection of "inward colloquy", the thinker's own dialectical development of understanding, presentation and judgement of an issue and this may be true also of Fordyce's dialogues.<sup>2</sup> A nineteenth century biography describes Fordyce's Dialogues as "a distinguished product of the Shaftesburyan school" and it must be considered how Shaftesburyan it is in form and content.<sup>3</sup> The "inward colloquy", however, is clearly related to the Socratic method, with its stages of 'opinion', 'analysis' and 'synthesis', and indeed one modern bibliography notes that Fordyce's Dialogues displays "Greek academy methods and principles adapted to practical ends."<sup>4</sup> The present writer, however, considers both these descriptions to be over-simplifications.

The question of whether the author's views are simply to be identified with those of the sage has for long vexed students of Plato.<sup>5</sup> The dialectical and ironic technique in the Neoplatonist Shaftesbury also has caused misunderstanding and over-simplification of his theories. Marsh and Grean, for example, have tried to clear the confusion regarding Shaftesbury, stressing, for instance, that he is no mere benevolent optimist; meanwhile Raphael's claim that there is no coherent moral theory in Shaftesbury testifies to the confusion.<sup>6</sup> Such problems do not arise for the host of Augustan dialogues in the question and answer style of Lucian, but do in some of those with reasonable



dramatic development, which are usually the best examples of the genre. The notoriously difficult to interpret Dialogues concerning Natural Religion (1767) of David Hume is traditionally considered a devastating attack on religious authority. The most recent editor, however, declares Hume's views are not presented through any one character, but developed in and through argument and something of Hume's beliefs going into the mouths of all three interlocutors, the sceptical, the orthodox and the disinterestedly philosophical, and probably Fordyce's dialogues should be similarly interpreted.<sup>7</sup> A similar approach is assumed by editors in interpretation of Berkeley's Alciphron and Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous which Fordyce knew and probably admired, since, for instance, he borrows the name Euphranor for the leader of his own fictitious academy.<sup>8</sup> In Alciphron Berkeley's views grow out of the dialogue between Lysicles, man-about-town and representative of "free-thinkers" (like Toland, Collins, Mandeville and Shaftesbury) and contradicted by Euphranor, the older man, farmer, of good education and simple sincerity, and Crito, more openly critical of Lysicles and representing the witty, sarcastic side of Berkeley.<sup>9</sup>

In Dialogues concerning Education one might assume that Fordyce's views are generally to be identified with those of Euphranor, but he appears in only one dialogue and is quoted extensively in one other. Philander, his assistant, takes a prominent role in many of the discussions and Fordyce's views can probably be identified with his also. Yet this is still too unsophisticated a view, since he does not appear in some dialogues and in many the contributions of all present are clearly important.

The editor of Adam Ferguson's recently published dialogue Of the Principle of Moral Estimation discusses whether it is a

"Boswellian report or a Socratic dialogue": virtual recording of an actual conversation or an imaginary one conceived from the known views of Ferguson's friends and participants, David Hume and Adam Smith, and this is a matter to consider with regard to Fordyce's dialogues.<sup>10</sup> In Ferguson's case there is a strong air of realism, without the conventional Greek or Latin names for speakers who are three living well known Scots (the third, Robert Clerk, is presumed to be Ferguson's mouthpiece) and the scene London. In the case of Fordyce's dialogues, despite dramatic verisimilitude, exact reporting is unlikely, although it cannot be discounted. Since composition possibly began in Essex in 1740, the dialogues were probably initially stimulated by teaching, the visits to Northampton where informal debates on education with Doddridge and others probably took place, but since volume one was not published till 1745 one must assume that debate and club life elsewhere (especially Edinburgh and Aberdeen) may also have provided a basis. Certainly the dramatic and narrative framework is flimsier in volume 11. Allen, historian of Augustan clubs, notes:

A few of the dialogues (e.g., dialogue xiii) show no introductory effort to suggest a club setting, and when the book ends at dialogue xx with a speech of one of the members, there is no attempt to account for the later history of the society; indeed the club is subordinate throughout to the expository purposes of the author and must consequently be looked upon as a trick of composition rather than an end in itself. Yet the book shows in a highly evolved form the type of fictitious club in which imaginary members are individualised by separate characterisation (R.J. Allen, The Clubs of Augustan London [Hamden, Conn., 1967] p. 168).

The dramatic, narrative framework of Fordyce's Dialogues is highly commended by Allen.<sup>11</sup> Volume 1 begins with a journey to the academy recounted in the first person by Simplicius, who is, as his name suggests, a relatively young, inexperienced person, but like Fordyce, has received a higher education elsewhere.



Fordyce goes on to describe a fictitious academy where his discussions are to take place and initially based on Doddridge's academy, presumably as a compliment to Doddridge for patronage and the quality of education at Northampton. One senses the autobiographical basis in the tone of the opening narrative, when Simplicius (partly the ingenu who is to recount and participate a little in debates) declares that:

'Tis about two Years last April, since about five of us set out early in the Stage-Coach from \*\*\*\*, so early that we could not distinguish one another's Faces (vol. 1, p. 1).

Fordyce arrived in London around 20 April 1738 and so if the narrative has an autobiographical basis at this point, he must have travelled to Northampton soon after. It may also be concluded that this piece was written around the spring of 1740 when Fordyce was chaplain-tutor with Hopkins in Essex. The narrative and description of fellow travellers holds the reader's interest, with some accompanying moralising. The Guardian of a young Lady (in later dialogues introduced as Cleora) conducts a conventional discourse on the difference between town and country (a commonplace in Augustan literature), the one having "gay Diversions" and the other less refined, while the young lady declares she prefers Nature to Art in any case. A discreet education by her Guardian has eliminated all affectation so that "her Sentiments appeared the pure Dictates of Reason." Her generosity to a country wench who joins the coach is noted and the narrator asks politely for the pleasure of her company occasionally when he is in N\*\*\*\*. The asterisks clearly correspond to 'Northampton', which the coach party reached in the evening, having dined at D\*\*\*,

probably Dunstable, which is at an appropriate distance between London and Northampton. The cultured young lady has the same destination as the narrator, who intends "to devote some time to his Studies," although there is no evidence of Fordyce actually enrolling at Doddridge's academy as a student.

The description of the town, set in delightful pastoral countryside, with surrounding villages and a distant "Ridge of Mountains" (the Cotswolds?), is presumably an idealised version of Northampton, following the pastoral convention. The academy is described as being some distance from the town on rising ground with shady walks and bowers, the garden including a bowling green and the building round a courtyard, with various halls and a chapel. In fact Doddridge's academy had no such ideal setting. Nonconformist academies did not have the funds and convened in any available premises, sometimes the tutor's house. The description must be based partly on ideas of Plato's academy with its neighbouring garden, the school of Aristotle and the Peripatetics, Medieval universities (including those at Aberdeen and Glasgow, familiar to Fordyce) and the pastoral convention generally. Fordyce may also have been recalling Milton's ideal school (based partly on his knowledge of Cambridge colleges), in its own grounds, providing a liberal education for about 150 pupils aged between 12 and 21, or imagining the reconstruction of Marischal College, which was taking place under William Adam during Fordyce's absence in England. Shaftesbury's dialogue The Moralists and Berkeley's Alciphron also have ideal rural settings.<sup>12</sup>



The narrator is welcomed as a new pupil and given an apartment. The academic day begins at 6 a.m. (as at Marischal College), with chapel at seven and the rest of the morning devoted to private study. Sophron (literally "the wise"), the "only Acquaintance I had in the Academy before I came thither and by whose Advice I quitted the other Places of Education, both Schools and Academies... for the sake of finishing my Education under Euphranor," is surely based on John Aikin, Doddridge's assistant for a time, who previously studied at Aberdeen and befriended Fordyce.<sup>13</sup> His characterisation generally recalls descriptions of Aikin elsewhere: the "mildest aspect", his romantic qualities and gifts as a speaker.<sup>14</sup>

The description of Euphranor, leader of the academy, is no doubt idealised (he has "the tenderness of a Parent" etc.), yet the physique at least (a "tall stately person") recalls Doddridge and the character generally also.<sup>15</sup> The dignity and benevolence of Euphranor are developed and his knowledge is said to be extensive, in ancient and modern languages, "philosophy" and mathematics. He is reckoned to be of a similar intellectual status to Isaac Barrow, Isaac Newton and Samuel Clarke.<sup>16</sup> Euphranor is thus a composite figure comprising the gifts of leading figures in religion, science and philosophy. Fordyce also clearly expects the leader or headmaster of a school or college, like the good teacher, to conform to Classical, Christian and Renaissance humanist ideals of the man both learned and good.

...he has the Qualifications necessary for an able Divine, being deeply versed in Scripture, and in ecclesiastic as well as profane History. And, which is no mean nor useless Talent in any Station, he is likewise a Master in Life and Manners, and can paint their varieties with great Justness and Spirit - But tho' thus qualified for the sacred Office, he reckons he can do better Service, by laying the Foundations of Religion and Virtue in a good Education, and by tincturing the Youth of his Country with the truest Principles of Learning and good Manners, and a deep Sense of the Obligation to all social and religious Duties (vol. 1, p. 15).

The figure, however, is clearly also a projection of Fordyce's ideal self and teacher: Fordyce also was qualified for the ministry, but by accident or design became a teacher. His priorities as teacher are stressed already in the emphasis here on "Learning and good Manners, and .....social and religious Duties." Euphranor's character is further elaborated: he knows that example is more persuasive than precept and is easy of access to all students.<sup>17</sup>

The principal assistant, Philander (literally "lover of men"), is "very amiable and accomplished," was formerly in business, whence he has more knowledge than from mere reading, yet is well read in classical and modern literature, especially in the area of morals, government and history. He is a good accountant and master in experimental philosophy and has been a travelling tutor with a gentleman of fortune. He is sincere, disapproves of false breeding, likes to teach by careful step-by-step methods and is very popular. This character is perhaps based on Job Orton, who followed Aikin as Doddridge's assistant in March, 1739, biographer and dissenting historian, although Fordyce himself also probably had experience of business and a travelling tutorship.<sup>18</sup> Again composite elements, developed later in the dialogues, are present: experience of the practical



world of affairs as well as academic learning, of educational travel, scientific knowledge, moral probity and refined methodology. Around this point the narrator is first designated "Simplicius."

The academy's teaching methods recall those of Doddridge: they are "free and philosophical"; pupils are "taught more in the way of Conversation than in a formal didactic Manner"; they know beforehand the subjects for the next meeting; Euphranor recommends books and shows the range of questions and their difficulties. Pupils are not to be afraid to be familiar or to grapple with him in free debate. The Socratic method, with questioning that reasons from principles the pupils already know, is regularly used and incidentally clarifies the teacher's own views. More formal lectures are also given, with pauses for problems. Students give discourses occasionally, prepared in advance, yet these may be in the informal surroundings of library or garden. Debate often grows warm as the company weighs opinions and arguments "without Regard to Authority or Party," a practice that is said to recall the old Academy or Portico at Athens, but certainly also the teaching methods of Jennings and Doddridge and discussions of the Rankenians and later Scots philosophical clubs. Free inquiry might involve one taking the stance of a Peripatetic, Stoic, Cartesian or Newtonian in philosophy, doubting until one is convinced and with no regard to mere names and all areas considered worthy of examination.

Various specific clubs, however, have been formed, concerned with, for example, language, mathematics, chemistry,

literature, politics and history. Here, implicitly is the irrevocable break up of "philosophy" into its constituent parts, seen in the abandonment of regenting in Scotland in the course of the century. Meanwhile Scots philosophic clubs in general were inter-disciplinary, although the Edinburgh Medical Society Fordyce attended seems to have dealt with medicine only in its early years. Specific rooms are allocated to specific classes: an experimental science apartment where Philander lectures, a chemistry laboratory where Constant lectures and a dissecting chamber where Euphranor gives a brief anatomy course. Anatomy was one of Doddridge's specialities, while its prestige was at the same time being established especially at Edinburgh University.<sup>19</sup> Sophron gives lectures on classics, history and antiquities and other senior pupils are similarly involved. The use of senior pupils formally to teach others is usually associated first with Pestalozzi among child-centred practitioners and with the monitorial systems for mass education of Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster.

Deep and wide reading is expected and scrutiny of each other's contributions. Among main subject lecture rooms is one for Oratory, where speeches may be given from the points of view of distinguished speakers of ancient and modern times; questions for debate are displayed in advance, while mechanical and other inventions are also on display. Morning study may be followed in the afternoon by bowling, angling, fowling, hunting, billiards or riding; draughts or chess if the weather is poor, rather like the well established pattern used (or abused!) in the collegiate universities.<sup>20</sup> The academy's



principal aim is to produce good men rather than mere scholars. The morals of students, therefore, are supervised, but less by precept or advice than an "insinuating Conversation and Example" and the rights and duties of the academy are reckoned to be a main preparation for real life.

The initiation ceremony is described to Simplicius: the initiate comes before a throne with statues of Liberty and Virtue (similar allegorical elements are present in later dialogues and in the separately published The Temple of Virtue: A Dream), swears to be slave to no "Sect or Party of Men" and committed to public good. These neoclassic trimmings are probably those which Akenside suggested Fordyce should tone down in an undated letter of around May 1742.<sup>21</sup> Training in charity is partly accomplished through the opportunity to disburse charity money (gathered through certain fines) and respect for the Deity is expected.

The introduction and Dialogue 1 provide this narrative and descriptive background which engrosses the reader, but also gives Fordyce's conception of the ideal school. It owes much to the schools of the Athenian philosophers, the method of disputation of the Medieval schoolmen (despite Fordyce's rejection elsewhere of their decadent philosophy), the milieu of the Medieval Continental universities on which the Scots universities had been modelled, and the progressive dissenting academy at Northampton. It would appear, therefore, that the emphasis is strongly academic and linguistic, despite stress also on practical, moral and social elements. Also it is a model presumably for upper secondary and higher education, the period of college education in Scotland and dissenting academies at the time and corresponding to one of the stages

of education in Euphranor's 'plan' in Dialogue xvii. Nevertheless Fordyce's aims, methodology and curriculum on the basis of this preliminary sketch alone are at least those of a man of the Enlightenment.

Dialogue ii, a discussion between Simplicius and Cleora on nature and art, the topic introduced on the journey, is one of several dialogues in the two volumes which tend to be conventional exercises on a theme, ingenious and amusing to a readership preoccupied with manners, but less valuable than the other dialogues. The conversation with Cleora develops the relation of nature and art, with Simplicius in the role of Socrates asking leading questions. Cleora represents a cultivated artlessness, the noble savage is discussed and Simplicius declares art improves nature, a neoclassic commonplace which is nevertheless developed more profoundly as an educational concept in a later dialogue. The discussion so far is amusing and reasonably thorough, if not original. Then follows debate on how sincere men should be in conversation with women and on decorum in women, ingenious but of little more than fashionable contemporary interest, fodder for those bred on coffee house literature, and increasingly accustomed to the role of women in the salon (previously a French fashion) and town and society centred Augustan culture in general. Witty cultivated talk with blue stockings was hardly native to the Scots tradition, although Edinburgh was to have its share particularly in the second half of the century. The relation of nature and art, however, was to be given a characteristically social dimension among Scots philosophers, for example, in debate on civilisation and the primitive, the area in which Blackwell earned a reputation and fathered a school. Fordyce



is arguably the first Scotsman to treat properly of the educational dimension of this debate.

In dialogue iii Sophron continues his account of members of the academy and talks of the advantages of a company of debaters: the stimulus to the imagination, the desire to shine and the comprehensive coverage of a topic. One should remember that Fordyce's use of the dialogue form is more than literary convenience; it is also a statement of educational method and even theory, aspects which will be developed later. In the ensuing debates Simplicius sometimes is in the role of ingenu, as he was in the opening narrative and as his name suggests, allowing authoritative statements to be given by others, but occasionally he speaks with more authority. Later in volume 1 (p. 308) he no longer speaks in the first person, which also suggests the autobiographical basis in visits to Doddridge's academy becomes less important as the work goes on. The four other main debaters are now introduced. Eugenio, as his name implies, is a "young gentleman of distinction" and fortune, who shines socially but does not always say what he really believes: he may be an *advocatus diaboli*.<sup>22</sup> Constant is the "plain-dealer", rather dogmatic, but Republican in spirit (Harrington and Sidney are his authorities) and is called "the Patriot", since he is an advocate of liberty.<sup>23</sup> Eugenio, the courtier, is generally conservative and in disagreement with Constant, who is also considered a recluse scholar. Hiero is the devout ascetic and cleric, as the name implies, stressing strongly the religious purpose of education, an advocate of impartiality and against polemical Christianity, but in favour of the best pagan moralists, like Plato and Marcus Antoninus.<sup>24</sup>

These form a club (passing reference is made to British clubability), to which Philander is always welcome as "President extraordinary", meeting in each other's chambers rather than a tavern and departing usually at 11 p.m. It is possible that Fordyce held such extraordinary membership of the student theological club at Marischal College, led by George Campbell and founded in January 1742, the year of Fordyce's appointment. One of the company might "propose a paradox" and their interest is especially in moral matters. Other clubs in the academy include the Literary, Mathematical, Political and Virtuoso, with no supervision or interference from Euphranor. The present one is called the Philosophical Club and its debates constitute the main part of the work. At the beginning of dialogue ii Sophron says that they do not always come to a decision, sometimes leaving a question open "as we found it."

Dialogue iv is, to the modern reader, a relatively superficial one on breeding. The narrative preamble has Sophron and Simplicius talking by the river and overhearing Eugenio in debate with Amelia, a beauty and coquette of N\*\*\*, who criticises infidelity in the amorous male. Sophron takes the opportunity to tease Eugenio that evening at the club. Then Hiero deepens the discussion to ask why there is so much dissembling in human affairs; various explanations are offered and contradictory stances taken (Eugenio, for example, predictably defending gallantry and the beau monde) until Sophron sums up on the topic of good breeding, reconciling arguments and qualifying conclusions.



The theme of dialogue v, the practicality of the curriculum, is further expanded in later dialogues and is considered later. Dialogue vi is one of the most thorough and basic. It begins with Eugenio proposing a paradox for the sake of argument:

What a mighty pother is made by you and a great many others, about the Affair of Education! What a Noise about instilling Principles into the Minds of Youth, forming their Tempers by an early Culture, teaching them the Opinions of this and that Party, crouding their Heads with a number of Names and Notions and dead Languages, and anticipating their Genius and Choice by the Restraints of a severe Discipline! I do not know whether it would not be much better to leave the Mind open and untinctured with the Prejudices of Education, to trust to the genuine Dictates of Nature and good Sense, which will teach a truer and more useful Knowledge than most Masters have themselves. After the Rudiments of Language are attained, what is learned in most Schools and Colleges, but a set of hard Words, with an insignificant Parade of Knowledge, or a vain Conceit, that we have imbibed the very Arcana of Science, joined with a thorough Contempt of all others whom we fancy less knowing? Or if superior Sense teach us to despise the false Glare of Learning, with which old Fools amuse young ones, 'tis ten to one, if we do not at least bring away with us from those Seminaries, a Spirit of Party, and Attachment to narrow Principles, founded on Interest, which we never afterwards get rid of. Does it not happen from hence, that one half of our Life is spent in unlearning the Prejudices and popular Errors we acquired in the other Part of it; not those only for which we are indebted to our Nurses, but those we learned in Schools, which are more difficult to be rooted up, as they were planted with so much Care and Appearance of Wisdom? (vol. 1, pp. 108-9).

This diatribe on the weakness of conventional education in aims, methods and curricula is very like the radical stance associated with Rousseau. Although the blame is not here put on the structure of society and culture themselves, there is, as in Rousseau, the basic charge of corruption and failure to achieve objectives. All institutionalised education, of course, runs the risk of such a charge. There is a suggestion of this standpoint in Shaftesbury's The Moralists: "We have immured her, poor lady [philosophy], in colleges and cells".<sup>25</sup> In

Berkeley's Alciphron also Crites says academic education can obstruct knowledge, while Alciphron says reading dead languages means learning mere words and "obsolete notions" and the pupil is more likely to gain "proper ideas" from "frequent good company" and so "rubbing off the rust and pedantry of a college education."<sup>26</sup>

Constant replies by declaring that they would all be grateful to know how the tedium of schooling can be avoided and so Eugenio says:

..my Method is neither nice nor far-fetched; but quite simple, and such as Nature itself dictates. Instead of putting the Mind into a Mould, and hampering it with the Trammels of Education, in my Opinion it would be better to give unlimited Scope to Nature, to lay no Bias on Judgement and Genius, to infuse no positive Opinions; but to let the young Adventurer, like the industrious Bee, wander about in quest of intellectual Food, rifle every precious Flower and Blossom, and, after he has picked up Materials from every Quarter, range and digest them into a well-compacted and useful Body. Such a Conduct would, I doubt not, produce more original Genius's than we generally meet with; it would promote Invention, and enable the Mind, unbeaten and unsubdued by Art, to take amazing Flights in Regions hitherto unexplored (vol. 1, pp. 109-10).

This truth is clearly seen, says Eugenio, in geniuses like Homer and Shakespeare, who would not have been so talented if given a conventional education.<sup>27</sup> Acknowledging artists with "grace beyond the reach of art" was, of course, a pre-Romantic trend in the eighteenth century and the belief was gathering momentum in the 1740s. Eugenio's statement, although eloquently put, is basically simple and we must read on to discover complexity in the argument. The notion here is the child centred one, that the original impulses of the child must be free to express themselves, that we should not contradict its nature. It means a rejection generally of Lockean disciplinary



theory and a faith in 'Nature', using natural imagery that recalls Comenius , while the image of the bee appears earlier in Montaigne. Blackwell, in his discussion of Homer, had avoided the unsubtle position of the mere primitivist, ending up with an interactionist viewpoint, and it remains to be seen if Fordyce will also.

Constant now takes the opposing view in this debate between "Education" and "Non Education", declaring it is essential to implant knowledge and virtue early. Wild boys (Peter, found in the woods of Hanover around 1720 was famous) illustrate "the natural Effects of that untutored, uncultivated State". Such a person, without "Prejudice and Rules", even if gifted with language by supernatural means and transferred into company, will hardly excel those with the "Sinews of Genius, hamstrunged by the Culture of Schools and Academies." His position is one of barbarity and ignorance. Even in a compromise example where one considers a child brought up in society, stimulated by all kinds of men and well read, but following his own "Genius", improvement is from a combination of that with circumstances. Besides, he says, taking the popular interpretation of Locke, philosophers (no names are actually mentioned) say that the mind is a tabula rasa, a blank sheet, with all one's "Characters" being gained from sense impressions, custom, habit and education, so he who is formally untaught is certainly credulous, easily imposed on and liable to error. With man's strong capacity for imitation, he will pick up "false Opinions and popular Errors" and this cannot be prevented without excluding "all human Commerce." Learning experiences will be haphazard. Alternatively one has the opportunity to cultivate with care in knowledge and virtue: if the mind is not given true opinions, it will readily embrace false ones; if good manners are not formed bad ones will be. Thus

teachers, company and books are vital. So with similar eloquence and persuasiveness, using the familiar contemporary myth of the noble savage and operating from different premisses to Eugenio, Constant postulates the disciplinary approach.

The dualism, having been presented in its constituent parts, is now dialectically examined and restated. Philander attempts to reconcile this antithesis of the nature-nurture controversy and of child and society, discipline or teacher centred philosophies of education. He begins by assuming Eugenio's argument need not be accepted in its extreme form, that "Education and Culture" are "entirely unnecessary or pernicious to Youth", but that it was "designed to expose some of the ordinary Methods of Education, as too narrow and unsuitable to the free expansive Genius of Nature." Philander does not accept the white paper model of the mind:

I would rather compare it to a Seed, which contains all the Stamina of the future Plant, and all those Principles of Perfection, to which it aspires in its After-growth, and regularly arrives by gradual Stages, unless it is obstructed in its Progress by external Violence. Our Minds, in like Manner, are completely organised, if I may say so, at first; they want no Powers, no Capacities of Perception, no Instincts or Affections that are essential to their Nature; but these are, in a Manner locked up, and are purposely left rude and unfinished, that Prudence, Industry and Virtue, may have full Scope in unfolding, raising them up, and bringing them to Maturity. 'Tis the Business of Education, therefore, like a second Creation, to improve Nature, to give Form, and Proportion, and Comlieness to those unwrought Materials. And, in my Opinion, we have as much Need of the Hand of Culture to call forth our latent Powers, to direct their Exercise (vol. 1, p. 117).

So Philander, and therefore, Fordyce, rejects Locke's metaphor and premiss in place of a metaphor of growth. The seed image appears in Plato's discussion of knowledge latent in the soul, which the teacher brings to the light with willing cooperation, also in Aristotle, Christian writers (e.g. the pastoral analogies of Jesus), in Vives, Elyot and Bacon and is ubiquitous in Comenius ("the seeds



of knowledge and virtue and piety naturally implanted in us", although these must be developed). The parallel is central to Rousseau's ideas. By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the vegetative analogy was archetypal in aesthetics and psychology and firmly in the vocabulary of child centred educationists like Froebel. Perhaps known also to Fordyce was the extravagant "allegory" in The Spectator, no. 455, 12 August 1712, where the analogy with plants begins with "In Infants the Seeds lie buried and undiscovered", then proceeding to compare the subjects taught to "leaves".<sup>28</sup> Locke, although generally environmentalist, did not take the extreme position, which the tabula rasa image implies and which Constant seems to approve. Locke combined the tabula rasa notion with belief in limits set by natural endowment and the mind's native power of 'Reflection', an interactionist position that is nevertheless society, discipline and teacher centred. Fordyce tries to isolate presuppositions and other elements in both sides of the debate. The notion of "improving Nature", it should be noted, was an Augustan commonplace, well illustrated in writers, artists and landscape gardeners. The desire to achieve "Form and Proportion, and Comlieness" is Neoplatonic, although without further definition it is not clear how Fordyce relates to, for example, Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Having rejected a crude stimulus-response psychology Fordyce seems instead to offer a faculty psychology. There are suggestions here of the psychology of 'instincts' or 'propensities' which is the forerunner of the now unfashionable psychology of William MacDougall, who admitted his borrowing of concepts from the Scottish philosophers. In The Elements of Moral Philosophy Fordyce expounds this as a developmental principle: every period of life has typical emotional characteristics, which he outlines.<sup>29</sup>

Philander continues:

'Tis an easy Matter to say, you must prepossess the Mind with right Opinions, and accustom it to good Habits. But the difficulty lies in doing it on a rational Foundation; that is to say, in giving it just Opinions without weakening its Capacity of thinking, and inuring it to the best of Habits, without impairing its Vigour of acting. Now 'tis certain, that Opinions which the Mind receives from others upon their bare Authority, without perceiving their Reasons and Connections, may take fast hold of the Judgement; especially of the young and inexperienced; but all such Opinions fill the Mind without enlightening it, they give us Exercise to the mental Faculties, but rather teach them to rely on the Activity of others, and consequently lull the Mind into a stupid Indolence, and Inapplication of its own Powers; a State the most dangerous, and unproductive of real Improvement, we can well suppose.

Such second hand ideas can be tenacious, but this does not mean that non-interference is preferable. Right principles must be inculcated to protect against the bad (Rousseau would disagree that this must be done). Yet this still can easily expose the mind to error accidentally in the mere "Judgement and Authority of others." So, to prevent error through attempting to instil principles for which the child is not ready, Philander says:

In the whole of this Affair, therefore, I would not anticipate, but follow Nature. No discreet Nurse would give a Child Nourishment till it craved it, nor continue cramming it, when its Hunger was allayed, but patiently await the return of Appetite. The Mind too has its Cravings and Capacities. I would not give it intellectual Food, till it showed some Desire of it, nor bid it judge, till it discovered a Capacity of judging. We find that the Appetites and Capacities always go together; so that Nature never stings with the former, till it has bestowed the latter. Whenever, therefore, curiosity and the Love of Enquiry begin to disclose themselves, it is a natural Indication that Reason is now in a Capacity to act and digest such Nourishment as is proper for it (vol. 1, pp. 118-9).

There is much anticipation here of the theory of Rousseau, although Fordyce's position is not as libertarian. He would agree with Rousseau's "well regulated liberty" in principle, but disagree that until preadolescence the teacher's task is largely a negative one,



concentrating on preventing error, which derives from imperfect 'civilisation', while 'Nature' does its job. Also at this stage in the Dialogues there is little of Rousseau's stress upon feeling, rather on 'thinking' and 'acting' and a methodological problem. Nevertheless, there is the basic child centred assumption that first hand experience or some form of self activity is necessary for effective learning. The good teacher does not force feed, but acts upon signs of felt needs in the child, a first principle of Fordyce's interactionist view of the nature-nurture issue. Yet again one is faced with a commonplace slogan, the Stoical "follow Nature", and it is only with the conclusion of the dialogue that one can decide on Fordyce's relative originality.

Philander continues by considering those who say "first teach him the Things, he will understand the Reasons afterwards." To them he says: "how much wiser made is your pupil than a Parrot?" and his continuing exposition also answers the cynic's reply that one is abandoning the child to his laziness. The notion that knowledge is no use without understanding (or, indeed, virtue) appears in many post Renaissance critics of education, while the parrot image appears in Montaigne.<sup>30</sup>

Philander explains how the mind can teach itself:

The Mind soon begins to compare Things, and, in proportion to the Extent of its Observation, judges wherein they differ or agree; it deduces one Thing from another, and seldom makes a wrong Conclusion, if the Premises are fairly set before it. Let therefore such Objects, as are proportioned to the stretch of the intellectual Eye, be presented to it, and placed in the proper Point of View, and it will, by a sudden and instantaneous Glance, comprehend them truly. All therefore we have to do, or which is fit to do, is to furnish materials, and store the Mind with plenty of Ideas; it will range and combine them itself, and by a natural kind of Instinct, cleave to Truth, while it rejects Error (vol. 1, pp. 119-20).

The argument in favour of discovery methods and something like Rousseau's 'negative capability' continues to the point where Philander says:

unless the Mind sees the Reasons of its Actions, and be accustomed to observe the Nature and Tendency of the Course to which it is habituated, and unless that Course be agreeable to its original Feelings and Affections, it will never act with Vigour and Complacence, and though it may contract a strong Propensity to a certain Object, or Scheme of Action, yet the Habit, wanting its main Basis and Support, will be easily displaced, when the particular Influence, whether of Example, or of Bribes or Terrors, ceases to act; or when a better Scheme of Conduct, which approves itself to its genuine and uncorrupted Feelings, is proposed (vol. 1, p. 121).

There is clear anticipation here of Rousseau's faith in the original goodness of the child, the concept of readiness and a stress upon feeling. The idea of original goodness, it has already been noted, had antecedents in Shaftesbury, although elsewhere Fordyce stresses the intractability of human nature, anticipating generally the psychoanalytic idea that without the reforming influence of education, the individual may be at the mercy of his own selfish impulses, an idea, however, already present in the theory of Original Sin. It is a well known fact of literary history also that the Augustans neither rejected 'feeling', nor was it sprung upon the stage by Romantic or preRomantic figures in the second half of the century. By Fordyce's time of writing the increased emphasis on feeling, intuition and impulses was evident in Shaftesbury's Characteristics, Addison's Spectator essays on 'Pleasures of the Imagination', the Shaftesburyan parts of Thomson's Seasons (1726-30), the moral philosophy of Hutcheson and Hume and the sentimental novels of Richardson. Crane quotes Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy to indicate the mid century position in the development of the 'man of feeling': in this respect Fordyce is summing up a general position reached. The stress upon the folly of bribes and the rod, the intrinsic satisfaction



of learning, picking the opportune moment and encouraging curiosity had been expounded by Locke.

So, in conclusion, Philander (and therefore Fordyce) agrees with Constant that culture and education are necessary, but also agrees with Eugenio that "the more open and disentangled" and "the less it is embarrassed with Rules, subdued by Authority, and habituated to one Track of thinking" the better. The position is more libertarian than Locke, the kindly authoritarian with the preconceived notion of the mould, rather than giving the maximum freedom compatible with the child's health and safety. Locke also poses this classic problem of how to impose a pattern of behaviour on children, while leaving freedom for potentiality and individuality. He comes down in favour of accustoming the child to traditions and values through early training in rational self control. The course of the dialogue has obviously been Socratic: beginning with extreme or oversimplified presuppositions and leading from thesis and antithesis to relative synthesis.

Simplicius now takes up some of the implications of the theory, especially the relation of education to indoctrination. Although in infancy and childhood the progress of the mind is slow, knowledge can be conveyed systematically to establish first principles. In religion, for instance, the mind should not be accessible to error as well as to truth. Hiero claims pupils should be kept free from sectional interests, but Sophron points out this will simply produce devotion to the class to which they belong. Hiero then asks how one finds a system that is generally agreed, because of the different parties and schools of thought. In religion can one think of

an Indian or a visitor from another planet as impartially judging between controversial Christian groups? The wisdom of not being easily attached to party is stressed also in Fordyce's lectures, in Shaftesbury and is in keeping with the anti-enthusiasm of the period. It should be possible, says Hiero, to teach faith beyond the forms of faith. Sophron is not so sure that such a method will avert the dangers, since the pupil can still pick up a bias; he is, after all, curious. Let his education, therefore, be historical and cross-cultural in emphasis, showing the development of various schools of thought, highlighting the revolutions in human affairs and the growth of rivalries, and so creating breadth of experience. The study of religion should include 'comparative theology.' The more he knows, the less "will he be dazzled." But it must not be forgotten that history itself, unlike, for example, mathematics, is not value-free: one must know the "Characters, Principles and Views" of the writer. Fordyce would obviously not go as far as Rousseau in having no religious education or history until age fifteen, but he anticipates Rousseau's stress upon the development of common humanity and affinity with the natural environment and condemnation of obstructive concern with the forms (Rousseau would say mumbo-jumbo) of faith.

Philander now sums up on all aspects of the debate by abstracting the best educational principles, saying he presumes Eugenio would agree that to guide is necessary, but that a lot of discovery is and should be done by the pupil. Education needs to be liberal and ingenious and should not cramp. Hiero has shown the risks of instilling prejudices and Constant the need for culture, the fostering of growth and that there are times to



leave man to his own initiative. Systems, sects and controversies should be known historically, although neither history nor mathematics will ultimately prevent prejudice, since we all have to commit ourselves in real life.

Nevertheless Sophron's recommended study should develop impartiality. Finally he reminds the company that man's emotional nature, which governs him more than "speculative Principles", makes it possible for him to be influenced, but not fully controlled, by education.

Dialogue vii is partly another conventional discourse on manners as light relief to weightier discussions before and after. The narrative preamble has Eugenio and Simplicius visiting Cleora who is staying with Atticus and his lady at L\*\*, a "delightful little villa near N\*\*\*" in an attractive rural setting. Atticus is a man of general education, suited to public office but disliking party politics. His cultured daughter and Cleora are also described. Conversation between Simplicius, Cleora and Eugenio continues the theme of manners, appearance and reality in the judgement of character, spiced with some wit by Atticus, the rival attractions of town and country, the relation of private and public life (with illustrations from the Greek philosophers) - Phylax, Cleora's Guardian (as the name implies), has now joined the company - with agreement that true philosophers are genuinely public spirited. Finally there is discussion of the beau monde and Cleora states her preference for a charitable country life. The narrative and topics of conversation in such dialogues owe much to the blending of morality and wit in The Tatler, The Spectator and The Guardian.

Dialogue ix is a fashionable exercise in responses to Nature, coming between two major dialogues, viii and x, which are mainly on moral development. In an early morning stroll around N\*\*\*, with the customary nature description, Simplicius sees and hears Hiero meditating and takes down his lengthy rhapsody on natural religion. A similar extravagant piece appears in Fordyce's Theodorus and probably modelled partly on the rhapsody of Theocles in Shaftesbury's The Moralists, the hymn to Nature by Philonous in the second dialogue of Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous by Berkeley and the writings of Addison.<sup>31</sup> There is no evidence elsewhere, however, that Fordyce was a naive Deist. Later in the evening the club gathers in a pastoral setting and Simplicius teases Hiero by pretending to have written the paeon himself and Hiero deprecates his own composition. Visionary (poetic or "philosophic") experience is then discussed: it is harmless if we return to reality, says Eugenio, and valuable as an outlet. Human behaviour in private can be strange, but it does provide mental relaxation. Hiero talks of the inspirational qualities of nature and Eugenio reminds the company how nature has been demythologised since classical times. Then follows enthusiastic suggestions for the appreciation of nature: its "pleasing Melancholy" in a "sunny Glade" or "dark Gloom", with a good book by Shaftesbury or Thomson, the "excellent philosophical poet" (influenced by Shaftesbury), whose nature poetry in The Seasons, inspired by his Border homelands, did much to establish the vogue for romantic and gothic experience in the second quarter of the century.<sup>32</sup> All agree the countryside is very educational, from the levels of botany, zoology and ornithology to spiritual experience. The value of nature study at first hand had been



mentioned by a number of educational writers following Bacon's plea for an empirical approach and before this especially in Vives. The educational thought of this dialogue, however, comprises a lot of good sense, no doubt rather obvious to the modern reader, but nevertheless taking a very enlightened synoptic view of education and the natural environment.

The main discussion of moral education begins in dialogue viii with Simplicius describing a family he recently visited where parental management of the two children was incompetent. The account may well be based on the Hopkins family for whom Fordyce was tutor and chaplain. The son has strong passions, is heir to the estate, the girl pettish, sullen and haughty, and both indulged. The father obtained the estate from a wealthy relation (like "Vulture Hopkins") and is a "strange, ignorant, unpolished creature" (which recalls the description of John Hopkins in Fordyce's correspondence with Doddridge.)<sup>33</sup> The man has no education himself, but the mother is a good woman, though poorly educated. The son's faults are ignored; he is bribed with money and the daughter is vain. They learn only what they want, while the tutor is devalued and subject to insolence. Fordyce may also, however, be recalling Fénelon's problem of changing the ill tempered child, the Duke of Burgundy, or the article in The Spectator, no. 123, 21 July 1711, on the need for refinement for an heir to an estate, where the story of Eudoxus and Leontine is told.<sup>34</sup> What, says Simplicius, is the source of prejudices and false opinions, error and folly: Nature? poor instruction? persons leading them astray? or are people bent by Culture, Example, Accident or what? The source must be found for rectification.

At the club Eugenio begins by declaring prejudices and follies come from "Education", rather than "perverseness in Nature or Default in their Constitution". Nature (an ill defined term, he says) or God is too often blamed for the human mismanagement of parents, nurses and teachers.<sup>35</sup>

Nature gives us Talents, it is Education which applies them right or wrong. Nature bestows Propensions and Affections, which may be directed to Good, either public or private. 'Tis Culture that improves or perverts them. The infant Mind is ductile like Wax; you may stamp a fair or ugly Impression upon it, Error or Knowledge, Indolence or Application, Virtue or Vice (vol. 1, p. 179).<sup>36</sup>

Vanity, for example, may be encouraged, likewise ignorance, conceit, bigotry and laziness may be settled, all groupable under the title "Education." Mistakes, therefore, can be corrected. Again Eugenio has taken the extreme position, this time of the Environmentalist, a position classically associated with Owen and the Benthamites and Watson, Skinner and the Behaviourists. Locke, it should be remembered, had said that we are all chameleons, taking on the character of our surroundings and that nine-tenths of character is formed by education rather than 'nature', yet elsewhere qualifying this by saying "God has stamped certain characters upon men's minds" and that children were not born equal. The Sensationalist Encyclopaedists, like Condillac and Helvetius, tended to the extreme Environmentalist position in their assumption of similar genetic endowment and notions of miniature adults doing simplified feats of adult reasoning. It should be remembered also that both Locke and Comenius tended to confuse heredity and early nurture, although Comenius especially paid great attention to education from birth, even pre natal care.

Eugenio having said that 'Nature' is not important in character formation, Constant points out to Eugenio that, in



the discussion of intellectual development, he had declared that Nature formed minds and characters. Constant, however, now emphasises the role of natural constitution in personality development, referring to the existence of temperamental differences in, say, horses and to "national Temperament" in peoples and implying that Education, Government, Discipline and Fortunes do not play a part in the formation of these. Although some elements of character derive from education and culture, children in the same family with a similar upbringing "turn out not only quite different Creatures in their Capacities for Learning, but in their Disposition and Manners". So perhaps there is "some original Difference in the Complexion of Minds, something in the Race, or, if you will, the animal Constitution". Modern psychologists and cultural anthropologists could not agree that individual and national "temperament" are 'natural' in the same way. One must consider the use of "temperament" here as metaphorical.

The two classic and extreme positions having been expounded, Philander now tries to resolve the issue by pointing out that the Environmentalist would ascribe the effects Constant talks of to early conditioning, though "Associations of Ideas whose Influence is very powerful, but whose Rise and Connection it is hard to trace," and producing durable habits. For example, the ideas of book and rod might become associated. In the imagination moral qualities become associated with images or appearances. Thus attitudes in individuals, families or nations are established by associations often hardly perceptible so "their Effects are hardly distinguishable from natural Propensions." Habits or faults therefore may come from early associations. Associationism was generally accepted

in Fordyce's period, expounded in Aristotle and reinforced by rational empiricism and in effect a pre-scientific introspectionist version of the modern psychology of conditioning. The example of book and rod is borrowed from Locke. The modern psychologist and cultural anthropologist would not strictly approve of the analogy between individual and group. But Fordyce at this stage is concerned simply to show an essential similarity of idea. Again one notices the pattern of the dialogue developing from preliminary statements of generally opposing viewpoints.

Constant now claims that there is surely an "antecedent Disposition in Minds, to form some Kinds of Associations more than others" so that different talents and aptitudes and moral dispositions appear (thus some characters, for example, may be mild-natured). Natural ability may be present in one way, but culture may form one in another and similarly in the moral sphere. Constant is willing to admit to the great influence of parents and tutors in early life, but, irrespective, bad habits may be difficult to eradicate, and one should prevent "wrong" associations and counter a perverse original disposition.

Sophron opposes Constant with some sarcasm, saying that Nature is a mystery anyway: it is impossible to determine constitutional elements in human behaviour, so one should be concerned with the elements one can influence. It is more important, therefore, just to pragmatically identify personal and moral problems and so Sophron suggests four periods of personal and moral development: infancy to about four or five years; childhood, up to fourteen or fifteen years; the period of academic education to age twenty or over and the period of education by commerce with the world. One may compare Rousseau's



stages: age one to two (preoccupied with feeling), age two to twelve (the senses), twelve to fifteen (the intellect, utility) and fifteen to twenty-five (social life, the soul, the intellect). Sophron says:

The first two Stages seem to be of great, I will not say the greatest Importance, as the first Part of Education takes the fastest hold upon the Mind, and has a considerable Influence ever after, on the whole Life and Character (vol. 1, p. 193).

The earliest stages are most vital if full development is to take place:

Such a Work must be extremely delicate: in Childhood his Reason is weak, his Appetites rebellious, his Passions strong, his Mind giddy and inattentive, his Humours various; credulous, prone to Imitation, and yet Impatient of Contradiction (vol. 1, p. 191).

Stress upon the all importance of early influences has become generally accepted educational theory and is present in Fenelon and Locke and even early thinkers like Plato and Quintilian. They differ widely, however, in their grasp of the psychology of childhood, as do societies in their willingness to practise the idea. Sophron declares that parental carefulness is crucial and Eugenio argues, therefore, that present female education (reading, music, dancing, sewing and dressing) is inadequate for this purpose. There is a need for women to be better prepared to create "more useful Mothers, better Nurses, abler Tutors." A transformed female education is in keeping with the new significance of women in the eighteenth century, although again practice was hardly to catch up with theory. Fénelon's Treatise on the Education of Girls (1687) was influential, but mostly applies to boys and girls. He declares women should not merely become blue-stockings, but be generally educated because as mothers they are therefore teachers.<sup>37</sup> His proposals, however, still tend to the domestic and moral rather than intellectual.

Respect for women, latent in the thinking of the Church Fathers, is obvious in the educational writings of Vives and Erasmus, while the Protestant reformers considered more utilitarian education as suitable for girls. A plea for the training of females' minds as well as manners appears in The Spectator, no. 66, 17 May 1711, while no. 23, 24 May 1711, concerns the duty of women to children.<sup>38</sup> Fordyce is thus adding his weight to an established body of opinion, but, while stressing the cardinal role of the mother, he does not elaborate on the nature of the early relationship, nor does he go on to describe here a specially female education and so one must presume he expects women to have the same education as men.

The principal design of education, says Philander, is "to train a reasonable Creature for a serious, active, useful and contented Life here, and an eternal, happy Existence hereafter", through the two main branches of education: knowledge and virtue. This statement of broad aim would be acceptable to most of Fordyce's contemporaries, with its origins in the Greek *καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ* and Christianity. One may compare Comenius's aim to make the pupil "wise, virtuous and pious", Locke's concentration on 'virtue' (rational control of impulses), 'wisdom' (almost business management), 'breeding' (social values) and 'learning' (in a subsidiary position) and Rousseau's aim to "form heart, judgement and mind" (in that order).

Philander asks the company to notice:

the Progress of Nature, and by what gradual Openings Knowledge dawns upon the Mind. For in this whole Affair we shall find, that Nature is the best Guide, that it does more than half the Work, and that we then proceed most successfully in instructing the Mind, when we do not prevent, but assist Nature. Nature is ever teaching the tender Infant, even while we think him a Subject incapable of Instruction (vol. 1, p. 199).

This restatement of the force of "Nature" certainly anticipates



Rousseau, yet the idea recalls also Socrates's famous exposition of his interrogative method in Plato's Theaetatus and quoted in The Spectator, no. 307, 21 February 1712: Socrates (son of a midwife) could not produce children when not pregnant, "so neither could he himself raise Knowledge out of a Mind where Nature had not planted it."<sup>39</sup> It also recalls St. Augustine's Neoplatonic conception of truth already known inwardly, Comenius's concentration on development from within, rather than knowledge from without, with no urging required (although he had a sensationalist philosophy) and the philosophy of the Little Schools of Port Royal. The senses, says Philander, are the first "inlets of Knowledge"; the child's early perceptions are largely related to experiences of pleasure and pain and he is largely disciplined by natural consequences. The psychology at this point is orthodox Lockean: the phrase "inlets of Knowledge" is a straight borrowing and Locke also said that although one cannot ignore evil, one can warn the child and occasional falls can be instructive. Rousseau was to develop characteristically a discipline by natural consequences. Comenius also made much of the importance of early stimulation of the senses. Philander continues:

Nature does thus make one Idea suggest to him another, with which it has no necessary Connection, and, by means of Pleasure and Pain, Sights, Sounds, and Feelings, shows him the Relation of Things to his own Constitution, concerning which, his Reason could have given him no information (vol. 1, p. 200).

The psychology here is mainly associationist.<sup>40</sup> The child, says Philander, learns self preservation and gains a range of sensory experiences. Elementary "regularity" and "beauty"

particularly attract him in certain objects and he becomes curious about function.<sup>41</sup> This stress upon "regularity" and "beauty" is Neoplatonic, mediated no doubt through Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. There is no attempt, however, to expound a moral sense theory with an assumption of a natural sense of what is good and beautiful prior to custom, education and example and a relation of this to benevolence.<sup>42</sup> The educator must not "hurry Nature" or else we stifle curiosity (Fénelon declared the educator should "follow and help Nature" and that early education should be largely negative). Intellectual aspects of development must always be related to moral development, which Philander develops first in the family situation and then in relation to companions. Moral concepts are formed mainly within the family and the child feels joy or shame at its own actions. Now the taste for moral objects should be gratified with simple stories from life, fragments of history, well contrived tales and fables, with an easy, clear and useful moral, to instruct while seeming to amuse. The use of stories for moral education is common to Classical and Christian traditions and was especially popularised by Fénelon, elaborated by Fordyce in a later dialogue and rejected by Rousseau. Philander declares: "Such Baits are peculiarly necessary to allure and arrest the giddy, roving Minds of Children." Every discovery seems their own; they develop the capacity to judge characters, foresee accidents, draw consequences. Gradually the child extends his view from family and house to neighbourhood, gaining companions and knowledge of the environment. (There is nothing, here, it will be noticed, of Rousseau's withdrawal from corrupting society.) These experiences produce notions of connection,



of uniformity and variety, design, cause and effect, the mind creating new combinations of ideas. The power of reason becomes stronger, the child full of questions, with a curiosity greater than its understanding.

This Spirit of Wonder, and Love of Novelty, are two admirable Handles, by which to catch hold of such slippery Creatures. For, while their attention is raised by means of Admiration, it should be improved to point out to them, in the shortest and easiest Manner, the Properties and Uses of Things, as far as they can apprehend them. Thus, while they are struck with the Splendour of the Sun, they may be made to observe the most obvious Effects of that glorious Luminary, his Influence particularly on our Fields, Gardens, Plants, and the several Creatures. While they admire the beauty of a Tree or Flower, they may be shown their Structure, their Manner of Propagation, and some of the simplest Principles of their Growth. Thus, what an entertaining Conversation might one have with them, upon dissecting the Parts of a Tulip, whose gaudy Colours amuse the curious Spectator! When they are found surveying a Tool, a Loom, a Mill, or any Work of Art, they may be prompted to take notice of their Use and Make, and what Ends in Life those Things serve, which are wrought by them. In order to keep their Curiosity and Attention awake, which is so apt to flag, I would let them see the various Changes some Things must undergo, before they are fitted for use, such as Wool, Flax, Metal, which they should see in their different States, together with the instruments which work them (vol. 1, pp. 207-8).

So there is a need to see the shops of artificers "where they may learn Things of equal Curiosity and Use, and give their Tutors Opportunities to discover whether they have any Genius for mechanical Arts." They might watch a watchmaker at work, taking a watch or clock to pieces.

A Sight of this kind would give rise to a thousand little Questions, in the satisfying which, the simplest Principles of Mechanics might be explained to them. When they ask any Questions, their Curiosity should never be baffled, unless they relate to Things improper for them to know; and even then they should be denied with great softness and Delicacy, and some Reasons given why they cannot be satisfied just now; either because they ask Things above their Age, or not fit for them at present to know. With this Precaution, their Questions should be answered clearly and in as few Words as possible, to encourage them to ask more, and that their Thirst after Knowledge may be continually cherished and increased (vol. 1, pp. 208-9).

The roots of Fordyce's approach here are partly in the empiricism of Bacon and the early scientists and in the anti-Scholastic concentration upon things before words. The stress upon use of natural curiosity, the developmental approach to knowledge and maturation, educational visits and first hand experience generally have antecedents. Locke stresses the need to grasp the opportune moment and Turnbull emphasises curiosity and novelty, although with less psychological insight than Fordyce. Comenius especially has a strong sense of natural order, activity methods, "environmental" studies and the use of the senses (thus his use of pictures). Visits to shops and works are recommended by Vives (including asking questions of craftsmen), Rabelais and Milton, while Fénelon also talks of examining mills and shops when out walking, gaining materials later organisable. Fordyce's theory, however, is generally based on a more developed psychology. The Socratic method, says Philander, should come into play, with the educator encouraging the deduction of truths from principles already known, but great patience is required. It is not clear whether one should talk of the seeds of knowledge being sown or the mind having its own "generative Force", but the interrogative method sets the learning faculty working. The child's mind is not merely dependent on an authority, but goes at its own speed, which is likely to be gradual. The educator needs to work on the child's curiosity, with each task being made to seem like a diversion from another.<sup>43</sup> Analogies can be made between "sensible images" and abstract and moral ideas and examples are given. Constant, however, says analogies are dangerous: false ones suggest themselves, because young children have fertile



imaginations. For this reason metaphor is an awkward notion for young people. Philander agrees, but says objects should be clearly classified before analogies are offered. (The influence of literature on mental and moral development he suggests be left till later: see dialogue xi). As the environment is explored, however, concepts of nation and race become more defined and notions of beauty, grandeur and design in the universe can prepare for the concept of God.

Sense experiences precede operations of the imagination, reason and understanding and each has a set of perceptions and appetites or propensities. As they appear they should be gratified and so concepts are formed. The thinking here seems to include Sensationalism with elements of faculty psychology and the Lockean tendency to treat children as rational creatures as early as possible, which Rousseau was to reject. One must guard against prejudice and error based on sensory experience, says Philander (for example, false assumptions about the size or movement of the sun). Remember that fields and workshops give better illustrative examples than books or grammatical rules.

But a grand Secret of teaching, and what will make Instruction peculiarly amusing to him, is, to inform him fully, why he learns this or the other Piece of Knowledge, what Use or End they answer, and how they will qualify him for social and active Life (vol. 1, p. 217).

Stress upon the purpose and value of knowledge, without necessarily adopting a crude utilitarianism, is now an open secret of good teaching.

Hiero, the metaphysical, then puts the discussion back on a moral footing, saying it is important to give the infant mind a stock of ideas, but one's principal care should be to inform the heart in piety and virtue. All "useful Science" is important, but there is a simple justification for moral education being considered primary:

for one Man made wretched in Life, for want of Knowledge, there are an hundred miserable through Immorality and Vice (vol. 1, p. 218).

The ultimate priority of moral education over intellectual, a commonplace of Classical and Christian tradition, seen also in Locke's placing of 'learning' after 'virtue', 'wisdom' and 'breeding' and emphatically stressed by Rousseau, is here pithily put by Fordyce and, of course, increasingly paid lip service to in the modern Western world. Some of the principles of religion, says Hiero, should therefore be grasped as early as possible, although he admits it is difficult for the young child to conceive of the idea of God. Rousseau, on the other hand, proposes no formal religious education until adolescence. Hiero claims the argument from design and some ethical arguments might be used, for example, reference to the example of spiritual leaders, like Socrates and Christ, with the gift to instruct and reform their fellow man. Christian morality is advocated; the child should be introduced to the gospels, an account of the growth of the Church and of the movement of Providence in history, but developing a simple humanity at this stage is more important than metaphysical speculations. Eugenio, however, declares that the young mind, immersed in sense and unaccustomed to intellectual researches, may be lost with Hiero's theology, so should one teach by mere authority? This would be contradictory to Philander's schemes, but Eugenio agrees, nevertheless, that man needs to know his duties before God. Hiero points out that he did say one should work from principles the child already knows to ensure opinions or reasons he can comprehend. By beginning with attempts to understand human nature he is more likely to come to know the nature and providence of God. The most important moral principles to be aimed at are:

A Regard for Truth, Obedience to Parents and Teachers, a just Sense of Right and Wrong, and of the Dignity of Human Nature; a strict Temperance, a general Humanity, and especially Love to one's Country, and Diligence or Industry in Business; Add to all, a deep Sense of Religion, and of the Duties and Obligations



which it includes (vol. 1, pp. 233-4).

There are no surprises in the ideas mentioned here, but there is an enlightened awareness of the difficulties of inculcation. Locke by comparison has little on the methodology of moral education despite stress on the need to achieve a true notion of God, truth telling and honesty and respect.

Hiero's plan of moral culture is fully considered in dialogue x. Philander's stress upon early associations of ideas is recalled and the question proposed: how produce right habits? If moral attitudes and habits derive from the association of ideas, it is imperative to "settle just Associations in the Minds of Youth and to break and disunite wrong ones."

Images of beauty and good, says Philander, are settled in the imagination (the middle faculty between sense and reflection) so one's purpose should be achieved by analogy or induction. The mind has the capacity to establish casual connections (various examples are given), operating at physical and mental levels. Thus the upper class young man may be given respect for his rank or fortune rather than his personal qualities and birth or fortune may be associated with ideas of superiority and the trappings of the beau monde. Likewise a child may learn to be materialistic, associate money with "leading Passions" like honour, happiness or self indulgence. Similarly with women, says Eugenio, praise may be given to externals, ideas of dignity associated with mere appearance. To 'follow Nature' is to develop the moral qualities and not simply the 'images' of these qualities (what Bertrand Russell has called right actions with wrong emotions). But, since nature ideally expects harmony and beauty, so moral qualities should be associated with beauty (the Neoplatonic idea in the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson tradition), but to do this is one of the trickiest problems in philosophy: to show that wealth, power etc. may be desirable in themselves, but that

there is no necessary connection between these and real worth. One can illustrate this (and similarly with the materialist or the pleasure seeker), but even then, he admits, establishing the right associations is tricky. One must undermine a wrong habit by degrees, turn a person on to higher enjoyments (examples are given) and establish counter associations, by, for example, changing his company.<sup>44</sup>

Hiero, however, is sceptical about breaking associations: the "Current of Opinion" is difficult to convince; society generally associates wealth, honour, power and pleasure with merit and excellence and new company is an unlikely cure. Nature, after all, can seem to form wrong connections so that one is prevented from discriminating between "true" and "false" associations. Human, rational effort must be supplemented by appeal to divine aid when the situation is inextricable.

Sophron, however, wishes the discussion to be kept non-metaphysical and sees the solution in a good private education combined with proper public regulation of taste. In ancient societies, for instance, "Objects, Exercises, Spectacles, and Entertainments" related to what was inspirational; public virtue was thus encouraged. Right education and correct policies should connect the right moral qualities to corresponding images to create less depravity in public taste (in arts, architecture etc.) and create higher forms of taste. But it is admitted that reforming public taste is neither easy nor likely, so one must resort to a good private education. The private versus public debate on education, touched on here, has existed inevitably since the rise of institutionalised education: it appears in Cicero and Quintilian and was stimulated by the national plans



of the Protestant reformers, while Renaissance courtly education remained firmly private (except in a sense at university level), perpetuated in the prestigious writings of Locke, until virtually destroyed by social and industrial revolution. The public-private debate appears in The Spectator, often the ultimate test of the commonness of Augustan ideas, while the regulation of public taste was a basic motive of Steele and Addison's periodicals themselves.<sup>45</sup>

Eugenio now points out that teachers of all kinds of subjects display models for imitation (the skilled worker, for example, shows the apprentice a finished model), so moral beauty can be shown to children in people and in the arts. Even when the child is engrossed in play one can use the opportunity to use playthings to display beauty and utility; later examples can be taken from dress and behaviour in company and from the arts generally. Illustrations of moral images are obtainable from narratives, fables, history and drama. But Constant does not entirely agree with Eugenio: models are all very well, but people differ in their concepts of the morally beautiful; people's imaginations are fallible and enthusiasm distorts judgement. He, therefore, proposes a Stoical starving of our "Conceits, and high Opinions of Things," training in greater analysis of our preferences for what is good and desirable, a process of weaning and restraining to produce temperance and not just in sensual matters. Simplicius now claims Eugenio's points to be unrefuted by Hiero and not entirely contradictory in any case. One should be enthusiastic about values like truth and beauty and train in a decent self denial to produce counter associations of a higher good. Again one notices in this dialogue that a generally Socratic pattern of claim, counter claim, followed by qualification and redefinition, has been followed.

Hiero now completes his plan for the inculcation of moral concepts mentioned at the end of Dialogue ix with some discussion of the matter of discipline and authority. A just sense of the dignity of human nature must be based on the relation of virtue to reason, and a strict regard for truth in forgiving a fault, but deploring deliberate deceit; one should try to be the child's confidant, using the tendency in infants to submit to parents and their proneness to imitation. Authority should avoid both indulgence and severity, teaching reverence and love: "by tempering necessary Severity with a discreet Kindness, allowing great Familiarity, yet checking the least Sympton of Irreverence and Indecency." Modesty and candour about others' opinions must be bred by example as well as precept. There must be no blind following of authority, even of parents; reasons should be expected and Constant reiterates this point: the child should obey from principle, not servile dread. But Hiero asks: what if the child does not understand or is not convinced or is obstinate? - children are ingenious at finding reasons for not doing what they are averse to. There is more assumption here of Calvinist awareness of human perversity than a Shaftesburyan or Rousseauesque ascription of basic goodness. Constant claims still the child should only do what he understands and the parent should be able to tell why the child wants a reason: stubbornness should be treated with a combination of reason and authority, scrupulosity with patience and reason. All agree authority should be as rational as possible. It should be noticed that there is hardly the appeal to fear as a last resort as in, for example, Fénelon.



The principle of humanity, says Hiero, can also be developed through relations with animals, applauding tenderness to them, the care and training of them, which is a good training in sympathy, thus preparing for the higher arts to mankind. Again children love moral tales and on this "innate Stock of Benevolence" virtues can be built up. Some money should be given to children for charitable distribution and allowing them to choose the recipients.<sup>46</sup> One should not expect the keeping of a rigid account, but discreetly ask general questions about management. Where selfishness emerges the flow of money can be checked. Eugenio says prodigality should also be prevented and economy taught; Sophron warns of the dangers of extreme good nature and failing to be indignant at folly and vice: in, for example, false modesty or weak complaisance (illustrative examples are given). There are hints here of the Aristotelian golden mean. The distinction between self defence and quarrelsomeness should be made clear and disrespect to strangers and servants checked. The preceding account uses some of the common store of wisdom in, for example, Fénelon and Locke, but Fordyce's discussion is generally more comprehensive and analytic.

Constant now deals with the inculcation of social virtues, especially public spiritedness. "By Degrees the Self enlarges its Circle" gaining concepts of family, neighbourhood, town, district etc., but Constant admits it is more difficult to relate to the state in modern times. Images related to this (public buildings, councils etc.) can be inspirational and the public utility of art and science should be stressed. Such opportunities are more present in public education than private

where privileges and duties must be related to private interest: the highest self-interest should be seen to be that of public good. Hiero insists that religious belief is the only ultimate check on volatile human behaviour: "To be thoroughly social then, one must be truly religious." (The standpoint here on the classic eighteenth century debate on egoism and altruism seems to be similar to Butler's.) The ordinary principles of philosophy do not secure one against the temptations of power and riches so religious principles must be inculcated early, the Deity sought through reason, with human abilities taken as far as possible and Divine Grace can be expected to do the rest. Natural and revealed religion may appear contradictory but do not trouble with "abstruse Speculations and barren Controversies": Christian virtue is the most important and prayer is a valuable activity. Fordyce is on the side of history in realising that the religious controversies of his age were ultimately unproductive.

Finally the place of diligence and industry is discussed: daily, regular activity, with employment and diversion seen as interdependent, is essential. Praise and blame, says Philander, are tricky to manage: the former is an excellent aid but must be worth giving and one must remember the dangers of praise by comparison. One can occasionally use illustrative examples of vicious and debased behaviour. It is worth noticing that concepts of punishment are conspicuous by their virtual absence from the debate, which is amazing when one considers the preoccupation with punishment that is reckoned (rightly or wrongly) to be a feature of the Scots educational tradition.



The first volume ends with a dialogue on the moral function of fiction, a topic as old as Plato, who, in The Republic, argues classically the need for censorship. It is argued, as in the introduction to The Temple of Virtue, that the combination of entertainment with instruction in good fiction can be more effective in moral education than "Precept and methodical Instruction". Eugenio had been reading Aesop, the "moral Instructor", (recommended by Fénelon, Locke and Turnbull), wonders why the ancients used fable, allegory, and "Mimicry" (dramatisation), while modern writers prefer "System", precept and methodical instruction. Various explanations are possible. Constant points out that each age has new forms of fiction and romance and romantic novels are the present fashion. Philander claims contemporary fiction tends to the improbable and fantastic. Does it "inflame a wanton Fancy, and enervate the Mind" rather than teach wisdom? Hiero and Sophron suggest historical and cultural reasons for the shift in emphasis. Fable appeals to the feelings and imagination, while the powers of reason have since become more developed in man. Simplicius says: "Men usually take more pains to feed their Imagination than to inform their Judgements", so fable still has the power to convey truth and to moderate and humanise the emotions. Constant, however, is concerned about the moral impact of contemporary fiction. Children have vivid imaginations and have difficulty in distinguishing reality and fiction (Rousseau was later to reject fable for moral purposes because it confuses) and may corrupt. Fairy tales may, for example, produce fears and superstitions. Similarly popular novels which sentimentalise love may have a harmful effect and Constant, therefore, argues the case for

censorship. Philander agrees there is much poor and extravagant fiction, but maintains realistic fiction is always a safeguard against wild romance. He describes our tendency to identify with and assess characters morally. Fable engages our sensibilities and so is instructive and useful, before the child is capable of direct instruction. The best fables of classical and modern writers should be used (of the latter Fénelon, Fontaine and Gay are given as examples).<sup>47</sup> Sophron claims caricature and exaggeration are acceptable if the underlying moral values are still sound and things harmful in real life can amuse in fiction. Children may be better judges of the propriety of characters and actions than we think. Other examples of the categories, ancient and modern, are given and there is agreement that a modern tale is generally more acceptable and can still have a definite and desirable moral.

The dialogue ends with a tale of virtue rewarded, told by Hiero and curiously described as "shewing the Effects of Education" and in the sentimental moralistic tradition of Samuel Richardson, whose novels Fordyce admired. A widow has two sons and a daughter whom she rears admirably (by methods perhaps reminiscent of the Fordyce household). The elder son is apprenticed to a merchant (like David Fordyce's elder brother, George) but association with a coquette ensures his downfall, the prodigal ending up in prison and later with the army in Italy (like John Fordyce in this respect around the time of writing). The other son, Eubulus (literally "good of council"), attended the university of \*\*\* (the three asterisks may correspond to the syllables of 'Aberdeen'), becomes travelling companion to a gentleman of fortune, Agathias ("good, noble"), and takes tender leave of his



mother and sister. On the Grand Tour in Italy, Eubulus rescues Agathias from thugs, then helps an Italian lady to secure the release of someone unjustly imprisoned (on account of the jealousy of her relatives) who turns out to be his brother, henceforth called Pamphilius (literally "loving all"). Eliza, the sister, sends a letter to her brother, the mother dies, and Eliza falls foul of a gentleman (sic), Lothario, who feigns illness and carries her off to a secret place but she escapes. Exhausted, she lies down to be wakened by a gentleman on a foxhunt who turns out to be Agathias, who puts her in his mother's care. Eliza is joyfully reunited with her brother, wed to Agathias and so virtue is rewarded. There is a narrative vigour in the story, but such fiction was nevertheless stereotyped by the time of Fordyce's writing, not only in Richardson's novels but earlier in The Spectator and The Tatler. One can hardly avoid also concentrating analytically on its revelation of Fordyce's own personal fantasies and the urge to imitate a fashionable genre. Cynically, one might suggest that in the story virtue is rewarded more in the tradition of eighteenth century economic individualism than of moral idealism. In Plato fable and myth had been related to beauty and goodness through the imagination and recommended because of children's capacity for imitation, while the value for moral education is advocated especially by Fénelon and Locke. Turnbull follows both in his recommendation of history and fiction for moral education.<sup>48</sup> Overtly didactic tales were the eighteenth century preference, while the twentieth tends to prefer implicit didacticism (thus F.R. Leavis's statement: "A work of art enacts its own morality"). Yet in the dialogue itself Fordyce extends the range and depth of discussion of fiction and moral values in a kind of debate that

still takes place regarding the influence of fiction, drama and mass media generally on children.

The problems of general and special education are analysed in a number of dialogues. In dialogue v Philander expresses disapproval of the classicist bookworm not up to date or applied in his learning, a prevalent fault, he says, because scholars think of one kind of knowledge as necessary to produce a learned head and another to form a gentleman. Ancient philosophers, on the other hand, did not divorce learning from life and Philander gives illustrative examples. In dialogue xii (the first in volume 11) Hiero, in conversation with Urbanus, points out the advantages of the ancients' emphasis on education as a function of government, designed to serve the state, but he admits political intentions may conflict with private ones. Urbanus, however, as his name implies, is a social realist and fears that his son, if educated at Euphranor's academy, may not be prepared for the real world of business and politics: the pupils may be made too scrupulous, without the capacity to compromise or show a degree of cunning. Hiero states the arguments for truth, virtue and religion which are part of Euphranor's education and relates these qualities to the rights and duties of government. Hiero gives recommended reading on particular values, then rhapsodises on the benevolence of God and illustrates the sermonising of Euphranor with an allegorical vision of God's plan, as a moral exhortation.<sup>49</sup>

In dialogue xiii Sophron begins by claiming ancient education satisfactorily blended general and special aims of producing the good citizen and useful member of the community, roles private



and public. The tendency of modern education, on the other hand, is to produce the mere scholar whose learning is not strictly applicable, but nevertheless may provide what Hiero called earlier a "Scaffold to Preferment", or else is merely vocational, at the expense of the general moral function. Education tends now to be for self interest, while the political purpose of serving the state was more obvious to the ancients and reflected in all aspects of the curriculum. They saw no distinction between knowledge and virtue or between instruction and pleasure, whereas it is now popularly believed that "Manners....will come of Course" and teaching "modern Discoveries" is more important. Eugenio, however, qualifies this by reference to modern education's concern with manners in the discipline of schools and universities and claims there is some attempt to blend scholarly study with practical application. In defending the moderns he accuses Sophron of 'golden age' thinking. In any case there are limits to which one can influence man's behaviour; man's heart and manners are his own affair. One can try to persuade, but man tends to be selfish and influenced strongly by emotions:

Therefore in my Opinion the Moderns shew a truer  
Insight into human Nature, by teaching only such  
Things as are teachable, and applying that Culture  
which is likely to have a lasting Effect (vol. 11, p. 57).

Besides, self interest (curiosity, ambition, and the supplying of desires, for example, for material wealth and status) is a stronger motive for learning than learning for its own sake and so inevitably the modern curriculum is more concerned with the "Arts and Professions" and especially with modern discoveries and inventions. The educator has no right to meddle with "Opinions, Passions and Manners"; man's morality is a matter for the law

and modern instructors are quite right to be concerned with imparting "useful Knowledge." Concern with "moulding Passions and Manners" can be left to abstract theorists "who in their Closets, at a Distance from Business, have spun their airy impractical Cobwebs, for modelling the Human Constitution."<sup>50</sup>

Now after this eloquent statement of the social realist viewpoint and the classically opposed viewpoint, Sophron begins to attempt some reconciliation. He reminds Eugenio that some modern schools do concern themselves with both heart and head. Manners (in the narrow sense), says Constant, are taught, for example, in dancing schools. Although Eugenio says man is not a proper subject of moral culture and that "If his Head be but well-instructed, his Manners may shift for themselves", there are dangers in leaving these matters to chance, if the mind is left fallow, especially in the formative period. Wrong attitudes and habits can take over, unless virtue is implanted to produce stability, despite the implied loss of liberty. "It is no Utopian Scheme", according to Constant, "to form Manners, as well as to communicate Knowledge". The Spartan educational system illustrates the possibility of training in both knowledge and manners (especially in hardiness). But Hiero points out the weakness of the Spartan preoccupation with militarism: its denial of much in human nature, the giving of too little responsibility to parents and the general tendency of Greek education to produce a narrow nationalism. Man is capable of benevolence as well as selfishness; pride can be a genuine self esteem, a spur to emulation, diligence and a guard to virtue. Passions (emotions) can have a good or a bad purpose. Eugenio's



system emphasises head and hands, whereas Hiero wishes to emphasise the heart, but its development is not as impracticable as Eugenio suggests. Simplicius now points out that these differences in emphasis regarding aims and methods in education are partly national: in some societies the imagination is the principal faculty and so the arts are highly developed; in others man is primarily a religious creature; in others military training seems to be the sole aspect; others emphasise the political character of man. Britain has probably a greater variety of motives than anywhere and has attempted to blend all aspects, although the active element (preparation for business, career, leading to material benefit) probably predominates. A variety of examples are given, all jobs where "Gain" or "Interest, in some Shape or other, is the God." Yet in this case education is concerned with cultivating powers of least consequence for man's happiness: "the Understanding, Imagination, Affection, and Action", all should be developed and moral education should not be avoided because it is difficult. Philander concludes by noting that self love and social can be the same (the eighteenth century assumption behind laissez faire capitalism).

In dialogue xviii Philander begins with reference to parental indulgence and reluctance and discussion develops concerning the rival claims of the ancient and modern languages. French is the preferred language among parents and Eugenio points out its usefulness in commerce. Yet, says Sophon, "business" really means all kinds of social intercourse, and so Greek and Latin should be vocationally apt. Constant says, however, that their teaching must be brought up to date. Hiero asks which teaches virtue better and refers to ancient moralists. Philander sums up by

declaring that for an 'active' life there is a need to blend classical and modern education, that ancient and modern wisdom should be the same, if human nature is essentially the same.

In these dialogues Fordyce has no easy answers to the problems of general and special education, but he does raise considerably the level of debate in his analysis of sociological and psychological perspectives.

Dialogue xiv introduces us again to Cleora for light relief, to break up the discussion that continues from dialogues xiii to xv, and completes the proposals for female education enunciated in volume 1. Phylax, her Guardian, is described and Cleora describes his education of her: his combination of generous praise with mild rebuke, learning being made a pleasure, involving arithmetic, accounts, tending of birds and animals, money given for charitable distribution with discreet oversight, together with the usual music, dancing or sewing; principles of design foster the imagination and create images of beauty and virtue. Reading and writing French she learned at boarding school. Virtue and beauty are to be encouraged through observations, examples, stories and history. Step by step instruction was important, beginning with reference to daily objects like plants and animals. A feeling for religion was inferred from nature. She also studied geography, astronomy and physics. In the arts recommended books included Rollin, Fénelon, The Spectator, Advice to a Daughter by Lord Halifax (actually George Savile, Marquis of Halifax) and Hutcheson (not actually named), but real company was reckoned to teach more than books. There is duplication here of ideas mentioned in volume 1 and in the recommended authors and elsewhere, but the scheme is



nevertheless progressive, especially in its selection of scientific subjects for women.

Dialogue xv resumes the discussion of the culture of the mind and the elements of "Instruction", "Habit" and "Example", mentioned by Philander at the end of dialogue xiii.<sup>51</sup> Eugenio, who stressed intellectual education before, declares rational instruction to be the most efficacious "engine" for moral culture. Since humans are not just creatures of habit, which suggests a machine model, tell a man what is in his interest and he will do it; he will act wisely if he knows the consequences of his actions. Thus, for example, rewarding a drunkard for abstaining. This is the Platonic view, consequent upon a belief in human rationality and free will. When doing wrong, men are not seeing their own true interests and various examples are given. Simplicius then states the opposing view that man is too fickle; he often acts under the influence of emotion, by whim and without reason, irrespective of his best interests. Eugenio, in contradiction, states that we approve of the action at the time, but admits the emotions can take over. Interest, real or supposed, governs man. Given early instruction in the right opinions, however, these should take hold. Constant, while conceding that instruction is important, disagrees: Eugenio's rational appeal forgets that children develop habits before the mind is capable of forming opinions, reasoning about self interest and judging consequences; example and repetition can establish a practice in children before they can judge of it or its consequences. Thus, for example, the boy brought up among gypsies to steal or the rake who comes to regret his own habit formation. Force of habit can be superior to all reason and sense of interest; men do not always do what is in their real

or present interest. Besides, there is the possible discrepancy between people's real principles and practice in morality. Man develops a "practical Judgement" or "governing Taste" (sets of attitudes) from constitution, habit, circumstances, the opinions and example of others etc., representing strong associations of ideas, so habituation should be the main "engine" of education. Sophron then blends these viewpoints by agreeing about the force of habit, but that it should be accompanied by rational instruction. Can virtue be taught? Eugenio reduces all moral culture to rational instruction, considering that good habits will naturally follow right opinions. In Constant more is ascribed to Nature and force of habit. But the terms "Opinion of Interest" and "governing Taste" are surely the same. Sophron now proffers a theory of moral sentiments ("affections" based on perceptions of good and evil), developed by both instruction and habit, which should not be divorced, as they were in the educational systems of Sparta and Athens.

Simplicius now declares that example is a more subtle force than either direct instruction or habit, since it depends upon human love of imitation, impressionability and sympathy. Company and example may have a most powerful influence over opinions and habits. The three forces clearly should be blended, but children are specially influenced by company and example, which can also make them more group conscious and less selfish. Admittedly bad impressions can be spread as easily as good ones, so wise regulations and a watchful tutor are essential. (Illustrations are again given from Athens and Sparta). Example, therefore, is reckoned more influential than the other two, because it is such a powerful social force. Social powers can be expanded and a



training for public life given, so ample intercourse among other young people and especially elders is needed. Thus in this dialogue also basic elements have so far been dialectically examined and a kind of compromise achieved. The elements of imitation, example and habituation had already been considered by Comenius, Fénelon the need for good examples and models because of impressionability (and the teacher to make neutralising comments about bad models) and Locke considers the value of example over precept, but believed in occasional lectures on morality. Fordyce's discussion, however, is as elsewhere generally more comprehensive and analytic.

Philander is worried that in public schools in undistinguished company one is more likely to meet bad models (the common criticism, popularised by Locke), but admits that regarding the old question of public versus private education, in the manner of Sir Roger de Coverley, he says, much can be said on both sides.<sup>52</sup> Philander now proceeds to outline aspects of moral education.

I would begin earlier than is generally done; for surely the Mind is as susceptible of right Impressions as a Piece of Clay when it is wet and tender; that is to say, as soon as it begins to feel Pleasure and Pain, and to perceive what is done about it (vol. 11, p. 182).<sup>53</sup>

The task is nevertheless difficult. Character begins to be built upon the elementary responses of pleasure and pain. Philander defines the powerful principle of pleasure, but a man cannot fully understand it without instruction or experience. One must teach him to feel he will benefit by, for example, labour, that pain may produce a superior pleasure, that by serving others he may serve himself. Instruction in this case must be very discreet. The right must always be made to seem pleasant, appetites appealed to but disciplined and the objects of the child's sight excite his wonder and curiosity, conveying images of decency and chastity, without vanity. Play shapes a child's interests and

attitudes and moral instruction should be bound up with the child's amusements. In learning language,

to make him take Pleasure in learning those, I would inscribe the Letters on their different Play-things, and contrive various Games and Diversions, which shall oblige them to learn and pronounce them distinctly. Thus, for instance, I would frame an Horary Circle, consisting of twenty-four Divisions, at each of which a Letter of the Alphabet should be placed. On the Center let a Moveable Index or Needle be adjusted, to turn round at Pleasure. Let the Values of the several Letters and Intervals between them be fixed, and signify Blanks or Prizes, which the Scholar shall draw according as the Index, which he whirls round, points to one or other of them, or fixes in the Intermediate Spaces. It is easy to extend this to Syllables, or to contrive little Figures and Pictures, which shall teach him to pronounce even those that are most difficult with great Readiness. From thence the Transition is easy to Sentences, which may be interwoven with their most familiar Diversions. And at the same Time that we seem to be amusing them only with Words, we may by those very Pictures communicate to them the Knowledge of Things, and teach them to reason about them, form Connections, and draw Consequences. - But whatever Exercises are prescribed to them, or whatever Lessons are taught them, they should not be imposed as Tasks, but recommended to them as Diversions, and chiefly by those Persons who do them good, and whom they love most themselves; and the Lesson or Exercise must not be continued too long, or have any Circumstances of Terror accompanying it lest they recoil from it with Disgust, and contract an unconquerable Aversion to what was designed as a real Improvement. The Grand Art is to excite their Curiosity, and keep it continually awake; to lead them forward gently, and convince them how manly and honourable those Exercises are in which they are employed (vol. 11, pp. 191-3).

The play way has become a commonplace of educational thought and practice, confirmed by modern psychological investigation and enunciated by thinkers before Fordyce. It is suggested in Plato, but undeveloped as a theory, and in Quintilian and Renaissance humanists like Erasmus. Play methods are expressed particularly in Comenius and Locke. Quintilian described a kind of form board containing the alphabet and Comenius devised apparatus for learning, while Locke describes a toy for language learning with letters and



the use of the dice. Fordyce's device seems particularly ingenious.

Fables and other tales, says Philander, make instruction pleasant (as described in volume 1), but the moral should not be too deep or grave or far fetched, but sprightly and with concrete images, to appeal to the imagination. One cannot train in virtue by "reading dull formal Lectures on the several Virtues and Vices, and by declaiming loosely on their Effects" but by "living Examples", as from history and literature, but children must be careful to examine the motives of heroes to prevent distorted views of heroism. The teacher in these analyses should guide by suggestion rather than explicit judgement. Locke had recommended an "easy pleasant book suited to his capacity" for moral instruction, like Aesop's fables, while Turnbull follows Fénelon and Rollin in recommending fable (including religious ones) and history.<sup>54</sup> Reading moral lectures had been recommended by Milton, but is rejected by Fordyce.

Constant, however, objects, saying that Philander's method is dangerous, too likely to encourage self indulgence and avoid hardships; restraint is needed. Philander points out that they seem, nevertheless, to agree about the ends of temperance and self control, but not about the means. He concedes that Constant's emphasis on "Restraint, Severity and Self denial" is the popular view, which considers his approach to produce "Indulgence, Softness and Effeminacy", but children are not led primarily by "Discourses" and "Rules":

They must be led by Feeling, rather than Reasoning; and to induce them to voluntary Pieces of Self-denial, you must give them a Prospect of a greater Enjoyment than that which they quit. Young Spirits are wonderfully squamish; a little ill-timed Rigour may entirely quash them, and render them sullen, and unsociable, or else creeping and dastardly.

To keep them in Heart, and flexible to Advice or Reproof, as well as prompt to Action, you must enter into their Feelings, appear a Friend to their Interests, and let them taste as much Joy and Satisfaction in the Instruction you impart, or in the Course you want them to steer (vol. 11, p. 199).

Experiment and experience are necessary to prove that deferred goods are desirable; one must remember to use the gradations from sensory to imaginative and to intellectual and moral experience. Sophisticated pleasures like health, beauty, power, knowledge and virtue should be analysed and compared and the "manly, rational and sublime Satisfactions" fostered to guard against corrupting ones. The pattern may vary according to whether the nature of the child is contemplative or active but a versatility of taste is nevertheless required because of the accidents of life. "All unnatural and Fantastic Desires and Passions are best supplanted and expelled, by giving proper Scope to those which are natural and just." Hiero claims the moral form should be stressed rather than the pleasure and that one should think in terms of an activity to prevent the indolence of mere passive pleasure. Any art must be started young:

Whenever this Capacity of designing, or imitating Forms, whether Natural or Moral, appears, let the Genius have free Scope, and the Sallies of Nature be observed. Offer, but do not impose, different kinds of Exercise, and Trials of Skill. Let him mark out his own Sphere of Action, and chuse his own Amusements, to exercise his Invention, and explore his Genius. Many innocent Employments, besides Reading and Study, may be proposed to him; such as gathering, sometimes buying his Food, ordering Breakfasts or Suppers, chusing or disposing the Furniture of his own Apartments, laying out little Gardens, and furnishing them with proper kitchen Fruits; this will give him a Taste of Expense, and some Notion of Domestic Oeconomy. Let him have proper Materials and Instruments for building little Houses, Wind and Water-Mills, making Castles, Fortifications, Models, Machines, whether for Play or Use, Turning, Graving, Designing, and other Works of Ingenuity or Labour (vol. 11, p. 214).



Such active training prevents idleness and creates moral improvement but not by rigid rules or dry discourses about virtue or examples. Fordyce seems to anticipate Rousseau as father of the theory of educational play.<sup>55</sup> Especially characteristic of Fordyce is his stress on the child developing morally, as well as intellectually, through play activity.

Dialogue xvi studies the phenomenon of dreams. Sophron asks if a day spent happily ensures happy dreams, if dreams are an altered version of waking thoughts and if violent mental activity by day produces violent dreams. The lack of sensory experience at night surely permits the mind to analyse and compound. The ancient notion that dreams are a kind of possession is also mentioned. Dreams are reckoned to operate according to the laws of associations of ideas, in terms of resemblance and contrariety. So far in the dialogue there is reasonable coverage of the main theories of dream formation, except perhaps the psychoanalytic: dreams as a reflection of reality, as a source of divination ('message' dreams), as curative experiences, as a reflection of waking states (experiences and emotional needs). The psychoanalytic conception of dream activity as evidence of unconscious activity is only hinted at.

Sophron now recounts a dream allegory of a visit to the Temple of Vice (those of Virtue, Fame and Pleasure are also mentioned). The old man, the Genius of Education, directs folk on the narrow road to the Temple of Virtue, while others are on the road to Vice. Two females, Credulity and Deceit, invite

the subject to the bower of Bliss, he meets Lady Pleasure and is taken to her palace (Inconsideration and Incontinence are introduced also). Pleasure ascends her throne with Mirth and others as attendants, and by her side Intemperance and Luxury. The monsters Brutality, Slavery and Shame are met and various petitioners who confess and are led away, including a political climber and a beau. The allegory is a conventional exercise which must have been well received since The Temple of Virtue: A Dream is obviously a companion piece. Despite reasonable coverage of dream theory, however, the dialogue is primarily a conventional exercise in pious allegorical narrative.

In dialogue xvii a discussion of the curriculum develops from the question : why modern education is not adapted to the needs of the "world." Thus a classically educated student may excel in college but not in "Business." Euphranor, making his sole appearance in the dialogues in person, says:

In general I take it to be no small Error in the Affair of Education, to regard it as a Matter of meer SCIENCE or SPECULATION, rather than of PRACTICE; an Art or Method of furnishing the HEAD, rather than a Discipline of the HEART and LIFE (vol. 11, pp. 294-5).

The Greek academies, for instance, had included scholar-statesmen, whereas 'philosophy' was now too speculative to be of great practical usefulness. So Euphranor offers "a few loose Thoughts on a Method of Culture, which appears to me more proper to qualify a man for Life and Action" and proposes a "general Plan of Education." Physical exercise and training is important from the earliest years: the youth should be made hardy through



"Riding, Running, Swimming, Shooting, and the like", a training in the Lockean tradition. The learning of language should be mainly by conversational methods (also in Locke), and a number of useful tips are given in relation to the teaching of reading. When the child can read with ease, he should be given simple stories from History, as long as they "amuse, as well as employ, and improve them in their Reading. For it is of great Importance not to baffle the Curiosity of Youth, by giving them anything dry and unentertaining at first." Stories with clear sound morals, if appealing to the imagination and containing heroes with whom the child can identify, are infinitely superior to "Themes, and Compositions on dry moral Subjects, which are neither suited to their Genius, Experience or Inclination." History provides inspiring characters, fostering social and political values, for example, liberty and patriotism. The child can be introduced to geography, measuring, chronology, arithmetic, mechanics and elementary geometry, drawing and perspective. In learning the classical languages Euphranor proposes frequent translation to and from English, as at the academy, and "learning a few, a very few, of the most necessary Rules and Parts of Grammar, which I take to be the shortest Road to ancient Languages, as Practice is to the Modern."<sup>56</sup> At university, studies will be more abstract with reading in ancient and modern philosophers (Aristotle, Bacon and Locke are particularly mentioned) but studies must be firmly empirical, whether in the 'natural' or 'moral' subjects. The best moral writings can be a source of inspiration and ensure a balanced education. University education should be more comprehensive, although it is difficult to effect change:

I think it should be more employed than it has been formerly on the practical Arts; such as Mechanics, Chymistry, Fortification, Architecture, Navigation, Surveying, Designing, the History of Commerce, of the Interests of Nations both Natural and Political, which will comprehend their Government, Manufactures, and the Balance of Trade between them. Nor should I think it below the Regard of an University to descend to the general Precepts of Agriculture and Gardening (vol. 11, p. 303).

It should be noted that there is little here of aesthetic education, a traditional weakness of Scottish education and of Locke's curriculum: thus drawing is for practical purposes only. Fordyce, however, touched earlier on the educational dimension of the Neoplatonic association of beauty and moral ideas. The range of practical subjects is greater than Locke's (who included, gardening, carpentry and bookkeeping), while Puritan reformers like Milton had already proposed more utilitarian studies, including some of those mentioned by Fordyce. Increasingly utilitarian studies in the eighteenth century, called for by The Spectator, in preference to the grammar grind, was partly a response to industrial and commercial revolutions.<sup>57</sup> Such an education, says Euphranor, is less likely to produce mere scholars. So teachers must be men, not just of books, but of the world. The study of classics should be more as a means to understand the moral and political ideas of Greece and Rome than language learning for its own sake. There should also be study of the history, government and antiquities of one's own country, which will prepare the youth for employment.

After our Youth has spent some Time in the University, according to his Genius and Inclinations, he should come to Town to converse with Men of all Ranks and Characters, frequent Coffee-houses, and all Places of public Resort, where Manners are to be seen and practised, go to the Shops of Mechanics, as well as Clubs of the Learned, Courts of Justice, and



particularly the Houses of Parliament, in order to learn something of the Laws and Interests of his Country, and to inspire him with that Freedom, Intrepidity, and public Spirit, which does, or should animate the Members of that august Body.

By spending his Time in this Manner for a Year or two in Town, and by an unlimited Commerce with Men of Business, as well as Letters, I engage he will learn more real useful Knowledge than is to be acquired at any Seat of Learning whatsoever in double that Time (vol. 11, pp. 304-5).<sup>58</sup>

Prejudices are removed also by international travel, but the Grand Tour should not be made straight from university, but after experience of the metropolis. When visiting France, Italy etc. one's motive should be less the search for curiosities or antiquities, or to improve one's taste in art or refine manners, but above all to develop religion, morals and knowledge of government. So one should study the natural, political and commercial state of countries, "Their Manufactures, Magazines, Arsenals, Workhouses" and mix with informative company. Life in the metropolis and travel abroad extend knowledge through first hand acquaintance with a country's institutions and social intercourse, but the value is primarily moral. The emphasis here is on a revival of the Greek idea that the market place, assemblies etc. ("life") is the best educator. Fordyce's curriculum includes subjects already mentioned by other writers, but the stress on the social sciences is characteristic in a figure of the Scots Enlightenment and these, like certain of the practical subjects, have but slowly been given their place. Breaking down the division between the worlds of 'learning' and 'life' is characteristic of Fordyce's educational thought for all age levels.

Sophron reminds the company of the resistance to change in academic centres and the difficulties of getting teachers to implement Euphranor's plan. Simplicius points out that some such changes have already been made, but a main stumbling block

is the poor payment of teachers. Constant raises the problem of general and special education: the plan is too broad for one person and too general for particular vocational purposes, so that specialisation is necessary. Euphranor ends the dialogue with outlines of syllabuses for the specific studies of law, medicine, commerce and divinity.<sup>59</sup> Fordyce thus characteristically gives commerce equal status with the other higher degree subjects. But commerce with the world teaches above all, while "Education" is necessary, but should prepare for this.

Dialogues xix and xx examine the question of rectifying vicious habits arising from bad education or accident: the "sanatory Part of Education". Eugenio stresses the need for this: no matter how thorough the moral instruction and training inevitably children are influenced by "Company, ill Advice, or Example, and many other Accidents" and dispositions are formed "before they come into the Hands of Masters." So recipes for dealing with mental disorders are to be discussed. Hiero begins by reminding the company of traditional schools of thought on the matter known to doctors, divines and philosophers: the Stoic assumption that distempers derive from the emotions and that the mere checking of the emotion signifying the disorder effects a cure; the Peripatetic (Aristotelian) emphasis on moderating the emotions, developing a mean between extremes; Plato's tripartite division of the soul, with mental ill health deriving from their imbalance; the Epicurean idea of indulging the emotion; ascetic withdrawal and self denial and, in others, the development of a simple religious devotion. Modern doctors, likewise, form different schools of thought. Eugenio, however,



says that these are not actually methods of curing mental disorders; they describe the state of mental health or disorder, but not "how one is to be preserved, or other cured." Hiero says the ancients called "philosophy" the medicine of the mind and offered at least some rules, but Constant says what is required is "an exact and faithful Register of the several moral Disorders which are incident to Mankind, their various Species, Causes, Symptoms, and Revolutions; from which we might more easily have deduced a just Theory of this medical Art, and a sound Method of Practice." A pathology is needed, showing the complex influence of "Constitution, Exercises, Studies, Fortunes, Education, Opinions, Friendships, and other Circumstances of the Patients". These features tend to establish "leading Passions", for example, love of wealth, power, pleasure, honour, fame, even virtue, and from these arise impulses of envy, anger etc. through the thwarting of the primary emotions by disappointments and accidents. Responses of joy, sorrow, hate and love relate to these experiences, but cure must deal with the primary passions: a true method of practice must begin with "those radical and original Perturbations, curing by Stratagem the mistaken Opinions of good and evil," although this can be a protracted business. The delineation of "primary" emotions and related "subordinate" ones and the need to attend to the primary emotions for effective cure hints at psychoanalytic views of mental disorder, although Fordyce at this stage describes the matter generally in terms of morality.

Constant emphasises the establishment of different associations of ideas as a cure. Eugenio, however, considers Constant's method to be superficial: the moral prescriptions may be ignored; people do not always choose what is good for them, since they may be wilful or obstinate. If the practitioner, however, is artful in relating the cures to the temper and circumstances, and therapeutically "employing or amusing their Minds continually with some innocent and useful .Exercise or Diversion" to prevent bad habits, it may work. To Philander a general theory of moral medicine must particularly establish those disorders which are of physical and those of mental origins. Constant points out that some diseases thought mental are actually physical, with mental effects like phantasies so that moral prescriptions, exercises etc. may be useless. The physician must deal with this and examples follow. In the case of complex interaction it is difficult to say when the origin is in the body and when in the mind, so false diagnosis is possible.

Practical difficulties, says Philander, may include parental obstinacy, so cooperation is needed. He now draws parallels with the medical notion of acute and chronical disorders. Sudden emotions and general dispositions characterise the former and the patient must be trained in abstinence or diverted, to transform his attitudes. With chronic conditions also the patient must be trained in abstinence from the actions, exercises or conversation that nourish the desire. Examples of therapeutic behaviour are given. In the case of habits that reflect ambition, avarice, pleasure-seeking, or desire for fame, the images need to be weakened and so the occasions and company that stimulate them avoided. Examples are given, like how to divert a gambler. Relaxation, especially of a social sort, is relevant because of its capacity to develop pity and friendship.



Simplicius mentions the disorders that derive from ignorance and false associations and Sophron that human nature does not necessarily want to remove the malady: habits and propensities may be strong; a divine appeal may be necessary. The place of conscience in all this is then examined.

After the pathology of dialogue xix Philander continues in dialogue xx, the final one, with practical rules for treatment. It is clear from earlier discussion of character formation Fordyce considered prevention better than cure.<sup>60</sup> Philander now says that where mental disorder is related to opinions of good or evil from associations of ideas settled in the imagination:

Let the Distinct Species or Characters, the various and yet peculiar Symptoms and Appearances of the Disease be carefully examined, that it may be accurately ascertained, and that you may distinguish what is the Effect of Constitution or Natural Temper, from what is adventitious, or owing to extrinsic Causes and Accidents. If the Disorder be interwoven with the original Constitution, you may moderate and allay, but can hardly expel it entirely, or new-model the Constitution.

If the Distemper has proceeded from external and accidental Causes, there is a probability of removing it altogether. If, for Instance, the Infection has arisen from certain Mistakes in Education, or wrong Principles, it may be cured by rectifying these and giving the Mind better information.

Observe, accurately, the Seasons of the Disease; at what Age, for instance, it seizes the Patient, and at what Seasons, whether in Times of Prosperity or Adversity, of public or private Calamity, of Health or Sickness (vol. 11, pp. 407-8).

In discovering the "Species" and "Cure" remember some conditions are typical of certain ages and these the passage of time may cure, for example, certain conditions that belong to youth. People tend to be more biddable or prone to change in times of misfortune, disappointment, shame or good humour. One should find from the symptoms and effects the causes, immediate and proximate ones at least and apply remedies that produce contrary effects. If the disease derives from bad habits, the individual

must be accustomed "to a Series of Actions, the very Reverse of those by which the ill Habit was acquired and strengthened." A selfish individual, for example, should be engaged in "frequent Acts of Humanity and Friendship." Undesirable attitudes should be counteracted by similar Principles yet of an opposing Genius and Tendency". A vain person, for example, should be praised for actions which reverse the tendency, but the task is a delicate one. The individual should be encouraged to avoid company and occasions which stimulate the disorder. Good company should be found and his energy usefully diverted. Sophron seems to anticipate the approach of some modern therapists when he says a characteristic of the expert practitioner is:

To seem to be doing something else, or to be diverting and trifling with the Patient, while yet you principally aim at correcting the vicious Habit, and are in Effect removing the Distemper (vol. 11, p. 435).

The study of "Philosophy" will help with some dispositions; a healthy body is usually essential and so there should be attention to diet and exercise. In youth too much inactivity is usually bad.

Diversify his Exercises as much as possible; let one relieve another, give him Companions suited to his Age, Genius and Taste; raise an Emulation among them by Honours and Rewards of the manly and rational Kind; and you will stifle the Seeds of Diseases, and preserve his Constitution sound and clean (vol. 11, p. 439).

Hiero raises a number of problems in this thinking and then reminds them of the place of a religious cure of mental disorders, following with a panegyric and recommendation of the religious writings of Fénelon and the Latitudinarian divines and there the final dialogue ends.

Again Fordyce has noticeably raised the level of debate, by showing the implications of different theories and proposing an analytic approach, which is firmly in the tone of the social



scientist. The analogy with medicine may be partly superficial and invalid, stimulated perhaps by contact with his doctor brothers and clubmates, but it is advanced in its assumption that mental disorder, and not just psychosomatic illness, can be thought of medically: the eighteenth century, after all, was still an era of madhouses. Associationist psychology, which has roots in ancient writers, including Plato and Aristotle, was a central issue by the mid eighteenth century, and Fordyce expands on the implications of 'false' associations, which hints at the approach of modern learning theory. Some of Fordyce's ideas derive from Locke and others. Locke suggested that time may cure disorders of the mind which derive from bad associations, while Hutcheson talks of the need to "break vain associations of moral ideas" and undoing the harmful effects of education (e.g., prejudices), but he tends to a Stoical control of desires by discipline and resolution.<sup>61</sup> Fordyce's discussion is more developed. His discussion of the passions (emotions) is elaborated in The Elements of Moral Philosophy, which is discussed in chapter 5 (below), but seems at least to contain some hints of psychoanalytic views of mental disturbance and the indirect techniques of the good therapist. Fordyce's discussion of mental disorder, however, tends to concentrate on bad character, that presumably which does not conform to Christian Humanist ideals. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hiero, representative perhaps of the churchman Fordyce himself never properly became, should have the last word.

The contemporary success of Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education can be gauged partly from the number of times it was reprinted, although success is not necessarily a sign of originality, often, indeed, of the reverse. To be ignored or misjudged by posterity is a risk for Everyman. In the history of educational thought a notorious example of neglect is the writings of Comenius, virtually ignored for over two centuries, although his reputation is now high. The second quarter of the eighteenth century, however, is probably a specially interesting period in literary history from the point of view of success, failure and real worth. Rapidly expanding facilities and markets resulted in hordes of now forgotten period pieces, especially on now dead issues like the Deist controversy. Seminal works like the early philosophical writings of Hume were all but ignored. Fordyce saw in Hume's Essays Literary and Philosophical (1741-2) "something original and masterly", although it is not as important as his Treatise of Human Nature (1739).<sup>62</sup> Many of the works of Fordyce's friends and acquaintances, for example, Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses and Doddridge's Family Expositor, were avidly read, but are now curiosities. James Fordyce's best seller Sermons to Young Women was ignored for a hundred and fifty years and is now considered very important for literary history if not for its intrinsic worth. Warburton was the first important critic to acknowledge the worth of Blackwell's Homeric scholarship, yet the Life of Homer is rarely mentioned by writers in the fifteen or twenty years following publication, perhaps, it has been suggested, because it was before its time.<sup>63</sup> Uncertainty over literary reputation may be one consequence of the transition from patronage to the dominance of the booksellers in the second quarter of the century. Hack work in Grub Street



encouraged obscurity and occasionally ignored brilliance: a popular theme of the period, classically enunciated in Thomas Gray's <sup>Written</sup> Elegy in a Country Churchyard ("Full many a flower is born to blush unseen...") begun in 1742 and published in 1750, and preoccupation with the idea reflects the new economic individualism of the age. Whatever the reason for their neglect, Fordyce's writings clearly require assessment both in the light of their times and of their perennial worth.

Fordyce may have been largely ignored by posterity partly because of anonymous publication, although this was a common enough practice at the time and did not militate against success, indeed might facilitate it. Anonymity was preserved for a variety of reasons, especially dread of adverse criticism.<sup>64</sup> Fordyce, like fellow Scots, no doubt feared prejudice in an English market, although, like others, he probably benefitted from the greater acceptability of works by Scotsmen after the Forty-five.<sup>65</sup> The third edition of Fordyce's Dialogues, printed in 1757, included the author's name on the title page, but other factors probably caused him to be forgotten, including his early unexpected death (although his works continued to sell well for some time).<sup>66</sup> The publication of Rousseau's Émile, because of its sensationalism, no doubt put other educational writings in the shade, irrespective of their quality, besides creating a host of imitations. Also, it should be remembered that the century following Fordyce's death was unprecedented in its industrial and social upheaval, transforming the educational situation and no doubt causing many educational thinkers from before this watershed to be ignored, especially if writing in a quaint genre or offering ideas unacceptable to the new society.

The value of Fordyce's educational thought may have been appreciated most where his works probably most continued to

be read: in the progressive dissenting academies at Northampton (which moved to Daventry in 1751) and Warrington especially. Fordyce was one of numerous authors referred to and whom divinity students were required to consult in Doddridge's A Course of Lectures on Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity, which was widely used into the nineteenth century. Doddridge refers to the Dialogues on the question of dream behaviour and The Elements of Moral Philosophy on the question of 'marriage and education.'<sup>67</sup> Other references are to the latter text, so that, even in Doddridge, there does not appear to be a proper appraisal of the educational thought. The Dialogues is on the book list for Warrington Academy for the period 1757-83, made famous under John Aikin, who used Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy as the basis of his ethics course.<sup>68</sup>

Extant criticism of the Dialogues is slight, a gap which the present study attempts to fill. The earliest is probably in the letter of Akenside to Fordyce of 18 June 1742 (three years before publication of volume 1), where he recommends that Fordyce prune the neoclassic trimmings but, more importantly, says he considers philosophy cannot be emancipated in a strict college.<sup>69</sup> Fordyce appears to deal directly with this criticism in his exposition of the milieu of his academy in the opening dialogues and in dialogue xiii when Fordyce's ideals are compared with a local and strict university (Aberdeen?).<sup>70</sup> Besides the debates themselves represent a quality and type of education which is a keynote of Fordyce's thought.

The notion that the dialogue form is a basis for an educational theory and a method was no doubt a growing one for Fordyce. Blackwell's criticism of Fordyce's literary form in



the first draft (quoted in chapter 1, above, p. 25), suggests that Fordyce may have begun with letters and a dramatic situation, perhaps influenced by Locke, whose Some Thoughts concerning Education began as letters, a "private conversation" between two friends, rather than "a discourse designed for public view."<sup>71</sup> Fordyce may also have been experimenting with a mixture of forms as appears in Shaftesbury's Characteristics (actually six treatises in a variety of forms) and Turnbull's Observations upon Liberal Education, where the form is a mishmash.

There appear to be no reviews, unfortunately, of the Dialogues in any contemporary periodicals examined by the present writer. The only other extant eighteenth century criticisms are those of Kippis and Aikin. Kippis says: "It is a work of very considerable merit but somewhat tinged with the fopperies of the school of Shaftesbury, although entirely free from its more injurious notions."<sup>72</sup> Aikin says it is "not a systematic treatise on the subject, but is written in a miscellaneous manner. It contains, however, discussion of the principal points relative to education as well as of various questions of subjects of taste and polite literature."<sup>73</sup> He calls it "a distinguished product of the Shaftesburyan school of sentimental philosophy."<sup>74</sup> Certainly Shaftesbury is praised in the Dialogues, vol. 1, p. 391, and influences its educational philosophy, but he is criticised severely by Fordyce in a letter to Craig.<sup>75</sup> In any case Shaftesbury had little to say directly on education and it has already been shown that Fordyce, although incorporating Shaftesburyan ideas, blended these with others. Dilettanteism, of which Kippis and several others accuse Fordyce, was a general risk in Augustan writing, but Fordyce is not concerned merely with the fashionable topics of polite conversation. The contemporary fashion with polite manners, for example, becomes

a study in some depth of the problems of moral education; the fashionable topic of 'nature' and 'art' becomes an articulate presentation of the nature-nurture issue; the changing status of women in the eighteenth century calls for a serious discussion of the significance and content of female education; the well known debate of Ancients and Moderns gives way to a fuller examination of the curriculum and of the problems of general and special education. Besides formal artificiality is not incompatible with depth of thought.

McCosh considers the Dialogues "a very pleasantly written book."<sup>76</sup> He notes discussion of nature versus training, the Socratic method, that Fordyce "like most of the Scottish school, dwells fondly on the influence of the associations of ideas", is moderate in religion, and says there is "little original in his works, but much that is judicious and useful." McCosh notes that Fordyce was acquainted with the works of Butler and Hutcheson and goes on briefly to consider The Elements of Moral Philosophy. The judgement on the Dialogues appears clearly to be that of an orthodox philosopher, rather than an educationist, and, therefore, it is contended by the present writer, unfair as well as superficial.

Pons's treatment of Fordyce is superficial and disparaging and is reproduced here in translation:

Another, and quite naive, disciple of classical education is James Fordyce, author of two huge pedagogical treatises and sermons for women. Well esteemed in his day, Fordyce is quite forgotten today; only readers of Miss Wollstonecraft rediscover his name in the "Defence of Women's Rights" where he is exquisitely trounced.<sup>77</sup> In interminable dialogues between the members of an ideal academy directed by Euphranor, Fordyce formulates a plea in favour of "the old academic education" and "the customs of good society.." He protests that modern educators want to direct their instruction along the lines of the practical and give their pupils the quickest means of making money. Quite preoccupied with external forms, with etiquette and flattery for the use of the rich and for ladies of high society, Fordyce has a pathetic appearance beside the great figure of Knox (L'Éducation en Angleterre entre 1750 et 1800 [Paris, 1919], p. 80 ).<sup>78</sup>



The criticisms of Pons are not altogether clear, but he presumably considers Fordyce very conservative, vague and dilettante, criticisms which the present writer considers unfair and superficial. It should be noted that Pons confuses Fordyce with his brother, James, and dates the Dialogues wrongly as 1765.<sup>79</sup>

McCallister is concerned with the development of the concept of freedom in education. Thus he sees Fordyce as advocating a "reasonable freedom."<sup>80</sup> While conceding that freedom is a nebulous term, he sees Rousseau's concept of negative freedom anticipated in Fordyce: "a discussion of freedom anticipating both in phrase and in substance the central views of Rousseau's Émile and at the same time crystallises the main doctrines of Erasmus, Vives, Comenius and Locke."<sup>81</sup> To McCallister Fordyce's freedom is also present in the liberal conception of the curriculum, the developmental psychology and the informal student dialogue: "the clash of their opinions - real, not scholastic disputation - is freedom in education."<sup>82</sup> This is the inference also of Allen's enthusiasm for the Dialogues, in its provision of "socially attractive scenes for the discussion of their studies."<sup>83</sup> McCallister, despite occasional references to other dialogues and one to The Elements of Moral Philosophy, deals in detail with dialogue vi only.

The charge of dilettanteism is behind Bryson's dismissal of Fordyce: without naming him, she probably is thinking of the Dialogues when she talks of "rather dilettanteish conversation and correspondence passing for discussion of education."<sup>84</sup> Earlier she mentions Fordyce along with George Turnbull, John Pringle, Archibald Campbell and Alexander Gerard, "but on the whole their

contributions mirror the same pattern [in moral philosophy] with little that is distinctive."<sup>85</sup> This claim is unfair also to Turnbull and Gerard at least: the former is the principal populariser of 'empirical' method in 'moral' subjects and the latter is conspicuous in aesthetics. Bryson does quote Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy to summarise the Scots position in moral philosophy.<sup>86</sup> Of educational thinkers of the Scots Enlightenment Bryson takes Turnbull, Gregory and Kames as representative, referring also to Locke and Rousseau.<sup>87</sup> Her work is clearly concerned primarily with the roots of sociology and does not do justice to other specialised fields she considers. It should be remembered that the dilettanteism of Augustan literature appealed to decency, rationalism and sociability in the gentleman, a character expounded in The Spectator and Latitudinarian sermons and for whom writers like Locke and Shaftesbury wrote. Yet this didacticism was not necessarily superficial or pedantic and Fordyce's Dialogues in the main can resist such a charge. Bryson implies also that courtesy literature tended to the dilettante. If this is so, it should be noted that Fordyce's Dialogues is not mentioned in Mason's comprehensive work, which includes many minor and obscure works as well as Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education.

Curtis and Boulton note that Fordyce, whom they wrongly call a "schoolmaster", challenges some of Locke's tenets, in rejection of the tabula rasa model and preference for an image of growth.<sup>88</sup> Their short paragraph on Fordyce mentions a few aspects, but claiming that much of it restates Locke, for example, in training of the understanding and pleasant methods of teaching. They point out that eighteenth century educational writings tend



to be forests of vebiage, little of it good, that the enthusiastic reformers tend to be "tiresomely repetitive" and dominated by Locke even when contradicting him.<sup>89</sup> The judgement of Curtis and Boultwood is unfair to Fordyce. There is ample evidence that Fordyce was standing on the shoulders of Locke and others, but he includes several dimensions which Locke does not consider and a dialectical awareness not particularly present in Locke.

Bellringer implies Fordyce's writings are dilettante, giving as examples the discussion of 'nature' and 'art', 'female education' and the rhapsody on natural religion.<sup>90</sup> He then mentions the curricular discussion of dialogue xvii, is unfavourable in his very sparse selective quotation and, unfairly, considers Euphranor's plan to be "out and out utilitarian." He does, however, show that Euphranor's utilitarian tendencies are refuted for advocating too narrow an education for business without subordinating it to "that primary Discipline of humanising us " (p. 337).<sup>91</sup> Bellringer's study of George Turnbull's Observations is more thorough and approving.

All studies of Fordyce mentioned so far are very brief, (usually not more than a short paragraph), and superficial. The most recent study of him, however, is longer and more satisfactory.<sup>92</sup> Lawrence points out that progressive educational ideas lightly sketched for about a hundred years (for example, the significance of play, concentration upon abilities and interests, child study, love as an educational force )are expecially developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and notably in Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel.<sup>93</sup> Thinkers like Erasmus, Montaigne, Comenius, the Port Royalists and Fénelon gave partial insights, while the new idea of man that grew out of the changed social and

political situation in the eighteenth century influenced both education and politics. She continues: "The little known writings of David Fordyce forecast most of the principal ideas of Rousseau's Émile and sum up much of the enlightened thoughts of Erasmus, Vives, Comenius, Locke and others."<sup>94</sup> She notes Fordyce's concentration upon "innate principles of knowledge" and powers which careful nurture brings to fulfilment, education which "improves nature", innate goodness (Fordyce in fact qualifies this) and his account of following nature, which goes much of the way to Rousseau's negative education, as the good teacher sets up opportunities and concentrates on healthy development. She notes also the concern for practical and social purpose, the primacy of character formation, the need to study "nature", providing reasons for learning, pleasure, play and curiosity. Lawrence declares Fordyce was one of the first to state clearly that learning follows appetite. There is an innate desire for inquiry and teaching should be based on needs and interests at various stages. She notes his stress on first hand experience of everyday things, the appeal to mental activity and not just the judgement of others, on self education. "Few writers", says Lawrence, "of the present time can have put more clearly the basic principles of the modern approach to teaching," especially in the concentration upon discovery and experience, activity, including play activity, which is considered important in the moral sphere also and there is a progressive concentration on feeling and the imagination; one should not be intellectual only. Lawrence is generous in her admiration for Fordyce (she devotes little more space to Rousseau), quotes extensively and neither accuses him of derivativeness nor dilettanteism.



A true evaluation of Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education must keep in mind a basic difficulty in the history of ideas. The modern social sciences clearly derive from the moral philosophy of the eighteenth century, but the cynic might say that nothing fundamentally new has been said since Socrates. Even if one conceded that all the vital questions are asked in The Republic (and this is debatable), it is unlikely that the answers are so pertinent and, either way, eyes would be closed to development. Besides, as Adams points out, it is too easy to read ideas into Plato and others.<sup>95</sup> Of course we stand on their shoulders, says Adams, but we do see further.

No doubt there is much unacknowledged borrowing in Fordyce as in Locke, Rousseau and most writers of the period, since belief in the cult of imitation and a cultural tradition on which one built was central to neoclassicism. Preference was for clear, fresh and comprehensive expression of representative truth. It was not just that, as Dr Johnson said, humanity more often required to be reminded than informed: Augustans were not anti "originality", but it had to clarify or widen experience. The element of derivativeness in Locke and Rousseau has probably been insufficiently studied, but is not generally seen to detract from their greatness. Garforth, editor of Locke, notes echoes of, among others, Montaigne, Rabelais, Comenius, Quintilian and the courtly tradition, in agreement or disagreement.<sup>96</sup> Direct reference is unusual, but certainly there is little strictly original, rather a "distillation of the best educational thinking of the time", says Garforth. Locke's abiding virtue, after all, was his reasonableness. Fénelon similarly draws upon a body of

contemporary opinion and Ramsay says of Fordyce: "his [work] is without the slightest tinge of scepticism or singularity."<sup>97</sup> Likewise Rousseau's Émile, although radical, contains many truisms and pillagings. Reiterated commonplaces need not be banal, but rather indicate fundamentality. Thus, for example, Adam Smith's glorification of commonplace principles which arose from student salons and the practice of Glasgow industrialists in The Wealth of Nations.

Irrespective of, and partly because of, debt to other thinkers, Fordyce must have certain claims to shrewdness and comprehensiveness. Locke and Rousseau were both synthesists, but in some areas Fordyce is even more so. After sifting a variety of sources, traditions and theories Fordyce generally presents these dialectically in an enlightened way. This is not particularly true of Locke and Rousseau, for all their claims to greatness. Evidence of Locke's awareness of complex and conflicting ideas in Some Thoughts concerning Education is almost casual, although he did admit it was an untidy document. Qualification of his tendency to take the extreme environmentalist position over heredity and environment, for example, by reference to innate differences and the power of reasoning, appears casually, simply because such a shrewd philosopher would not take up a simplistic position and not from any clear dialectical awareness of dealing with potentially conflicting ideas as there is in Fordyce. Rousseau, whose educational philosophy is generally considered antithetic to Locke's, likewise does not gain its intellectual respectability from direct exposition of how theories relate to one another, but rather by brilliant and provocative paradox. Fordyce's



approach is clearly the most academic of the three and, indeed, of all early modern theorists on education. He is prescriptive unless there is an unresolvable dilemma, but his concern is for systematic description first. When reading other early modern educational thinkers, major and minor, one is struck by the extent to which they are overtly didactic and committed. Even Turnbull's work, the nearest to Fordyce in time, and professing the 'scientific' approach to 'moral' subjects, is overtly didactic in tone, especially in Parts 1 and 11. Nor does it have at the same time a strong impression of one talking from personal teaching experience, as in Fordyce, Locke and Rousseau. The capacity to adopt an experimental attitude and actually observe children clearly grew unevenly during the Enlightenment.

When one considers Lawrence's sketchy checklist of progressive educational ideas now generally accepted, if not fully or properly practised, the extent to which they are considered by Fordyce is striking: Lawrence mentions development from within; the teacher creating the conditions of learning; the plant image; spiritual purpose; concern for feelings, judgement, imagination and character as well as brain; learning from experience and discovery; things before books; needs changing as the child develops; education according to abilities; child psychology; stress upon interest; the futility of coercion and punishment; social context; the subtlety of the good teacher pupil relationship; self discipline.

Fordyce's theory in a number of areas is arguably more comprehensive than Locke and Rousseau, not just because he dialectically considers much of their respective ideas, but

also because his is not exclusively a private tutor model. Locke and Rousseau were anti school, unlike Fordyce, although their theories nevertheless derive a lot of their strength from the experience of the one to one relationship and only very gradually and with some difficulty have been applied in the school situation. The adaptability of the private tutor model has been challenged generally in writers like Elyot, Ascham and Milton also. Fordyce virtually avoids the public-private debate, probably not just because it was old hat by his time of writing but because, as a Scot, he had experience of a national educational system as well as private tutoring. Fordyce characteristically ranges over all age groups from infancy to university and "commerce with the world". In this no doubt he was influenced by the three tier systems of Luther, Knox and Comenius, although Fordyce does not actually describe a system apart from Euphranor's academy.

One of the keynotes of Fordyce's educational thought is his understanding of the extent to which educational thought is bedevilled by false antitheses, for example, heredity and environment, traditional and progressive, general and special or liberal and technical, discipline and freedom, cognitive and affective, curriculum and method, knowledge and experience, child centred and teacher centred. The dialogue form, with its use of participants representing alternative schools of thought shows a keen awareness of these dualisms and suggests the need generally to conceive of interactive processes. Any resolution, Fordyce shows, requires careful analysis and depends upon values.



Fordyce's consideration of the relation of nature and nurture and of child and teacher centred philosophies, for example, exposes the false dichotomy. Eugenio's viewpoint is the Rousseauesque trust in the child's natural impulses and abilities and Constant's the Lockean, environmentalist stress upon shaping behaviour from the earliest opportunity, on the assumption of natural tendencies to error. Eugenio's appeal to creativity as one type of evidence has been popular in modern reconsideration of educability. Philander's attempt at reconciliation suggests Fordyce's position on the matter: the preference for a growth model to the tabula rasa and the need of "Culture" to shape the inherent "Powers", "Capacities of Perception", "Instincts" and "Affections." Fordyce declares the difficulty in establishing the "right Opinions" and "good Habits" lies in "doing it on a rational Foundation" although at this stage he stresses less the child's intellectual immaturity (as does Rousseau) than the need to ensure he actively thinks for himself. Non interference is not the alternative: the teacher must look for signs of readiness and be aware of maturational factors. The mind actively learns if the teacher sets up the conditions of learning; then the mind will "by a natural Kind of Instinct, cleave to Truth, while it rejects Error." The mind will not respond without awareness of need and duress has no worthwhile long term effect. It is clear, therefore, that Fordyce's view is thoroughly interactionist, with keen awareness of the roles of both pupil and teacher in learning.

Curriculum and method is another false dichotomy and Fordyce's concentration upon education as a process rather than a content prepares for Rousseau's conception of no predetermined

curriculum, with concentration upon activity and experience, rather than knowledge to be acquired. The conception of dialogue as a method and theory is especially characteristic of Fordyce's thought. The preliminary account of student dialogue in Euphranor's academy and the course of debates themselves is not only convincing in a narrative and dramatic way, but signifies a type and quality of learning which is applicable not just to higher education. Use of small study groups or seminars, preferably in an informal setting, with unobtrusive leadership to encourage spontaneous discussion is now standard practice in the best educational circles. But the dialogue also represents a theory (indivisible from method) of the fine balance between the activity of child and teacher in education. Fordyce's technique partly anticipates Pestalozzi's "no impression without expression." Indeed, Fordyce, in many respects, tends more to the child centred stream of thought, which begins mainly in Comenius, but Fordyce's expression, like other post Lockeans, is less quaint. Fordyce also avoids the sentimentality of many child centred theorists and has a clearer account of the teacher's discreet role. Fordyce's description of all education as dialogue surely anticipates in a sense Behaviourist concern with feedback, while his sense of structure to some extent anticipates Whitehead's Rhythm of Education and even Bruner's notion of the spiral curriculum.

Whitehead has shown the antithesis of general and special education to be fallacious, but the competing aspects are neatly expounded long before in Fordyce, who was well placed to comment on this debate, writing in the mid eighteenth century when the unity of the traditional curriculum was finally



splintering. Fordyce shows articulately how the problem relates to the purposes of education and assumptions of a society; that it exists to the degree that education is divorced from "life" and because of the competing demands of state and individual. Fordyce perceptively points out that the general function of training in moral responsibility is fundamentally a vocational requirement, yet in the eighteenth century(as now) it was frequently dodged or at least left unstructured. In passing, it is pointed out that, absurdly, one with specialist training may have no difficulty in gaining employment, even although his learning is maladapted (Fordyce does not commit the error of transfer of training), because of the existence of cultural lag. There are double standards in the community: 'moral' citizens are generally desired, yet 'morals' are nevertheless generally considered a man's private business, public only in a legal sense. Fordyce's consideration that human emotions can have a good or bad purpose and that constructive development is essential and neglect dangerous is not a voice in the wilderness since he has practical proposals for moral education. If a society's educational values are made explicit, says Fordyce, there is a better chance of integrating general and special education. His discussion of ancient versus modern languages illustrates that the proper balance of general and vocational may be a matter of approach and methodology, a viewpoint most recently associated with Ashby.<sup>98</sup> Fordyce recommends that classical education be approached primarily as a means to understand the cultures and their relation to ours. Fordyce also anticipates

aspects of the Harvard Report, General Education in a Free Society (1945), in seeing general and special as representing the elements of tradition and innovation, the arts and sciences. Fordyce also makes the crucial point that the conflict exists partly because of the insistence on seeing education as content rather than in context. There is even suggestion in Fordyce of the Harvard Report's idea of the role of social studies as a link between arts and sciences. Fordyce never makes the mistake of advocating the generally educated man who might be so generally educated as to be unemployable, yet eloquently pleads the case of general education along with or as part of special education. Fordyce could not take account of the explosion of knowledge in the sciences, yet there is a slight poignancy in reading his account of the problems of general and special education and his tentative solutions, as, with hindsight, one tries to discover "where we went wrong" since the mid eighteenth century.

More space, however, is devoted by Fordyce to 'moral' (personal and social as well as of character) education than to other topics. In Fordyce there is clarity in the isolation of factors in development of personality, attitudes and character. Firstly Fordyce shows that there is a tendency to confuse constitutional elements and early nurture (as do Comenius and Locke). Eugenio expounds the theory of conditioning and Constant the importance of native temperament and aptitude and Fordyce's conclusion is appropriately interactionist. Modern psychologists and educationists would have to agree with Sophron when he then talks of the inevitable mystery and difficulty in isolating constitutional elements in human behaviour and the pragmatic approach proposed is enlightened. Fordyce's child psychology is generally more thorough than most early modern educationists:



he considers emotional development; the crucial relationship with the mother; the child's drives, especially the exploratory; the good teacher giving the maximum freedom consistent with the opportunity to learn; providing experiences and using methods (e.g., the right kind of stories) that do not divorce intellectual and moral development; social development; the fundamental role of curiosity; the good teacher channelling the child's energies and interests as they emerge, especially in natural and practical contexts, rather than having a preconceived notion of what is to be learned. The account of religious education takes account of 'readiness' and different schools of thought, but also ensures the child does not suffer from blight in religious knowledge and experience. The exposition of associationism and moral education is a reasonable presentation of the role of conditioning, especially of social forces. There is a plea for better regulation of 'public taste' but an admission (still true) that the educationist can be a voice in the wilderness in this matter. The role of imitation (identification) is expounded and Fordyce implies, rightly, that educators and legislators do not always act wisely upon knowledge of its influence. Fordyce's account of the growth of self discipline in replacement of that externally imposed is fairly brief, but thoroughly enlightened. His practical suggestions like the care of animals, money for charitable expenditure and use of moral tales are perennially applicable. The appeal to divine authority as the ultimate sanction for and source of integrity in the face of the vagaries of human nature may not be entirely acceptable in a secular age, but is well argued. There is good sense in the discussion of the place of effort and diversion, praise and blame, and an awareness that apt use of praise (as Skinner has since argued)

tends to eliminate the need for blame. There is balanced discussion of the roles of rational instruction, habituation and example, the latter considered specially important in childhood, in relation to other children and adults. The account of the relation of play to moral development is especially characteristic of Fordyce, as is the appeal to feeling, since "Discourses" and "Rules" tend to be ineffectual. The concentration upon affective development acts as a corrective to the domination of a cognitive emphasis in education in the eighteenth century and still.

Fordyce deserves respect for his coverage of other topics in an academic way, even if some of the ideas were obviously current, for example, discussion of education and the natural environment (scientific, religious, aesthetic as well as physical responses in sport etc.); dream activity; female education; fiction and moral values; the academic curriculum; and psychiatry. The discussion of the last three topics particularly deserves respect. Eighteenth century literary criticism hardly considered the theory of the impact of fiction and drama on young people, although advocacy of the use of fiction in moral education was traditional. Fordyce prepares us for the conception of literature specially produced for the young, which was a characteristic product of the Romantic age, shrewdly raises the main issues involved and makes perceptive comments, even if one cavils at his example of a suitable story. The account of the academic curriculum also is progressive, anticipating many developments in the secondary and higher curriculum. The primary concern is to provide a more applicable education which is not crudely utilitarian. Euphranor begins,



however, with a memorable statement that most education is too cognitive. He then includes physical training, language learning, using literature that is both appealing and morally educative, mentions a range of scientific and practical subjects along with philosophy and enlightened approaches to language teaching. "Practical Arts" should be more emphasised in higher education, with examples given from pure, applied and social sciences. The inclusion of commerce with the traditional higher degree subjects (law, medicine and divinity) is progressive. Experience of metropolitan life, educational "visits", civilised company and travel as supremely educative comes after a roughly three tiered conception of the educational system. The dialogues on psychiatry also attempts a synoptic view, posing most of the main issues, offering a "pathology" and advanced advice for therapeutic practice.

Fordyce can be seen as an early comparative educationist, in his sense of the dimensions of learning, the range of agencies, elements of historical and cross cultural study and relation of education to values. In the grasp of a variety of viewpoints and types of evidence there is something of the modern contextual and interdisciplinary approach to education: the preference for seeing an educational problem synoptically and contextually and the accompanying desire to avoid value judgements based on prejudice and ignorance, even if ultimately a philosophical position cannot be avoided, since education means involvement. The desire for systematic knowledge has its roots in Bacon, although Fordyce, like others of his time (and Bacon), had little grasp of the need for experimental procedure in the social sciences. A historical and cross cultural approach is the solution to the problem of education and

indoctrination, according to Fordyce. He highlights the relation of values to studies in religion and history, for example, and arguably prepares for a secular and pluralist society more than most early modern educational thinkers. There is discussion too of the politics of education, as in dialogue xiii, for example, when Simplicius declares that politicians perhaps fear education and that it is not enough to educate the masses to decency and virtue. In dialogue xvii there is discussion of the difficulties of implementation of Euphranor's plan. Lack of teachers, their poor payment and other perennial factors are mentioned, although Fordyce no doubt had Marischal College initially in mind.

If Whitehead implies correctly that original ideas hardly ever centre on a particular individual, but rather are "in the air" and are articulated by the best minds or may lie latent to be revived later, because they are self fulfilling, then one must make due allowance for derivativeness in the educational thought of David Fordyce. No doubt there is some basis also for the other main charge against him, that of dilettanteism. Yet it remains true that Fordyce carries and articulates progressive ideas to a considerable degree and in a startling way. Which ideas in education are most "progressive" will always remain a matter of controversy, as Fordyce shows, yet most of his ideas, duly qualified by the rigours of analysis and debate, are distinguished by their anticipation of the best and most generally accepted modern educational practice, while few educational thinkers before him had shown such a keen awareness of conflicting ideas in the manner of the social scientist. Fordyce's dialogue method, far from being a neoclassic remnant, is the basis of all



enlightened education. To the extent that his Dialogues concerning Education illustrates the Scottish philosophic clubs in operation, one has the essential proof of the fundamentality, perceptiveness and (indirectly) the success of his ideas, since the Scottish eighteenth century Enlightenment is considered one of the great periods of Western civilisation.

#### NOTES.

1. George Turnbull, Observations upon Liberal Education (London, 1742), p. 10.
2. Robert Marsh, 'Shaftesbury's Theory of Philosophy: The Importance of the "Inward Colloquy",' ELH, vol. XXV111 (1961), pp. 54-69; Characteristics, edited John M. Robertson, 1900, revised, with introduction, Stanley Grean, 1964, p. xviii.
3. John Aikin et al., General Biography (London, 1803), vol. IV, p. 161, actually by Thomas Morgan, based on Kippis.
4. Stanley Pargellis and D.J. Medley, A Bibliography of British History: the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1951), p. 351.
5. S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1953, 4th edition, 1965), p. 2.
6. Marsh, op. cit.; Stanley Grean, Shaftesbury's Philosophy of Religion and Ethics (Ohio, 1967), p. xviii; D.D. Raphael, The Moral Sense (London, 1947), p. 17.
7. Norman Kemp Smith, editor, David Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion (Oxford, 1935), p. 74.
8. A.A. Luce and T.E. Jessop, The Works of George Berkeley (London, 1948-57), vol. 111, p. 15. Cf. vol. 11, p. 55; Donald Davie, 'Berkeley and the Style of Dialogue' in Hugh S. Davies and George Watson, editors, The English Mind, Studies in the English Moralists Presented to Basil Willey (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 90-106.
9. Ellen D. Leyburn, 'Bishop Berkeley, Metaphysician as Moralist' in The Age of Johnson, Essays Presented to C.B. Tinker (New Haven, 1949), pp. 319-28, see pp. 322-3.
10. Ernest C. Mossner, editor, 'Of the Principle of Moral Estimation: a Discourse between David Hume, Robert Clerk, and Adam Smith,' JHI, vol. XXI (1960), pp. 222-32, see p. 223.
11. Op. cit., pp. 166-7.
12. Characteristics, 'The Moralists', section 1, pp. 26-7; Luce and Jessop, op. cit., vol. 111, pp. 31-3.

13. Henry More, Divine Dialogues (1665, reprinted Glasgow, 1743), also has a 'Sophron.'
14. D.N.B. under 'John Aikin'; Herbert McLachlan, Warrington Academy (Manchester, 1943), pp. 48-9.
15. Cf. Appendix 2, p. 369.
16. Isaac Barrow (1630-77), eminent mathematician, classical scholar and leading Anglican divine and preacher. His sermons, noted for their lack of affectation, were admired by Locke and Warburton. His Works were published by Tillotson, 1683-9, 5th edition 1742.
17. W.J. McCallister, The Growth of Freedom in Education (London, 1931), p. 219, considers Euphranor's combination of philosophy and mathematics with ancient and modern languages to be "an array of learning that surely harmonised the claims of the ancient and modern subjects of education, struggling as they were at the moment for supremacy in the public and the private institutions of academic learning."
18. Cf. D.N.B. under 'Job Orton.'
19. The Edinburgh medical faculty was instituted in 1726, although Sir Robert Sibbald had been appointed first Professor of Medicine in 1685 and Alexander Monro, the first, was appointed in 1720. The Medical Society in which Fordyce mixed was offered a body for dissection at the society's inception in 1734. See The History of the Royal Medical Society 1737-1937, by James Gray, edited by Douglas Guthrie (Edinburgh, 1952), pp. 1-2 and 65.
20. Class lessons in the morning, with the remainder for private study was the pattern in Comenius's system.
21. Appendix 2, pp. 385-6.
22. Isaac Watts, Improvement of the Mind (London, 1741), includes a 'Eugenio.'
23. James Harrington (1611-77), political philosopher, author of Oceana (1656); his views were propagated also through a debating society and conversation generally. Fordyce probably knew the edition of Oceana published in 1742, edited by John Toland. Algernon Sidney (1622-8), republican, author of Discourses concerning Government (1698), executed for his part in the Rye House plot. Harrington and Sidney are considered "Masters of Politics" along with Plato, Aristotle and More in Dialogues, vol. 1, p. 33, and were known to be heroes also of William Cleghorn of Fordyce's Edinburgh circle. See Douglas Nobbs, 'The Political Ideas of William Cleghorn, Hume's Academic Rival', JHI, vol. XXVI (1975), pp. 575-86, see p. 586.
24. Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus), A.D. 121-80, Roman Emperor and leading Stoic philosopher. His Meditations were largely translated by Francis Hutcheson while writing the Latin work Philosophiae moralis institutio (1742). See Frederick Copleston, A History of Philosophy (London, 1959), vol. V, p. 178.
25. Characteristics, p. 4.



26. Luce and Jessop, op. cit., vol. 111, p. 50.
27. Untapped ability also in artisans, mentioned by Eugenio, recalls the comment of William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral (London, 1935), p. 4, on Grey's Elegy, that it indicated that eighteenth century England did not have a scholarship system. Eugenio, however, tends to the view that genius gains expression despite the system, not because of it.
28. Donald F. Bond, editor, The Spectator, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1V, pp. 104-5. Cf. Turnbull, op. cit., p. 216, and Samuel Richardson, Pamela, Letter 95, quoted in Kenneth MacLean, John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven, 1936), p. 37.
29. Op. cit., pp. 15-20. Cf. McCallister, op. cit., p. 222.
30. Cf. H.C. Barnard, Fénelon on Education (Cambridge, 1966) p. 36.
31. Theodorus, pp. 5 -8 ; Characteristics, p. 97; Luce and Jessop, op. cit., vol. 11, pp. 210-1. Cf. Appendix 2, p. Fordyce writing to Craig, stresses the divine unity of nature and makes the conventional contrast between the bustle and artificiality of town with the serenity and naturalness of the country, with its opportunities for introspection.
32. William E. Alderman, 'Shaftesbury and the Doctrine of Benevolence in the Eighteenth Century', Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy, vol. XXVI (1931), pp. 137-59, see pp. 149-50, and 'The Significance of Shaftesbury in English Speculation', PMLA, vol. XXXV111 (1923), pp. 173-95, see p. 189 and note 67.
33. Appendix 2, p. 375.
34. Barnard, op. cit., p. xx; Bond, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 501.
35. On the diversity of meanings of 'nature' in the eighteenth century see Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background (London, 1940, reprinted Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 9-10. Cf. C.P. Kimber, "A Study of the Word 'Nature' in the History of Educational Thought", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Glasgow University, 1968.
36. The wax image appears in Plato and De educatione puerorum, attributed to Plutarch. Of seventeenth century writers it appears in, for example, Glanville's The Vanity of Dogmatizing (1661) and in Locke. Cf. J.A. Passmore, 'The Malleability of Man in Eighteenth Century Thought' in Earl R. Wasserman, editor, Aspects of Eighteenth Century Thought (London, 1965), pp. 21-46.
37. Barnard, op. cit., p. 3.
38. Bond, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 282-3 and 312. Cf. Barnard, op. cit., p. xxxi.
39. Bond, op. cit., vol. 111, p. 107.
40. Cf. Francis Hutcheson, An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725), p. 76.

41. Cf. Turnbull, op. cit., pp. 130-1.
42. Hutcheson, op. cit., section viii, p. 79. Cf. David Fordyce, The Elements of Moral Philosophy (1754), p. 73.
43. Cf. George Turnbull, The Principles of Moral Philosophy (1740), pp. 42 and 52.
44. Cf. Hutcheson, op. cit., p. 85, paragraph iv; McCosh, op. cit., p. 79.
45. Bond, op. cit., vol. 111, pp. 132-5.
46. Ibid., no. 337, 27 March 1712, vol. 111, pp. 246 and 250.
47. The fables of Fénelon (1651-1715) include Telemaque (1699) and Dialogues of the Dead (1679); La Fontaine (1621-95) wrote a host of Fables; the Fables of John Gay (1685-1732), friend of Pope and Swift and author of The Beggar's Opera, which were published in 1727 and 1738, were also very successful.
48. Principles of Moral Philosophy, Corollary ix, p. 444.
49. On ethics and government Fordyce recommends Plato, Aristotle and Polybius of the ancients and More, Sidney, Nevil and Machiavel's Discourses on Livy of the moderns, but especially "the immortal Harrington."
50. The cobweb metaphor was famous in Bacon's rejection of Scholasticism and is used by Fordyce in his lectures: see Appendix 1, p.
51. Cf. Turnbull, The Principles of Moral Philosophy, pp. 99-101.
52. The public-private issue is undeveloped by Fordyce perhaps not just because there was nothing fresh to say on the subject, but also because, as a Scot, it might seem less relevant.
53. Fénelon talks of the brain being "moist", i.e. impressionable, and so there should be a careful choice of images.
54. Observations upon Liberal Education, pp. 252-3, 371-2 and 401.
55. Harold Entwistle, Child Centred Education (London, 1970), takes the conventional view that Rousseau is the father of play education, despite hints in earlier writers.
56. Cf. Turnbull, Observations upon Liberal Education, Part 111, chapter 3, and the quotation from Rollin on teaching languages, p. 266. Locke also dealt with faults in language teaching.
57. No. 21, 24 March 1711, Bond, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 91-2. Cf. Turnbull, Observations upon Liberal Education, p. 259, on "neglect of useful sciences". and pp. 414-5.
58. Luce and Jessop, op. cit., vol. 111, p. 48.
59. Cf. Watts, op. cit., which gives preliminary studies for medicine, law and divinity.
60. See vol. 11, pp. 206-7.



61. Hutcheson, op. cit., p. 168. Cf. his Essay on the Passions (1728), p. 166, section vi. Locke and Addison had touched on the dangers of 'wrong' associations for children, but with little strategy for cure. See MacLean, op. cit., pp. 130-1.
62. Appendix 2, p. 395.
63. The Divine Legation of Moses (1731), vol. 1, p. 280; Donald M. Foerster, Homer in English Criticism The Historical Approach in the Eighteenth Century (New Haven, 1947), pp. 26, 28 and Appendix, 'The Reputation of Blackwell's Enquiry in England', pp. 124-6.
64. William P. Courtney, The Secrets of our National Literature (London, 1908), pp. 26 and 111.
65. Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, p. 309.
66. T.E. Jessop, A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy (London, 1938), p. 128.
67. Works (1803), vol. 1V, pp. 326 and 458.
68. William Turner, The Warrington Academy (Warrington, 1957), p. 18. Cf. Irene Parker, Dissenting Academies in England (Cambridge, 1914), p. 158.
69. Appendix 2, letter 22 and p. 390.
70. Vol. 11, pp. 46-7.
71. Locke to Clarke in accompanying letter. Cf. S.S. Laurie, Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance (London, 1903, reprinted 1968), p. 83 and James L. Axtell, The Educational Writings of John Locke (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 4-5.
72. Quoted in Alexander Chalmers, The General Biographical Dictionary (London, 1814), vol. XIV, pp. 468-70.
73. Op. cit., vol. 1V, pp. 159-61. Cf. note 3, above.
74. Quoted also in Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 363.
75. Appendix 2, p. 354.
76. McCosh, op. cit., pp. 104-5.
77. Mary Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792).
78. Vicesimus Knox, Liberal Education (London, 1780).
79. Pons probably did not realise Fordyce's Dialogues predates Émile.
80. McCallister, op. cit., p. 15.
81. Ibid., p. 219.
82. Ibid.
83. Allen, op. cit., p. 166.
84. Bryson, op. cit., p. 190.
85. Ibid., p. 11.
86. Ibid., p. 249, note 38.
87. Ibid., pp. 184-90.

88. Curtis and Boulton, op. cit., p. 256.
89. Ibid., p. 260.
90. Alan W. Bellringer, "Thomas Reid's Lectures upon the Fine Arts", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen, 1968, vol. 1, pp. ccxxvii-i and cclii.
91. The author admits, however, by personal communication, that his treatment is "probably too vague."
92. Elizabeth Lawrence, The Origins and Growth of Modern Education (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 147-55.  
The most recently published of all comments on Fordyce are cursory remarks in Henry Hutcheson's 'An Eighteenth Century Insight into Religious and Moral Education', British Journal of Educational Studies, vol. XXIV (1976), pp. 233-41, in the course of an account of James Barclay of Dalkeith, and more fully in the author's "James Barclay of Dalkeith (1713?-65)," unpublished M.Litt. thesis, Glasgow University, 1975. Hutcheson's comments on Fordyce are generally favourable, but misunderstands the use of the dialogue method: he assumes Fordyce, for example, is to be associated with the extreme non directive approach of Eugenio at the beginning of dialogue vi.
93. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 15.
94. Ibid., p. 147.
95. Sir John Adams, The Evolution of Educational Theory (London, 1912), quoted in W.K. Richmond, Readings in Education (London 1968), p. 17.
96. F.W. Garforth, Some Thoughts concerning Education (London, 1964), p. 16. Cf. Axtell, op. cit., pp. 61-8, but with no analysis of the reflection of influences in Locke's writings.
97. Ramsay, quoted above, p. 22.
98. Sir Eric Ashby, Technology and the Academics (London, 1958).



## CHAPTER 5

### 'THE NATURE, PROGRESS AND ORIGIN OF PHILOSOPHY'; THE ELEMENTS OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY; THEODORUS; THE TEMPLE OF VIRTUE; THE COMPLETE BRITISH LETTER WRITER

The earliest extant writings of David Fordyce, other than letters, are his lectures on the history of philosophy: "A brief account of the Nature, Progress and Origin of Philosophy delivered by the late Mr. David Fordyce p.p. Marischal College, Aberdeen, to his scholars, before they began their philosophical couse. 1743/4."<sup>1</sup> This transcription, by an unknown hand, clearly must have been made after Fordyce's death, but it would appear to follow Fordyce's dictation quite closely since, for example, the first person is used at least twice. Until the 1753 curricular changes at Marischal College, the fourth or magistrand year, was spent on ethics, physics and metaphysics, to which these lectures form an introduction.

In his first section Fordyce firstly defines philosophy by quoting Cicero as the "knowledge of things divine and humane", but claims he prefers the definition of Pythagoras, "knowledge of things which are of being, which have a real existence," or, more fully, "the study and knowledge of the nature and laws of things, and their established connections, with proper reasonings upon them." Fordyce's declaration of the scope of philosophy is general enough to be acceptable to his contemporaries and to include most of the areas philosophy has come to mean in western culture: from the mainly Greek search for wisdom literally implied by the word to explanation of the universe and man's ethical position, the will of God and man's relation to this, a basis for natural science, the origin and nature of human consciousness, ideas and methods of thought, study of truth, beauty and goodness, and so on. Some of these issues are elaborated

in Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy. Eighteenth century academic philosophy included the traditional discussions of logic, ethics, epistemology and metaphysics while the "philosophical" examination of scientific and technical subjects (for example, agriculture) recalls the older notion that preserved the unity of all knowledge.

The assertion in section 4 that "we come into the world destitute of the knowledge of things, ignorant of ourselves and of our connections with those beings that surround us, and of the relations of things to each other" is in the environmentalist tradition firmly established by Locke. We learn by experience through our perceptions and associations: "true knowledge must be acquired by slow degrees from experience and observation." Yet, like Locke, though firmly empiricist, Fordyce affirms the "powers of the mind" which allow us, as social creatures, to learn from the experience of others rather than be dependent on our own perceptions. The role of philosophy in allowing us to "deduct rules for the conduct and improvement of human life" is typical of philosophers till the eighteenth century. Also like his contemporaries, Fordyce dismisses Scholastic speculation and innate ideas.

Fordyce talks of the "progress of knowledge which takes deepest root and spreads widest amidst Ease and Security" and where there is a developed system of "government" and "Empire", since primitive man is concerned with "obtaining necessities", a fact illustrated in great measure by eighteenth century Scotland as well as ancient Egypt where Fordyce begins his survey of the history of philosophy. The range of Egyptian scholarship is outlined in section 8 and then, in section 9, Fordyce passes on to the Assyrians, Persians and Indians, with brief reference to the Magi, Brachmans, and Zoroastrianism; the Phoenicians, Chinese (Confucianism) and a



final passing reference to the "barbarous northern tribes" and Druidic learning, before commencing (in section 10) his description of Greek philosophy.

Fordyce is well aware of the divisions between ancient, medieval and modern philosophies and he rightly stresses schools or focal figures according to their relative importance.

The earliest philosophers of Greece (whose philosophy is reckoned to have been partially influenced by the Egyptian) must have been speculative poets like Hesiod, who did not separate philosophy, poetry and "legislative" interests, although the first Sophoi were the Seven Wise Men who were essentially "instructors." Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch are given as references here as elsewhere. Fordyce summarises (in section 13) the ideas of Thales of Miletus, acknowledged as the first Greek philosopher, reckoned among the first to ignore fable and allegory in cosmology. Fordyce continues with an account of Pythagoras and his numerical theories, before continuing (in section 14) with the followers of Thales: Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and their cosmologies. He continues with Xenophanes, Parmenides and the Eleatics, then the Atomists, Leucippus and Democritus. The account of schools and theories is generally sound, although Fordyce is sketchy in his indication of the implications of these theories for the later development of philosophy and physical science.

Fordyce's account of Socrates (section 15) stresses his concern for moral application and the Socratic interrogative method of elucidation and qualification of ideas which was "admirably adapted to human nature" and discovered "latent principles of knowledge", and the main classical model for Fordyce's own dialogues. Socrates's followers are mentioned, including Zenophon and Aeschines, Cebes (writer of dialogues), Aristippus and the Cyrenaics, then Antisthenes, Diogenes and the Cynics. The account of the Stoics is followed by that of Plato (section 19),

stressing his ethics, physics and dialectics and the dialogue form. The account of later members of the Academy leads on to Aristotle and the Peripatetics. Epicureans, Stoics, Sceptics and Eclectics are dealt with in turn before brief reference to "barbarian philosophy" in the Hebrew tradition, described as one of religion and prophecy rather than philosophy, and including sects like the Cabbala and Essenes.

Fordyce describes the work of the Arab Zabii and the Medieval scholars Avicenna and Averroes who propagated Aristotle, then the Greek influence upon Romans who joined the various Greek sects, the Neoplatonists of the third and fourth centuries A.D., like Plotinus, who created glosses on Plato, and Boethius who popularised Aristotle, as did the Scholastics but, according to Fordyce, in the latter case, the weakest elements in his philosophy. In the Dark Ages the Scholastics were "blindly following Aristotle":

They left natural Knowledge uncultivated, to hunt after Occult Qualities, Abstract Notions and Questions of Impertinent Curiosity. By which they rendered the Logic their labours turned upon, intricate, useless and unintelligible.

There is some account of the two main groups, Nominalists and Realists, of the exceptional Friar Bacon and the survival of Scholastic tendencies to peddle second hand opinions after the Reformation, but the focal figures of medieval Christian philosophy, Augustine and Aquinas, are unmentioned: Fordyce seems more concerned to react against Scholasticism than to describe it comprehensively.

Francis Bacon (section 33) declared philosophy's purpose to be to "observe and explain Nature" and "to know things not words", stressing experience and observation: now philosophy had an empirical base. The Cartesians propounded Innate Ideas until overtaken by Newton and others. The work of the Royal



Societies and similar bodies on the Continent is referred to. Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding effectively banished the jargon of the schools and justified the empirical approach. Important recent figures mentioned are Boyle, Wallis, Newton, the Gregories, Halley, Keils, Derham, Hawsby, Desagauliers, Hales, Locke, Cumberland (with his account of the laws of nature and the moral world) and Samuel Clarke.

Philosophy now properly covered all fields of knowledge, both moral and natural philosophy, the latter including all the experimental sciences and mathematics, although logic, metaphysics, pneumatics, ethics and physics are now the accepted fields of study, whose scope Fordyce outlines. But the main purpose of philosophy is still moral: "to make men wiser and better." The document ends with "A few advices of the late Mr. David Fordyce to his scholars at the end of the Session concerning Reading," together with other hints on study.

There, unfortunately, the lecture notes end: presumably lectures on logic etc. would occupy the remainder of the session. Some of the content of the ethics course can probably be inferred from The Elements of Moral Philosophy (which appeared first in Dodsley's The Preceptor in 1748) while the content of lectures in the other fields can only be guessed. It is known from a letter to Doddridge of 6 June 1743 that Fordyce in session 1742-3 had "besides my public Class, a private one to which I read lectures on Morals, Politics and History."<sup>2</sup> Some of that lecturing material also no doubt found its way into Fordyce's published works.

These introductory lectures are generally sound, lucid and an indication of Fordyce's teaching materials at higher educational level. For the exposition of Fordyce's educational thought, one should note themes particularly stressed, for example,

the ultimate moral purpose of all learning, the need for knowledge to be based in experience and the grasp of the emerging importance of the experimental sciences.

Fordyce's The Elements of Moral Philosophy was first published posthumously in 1754, but was in fact a separate publication of (and identical to) his section on ethics in The Preceptor, the educational textbook published by Robert Dodsley in 1748.<sup>3</sup> Dodsley, also poet and playwright, was one of the new breed of publisher-booksellers who, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, gradually replaced aristocratic patronage. His intention was to provide a textbook for the home and school market to compete with John Newbery's Circle of the Sciences and Fordyce's Dialogues concerning Education, volume 11 of which was published earlier in 1748, it has been suggested, may have prompted the inclusion of certain topics<sup>4</sup>. Boswell was to write later: "Mr Dodsley this year brought out his Preceptor, one of the most valuable books for the improvement of young minds that has appeared in any language."<sup>5</sup> Boswell notes that the whole is prefaced by Dr. Johnson who gives an outline of the book with a "short and perspicacious recommendation of each article." Dodsley includes sections on reading, speaking and letter writing; geometry; geography and astronomy; chronology and history; rhetoric and poetry; drawing (including technical); logic; natural history; ethics; trade and commerce; laws and government; human life and manners. Section vii on logic by William Duncan was published



separately on 17 June 1748 as The Elements of Logic and frequently republished and that of Fordyce as The Elements of Moral Philosophy in April 1754. Unidentified sections were probably written by Dodsley himself. The frontispiece to The Preceptor has a youth aspiring to the 'Temple of Virtue', prompted perhaps by Fordyce's allegorical reference in dialogue xv of Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 11. Fordyce's allegory of the same title appeared in 1757. The full title of Dodsley's work appears as : 'The Preceptor containing A General Course of Education wherein The First Principles of Polite Learning Are laid down in a Way most suitable for trying the GENIUS, and advancing the INSTRUCTION of YOUTH in 12 parts.' Dr. Johnson's preface stresses that instruction and pleasure should be blended and of Fordyce's section, which follows one on natural history, he says: "Ethics or Morality, therefore, is one of the Studies which ought to begin with the first Glimpse of Reason, and only ends with Life itself."<sup>6</sup> Johnson stresses the necessity of Christian morality and for supplementary reading Tully's Offices, Grotius, Puffendorf, Cumberland's laws of nature and Addison's Moral and Religious Essays are recommended.<sup>7</sup>

The "Preliminaries" of Fordyce's work are prefaced with a quotation from Plato's Republic, Book 10 (on the arts), and outline the area to be discussed. Fordyce quotes Bacon's division of learning into History, Poetry and Philosophy corresponding to the faculties of memory, imagination and reason, and defining philosophy as the "Knowledge of whatever exists" or the "Science of Things Human and Divine" or "the Knowledge of the Universe, or of Nature, and of its Powers, Operations and Connections, with just reasonings deduced from thence." As natural philosophy is concerned with matter, so moral philosophy is with human nature,

its moral powers and connections. An empirical approach is firmly propounded for the study of man and his constitution.

Book 1 begins with an account "Of Man and his Connections". Man "rises from small Beginnings, unfolds his Faculties and Dispositions by degrees ..." The infant is helpless but gradually develops a moral link first with parents, through sense experience, stimulated by the natural capacity for "Wonder and Admiration"; the sense of novelty promotes attachment. In childhood reason develops along with active and social powers and moral development takes place largely in response to praise and blame, while later in youth moral feelings become more complex (including religious attitudes). New emotions arise in man's prime; every age, indeed, has its "set of Passions", while other "passions" apply to all ages, including the capacities for self love and benevolence. The powers of reason, reflection and conscience and the moral sense are general. Some impulses concern the good of the individual, others of the species. The "defensive Passions" concern our own security and "appetitive" ones are also self centred. The degree of a passion (for example, fear) can be too much or too little (the Aristotelian idea) and this applies also to the "public affections". The moral sense is instinctive (divinely ordained), like the other perceptions.

Fordyce now, in section 3 of Book 1, examines "various hypotheses concerning moral obligation", beginning with that of Hobbes: man's basic concern is for self preservation, power and glory, and all other "passions" emanate from these. Hobbes's state of nature and the granting of right to the state for the creation of common laws is outlined. The flaws in this theory, says Fordyce, are that, as hypothetical history, it assumes all men are knaves



or fools, with virtue reduced to mere utility. A second viewpoint which sees morality as conformity to divine will, from obedience or gratitude, is then described. Its main weakness, says Fordyce, is that it is really another form of self interest and so cannot produce a "thorough and universal Reformation." A third is that of Clarke, Woolaston and others who associate virtue with the search for "the truth of the Nature of Things" but there are difficulties in defining "Nature." Fordyce then deals with the criticism that the notion of the moral sense does not allow for variation (between cultures etc.). He concludes, however, that conscience and benevolence are innate faculties and then deals with criticisms, for example, the problem of man's capacity to confuse good and evil. Fordyce goes on to describe the relation of good and evil to pleasure and pain, the place of social organisation in supplying man's physical needs, the conflict of passions, the capacity for compassion and the possibility of balancing self interest and public.

After the objective treatment in Book 1, Books 2 and 3 move into the area of moral teaching. Book 2 describes in turn man's duties to himself, to society and to God. To oneself there is the need for prudence, fortitude and temperance, in society the need for justice and before God the need for piety. In developing the first Fordyce declares that problems of conscience can be rectified by making the implications of choice clear and he discourses on goods of body, mind and soul: intellectual virtues, for instance, can be attained from observation, extensive reading, converse with men of all characters, since experience removes all prejudices. Fordyce then elaborates on virtues like fortitude, humility and resignation. Duties to society include those to parents, brothers and sisters, those of marriage, of parents to children, for proper

treatment and education to encourage the "latent seeds of Reason and Ingenuity". The duties of friendship are described, including the need for forgiveness, the duty to practise commercial principles and training of the good citizen. The section on the duty to God deals with the existence of God, the argument from design and preaches the need for a rational faith.

Book 3, "Practical Ethics or the Culture of the Mind" describes the art of acquiring Virtuous Habits and eradicating Vitious Ones." "Passions" (emotional attitudes) are not generally from custom or education but from man's original constitution, yet sensible objects make early and strong impressions upon him, while the capacity for "Reflection" is the source of ideas and means to the development of good taste (associated with beauty, in the Shaftesbury-Hutcheson tradition), benevolence and the moral sense, and subject to the laws of association. Means have to be developed to break "false" associations (a main theme of the Dialogues also), to reduce their strength by education, ensuring worthy associations of ideas, by direct instruction, by example and "moral exercises." Our associations might be predominantly "sensible", intellectual or moral and so where necessary opposite associations have to be established, when a man's character is being analysed. Fordyce elaborates on the place of history, poetry and fine arts, contact with those of good sense and virtue, and training in acts of humanity and piety for character development and modification. In general the educator must always expect the best of human nature. Argument that a man will choose virtue if he reasons with himself, that the selfish man is really unhappy, and on the pleasure of benevolence follows the more superficial interpretation of Shaftesbury, whose Inquiry into Virtue is quoted, although Fordyce



does go on to deal with the distortion of "private" and "public" virtues. The section on the development of piety as a means to happiness, present and eternal, is enthusiastic with reference to the Latitudinarians and Butler.

Extant critical reaction to The Elements of Moral Philosophy is enthusiastic. Doddridge's lectures make several references to the work as recommended reading for students: in its account of the emotions, of marriage and education, of personal virtues, including tolerance.<sup>8</sup> The Monthly Review of May 1754, in an article written by William Rose, a Scotsman and Dissenter, declares: "All that is necessary to say of this work is, that it was published some years ago in the Preceptor, and is the most entertaining and useful compendium of moral philosophy in our own, or perhaps in any other language."<sup>9</sup> The adoption of the text by John Aikin as the basis of his ethics course at Warrington testifies to its reputation for teaching purposes.<sup>10</sup> James Darling's Cyclopaedia Bibliographica (1854), declares the work "one of the best compendiums of ethics that had then appeared."<sup>11</sup> McCosh makes very brief reference to the scope of the work.<sup>12</sup> McCallister briefly notes the theory of instincts, the general emotional characteristics appropriate to different stages in life.<sup>13</sup> Bryson and Crane see Fordyce's outline of the scope of moral philosophy as summing up the position of the Scottish school on ethics.<sup>14</sup> Lawrence, most recently, quotes The Elements of Moral Philosophy on propensities.<sup>15</sup>

There appears to be much that is commonplace in The Elements of Moral Philosophy. There is the commitment to an empirical approach to 'moral' subjects, as in Turnbull. The psychology is largely Lockean and the morality is in the tradition of Moral

Sense and benevolence from Cumberland and the Latitudinarians, through Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, with modifications, especially from the influence of Butler. The notion of emotional features or propensities present at various stages of growth which was to become a standard feature of the Scots school and culminating in the unfashionable but interesting psychology of William MacDougall, can be seen developing in Fordyce's work. His letter to Craig of 23 December 1735 had shown a development of Hutcheson's Sensationalism which is continued in the present work.<sup>16</sup>

It should be remembered, however, that Fordyce's work was essentially part of an educational textbook, not a contribution to ethical debate. It is not surprising, therefore, that he does not appear in surveys of British moralists, like those of Selby-Bigge, Willey, Raphael and Monro.<sup>17</sup> Fordyce does cover comparatively several of the main schools of thought of his day so that the approach in the earlier part of the work at least is academic. The work, after all, probably grew out of university lectures, like many other works of the Scottish Enlightenment.<sup>18</sup> This objective part is followed by a brief account of personal, moral and social development and practical proposals for moral education. Here the discussion of propensities develops into one of moral qualities and areas dealt with more fully in Dialogues concerning Education are repeated in summarised form. Especially significant in the work, however, is its stress upon the importance of affective elements in all areas of personal development.



Theodorus: A Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching was published posthumously in London in 1752. James Fordyce, who was to become famous as a preacher in London in the 1760s, explains in the "Advertisement" that his brother had studied for the ministry over a number of years and his gifts as a preacher were evident to those who heard him and from the following treatise, the result of his "Inquiries, Experience, and Observations, on that Subject."

The dialogue opens with the narrator, Philonous (literally "lover of intellect"), strolling through the fields of Altonia on a summer morning, an exercise in the pastoral convention, but "Altonia" may be based on the Auld Toon (the Aulton) of Aberdeen, since the spires and smoke of a "Sea Coast Town" are seen in the distance. The fields might actually be based on those between Broadford, the Fordyce property northwest of the New Town, and the Old Town by the Don, or even those between there and Belhelvie. Philonous meets Agoretas (literally "man of the 'market-place' or place of public assembly") at the foot of an old oak. Agoretas is a declared lover of nature, intended for the ministry, and has studied divinity, seeing Nature and Holy Scriptures as twin sources of revelation, in the stock attitude of the time. Agoretas gives a rhapsodic morning hymn to Nature, the Creation as a source of revelation is again referred to and analogies made between Nature and preaching in the habit of gradual unfolding of meaning, varying of style to suit audience and extent to which technique is apparent. In preaching, it is agreed, as in all arts, one learns by practice and imitation of the best models.

Agoretas now elaborates on styles of public speaking and preaching through the ages, beginning with the techniques of ancient Athens, Rome, the early apostles and the influence of Eastern

traditions on Christ's disciples, then the florid style that tended to dominate the Neoplatonic Church fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clemens, Augustine and Origen, while the Eastern Church in Chrysostom and Basil preserved a more simple and natural style. A brief account of Medieval national differences among the French, Spanish, Italian and English is followed by an account of the course of preaching in Britain since the Reformation. From around 1603 preaching had been generally declamatory and pedantic in style, while in the civil war period 'enthusiasm' took over, but since then the desire for toleration with a balanced appeal to reason and the feelings has been prevalent. The best model, says Agoretas, is the minister of the neighbouring parish, in whom 'enthusiasm' is refined and his style best approaches that of the early apostles. He practises what he preaches, his use of facial expression is good and an excerpt from one of his sermons is recalled. Theodorus (literally "gift of God") then appears and gives certain rules for good preaching, but stresses that practice and experience are essential. Good preaching depends on "Taste" and "Sentiments" more than on "Reasoning" and "Rules", if one is to affect the heart of man which is "most intractable, variable and indocile." Theodorus examines the aims of preaching, using the Socratic method, and declares that the preacher must allow for the contradictory elements in human nature and appeal to reason, imagination, conscience and the eyes as well as ears. The method which breaks down a Biblical text is less effective. It is possible to measure the emotional impact of a sermon, although not its long term effect so easily. The personal virtue of the preacher and his knowledge of life and human nature is vital.



Now follows the "art of spiritual medicine", the suggestion of psychiatric principles also to be found in Dialogues concerning Education and The Elements of Moral Philosophy. The investigative approach recommended here, though hardly illustrated, is one aspect of the Scots moralists' development of Newton's hint that empirical method should be used in the areas of human nature and society. Fordyce claims one must first do a survey of the "passions", their "Causes, Connections and Circumstances", note how different minds relate to different constitutions and so discover the factors and causes in wrong attitudes. In moral affairs these chiefly concern "Pleasure", "Interest" and "Virtue", and spiritual conditions may be related to mistaken temperament, disappointments and prejudices arisen from education and established by association. Often in establishing a cure one must tackle the condition indirectly. The medium of drama which provides "moral painting", can provide a kind of therapy.

In parting Theodorus reminds his hearers to

Be Master of your Subject, and as it were inspired with it; and then Light and Order will naturally dawn upon it: everything will fall into the Place which becomes it best: one Part will introduce another, just at the time that the Minds of the Audience are prepared to receive it; and what follows will support and fortify that which went before: the more plain and simple Truths will pave the way to the more abstruse and complex ones; and the Proofs or Illustrations will still rise, one above the other, in an early and easy Gradation, till the whole Force of Conviction breaks upon the Mind, and now allows you fair Scope to play upon every tender and passionate String, that belongs to the Heart of Man. Then be sure to feel every Sentiment yourself, and to enter first into every Passion you want to communicate to others and unless your Imagination plays its Part very ill, the boldest Figures, the strongest Images, and the most moving Expressions will pour in upon you, and animate your whole Discourse and Manner with such Life and Spirit, as cannot fail of winding up the Hearer's Mind to the utmost Pitch of Attention and of Passion.

Theodorus then in conclusion recommends Fénelon's Dialogues on Pulpit Eloquence and above all the homiletic example of Christ.

An excerpt from Theodorus appears in the Scots Magazine of 1752.<sup>19</sup> The lengthy excerpts and review in the Monthly Review of 1752 by William Rose, who also reviewed The Elements of Moral Philosophy, are effusive.<sup>20</sup> Rose calls it an "excellent performance." Fordyce "writes like one who felt the importance of the sacred character, and who was deeply sensible of the necessity of acquiring a large stock of furniture, in order to support it with honour and usefulness. His piety appears to have been manly and rational; his sentiments of the divine perfections exalted and amiable; his knowledge of human nature, and of the various ways of affecting the human heart, very extensive, and his eloquence natural and affecting." Rose continues: "It were to be wished that all, who have the sacred office in view, would peruse this small treatise with care". Fordyce has "shewn what the great end is" in his qualifications and methods for "instruction and persuasion of manhood." The style, says Rose, he need not comment on because most readers will be acquainted with Fordyce's "ingenious and entertaining dialogues on education." Rose notes that up to a third of Theodorus is spent on reviewing modes of eloquence throughout ages and nations, with account of the revolutions in preaching since the Reformation and hints offered on public speaking applicable to pulpit or bar. Fordyce gives his sentiments on modern preachers in the character of Agoretas, then Theodorus is introduced and given the biggest share of the conversation. He represents a noble model of preaching, reflecting virtue in his sermons and life, and describing aims and methods. Especially the good preacher appeals to senses, imagination, reason and affection and so reason, conscience, understanding, imagination,



ears and eyes are mentioned. Rose then deals with Fordyce's account of preaching as "moral medicine." Such a generous amount of space (fifteen pages) for this review of Fordyce's work suggests that it contains many progressive ideas. Thomas Reid's extravagant praise of Fordyce's preaching has already been quoted and was completely endorsed by Ramsay.<sup>21</sup> An excerpt from the concluding advice of Theodorus appears in the Family Record.<sup>22</sup> Most recently, a brief reference to Theodorus appears in Wilbur S. Howell's study of eighteenth century British logic and rhetoric.<sup>23</sup>

An academic approach, synoptic and analytic, is obvious in Fordyce's treatment of preaching and public speaking, although the historical survey is fairly brief.<sup>24</sup> The account of "moral medicine" generally duplicates his earlier writings, while the emphasis on taste and sentiment generally derives from Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Despite conventional rejection of enthusiasm, there is a fairly forceful picture of impassioned preaching (but still genteel) in Theodorus's remarks, a style no doubt taken up by the highly successful preacher James Fordyce, with whom Theodorus became associated since it was printed along with his Sermon on the Eloquence, and an Essay on the Action of the Pulpit. David Fordyce's style no doubt influenced many Moderates, although Ramsay mentions Gerard only and alludes to others.<sup>25</sup> Fordyce was not so foolish as to suggest an appeal to feeling only. He would endorse Swift's view (the conventional Augustan one) that merely emotional eloquence produces a temporary and unstable response. Like all aspiring clergymen of the Augustan period Fordyce would have assimilated the plain edifying style of John Tillotson, which in turn had roots in the Latitudinarians, whom Fordyce admired. Fordyce endorses the rejection of pedantry and metaphysical quibbling and approval of common sense and reason, yet

Fordyce clearly forms part of the reaction against the sermon as essay on prudential ethics already present in the 1740s, for example, in the personal emphasis of the early Methodists. A stress upon feeling is present in Charles Rollin whose 'Instructions with regard to the Eloquence of the Pulpit, the Bar, and the Stage' was part of his The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres (1734). The trend to greater extemporisation and gesticulation is clearly present in Fordyce's work. The admiration for Fénelon's Dialogues concerning Eloquence (translated in 1722 and published at Glasgow in 1750) probably encouraged Fordyce's use of the dialogue form for the work on preaching, although the influence of Fénelon's work on English preaching generally is reckoned to be negligible.<sup>26</sup> Scottish pulpit styles were already moving from the pedantic and dogmatic style of earlier in the century by the time of Fordyce's writing and, indeed, Chitnis notices some anticipation of Moderate stress upon conduct and secular interests in the preaching of the seventeenth century ministers Leighton and Scougall.<sup>27</sup>

Downie notes that one cannot oversimplify and declare that there was a general movement from reason and propriety to imagination and spontaneity in eighteenth century homiletics any more than in poetry, yet that there was if anything a move from the ethical and rational in content, the disciplined and precise in language, with unimpassioned delivery to evangelical content, emotional language and histrionic presentation. Inasmuch as there were two traditions in eighteenth century preaching, that of clarity, flexibility and preciseness from the Latitudinarians



and that of passion, persuasiveness and authority from the evangelicals, Downie considers these united best in Charles Simeon (1759-1836).<sup>28</sup> Yet it seems that there may be something of this union in Fordyce's homiletics. The elements of temperament, intellect and personal experience are always crucial in preaching and make it difficult for styles to be exactly transferable. It is not surprising, therefore, that Ramsay should say that Fordyce's new style "required his genius and delicate sensibility to succeed."

The Temple of Virtue: a Dream was published in 1757 under the name of James Fordyce, who was probably taking advantage of his brother's manuscript to make a name for himself. Three years later James had secured a significant co-pastorate in London. David Fordyce is not named in the preface: James Fordyce declares that the source of the manuscript is unimportant. The work, however, is clearly a companion piece to David Fordyce's dream allegory in dialogue xv of Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 11.

The Temple of Virtue has in its narrative <sup>preamble</sup> the author in the role of private tutor to a noble youth: "It is some time since I was entrusted by my Lord \*\*\*\* with the care of his eldest son." Fordyce explains the difficulty of making moral education attractive. Description of and contact with Vice can make the pupil attracted to worldly Pleasure rather than Virtue: "Grave admonitions would have revolted such a gay and giddy spirit at once. Dry arguments would have been equally disagreeable to a mind never accustomed to argue" and so one must lead "this young creature to Virtue in the road of Entertainment; to insinuate

a taste for learning, and the love of goodness, by exhibiting those venerable forms in lights the most familiar and inviting." So when the child asks the tutor to look at the former's books, the tutor gently draws attention to the most instructive and moral ones and having thus "won affection", he offers others of the same character, reads aloud particular passages and discreetly praises virtue. With literature of other, classical and modern, languages the child is helped by having attention being drawn to amusing parts, having difficulties explained, subjects frequently varied, with a mixing of "agreeable stories and observation" together with a regard for his questions and remarks. Then authors of a "graver cast" are blended in and good metaphors, imagery and ideas marked with approval. Once the child's attention has been caught, moral lessons can be drawn and "Judgement" made to control "Fancy." The tutor can go on to describe the function of literature in terms of religion and society since early civilisations. The writer now enthuses on the potential impact of such methods on the child, in tender language typical of mid eighteenth century sentimental literature.

Another evening, an attractive natural setting leads to reference to nature poets, including James Thomson, whose Summer is quoted. The tutor then takes the second volume of Dialogues concerning Education, opens it at dialogue xv on the dream about Pleasure, then is supposed to have been left alone by the pupil, retired to the summer house and fallen asleep in a reverie. He writes down his vision next morning for the use of his pupil. Having been suddenly transported to the palace of Pleasure, he finds it distasteful and so leaves, meets the old man, the Genius of Education, who directs him to the Temple of Virtue, where he will find Happiness. He is introduced to Contemplation, one of



the sons of Wisdom, posted to guide people to the adjoining empire of Virtue. He points out the land of Vice or Pleasure and the distracted erring followers. There is description of the Cave of Poverty, inhabited by Dejection, Lamentation, Meanspiritedness, Suspicion, Greediness, Dishonesty and Despair. The House of Discipline contains Punishment and Terror. There are the Mansion of Luxury, Inn of Intemperance, the Tower of Ambition where Corruption gives out money and ribbons, the Dungeon of Infamy, Vanity, in the Temple of Fame (reachable also by Virtue's temple), Ridicule and the Cell of Contempt, the Castle of Avarice, with guards Hunger and Anxiety and cellar to the Cave of Poverty. The way to the Temple of Virtue is rough at first but leads to Happiness, helped there by Honesty. But such figures are deceptive. Honesty's real name may be cynical Sourness, that of Temperance monkish Austerity, Stoicism Pride, Prudence Cunning, Justice Severity, Good Nature Weakness, Confusion Liberality. Solitude and Truth are encountered and phantoms from the domain of Pleasure, like Vainglory, the monster Self Will and Bigotry. Help is needed from Religion with her daughters, Faith, Humility and Hope, along with Patience. So one approaches the Temple, whose guards are Temperance and Fortitude. Virtue is there, daughter of Wisdom and Love and her sister Happiness. Attendants include Prudence, Justice and Modesty. Harmony is present and Conscience, the recorder, and here the vision ends.

An excerpt from The Temple of Virtue appears in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1757, together with an account of several candidates for admission.<sup>29</sup> Specified persons who receive encomiums include

"Rev. Dr. Stephen Hales; the Rt. Hon. Mr. Pitt; the late most excellent archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, and a Lord Chancellor, Talbot."<sup>30</sup> This part, Nichols confirms, was added by James Fordyce, no doubt in hope of patronage.<sup>31</sup> The work was published in 1758 in New York: theological and similar works were most popular in America before the Revolution.<sup>32</sup> The second edition was published in 1759 in London and the third in 1775, when it also appeared in Hester Chapone's Miscellanies in Prose and Verse.

Allegory was still a popular neoclassic form in the mid eighteenth century, which accounts for the success of The Temple of Virtue. Its principal model is probably John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress (1678), although Fordyce's vision is more secularised. A more recent influence on Fordyce would be Addison's 'Vision of the Table of Fame', 'Goddess of Justice distributing Rewards' and 'The Three Roads of Human Life' in The Tatler, nos. 81, 100, 102, 120 and 123. Akenside imitated Addison with his 'The Table of Modern Fame' (1746), included in Doddsley's Museum, no. xiii.

Fordyce's allegory is enjoyable, but since the genre is unfashionable now the main interest of the work lies in the opening discussion of techniques of introducing children to fiction in education. The discussion reaffirms and elaborates that in dialogue xi of Dialogues concerning Education, vol. 1. There is a keen grasp of how to lead from children's tastes and interests, albeit often in inferior literature, to that which is more durable and enlightening, a lesson which teachers of native literature have been slow in appreciating when one considers the premature introduction of "classics", until very recently at least, to children. As in dialogue xi, however, Fordyce's example of imaginative literature is rather disappointing.



The New and Complete British Letter-Writer; or, Young  
Servant's Instructor In Polite Modern Letter Writing appears to be the last of David Fordyce's works and, like the others, has an educational purpose. The date of publication does not appear on the title page. Some bibliographies have suggested 1790, presumably on the evidence of specimen letters within with the hypothetical dates of "179-", while others, presumably on the basis of the dates of publication of the other posthumous works, have guessed around 1755.<sup>33</sup> The title page declares the work as "containing near four hundred original plain easy instructive and entertaining letters on the most useful and important subjects particularly education, business, friendship, love and courtship, marriage, wit and humour, instruction, advice, complaint, condolence, religion and morality etc." together with "letters to and from Parents, Children, Brothers, Sisters and other Relations" and "The Petitioner's Instructor," including forms of wills, bonds etc.

In the preface Fordyce declares the necessity of mastering the techniques and then provides a "Concise and Familiar English Grammar," with punctuation, parts of speech and syntax described. One's style, he firmly declares, should avoid affectation. Letters 1 to XXVlll concern Education (given pride of place), for example, "From a Gentleman to the Master of an Academy," "The Master's Answer," "From a Young Gentleman to his Father." Letters XXI to XCVll are on Trade, Commerce, Family Occasions etc., with letters typically signed by representative names like Tradelove, Dorothy Dripping, Deborah Decent, Frances Fustian, Samuel Strivewell. XCVlll to CLXlll are on love etc. and CCXXXI to CCCXXXI are on common occasions of life, followed by Complimentary Cards, Petitions and Forms of Law.

By their very nature such stylised letters hardly give an insight into the author's thought, but educational ideas nevertheless stand out. In letters 1 and 11 the distinction between the creation of the "good citizen" and the "good scholar" is readily established. The Bible and The Spectator are recommended later for manners and style. Utilitarian studies are accepted as appropriate to the apprentice at least. Letter CXCV "On the Means of obtaining useful Knowledge and the Improvement to be gained by Conversation" includes the comment: "Conversation is another method of improving our minds, wherein by mutual investigation the profit of the speakers is also mutual" (p. 120). Letter CCXVI "On the grand Design of Learning in general" declares one should be studying "men and things", and

When I had gained some knowledge of books at the academy, I vainly plumed myself upon the acquisition; till upon launching upon the world at large, I was convinced I was a mere novice in the knowledge of life, because I had but rarely dipped into the grand volume of nature. Profit, then, by my example, select intelligent companions, not mere bookworms, but men of sense and experience, for you will derive more benefit from that instruction which is founded on practice than from all the theory in the world; the one being only the outlines, the other the basis of the superstructure (p. 135).

Fordyce's letter writer was no doubt influenced by Richardson's Letters to and for Particular Friends (out of which grew his novel Pamela), which influenced many letter writers since its publication in 1741.<sup>34</sup> Although there had been a steady stream of letter writers since Elizabethan times, Richardson's typically relates to the periodical essays as well as courtesy and domestic conduct literature. Fordyce likewise combines a strong sense of moral purpose with first aid in English composition. His letter writer may be one of many in the eighteenth century, but nevertheless it is best seen as one of his educational textbooks,



dealing with the other most typically eighteenth century form of dialogue, after the club. The present decline of letter writing (and indeed the cultured club) may not be regrettable if replaced by genuine dialogue in other forms and media: this is a topic Fordyce no doubt would have liked to debate, but he would firmly declare that it must be remembered that fundamentally all education is dialogue.

#### NOTES

1. AUL MS M184, reproduced in Appendix 1.  
'p.p.': professor of philosophy.
2. Appendix 2, p. 392.
3. Op. cit., vol. 11, pp. 241-379.
4. Allen T. Hazen, Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications (New Haven, 1937), pp. 171 and 172, note 1.  
Sections X to XII of The Preceptor are possibly those most influenced by Fordyce's curriculum.
5. Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, edited G.B. Hill, revised L.F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), vol. 1, p. 192.
6. Quoted in Hazen, op. cit., p. 186.
7. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), famous orator and statesman, who wrote works on rhetoric and philosophy, together with orations and epistles. His De Officiis was written for his son, Marcus, when resident in Athens.  
Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Dutch jurist and statesman, most famous for his treatise on international law, De Jura Belli et Pacis (1625), but also wrote history and theology. The treatise on law appeals to 'natural law' as the basis of rational principles and influenced Hobbes and Locke.  
Samuel von Puffendorf (1632-94), German jurist and historian, whose work on jurisprudence, De Jure Naturae et Gentium (1672), was based on Grotius and influenced by Hobbes.  
Richard Cumberland (1632-1718), moral philosopher, Bishop of Peterborough, author of De Legibus Naturae (1672, translated 1727), a reply to Hobbes and advocating utilitarianism.  
Joseph Addison (1672-1719), essayist, poet and statesman; essays mainly in The Tatler, The Spectator, and The Guardian.
8. A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity in his Works (London, 1803), vol. 1V, see pp. 328, 458 and 459.
9. Op. cit., vol. X (1754), p. 394.
10. William Turner, The Warrington Academy (Warrington, 1957), p. 18.

11. Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 1164, a comment perhaps derived from The Monthly Review. See note 9, above.
12. James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (London, 1875), pp. 106-7.
13. W.J. McCallister, The Growth of Freedom in Education (London, 1931), p. 220.
14. Gladys Bryson, Man and Society: The Scottish Enquiry of the Eighteenth Century (Princeton, 1945), p. 249, note 38; R.S. Crane, 'Suggestions towards a Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling"' in R.C. Boys, editor, Studies in the Literature of the Augustan Age (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1952), pp. 61-87, see p. 62.
15. Elizabeth Lawrence, The Origins and Growth of Modern Education (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 148 and 152.
16. Appendix 2, letter 2.
17. L.A. Selby-Bigge, British Moralists, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1897); Basil Willey, The English Moralists (London, 1964); D.D. Raphael, British Moralists 1650-1800, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969); D.H. Monro, A Guide to British Moralists (London, 1972).
18. Cf. Bernhard Fabian, 'An Early Theory of Genius: Alexander Gerard's Unpublished Aberdeen Lectures' in R.F. Brissenden, editor, Studies in the Eighteenth Century, 11 (Canberra, 1973), pp. 113-41, see pp. 116-7.
19. Op. cit., vol. XIV (1752), p. 216.
20. Op. cit., vol. VI (1752), pp. 416-30.
21. See above p. 22.
22. Op. cit., p. 98.
23. Eighteenth Century British Logic and Rhetoric (Princeton, 1971), p. 519.
24. Some details of sermon technique since the Reformation appear in Thomas Birch, The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, also published in 1752.
25. Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen, vol. 1, pp. 295 and 484.
26. Charles Smyth, The Art of Preaching (London, 1940, reprinted 1953) pp. 163-4.
27. Anand C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment A Social History (London, 1976), p. 58.
28. James Downie, The Eighteenth Century Pulpit (Oxford, 1969), pp. 228-9.
29. Op. cit., vol. XXVII, p. 261.
30. Stephen Hales (1677-1761), English botanist and chemist, author of Vegetable Staticks (1727), which pioneered plant physiology.  
 William Pitt (1708-78), first Earl of Chatham, statesman and orator, in 1756 was at a peak of popularity, secretary of state and virtually premier; executed the war with France, but forced to resign in April 1757 and recalled in June virtually through popular request.  
 Thomas Herring (1693-1757), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1747 to 1757.  
 William Talbot (1710-82) steward of the royal household, created Earl Talbot in 1761.



31. Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 852.
32. Andrew Hook, Scotland and America. A Study in Cultural Relations, 1750-1835 (Glasgow, 1975), p. 40.
33. Katherine Gee Hornbeak, 'The Complete Letter Writer in English 1568-1800,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. XV, nos. 3-4 (1934), reckons 1790.  
Alexander W. Robertson, Handlist of Bibliography of the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine (Aberdeen, 1893), reckons 1755.
34. K.G. Hornbeak, 'Richardson's "Familiar Letters" and the Domestic Conduct Books,' Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. XIX, no. 2 (1938).

## Appendix 1

(Aberdeen University Library MS M184)

A brief Account of the Nature, Progress and Origin of  
Philosophy delivered by the late Mr. David Fordyce P.P. Marischal  
College Aberdeen to his Scholars, before they begin their  
Philosophical course. Anno 1743/4..<sup>1</sup>

### Sect<sup>n</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>

Philosophy, a thing much talked of but little understood by  
the generality, is defined by Cicero the great interpreter of  
the Graecian Philosophy. The knowledge of things divine and  
humane; But the definition of it given by Pythagoras seems to  
express its nature with much more Clearness and Preciseness. He  
calls Philosophy the knowledge of things which are of being,  
which have a real existence: Or still more distinctly, Philosophy  
may be described to be The Study and knowledge of the nature and  
laws of things, and their established connections, with proper  
reasonings upon them.

2. The (τὸ πᾶν ) Universe, or whole system of things is  
independant on man, who is only a part, and perhaps a very  
inconsiderable one of the great whole. For the supreme Being by  
whom the World was made, has formed the natures and connections  
of things, and by laws adapted to the peculiar constitutions of  
his Creatures, and productive of the greatest good upon the  
whole, does wisely produce every change and event that happens  
in the Universe. The operation of the Deity by those laws or  
according to those settled Rules, and the regular and uniform  
alterations of things produced by them are named the Course or  
Phenomena of Nature or the Providence of God.



3. The Almighty God has placed upon this Earth a great variety of sensible and intellectual beings rising the one above the other in a beautiful state of perfection; yet on man alone has he bestowed senses and power as which fit him for examining the Nature and laws of the universe, with abilities to deduce from thence in some measure the knowledge of the Deity of Nature, and his own obligations in duty.

4. But tho' men have those superior powers they cannot attain to knowledge without labour and attention. We come into the world destitute of the knowledge of things, ignorant of ourselves, and of our connections with those beings that surround us, and of the relation of things to each other. By slow degrees we receive our different perceptions or Ideas of things above us, and learn by Experience what feelings we shall have in certain given circumstances and what connections our Ideas have among themselves, and by what means alterations may be made in things without us or in the perceptions of ourselves and others; hence it is evident that setting aside foreign instruction, true knowledge must be acquired by slow degrees from experience and observation, and that it will always be proportioned to the largeness and extent of our Experience.

5. The powers of our minds, tho noble of themselves and admirably filled for our present state of probation, and this infancy of our existence are limited and narrow, and unable at one view to take in the whole August Drama of Nature or Providence, which is presented to us and acted before us; For while we are intent upon one scene, an infinity of others skip and pass by us without

being observed; and of that to which we do attend many parts escape the notice of the most accurate Spectator. Was man therefore to owe his whole stock of knowledge to the gleanings of his own observation during this short period of his present life, his Acquisitions wou'd be very inconsiderable; But to remedy this inconveniency the bountiful Author of our Nature has made us social creatures and by giving us power to communicate our Observations to one another, has enabled us to reap the benefit of the experience of Others who have examined different parts of nature or perhaps the same part more accurately than ourselves.

6. The knowledge then of the nature, laws and connections of things is, as has been observed, Philosophy; and they who apply to the study of these, and from thence deduce rules for the conduct and improvement of human life are Philosophers. They who consider things as they are or as they exist, and draw right conclusions from thence are true Philosophers. But they who, without regard to fact or nature indulge themselves in framing systems, to which they afterwards reduce all appearances, are, notwithstanding their ingenuity and subtilty, to be reckoned only the corrupters and enemies of true learning.

7. From this short deduction concerning the nature of Philosophy, and the origin of our knowledge, it will appear that in the early ages of the world, the beginnings of Philosophy have been very inconsiderable and its progress slow. For before Societies were constituted and arts and sciences invented and separated, the Attention of the generality of mankind was turned upon



procuring the necessaries of life. And their wandering and unsettled way of life before the establishment of States and politics was doubtless a very great Obstacle to the progress of knowledge which takes deepest root and spreads widest amidst Ease and Security. We may therefore expect to find the beginnings of Arts and Sciences in those places where the first Governments and Societies were formed.

8. As the East Countries were first peopled and formed into Empires and Governments, Science took its rise in them, and spread from thence thro' the rest of the world. Now the first and most ancient kingdom seems to have been that of Egypt; For the joint testimony of all antiquity concurs in assenting that the neighbouring Nations borrowed from this Mother Land both their religion and philosophy; indeed we only grope in the dark about the high Egyptian antiquities, as there are few or no monuments of Egyptian wisdom transmitted to us. The books ascribed to Hermes Trismogistus tho' very ancient, are spurious.<sup>2</sup> The way their Priests had of concealing their science and philosophy, not only in Characters unknown to the vulgar, but likewise in Hieroglyphics or sacred sculpture and other mysterious symbols which none understood but the priests, or those initiated by them, and their great shyness in admitting initiates to the mysteries, are among the principal reasons of our ignorance of the Egyptian learning. Diodorus informs us that their chief study lay in Geometry, Arithmetick and Astronomy; and indeed the situation and circumstances of their Country which was Annually overflowed by the Nile put

them upon studying them, that they might the better ascertain and secure their property; And Arithmetic was not only necessary to assist them in their measurings and geometrical Problems, but was peculiarly necessary in the common practice and commerce of life, in so great and civilised a nation, their Astronomy was chiefly adapted to the uses of Agriculture, and the settling their Calendar and Festivals.<sup>3</sup> Politics and its inseparable attendant morals were likewise studied here; their Architecture and the other elegant Arts of life, they seem to have carried to the utmost length, having exhibited the noblest specimens of Symmetry and grandeur in their publick works. They were likewise the first who collected Libraries, those treasures of Science, which they called The store house of the remedies of a soul.

9<sup>th</sup>. Next to the Egyptians, the Assyrians, Persians and Indians are recorded for the wisdom of their Magi and Brachmans, of whose principles we have but a very lame account left us. The Assyrians are reckoned among the first who applied to Letters; and the first Imperial School was at Babylon, which continued till Nebuchadnezzar the great and Daniel's time. The Chaldaeans were reckoned their wise men who were also called their Magi. Daniel was set over their Colleges and Academies by the King; whence 'tis probable that they applied to studies of a legitimate kind, and to natural knowledge as well as to Astrology and other insignificant Arts. They were celebrated chiefly for their skill in Genealogy and Astronomy. Pythagoras went among them to learn the motion of the stars and



the Origin of the World, or the two principal heads of natural Philosophy, viz. (κοσμογονία & κοσμογόνια or) the Constitution and generation of things. They thought that the matter of the world was eternal, but that it had its form and order from the divine providence. They ascribed the invention of their Philosophy to Zoroaster, who reduced it to a System. The Persians did the same, whose Magi or wise men, presided over the education of the royal Children. They studied philosophy, divinity and politics, and taught the period and renovation of the world. They believed that the elements and Stars of heaven were Gods, of whom they chiefly adored the Fire and Sun; and by the name of Jupiter understood the whole circumference of the heavens. The Indian Brachmans or Gymnosophists affected a solitary way of life, and underwent great Austerity. They taught a future state, and inculcated the Offices of Justice and Virtue. Besides their Morals they applied to Physiology and Astronomy, and believed the formation of our World from water, but of the Universe from other principles; The Souls incorruptibility and the (πανγενεσία or) Regeneration of all things. In a word all the ancient kingdoms boasted of their learned men.

The Phenicians had their Sanhuniathon, and were celebrated as the first who invented or at least introduced letters and Characters under Cadmus into Greece. They were likewise famous for their skill in Astronomy, Navigation, Arithmetic, Mechanics, and the other Arts of a civilised life; to which indeed their extensive commerce with the rest of the World did in a manner entitle them.

The Chinese were celebrated for their skill in Religion, Politics and Morals, which they principally owed to their great Confucius. Even the barbarous northern nations, the Germans, Britons and the ancient Celts had their learned Druids and Bards whose knowledge was chiefly traditionary, (or πατροπαράδοτος ) for we do not hear that they committed anything to writing, which is the reason why we know so little about their Philosophy or Maxims.

10. But leaving those things which are buried in Obscurity we proceed to Greece, that favourite country, where Arts and Sciences made quickest progress, and arrived at their greatest perfection. And here we may trace the Greek learning from its Original having proper records to depend on. These inform us that Greece was form'd with Colonies from Egypt and the other Eastern Nations, who we may believe carried the Religion and Arts of their Parent Country along with them; And indeed the learning of Ancient Greece wore the strongest Features of Resemblance to the Egyptian, consisting chiefly in Fables and Allegories, short but pithy sentences and dark Enigma's.

11. The Poets Orpheus, Linus, and Hesiod, are amongst the earliest Philosophers of Greece for the Philosophic Poetic and often legislative characters were joined in the same persons; there being as yet no separation of the Sciences. The subjects which those old Poets sung required a considerable acquaintance with nature being the (Θεωγονία or) Birth of the Gods or the generation of things. Hesiod, whose (Θεωγονία ) Birth of the Gods has been preserved to our day, has interwoven with his poems many moral reflections and precepts, which show



him well acquainted with morals and life. Orpheus employed musick or numbers and verse, to humanize and soften the minds of his rude and savage Contemporaries, and to insinuate his moral precepts to a more persuasive and irresistable charm. In a word all the greek Poets of note seem to have made no inconsiderable progress in Philosophy. And indeed if we consider, as an Imitator of Nature, every Poet must be a Philosopher; for how can one copy what he knows not or imitate it?

12. The first who made it their business to instruct their Countrymen, and upon that account were dignified with the name of (σοφοί or) Wise men, were the Seven famous Contemporaries, commonly called the seven wise men of Greece, viz. Thales of Miletus, Pillacus of Mytillene, Bias of Pryene, Solon of Athens, Cleobueus of Lindus, Miso of Lycaonia, and Chylo of Lacademon; They flourished betwixt the 40<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and excepting Thales were all legislators in their respective States. The credit of Solon was much increased by a remarkable instance of his modesty, which happened on the following occasion. Some young men of Ionia bought a draught of the Milesian fishermen; when the net was drawn, there was found in it a golden Tripod, of great value; hereupon there arose a dispute and the Oracle of Delphi was consulted which returned this answer, That it should be given to the wisest. The Milesians presented it to Thales, he sent it to Bias, he again to Pillacus, and so going thro' all the seven, it came at last to Solon, who affirming the Deity to be the wisest, consecrated the Tripod to Apollo. The knowledge of the (σοφοί )

Wise men was communicated in short sentences or Apothegms, several of which are transmitted to us by ancient writers, such as (γνῶθι σεαυτόν ) know thyself. They who have a

mind to know more particulars about the early Sages may consult Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch.

13. Thales was the founder of the Ionic sect or School, as it was called, and flourished 500 years after the taking of Troy. He was one of the first Philosophers who travelled for the improvement of knowledge of Men and things, and who treated of nature simply without the disguise of Fable or shadowings of Allegory. He taught the immortality of the Soul, marked the Solstices and Equinoxes, inscribed Triangles in Circles, and foretold the Eclipses of the Sun. He thought Water the first principle of all things. And Anaxagoras his follower set a Mind over this fluid Mass, and explained the digestion of this Mass into order by the sole power of Gravity. The Ionic Philosophers thought that the Celestial Regions consisted of a thing subtile or fluid; that the Planets were opaque bodies, and the fixed stars firey. Nor were they ignorant of the Earth's motion, After Thales's Philosophy became a profession, and was taught by Anaximander and Pythagoras and his disciples. The latter was the founder of the Italic School, heard Thales, and Phericydes and flourished about the 60<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, that is, the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> Century before Christ. He, to wit, Pythagoras, travelled likewise in search of knowledge thro' Egypt, Chaldea, and Phenicia; he spent 22 years among the Egyptian Priests, visited the Oracles of Delphi, Delos and Crete, was initiated into all the mysteries of the Barbarians, as well as Grecians, and instructed in the whole learning of the East. He left Samos, and went to the south of Italy, called at that time, Magna Graecia, now the kingdom of Naples, and set up a School at Crotona about the



62<sup>d</sup> Olympiad. Pythagoras formed his Philosophy on the Egyptian plan, which he delivered chiefly in numbers and numerical Symbols; for he reckoned numbers the Causes and principles of things, and accordingly held the number four (or τετράκτις ) in great veneration, which some explain of the Jewish (τετραγράμματον or) the name Jehovah. It was not till after five years silence in a great variety of preparation in previous trials that his Scholars were admitted to the full knowledge of his Doctrine. He made great improvements in Geometry, Arithmetic and Music, and applied proportion of numbers and harmony to every thing, or at least made them his ordinary Symbols. He invented the 47<sup>th</sup> Proposition of Euclid's first Book, and is said to have offered an Hecatomb on that account. He was so modest as to refuse the Appellation of (σοφός ) Wise and assumed that humble one of (φιλόσοφος ) a lover of Wisdom. He divided Philosophy into theoretical and practical, the end of the first is truth, and to wonder at nothing, and that of the other Virtue and the liberty of the Soul, which he reckoned confined in the body as in a prison. His doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls is well known. To promote the enlargement or disengagement of the mind, he prescribed a very spare diet; forbade the eating of flesh or killing of animals either for food or sacrifice; he himself lived on honey, bread, herbs and water. His direction to enquire into the actions of the day every evening is justly celebrated. He observed so much Order, design and proportion in the structure of the Universe, that he gave it the name (κόσμος ) Order. He wrote several books which are all lost. The golden verses

of Pythagoras, tho they contain the sum of the Pythagorean Doctrine were not wrote by him but by Epicharmus or Empedocles. Pythagoras thought the Earth moveable and placed the Sun in the Center, which from him is called the Pythagorean System; he placed the Comets without Air, and set them among the planets, and reckoned that the heavens were fluid and aetherial, and that the stars were so many worlds. You will find more particulars concerning Pythagoras and his Doctrine related by Diogenes Laertius, Iamblicus and Porphery, who have wrote his Life, and intermixed with it many ridiculous Stories.<sup>4</sup> Of the Italic School were Architus Taventinus, Ocellus, Lucanus, Epicharmus, Empedocles, Timaeus, Locrus, and a great many Others.

14. To Thales in the Ionic School succeeded Anaximander, a Milesian who invented Gnostic's or Dialing, and observed the obliquity of the Zodiac, and likewise observed Equinoxes. To him again succeeded Anaximenes, who held that Air was the first principal of all things. After him came Anaxagoras, who tho' born to a great Fortune, left all to apply to Philosophy. In the 20<sup>th</sup> year of his Age, the first of the 75<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, he went to Athens, where he continued 30 years, and for his great wisdom got the name of (νοῦς) or Mind. He was banished from Athens in the 3<sup>d</sup> year of the 82<sup>d</sup> Olympiad, and retiring to Lampsachon spent the rest of his days there. Archilaus was the Scholar of Anaxagoras, master of Socrates the celebrated Athenian Philosopher. About the time of Anaximander and Archilaus flourished Xenophanes the Colophonian the founder of the Eleatic Sect, which was a miscellaneous School consisting



of Philosophers differing in Nation, Opinions and Manners. Xenophanes thought there were innumerable worlds, infinite Suns, and Moons eternal and unchangeable. Parmenides one of this Sect admitted an Origin of things, and that from Fire and Earth as Elements, herein he agreed with Archilaus; for the Eliatics differ little from the Ionics about the origin of things, if they admitted any. For some of them took away all motion, without which there can be neither generation nor corruption. Some include Seussipus and Democrates in this Sect who brought in the hypothesis of Atoms, and with that a sounder way of Philosophising, by considering the State, motion, figure, situation and bulk of bodies, estimating their powers and explaining their effects from thence, not seeking as the Italic and other Philosophers, the principles of bodies and their powers among numbers, proportions, ideas and the like. Seussipus owned the earth's motion about its Axis, and was followed by Democrates in physics, who conversed with the Magi, the Chaldean Priests and Arabians. The Attention of the Ionic's from Thales's time, had been almost wholly employed in natural Philosophy or Physics, in which very small progress was made for a reason to be mentioned afterwards. It was Socrates that gave the proper turn to learning, and therefore is justly reckoned the Father of true Philosophy.

15. Socrates was born at Athens in the 77<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, his father was Sophroniscus a statuary, and his mother Phaenarete a midwife. He followed for some time his father's profession, but soon discovered such a genius and love for learning, that

Crito, a rich Athenian, took him from the shop and gave him a liberal Education. Having observed of how little advantage the Philosophy then in repute was in life, Socrates as Cicero expresses it, recalled Philosophy from the hidden and Obscure subjects about which his Predecessors had busied themselves and brought it down to common Life, to enquire into Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice and their Consequences. Hence he is said to have fetcht Philosophy from the heavens, and to have introduced it into Cities houses and families. Man was the subject of his Philosophy, and its scope was to make men wiser, better and fitter for social and private life by inculcating the duties of Religion and Virtue. His method of teaching was remarkable, being admirably adapted to human nature. It was by asking Questions, beginning at the most plain and simple and proceeding from the answers given to others of a higher more general and abstracted nature; he himself all the while affirming nothing. His method was founded upon the belief he had of the pre-existence of Souls, whose former knowledge was lost by being immersed in the body, and brought to remembrance again by instruction, or the method of interrogation; on this account he humourously used to say that his Art had some Affinity to his Mother's; for tho barren himself he assisted in bringing forth the Births of Others, or educating those latent principles of knowledge with which the mind of man was originally stored. His modesty was so great that he constantly said that he knew nothing save only that he knew nothing; and was for this saying honoured with the title of the wisest man by the Oracle of Apollo. We are not however to conclude from this that Socrates



was Sceptic; he seems only to have had a just Sense of the weakness of human Understanding, to have shunned determining in speculative points, and thought the great End of philosophy was, to enforce with proper inducements the practice of Virtue. He saw through the absurdity of the popular Religion and thought that god made the world, knew all things and governed the Universe by his providence. He taught the immortality of the soul and supported that doctrine by a variety of arguments, and besides inculcated a future state of rewards for the good and punishments for the wicked, and in a word he made such improvements in moral Philosophy that he seemed to have been the first that had just notions of the nature of man and his duty. In order to lay the deeper foundations for a genuine Philosophy, he endeavoured to remove the rubbish that lay in his way, those false opinions, inveterate prejudice, and high pretensions to wisdom which over run Greece at that time; and for this purpose by his interrogatory method of reasoning, from him called the Socratic way, and likewise by a delicate and refined Irony, exposed the Sophists those high pretenders to wisdom, who without any real knowledge pretended to know everything and who professed to teach the Art of speaking for and against every thing. A Race of men who then pestered the severallities of Greece, and took upon them the care and education of the Youth. In so ridiculous a light did he place them by his well timed and artful railery, and so thoroughly did he confute the sham pretensions of those Quacks and smatterers in learning that they concerted a design to bring about his ruin. Aristophanes

the Comedian at their instigation introduced him upon the Stage, and by dressing him up in a false and unnatural Character made this great man, who with a patience truly philosophical was a Spectator of the play, ridiculous to the people. At last one Miletus accused him before the senate of despising the Gods whom the city believed, and in producing new deities, and of corrupting the youth by his Philosophy; to the lasting reproach of his Judges this extraordinary and virtuous person was condemned to Death. The day before the execution of this sentence he reasoned with his friends concerning the immortality of the Soul, and expressed a particular pleasure in the hopes of meeting with Homer, Hesiod and other great men who had died before him. In the evening the executioner brought him a Cup of poison, which with a cheerful and undaunted mind he drunk of, and soon after expired in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the 95<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. The Athenians were soon so much ashamed of this infamous deed that they put his Accusers to death. 'Tis generally thought that Socrates wrote nothing. We have a full account of his Life and Philosophy in the writings of his Scholars, Xenophon, Aeschines and Plato. In the memorable things of Socrates wrote by Xenophon we have the best account of his reasoning, and likewise in the dialogues of Aeschines; for Plato in his dialogues has intermixt a great many of his own which Socrates never taught, and has likewise adorned them with a profounder erudition and more laboured and florid eloquence than Socrates used in his common conversation, among his Scholars were Xenophon, Aeschines, Plato, Aristippus, Phaedo, Euclid of Megara, Cebes and many others.



16. Xenophon and Aeshines both Athenians were particular favourites of Socrates and committed his conversations in that simple and familiar way and manner in which Socrates talked and debated, some of which have happily reached our times. Xenophon was the son of Gyrgilles and was born about the 82<sup>d</sup> Olympiad. He was in the Peloponnesian war along with Socrates and ever after followed a military life. He attended Cyrus the younger in his expedition into Asia against Artaxerxes the King of Persia; and is justly celebrated for that amazing instance of his wisdom and valour, the conducting the extraordinary retreat of the Greeks after the defeat of Cyrus. He died at Corinth about the 105<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. His books are reckoned among the purest of the Greek Classics; and discover him to have been a fine Gentleman, an able Captain and a great Scholar. Cebes of Thebes another of Socrates's Scholars wrote several Dialogues one of which viz. etc. The Tablature or Picture that admirable draught of human life has escaped the injury of time.<sup>5</sup>

17. Aristippus of Cyrene a Scholar of Socrates but differing widely from the practice of his Master, founded the Cyrenaic Sect; they entirely rejected Virtue as a principle of Action amiable in itself, and said that Justice and Honesty were only the institution of men. They made pleasure the ultimate end of all their actions, and Virtue had no further place in their System than it was thought expedient or necessary to produce pleasure. This Sect was also called Hedonic, from the name (ἡδονή) or Pleasure, and was divided into a great many Branches, one of which, called Theodorians,

from Theodorus their head, made profession of downright Atheism. Phaedo the Elian and Euclid of Megara were two other Scholars of Socrates. The first was the Author of the Eliac, and the last of the Megaric Sect. Tho' we have no remains of the Eliac philosophy, yet we have reason to believe it differed very little from the Socratic. The Megaric Sect applied themselves mostly to the study of Logic and from thence were named (Διαλεκτικοί or) Reasoners or Logicians.

18. Antisthenes another scholar of Socrates founded the Sect of the Cynic's, and had the famous Diogenes for his Scholar. They had learned from Socrates that morality was the usefulest of all Sciences, and from this they concluded absurdly enough that all other Arts and Sciences were to be despised. Their fundamental Maxim was to live in conformity to virtue, which they said was sufficient to make men happy. They sought Liberty and Independency as the greatest Good: The Gods, said they, stand in need of nothing, and those that stand in need of few things do most resemble them. To procure this happy independency they pretended to look upon honour and Riches with perfect indifferency, and to renounce all the conveniencies of Life. Diogenes would have no other habitation than a Tub, and when he found that he could drink out of the hollow of his hand, he threw away his wooden cup as a superfluity. Alexander the Great coming to visit Diogenes in his Tub, asked him what he desired of him, Nothing, said the Philosopher, but that you would not stand between me and the Sun. The Cynic's under pretence of following nature and living independently observed no decency in their conduct, and



treated all the world with the utmost Contempt. The Stoicks shot out as a Branch from this Sect, who, from an Enthusiasm of temper pushed their Philosophy beyond the bounds of Nature, and placed Virtue in a total exemption from passion, or at least from the smallest degree of perturbation of Mind. So that they alledged their virtuous man was happy in every state and circumstance of Life. (Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum.)<sup>6</sup> We have several noble relicts of the Stoical philosophy transmitted down to us from ancient times, in which we find the noblest precepts for the conduct of life, and particularly for attaining that tranquillity of mind and indifference about external things, without some degree of which, no man can be tolerably happy in this mixed, uncertain and complicated scene of things. The Stoic's however were more celebrated for their morals than for their Physic's. They believed the conflagration of the world, called God the Artificer of all things. (the λόγον δημιουργόν καὶ τεχνικόν ) under whom they placed passive matter. They distinguished between (στοιχεῖα ) Elements and (ἀρχαί ) Principles, reckoning the latter ungenerated, uncorporeal and uncompounded. By the former perhaps they understood the simple unformed (χυλή ) Mass, and distinguished it from Body. They believed that Fire was the first of Bodies which were made, and the rest of the Elements of it, and of both all kind of mixed bodies, which they said were again resolved into fire. They called the Sun (πῦρ εἰλικρινές ) Pure Fire, the Moon (γεωδέστερα ) of an earthly matter, and the Stars (Πύρνα ) of a fiery nature, and likewise that some of them were higher than others in which they are supported by the modern Philosophy. Their Fate signified the unchangeable and immoveable order and series of things by which the Gods themselves were governed in their productions of things.

19. Of all the Scholars of Socrates, Plato made the greatest figure. He was born at Athens in the 88<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. After he had heard and studied under Socrates, he travelled into Egypt and Italy, and returning to Athens he taught Philosophy in the Academy the Gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of the City, environed with woods and adorned with beautiful walks named from Academus a private Gentleman to whom it first belonged.

Inter Sylvas Accademi quaerere Verum?

Hence his followers got the name of Accademics. The Philosophy which he taught was a compound of the Socratic and Pythagoric Doctrine, and was chiefly divided into these three parts Ethics, Physics and Dialectics. The knowledge of the platonic Philosophy is to be got from the works of its Author, which are justly held in the greatest esteem. He wrote in the way of Dialogues, in which Socrates makes one of the principal speakers, and generally confutes the bombast or subtle sophists by the depths of his Socratic reasoning, joined with an exquisite strain of raillery. His Books (De republica et legibus) of the Commonwealth and the Laws, show him to have been an able Politician and deep Scholar. The Platonics did as the Pythagorians apply more to the contemplation of Ratios and abstract proportions than of matter and its properties. We have a sketch of Plato's Philosophy in his Timaeus. He assigned geometrical figures to the Elements, and compounds and places them geometrically. He makes three principles of all things, the (Νῶς ) Deity, (Χυδῆ ) Matter, and his (Ἰδέα ) Idea or exemplary cause, or rather his proportion and ideas. Many traces of the old learning and the Ancient world are to be found in his Timaeus, his



Politicus and Phaedo, which he brought from Egypt and the pillar of Hermes. His genius in Theology and morality was by the ancients esteemed divine.

20. Arcesilaus one of the successors of Plato about the time of the 107<sup>th</sup> Olympiad founded the Middle Academy. His way was to doubt of everything in arguing for and against all manner of questions. He went a great deal farther than Socrates in sceptical Philosophy, and said that he could not be certain even of this that he knew nothing. Carneades did afterwards soften this Scepticism a little by allowing that there was no truth which did not admit of some belief, yet there were such degrees of probability as were sufficient to determine men. This was the new or third Academy. Carneades was sent from Athens in company with Diogenes the Cynic and Critolaus the peripatetic on an Embassy to Rome about the 599<sup>th</sup> year after the building of the City. He and the other two taught in different places of the City, and were resorted to by the Roman Youth, who drank in their Philosophy with the utmost avidity, which made Old Cato the Censor move in the Senate to dispatch them as soon as possible, lest the Roman Youth who he said were grown enthusiastically mad after Graecian Arts and learning should be diverted from a military Life to the study of Philosophy.

21. Aristotle the most famous of Plato's Scholars was born at Stagiola a City of Thrace in the first year of the 99<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. When he was 17 years of Age he came to Athens, where he soon distinguished himself and became a favourite disciple of Plato. In the 4th year of the 109th Olympiad at the request of king Philip he went into Macedonia and became Tutor to Alexander the

Great, not only in Ethics and Politics but in all the other Sciences. In the first year of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad Phillip dy'd and Aristotle returned to Athens where he taught in the Lycaenum (a place in the suburbs built by Pericles for exercising the Citizens in) walking up and down therein. Hence he and his Schollars got the name of Peripatetics, (or Walkers.) He was the first who reduced the scattered precepts of Philosophy into a System, and left Treatises wrote professedly in Logics, Metaphysics, Ethics and Physics. All which shew a Judgment and accuteness of penetration superior to most men. He wrote on Rhetoric, Poetry and natural History and other Subjects. In the two former treatises he discovers a great insight in the human nature and large acquaintance with fine writing. And indeed he is universally acknowledged to have been a very comprehensive and extraordinary Genius. The grand principle of his Ethics, is, that every Virtue consists in the Mean or Middle between two extremes both of which are Vicious. The peripatetic principles may be gathered from Aristotle's writings, and are well explained by Cicero, in as far as they differ from the Stoical principles. To Aristotle in the peripatetic School succeeded Theophrastus, Strato, Lycon, Aristo, Critolaus, Diodorus etc. The Aristotelians believed the world to be eternal as well as to its form as to its matter; and all the creatures in it begetting and begotten in an infinite series with all its plants and various furniture. Aristotle thought the heavens were of Adamant and the stars fixed like golden Nails in the roofs of their Orbs, and these Orbs chained together, and All the whole world rolled about in 24 hours time; that



the planets were carried about by contrary motions; that the matter of the heavens is quite different from all other and immutable into any other. He introduced his Substantial forms and Specific Qualities to explain the Actions and forces of Bodies. He said that sensation was formed by an intentional series, that Providence descended not below the Moon, that the Soul was the *ἐντελέχεια*. A Cant word that signified nothing; he was uncertain of the immortality of the Soul.

22. Epicurus the author of another Sect named Epicureans was born in the 3rd year of the 109<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. He began very early to read Philosophy, particularly the writings of Democritus, from whence he chiefly borrowed his Physics, having purchased a pleasant Garden at Athens, he lived there with his friends and disciples, and taught Philosophy. He ascertained that the world was formed by a fortuitious concourse of Atoms falling and clashing one with another in infinite directions thro' an immense void, without the interposition of an intelligent principle. Tho' he allowed the existence of the Gods, yet he said they took no care or concern about the world or its affairs, but lived at a great distance in immortal peace and in inglorious indolence, and by this means subverted the foundations of all religion, which is built upon a sense of our Connection with God and dependance upon him as the Almighty Maker and Governor of the World. He affirmed that Pleasure was the chief end of all our Actions and the Chief Good, and that Virtue was no farther to be followed than as it produces and tends to pleasure. But they are much mistaken who think that Epicurus gave himself up to all manner of Debauchery; On the contrary he recommended Temperance and the other Virtues as conducive to true happiness.

Yet some of his followers made a very bad use of his Doctrine, indulging themselves in the greatest sensuality, and having no notion of moral happiness. The School in the Garden was continued till the days of Augustus under the successive management of Hermochus, Polystatus, Dyonisius, Basilides etc. Epicurus made Sense the supreme Standard by which we judge of truth, said the Sun was no bigger than a foot and a half, and that the Earth was rooted to an infinite extent downward. We have a large Account of the Epicurean Doctrine in Diogenes Laertius and Cicero and Lucretius Carus an elegant Latin Poet has given us a Compleat System of his Philosophy (of which he was a professed admirer) in his poem (De Rerum natura.) of the nature of things. Epicurus died in the second year of the 127<sup>th</sup> Olympiad.

23. Zeno contemporary with Epicurus founded the Stoical Sect directly opposite to the principles of Epicurus. He was at first Scholar to Crates the Cynic, then to Stilpo the Megaric and afterwards heard Diodorus, Cronus and Polemon. He set up a School, in the (ποικίλη στοά) Painted Walk at Athens, and thence his Disciples got the name of Stoics. The most Considerable part of the Stoical Philosophy was their Morality whose fundamental Principles were, That Virtue was the alone good and Vice the only Ill; that pleasure was not good, nor pain evil; that the passions were preternatural perturbations entirely to be rooted out; that men were not born for themselves but for their Country and Society, and that the whole of man's duty was to live according to Nature. The (ἀπείθεω or ) entire freedom from the passions of human nature was certainly impossible to be attained, and perhaps was more than the Stoics meant when



they recommended the mastery over our appetites and passions. For they seem to have taken our passions in too limited a sense for mental disorders or such violent impulses and propensities of Soul are as inconsistent with the exercise of reason and destructive of it; and in this sense, no doubt, they are carefully to be subdued. But both Zeno and Epicurus seem to have erred, in not considering the whole of Mans Nature; For Epicurus viewed him only as a sensible Being capable of pleasure and pain; whereas Zeno only regarded the moral part of his Constitution. The peripatetic Philosophers seem to have had juster notions of the matter, when they considered man as a Creature formed for the enjoyment both of natural and moral good, that is, As a Sensible and Moral Being; and said that the passions were implanted in his nature for valuable purposes, and therefore were not to be extirpated but governed by his Reason. The Stoicks imagined the World (or ) to be an Animal whereof God was the soul. They maintained a Fate or Destiny to which Gods and men were equally subjected. They cultivated Dialecticks, but made little progress in Physics. In short they were a natural Shoute from the Cinics, only they refined upon and carried their Philosophy to a higher pitch<sup>8</sup>. To Zeno in the Stoical School succeeded Cleanthus, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antipater, Panaetius and Posidonius.

24. Among the Old Greek Philosophers of note were Parmenides, Seusippus, Dermocritus, and Heraclîtus, who all, especially the two last improved the corpuscular Physics which Epicurus perfected. Pyrrho contemporary with Aristotle having read the books of

Democritus and having heard various Philosophers, gave rise to another sect called Sceptics, Pyrronistics and sometimes Zetetics. They held nothing certain, doubting everything, and said nothing was to be understood or comprehended. As Absurd as these principles were Pyrrho had his admirers and followers, such were Simon, Hecataeus, Eurylochos and Sextus Empyricus; nay we find still that he has likewise his Admirers in Modern times who carry his Philosophy to as extravagant a Pitch as the wit of man can devise or his fancy wish.

25. Among this variety of different Sects of Philosophers it is reasonable to believe their several Systems were neither wholly true nor wholly false. Polemo of Alexandria did therefore in the reign of Augustus introduce the Eclectic Philosophy. They who embraced this method espoused none of the Systems in the Gross but took such doctrines from each as seemed most reasonable, every man judging for himself, and allowing the same liberty to others.

Having now pointed out the principle Stages and periods of Philosophy among the Grecians, it remains just to touch at the Barbarian Philosophy and its Origin. The opinions of those whom the Greeks entitled Barbarians were delivered mostly without proof or reasoning, and received because of the Authority of the Teacher; Or the reasons are too weak and insufficient to convince. We have an instance of this in the Conflagration of the world, whose Causes and process they neither explain, nor attempted to prove its truth. The same thing may be said with regard to the periods of the World, the preexistence and revolution



of Souls. The Ancient Philosophy never laboured about Theories or the demonstrations of things, from their Causes or Effects, which the modern has attempted not without Success; But theirs was short and easy by way of Question and Answer, so that it plainly appears to have been propagated by Tradition. Some derive it from the Hebrews, from Moses and Abraham; But the former himself was a Disciple of the Aegyptians so that the Egyptian learning was before him. And as to the Arabian, Job who was a renowned and learned Arabian is reckoned elder than Moses for several reasons. 1st. Because that pious man counteracted the law of Moses in offering Sacrifices for himself, after the example of Noah and others before the law. 2nd. Because there is no mention made of Moses or his exploits in his Book. 3rd From the measure of his life which ought to be placed about the third age after the Deluge, for he lived about 200 years. Besides his history seems to savour of great Antiquity. He mentions the first kind of Idolatry, that of the Sun and Moon. He speaks of Sculpture the most ancient kind of writing, when he talks of recording his Calamities; His wealth is counted by his Flocks; he mentions no Sabbath or instituted Law, and followed the precepts of Noah. Josephus derives learning from Abraham, but without proof from Sacred or profane history. Besides 'tis improbable that he should instruct the Egyptians in the space of the two years he lived among them. Therefore it is more probable that the Sciences derived their Origin from a higher Source, even Noah the common parent of the Jews and Nations. He is said to have delivered moral precepts to his descendents, called the precepts of the Noachidae, and therefore

why not Opinions and Doctrines also? In short it is highly probable that he knew the greatest part of the wisdom of the long lived Antidiluvian patriarchs since he had 600 years commerce with them, and Consequently that from him as from the fountain head were derived those streams of ancient learning which flowed through the Old world, of which only small drops have descended to us.

26. There is a Contest betwixt the Egyptians and Hebrews about their precedence and antiquity in learning. That none of the Philosophers travelled among the latter to gather knowledge is a plain evidence that they were not renowned for letters. We do not read that they excelled in natural or mathematical knowledge, tho' Solomon certainly was an eminent Naturalist. Their Schools were formed for Religion and Prophecy rather than for the Sciences. No nation did ever abound so much in prophets and inspired men. So that a divine virtue seems to have been peculiar to their Soil and Climate. They pretended to have preserved among them from the beginning a Cabala or secret Science containing the mysteries of the natural and invisible world; But two things are wanting in this Science, first the establishing and agreeing upon common principles, Secondly, their ascertaining the Use and Signification of words. And indeed this boasted Science of theirs seems to have been a mysterious Gibberish or an obscure Phraseology rather than the knowledge of things. As to their four worlds of Emanation, Creation, Formation and Fabrication, we know little of them, and their explications of them are themselves inexplicable. Their ancient Cabbala might have some foundation however deformed



and vitiated by the moderns, and perhaps treated of the Origin and Gradations of things, or the scale of beings; But being traditional it came soon to be lost. And so the modern Doctors or Rabbies in order to fill up this Void, and to maintain an imaginary Character of ancient Learning threw in their multiplied fictions till at length it grew up or swelled into the enormous size of the present Cabbala. The Cabbalists thought that God or their Ensoph contained all things within himself at first, and only evolved or unfolded himself when the World was made, and that it perishes again by its reflux or resolution into the Divinity. The opinion of the Stoicks was too gross, for they restricted every thing to matter, and understood by Jupiter The Simple Aether, into which they thought the whole world would be finally resolved, and then after a state of time would reassume its primitive form and appearance. The Essenes an ancient Sect among the Jews resembled the Brachmans in their manners and studies; their Life was most simple and primitive and they applied themselves to the study of the divine nature and the Origin of things.

27. 'Til thought by Sir Isaac Newton that learning flourished early in Arabia or at least in Idumaea a Country of it. Learning flourished there from the time of Job to the Age of Solomon if the Queen of Sheba was of Arabia, as is highly probable. Job was a renowned sage among the Arabs, and had a great knowledge of nature as is evident from his book which is the first and Oldest monument of Arabic wisdom. In it are many Arabismes to be found. 'Tis probable the Magi or Wise men of the East who came to adore our Saviour at his birth were of Arabia, because the

presents they brought were only of an Arabian growth, and because the East is commonly used in Scripture to signify Arabia. The Zabii or Zabaisti (the same with the Sabaeans and their Priests) were famous among the Arabians, and were a very ancient nation: The Jews say that Abraham was educated in their Religion at first, but that after he worshipped the true God he left them and inveighed against their Doctrines, Maimonides will have Moses to have chiefly regarded their Rites and manners in forming his Laws.<sup>9</sup> Their Magi were of long Continuance, and vaunt themselves to be Noachidae or followers of Noah, however they worship the Sun, Moon and Native Genii or Daemones. Job seems to allude hereto when he vindicated himself from the worship of the Sun and Moon, Chap. 31. Verse 26.27. He and his friends were genuine Noachidae; but the Zabians and other Arabs were degenerate ones. Both sorts however retain some of the Doctrines of the Noachidae which were the Roots of Oriental learning. Pythagoras and Democritus visited them. We have little account of them for the first Ages after Christ, till in the sixth Century with the rise of Ishmaelism or the Law of Mahomet learning began also to revive among them. For the Arabians or the Sarracens penetrating into the West and making Conquests in Europe with their Arms raised a new Empire to themselves, and by degrees imbibed the Graecian and European Philosophy. As the Aristotelian or Peripatetick Philosophy prevailed chiefly at that time, they embraced it, and propagated it afterwards with great industry and noise. Their learned men, particularly Avicenna and Averroes translated the works of Aristotle and gathered all the Graecian Authors they could find, insomuch that they alone seemed to possess them. As to the Sarracens at the



taking of Alexandria, the great and celebrated Library, that vast collection of Ancient learning which had been collected by the Kings of Egypt for many Ages, was, by their barbarous and brutal Emperour at the instigation of his chief Priest, ordered to be burned, and used as fuel to warm the hot baths. After the times of Mahomet the Arabian learning degenerated into Fable and Allegory.

28. When the Romans extended their Empire over Greece they became acquainted with the learning and Philosophy of that Country. They had indeed got some taste of Grecian workmanship and politeness before, by the taking of Syracuse, which was originally a Grecian city, and therefore Old Cato complains that mostlie statues had been introduced into the town from Syracuse. But those Graecian pieces of Virtuosity were rather laid up as rarities to be gazed at, or as piles to adorn their Temples. But the Grecian learning and polite Arts scarce made any Advances till the Thousand Achaian Exiles arrived at Rome and were dispersed up and down the Country. They scattered the first seeds of Philosophy in that Soil that had been formerly possessed by Arms and overrun with the din of War. That soil however being strong and fertile did, by a happy Culture and greater intercourse with Grecian wits, bring forth a rich crop of Philosophers, Historians Poets and Orators. As Philosophers of all Sects began to teach there, the young Romans commenced Partizans of this or the other Sect as best suited their taste and Genius. So that Among the Romans we find the learned men widely differing in their Philosophy. Cicero the Orator who contributed more than any other to make his countrymen acquainted

with the Greek Philosophy, as is evident from his Philosophical works, was a New Academic and in some things an Eclectic. Cato of Utica and Brutus who killed Caesar were Stoics; Lucullus was an Old Academic; Atticus and Velleius were Epicureans; Seneca the praeceptor of Nero was a strict Stoic, as was also the famous Philosopher Emperor Marcus Antoninus, who was both the highest pattern of virtue and the greatest master as well as Patron of learning. This was the state of Philosophy at Rome till the decline of the Empire; when barbarity and ignorance overwhelmed the Remains of Ancient learning, and brought on a night of total and almost universal Darkness.

29. The Platonists became famous in the 3rd and 4th Centuries among whom were Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus and Proclus, who spent all their time in explaining and writing Mystical and Jejune Commentaries upon the tenets of the founder of the Sect. Untill the 6th Century Aristotle was but little known in the Western World, when Boethius translated some of his writings. The Arabians whom we have already mentioned in the Elventh Century introduced his Philosophy into Spain, and from thence sprung the Scholastic Peripatetic Philosophers, who overlooked and in a great measure neglected his most beautiful and usefull works; viz. his Morals, his Politics and Rhetoric and spent all their time and pains in writing huge Commentaries upon his Dialectics or Logics and Physical Works the most lame of all his performances which they employed to furnish out materials for endless debate and to support an unintelligible and monstrous System of Theology.



30. After the fall of the Roman Empire and the irruption of the Barbarous northern nations all Europe continued for many years buried in great ignorance. The small remains of knowledge that were to be found were confined to the Cells of the Monks and the other Clergy. In the 8th, Century the highest ambition of the Clergy was to vie with one another in chanting the public service, which yet they hardly understood. The Emperor Charlemagne tho' a warlike Monarch allowed a public School to be opened in the imperial palace under the direction of our famous Countryman Alcuine, on whom he chiefly relied for introducing into France some tincture of that Philosophy which was still remaining in Brittain. As to Brittain, tho' Learning has still some footing there in the Eighth Century, it was so totally exterminated from thence in the ninth that throughout the whole kingdom of the west Saxons no man could be found who was Scholar enough to instruct King Alfred then a Child in the first Elements of Reading, so that he was in his 12th year before he could name the letters of the Alphabet. When that renowned Prince mounted the Throne he became the great restorer of Arts in his Dominions, and gave all encouragement to learned Men. But these fair Appearances were soon succeeded by a night of thicker Darkness which quickly overspread the intellectual world. To Common Sense and piety succeeded Dreams and Fables, visionary Legends and ridiculous penances. The Clergy, now utter Strangers to all good learning, instead of guiding a rude a vitious Laity by the precepts of the Gospel which they no longer read, amused them with forged Miracles, or overawed them with the Ghostly terrors of Daemons, Spectres and Chimaera's.

The See of Rome which should have been a pattern to the rest, was of all Christian Churches the most licentious; and the pontifical Chair often filled with men, who, instead of adorning their sacred Character, made human nature itself detestable. It was not until late after the Sack of Constantinople by the Turks in the year 1453 that the writings of Aristotle began again to be universally known and studied. They were then brought away and dispersed through the West part of Europe by certain fugitive Greeks who had escaped the fury of the Ottoman Arms. The Latin translations of his Books gave birth as we have said to the Scholastic Philosophy, which was neither that of Aristotle entirely nor altogether differing from his. They left natural knowledge wholly uncultivated, to hunt after Occult Qualities, Abstract Notions and Questions of impertinent Curiosity: By which they rendered the Logic their labours turned upon, intricate, useless and unintelligible.

31. The Scholastics were divided into two Sorts or Sects, the Nominalists, who owed their rise to Rucelinus an Englishman; the other was called the Sect of the Realists, who had Duns Scotus for their Champion. The Titles with which these Scholastic Leaders were honoured by their followers on account of the Sublime Reveries they taught, are at once magnificent and absurd: such as the profound, the Subtile the marvellous, the indefatigable, the irrefragable, the Angelic, the Seraphic etc. But these titles prove rather the superlative ignorance of those times than any transcendent Merit in the man to whom they were applied. Friar Bacon however was a great Philosopher even in these ignorant times,



and made many new discoveries in Astronomy and perspective, in Mechanics and Chymistry: The Construction of Spectacles, of Teloscopes, of all sorts of Glasses that either magnify or diminish objects, the Composition of Gunpowder (which Bartholinus Swartz is thought to have first hit upon almost a Century later) are some of the many inventions ascribed to him. For all which he was in his lifetime Calumniated, imprisoned and opprest: and after his Death called a Magician who dealt in the Black or infernal Arts. The writings of Aristotle were both reckoned the fountains of all knowledge and afforded materials for infinite Debate and mutual Animosities. Sometimes they were proscribed as Heretical, and sometimes they were triumphant and acknowledged the great Bulwark of Orthodoxy. In the 16th Century they were not only read with impunity but everywhere taught with Applause; and whoever disputed their Orthodoxy, I had almost said their infallibility were persecuted as an Infidel and Miscreant. After the Scholastic Philosophy had been adopted into the Christian Theology, far from being of use to explain and ascertain Mysteries it served only to darken and render doubtful the most necessary truths by the Chicanery of Argumentation with which it supplied each Sect in defence of their peculiar and favourite illusions.

32. When knowledge began to dawn and the reformation diffused a new light over Europe, Universities were founded, and Professors were appointed to teach the several Sciences. Nevertheless all Ranks and parties blindly followed the Aristotelian Philosophy then in fashion, they made no new advances in Learning, but contented themselves with explaining and defending the Systems of the times;

Protestants as well as Papists intrenching themselves behind the authority of Aristotle, and defending the several tenets by the Weapons with which he furnished them. This unnatural Alliance between Theology and the Peripatetic Doctrine render'd the Opinions of Aristotle sacred so that to dispute them was to pull up and remove the landmarks of Faith and Orthodoxy: So that any one who attempted to remove the Awful Veil of Obscurity with which the face of nature was covered, and to strike out new Lights in Science, ran the hazard of Church Censure, which commonly ended in Tortures and Death. The great End of Philosophy, which is to make men wiser and better, was wholly englected, and ones reputation as a learned Man depended upon his being able to maintain a dispute right or wrong, with a variety of subtile sophistical Arguments. If the Disputant happened to bear hard on the System he was immediately and infallibly refuted with a metaphysical distinction, or with the Authority of Aristotle or some of the Scholastic Doctors. All this while the nature and relations of things were not observed, Philosophy then consisting not of Observations made on the Laws of Motions and properties of Bodies, but of a set of Opinions borrowed at Second hand and received without examination. If any one set about explaining the Phaenomena of nature by second Causes or the powers of Matter and Mechanism, he was immediately supposed to have removed the First Cause, or the All sustaining and all governing Providence, and consequently was condemned as an Atheist; As if it had been less honourable to the Supreme Artist to have the Symmetry and perfect Mechanism



of his works throughly understood than to have all the operations of nature in which He is the prime mover resolved into Occult Qualities, substantial and (I know not what) mysterious nothings. Happy is it for us that we live in an age, when people are allowed to see with their own Eyes, when the Authority of fallible men bear no weight in Philosophy and when we are directed to realities as the sole object of true knowledge.

33. Such were the dispositions of men and things when Sir Francis Bacon Lord Verulam and Chancellor of England in the reign of James the Sixth appeared upon the Stage. He was the first who saw thro' the Cloud in which Philosophy had for many ages been wrapped up. His vast and penetrating mind soon discovered the Absurdity and fruitless insignificancy of the Philosophy then in fashion, and the impossibility of ever arriving at true knowledge in the beaten track of Disputation and of composing Theories and Systems without a proper Induction of Facts; And therefore he laboured all he could to open again, (as he expresses it) the Commerce between the Mind and Things, which had been for so long time interrupted. He understood well that the Business of Philosophy was not to support Systems, but to observe and explain Nature; and thence in two words he gave a more clear and satisfying Account of Philosophy than others had done in hundreds of Volumes calling it (Interpretatio Naturae) The Interpreter of Nature, and the Philosopher (Interpres Naturae) The Interpreter of Nature. My Lord's extensive Genius led him to peruse the registers of learning in all Ages, and to consider the state of all the Sciences; their origin, the progress

and advances they had made and the things in which they were still defective. This put him upon composing that extraordinary work (*De dignitate et Augumentis Scientarum*) Of the dignity and improvement of the Sciences; In which he shews us a Map of the intellectual world, what regions of it have been already discovered and cultivated, what parts remain still *Terra incognita* (or unknown) by what means, and with what instruments these are to be explored and consequently the great (*desiderata* or) blank of Science supplied and filled up; A Book which must be admired and valued, while there remains any taste for true Learning among the sons of Men. In his book called his *Novum Organum* he has traced out the proper Road of experience and observation, by which alone we can obtain the true knowledge of things, and consequently a true dominion over nature. The first Aphorism of this admirable Treatise contains more good Sense and real learning, than all the books that had been wrote on Philosophy for a Dozen of Centuries before him. It is this; "*Homo naturae minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum denaturae ordine, re vel mente observaverit, nec amplius scit aut potest.*" Literally thus, "Man, the Minister and interpreter of nature can act and understand just in proportion to his experience and observation of the order of nature nor can he know or do any thing further." Here the foundation both of our knowledge and power is laid in the observation of things and their mutual connexions. Lord Verulam is not to be considered so much the founder of a new Sect as the great Assertor of human Liberty; As one who rescued Reason and Truth from the Slavery



in which all Sects alike, had till then held them. He was not however the first among the Moderns who ventured to dissent from Aristotle; Ramus Patricius, Bruno, Severinus had already attacked the Authority of that Tyrant in learning, who had long reigned as absolutely over the opinions, as his restless Pupil had of old affected to do over the persons of men; But these Writers being of the Scholastic Tribe, invented but little that was valuable themselves. And as to the real improvements made in some parts of natural knowledge before this great man appeared by Gilbert Harvy, Copernicus, Father Paul and some few others, they are well known, and have been deservedly celebrated.<sup>10</sup> We shall afterwards have an Occasion frequently to mention some other Aphorisms of this great but unhappy man, whose writings richly deserve the perusal of all such as wish to be instructed by what they read, and to know things and not words.

34. Towards the end of the 16th Century Renates de Cartes was the Author of a new Sect of Philosophers called Cartesians; He said that in order to find out truth we must first doubt of every thing but our own existence: Accordingly (Cogito ergo Sum) I think, therefore I am, was the only first principle of self evident truth according to his System. He maintained the Doctrine of innate Ideas, and established the proof of the existence of God on the Idea of a perfect Being, which he said was natural to the human Mind: alleging it was presumptuous for man to attempt to discover final causes in the works of God. Brutes, according to him, were (Mera Automata or) pieces of machinery and clock work; and by the motion of their animal Spirits he solved all their actions. His Physics were merely Chimerical, not being founded on experiments, but upon Data or principles which he took for granted; Yet he was no mean Mathematician; and had he

applied his geometrical knowledge to facts and the Phaenomena of nature, he might have considerably improved Philosophy. The Cartesian Philosophy was for some time taught in a great many Universities, and it was heresy in Religion as well as Philosophy to Doubt any of his Doctrines; But his Philosophy is now quite out of fashion and has been justly exploded by a more genuine and august Philosophy introduced and cultivated by Sir Isaac Newton and other great Philosophers, who following the plan traced out to them by Lord Bacon have erected a noble structure of Science beautiful in itself and highly beneficial to mankind.

35. The reformation and the gradual progress of liberty especially in Great Brittain tended considerably to the improvement of the Arts and Sciences; and the great plan of Science which Ld. Bacon had projected put men upon a more genuine and successful method of enquiry.

Accordingly a whole train of Philosophers and enquirers into nature arose up from time to time, who following the tract pointed out to them by the aforesaid great man built up different parts of the great pile of science. In the year 1663 Charles the 2d. King of England erected, soon after the Restauration, the Royal Society for promoting all kinds of natural knowledge: Their Charter bears date the 22d. of April of that year. A little after that in the year 1666 Lewis the 14th King of France, did, by means of the famous Mr. Colbert our Countryman establish the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, and provided Salaries for some of the members of it. In



imitation of these the Emperor Leopold did also found His  
(Accademia Naturae Curiosorum or) Academy of the curiosities  
of nature and the King of Prussia one of the same kind at Berlin.  
And the late Czar of Muscovy Peter Alexowitz commonly and very  
justly called the great who excelled all other Princes in his  
endeavours to improve his own Country, to instruct and polish a  
rude and barbarous people by Arts, Sciences and Trade, erected a  
Society for natural Philosophy in his new built City Petersburg,  
by the name of Accademia Petropolitana. These Societies have  
contributed not a little to the advancement of natural knowledge,  
that being the professed design of their institution. Accordingly  
the last age and this have produced a great many particular men  
who have enriched all the Branches of Philosophy with noble  
discoveries. It may perhaps look like partiality in favour of  
our own Country to say that Brittain may boast of the greatest  
Philosophers in every kind of Science that ever appeared in the  
world. It were endless to name them all, Let it suffice to  
say ~~that~~ some of those who shone in the foremost Rank and made  
the most distinguishing figure were, The honourable Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup>.  
Boyle that eminent Ornament in the learned World remarkable no  
less for his singular Piety, than for his extensive Learning  
and indefatigable application to the several branches of Natural  
knowledge; Mr. Wallis who improved the Doctrine of Motion in  
all its parts so as to render it a compleat Science; But above  
all Sir Isaac Newton that great name in Philosophy who carried  
it to a higher pitch of perfection than any had done before him.<sup>11</sup>

We may add to these Dr. Gregory that celebrated Civilian professor of Astronomy at Oxford, Mr. James Gregory of St. Andrews Dr. Halley, the famous brothers The Keils, John and James, Mr. Derham who wrote those ingenious pieces, the Physics and Astrotheology, Hawksby, Desaguliers, and to name no more, that excellent Experimentar Mr. Hailes the Author of the vegetable Statics.<sup>12</sup> There were other noble Philosophers who have shone in different parts of Philosophy, viz. Mr. Lock the celebrated Author of the Essay on the human Understanding, who contributed more than any other to banish from the schools that unintelligible Jargon, those insignificant subtilties and perplext Logomachies which had prevailed hitherto, and who gave us a simple but elegant history of the progress and operations of the human Mind; Cumberland who gave us a beautiful detail of the laws of nature in the moral world. Dr. Samuel Clark and many others whom it would be endless to name.<sup>13</sup>

36. It may appear a Difficulty to account for the prodigious Variety of Sentiments and Sects among Philosophers, seeing Truth is one unvariable thing. But in order to explain this appearance, we need only consider, ~~that~~ to the Attainment of every End, certain means are to be applied, and that if the means be either not used at all or misapplied, success can never be expected. Now there is a natural and proper Method of attaining to true knowledge as well as any other accomplishment, which if neglected must occasion error and contradiction. It cannot be too often repeated, that there is no real knowledge nor any that can answer a valuable End, but what is gathered or Copyed from nature or from things themselves. - That the knowledge of Nature is nothing else than the knowledge of facts or realities and



their established connections. - That no Rules or Precepts of Life can be given or any Scheme of Conduct prescribed, but what must suppose a settled Course of things conducted in a regular uniform manner; - That in order to denominate those Rules just, and to render those Schemes successful, the Course of things must be understood and observed. - and that all Philosophy even the most didactic and practical parts of it must be drawn from the Observation of things or at least resolved into it; Or which is the same thing, that the knowledge of truth is the knowledge of Fact, and whatever Speculations are not reduceable to the one or the other of these are Chimerical, Vague and uncertain. We may therefore ascribe the various errors of Philosophers either to the Ambition they had of becoming the founders of Sects, or the Authors of Systems; Or to a prevailing Opinion that Philosophy was good for nothing if it left any thing in the Dark; which mistake would lead people to proceed farther than they were warranted by Observation and experience; Or their mistakes may be owing to the fixing too much upon one part of Nature considered as detached from the rest, taking a particular View of one kind of Objects and strenuously asserting them to be none other than they represented them. Whereas the true Philosopher who has got a view of the Vast extent of things, and is conscious within how narrow a Circle the faculties of the human mind are confined, and how little the wisest of Men can fully comprehend in the works of nature, will be far from entertaining high notions of the Extent or infallibility of his knowledge, but will proceed cautiously in his enquiries, and having an Attachment to truth

alone, without regard to Sects or parties, and their Systems, will embrace truth wherever he finds it, how opposite soever to his former prepossessions or his future interests.

37. From what has been already advanced in the progress of this short sketch, it appears that Philosophy is a very extensive thing, comprehending all knowledge of whatever kind. But according to the common acceptation of the word it extends only to those Branches of Knowledge which are called the Sciences; such are Logic, Metaphysic, Pneumatic, Ethic and Physic. Logic is that Science, which from the observation of the nature of the Understanding and the other speculative powers of the mind, and the Laws of our Perception, and the origin of our knowledge directs us in our enquiries after truth. Metaphysic explains the general properties and relations of all Beings whatsoever, or of things as they have existence; and therefore it may be considered as an introduction to the other Sciences, explaining those general principles which are common to all. Pneumatic or Pneumatology considers the nature and properties of thinking Beings or Spirits, and under this head is comprehended natural Theology. Ethics Enquires into the active and moral part of mans constitution and thence deduces the Rule of Life and Conduct, and explains the several Offices or Duties to which he is obliged by the Laws of Nature; To this Head likewise belongs the science of Politics, which treats of the nature of Society, of the foundation of Government and of the reciprocal duties of Governors and Subjects. Physics comprehends all the knowledge we have of material things, and is branched out into Mechanics, or the doctrine of motion; Hydrostatics, or the



nature and Laws of Fluids; Pneumatics, which treats of the properties of the Air; Optics, which considers vision, light or Colours; Astronomy or the knowledge of the motions and laws of the heavenly Bodies; Anatomy, or the knowledge of the structure of Organized Bodies; and in a word, to this head are reduced all the Sciences that relate in any respect to material things. Mathematics whose Object is Quantity make likewise a part of Philosophy.

This is a general View of the Sciences, their Origin, Progress and several Revolutions, By whom they were chiefly cultivated and to what pitch they are now arrived. They are all referable to one great and universal source the System or Whole of things originally made and subjected to the government of the most simple most perfect and most glorious of all beings the God and Father of all, who is the original Fountain of all knowledge as well as of every other perfection, to whom we are to apply for that Light and wisdom which will conduct us in all our enquiries and crown all our Studies with Success.

The several parts of these different Sciences will afford ample matter for our future Course of Philosophical Exercises.

A Few advices of the late Mr. Da. Fordyce to his Scholars at the end of the Session - Concerning Reading -

Remember that the end of all reading and learning is,  
To be Wise, good and useful Creatures.

That no man can be a good creature who is not Religious,  
or a lover of God, as well as a friend to men.

In all your reading search for truth and seek knowledge, not for shew or mere talk, but for use; the improvement of your own mind and the advantage of Others.

Be concerned not to read much but to understand and digest well what you read: And do not think you understand unless you have clear and distinct Ideas, and comprehend the coherence and scope of what you read.

Consider nature or the World as the Volume or Book of God in the meanest page of which his perfections are legible; and Consider Books as Copies of one or more leaves of that Stupendous Volume.

Γινώθι σεαυτόν (i.e. Know thyself) Remember this as the most useful maxim of Wisdom, without which knowledge will breed Vanity, and learning become matter of Ostentation only.

After Reading ask yourself what you have learned from it, and often revise what you have Read.

Seek rather to be master of one good Book than to glance over a Score in a Cursory manner. Timeo hominem unius Libri.<sup>14</sup>

Do not desire to hasten too fast in the pursuit of knowledge; Advance slowly, and your progress will be sure and lasting.

When you have read much on any subject, set down your own Reflections upon it; this will ascertain and range your Ideas and improve your stile.

In reading history, particularly the lives of great men, Study and imitate their most eminent and useful virtues; and examine your own Character and Disposition by observing what you admire most about them.

Remember that without Diligence and the Influence of heaven no man ever became great or good. Sine aflatu divino, nemo unquam Vir magnus extitit.<sup>14</sup>



## NOTES

1. 'p.p.': Professor of Philosophy
2. 'Hermes Trismogistus': the name given to the author of various Neoplatonic writings from the third century A.D., some of which survive.
3. 'Diodorus': Diodorus Siculus, Sicilian, c. 40 B.C., historian of the Augustan period in Rome, whose universal history from mythical times, Bibliothèque Historique, in forty books, is cross cultural in emphasis but unreliable.
4. 'Diogenes Laertius': c. A.D. 200-50, author, in Greek, of Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, not always accurate. Cf. paragraph 8, below.  
'Iamblichus': d. c. A.D. 330, Neoplatonic philosopher of Constantine's reign; part of his work on Pythagorean philosophy survives.  
'Porphyry': A.D. 233-c. 301, one of the chief exponents of Neoplatonism, disciple of Plotinus and author of a History of Philosophy, including a life of Pythagoras which survives. Cf. paragraph 29, below.
5. Cebes of Thebes, a Pythagorean philosopher; Pinax (The Picture), a very popular allegory, picturing human life, was attributed to him, but is of a much later date.
6. Transl.: 'free, honourable, lovely, king of kings.'
7. Transl.: 'to study among the trees of the Academy.'
8. 'Shoute': i.e., offshoot.
9. 'Maimonides': Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), the foremost intellectual of Medieval Judaism, who made lasting contributions as jurist, philosopher and scientist. His prolific writings, translated from Arabic into Latin, influenced the Scholastics and certain seventeenth century rationalists.
10. The identity of 'Gilbert Harvy' is uncertain.  
'Copernicus': Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Polish astronomer, who discovered the heliocentric theory.  
'Father Paul': Paola Sarpi (1552-1623), Venetian ecclesiastic and scholar in history, science and philosophy.
11. 'Boyle': Robert Boyle (1627-91), natural philosopher and chemist, founder of the Royal Society, voluminous writer (including moral and religious topics and ancient languages), proponent of the experimental method. Thomas Birch's edition of Boyle's Works 5 vols. (1744), was the first complete edition.  
'Wallis': John Wallis (1616-1703), mathematician, Professor of Geometry at Oxford, 1649-1703; with Boyle a founder of the Royal Society in 1663 and a leading member.  
'Newton': Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), the natural philosopher.
12. 'Gregories': David Gregory (1661-1708), astronomer and mathematician, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, 1683-91, of Astronomy at Oxford, 1691; did important work on geometry and optics. James Gregory (1638-75), Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, 1668, Edinburgh, 1674; F.R.S.; discoverer of the reflective telescope.

- 'Halley': Edmund Halley (1656-1742), English mathematician and astronomer, Professor of Geometry at Oxford, 1703, Astronomer Royal, 1719, friend of Newton.
- 'brothers Keils': John Keill (1671-1721), mathematician and astronomer, pupil of David Gregory at Edinburgh; gave the first experimental lectures on natural philosophy; Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, 1712. James Keill (1673-1719), physician, practised at Northampton; published work on 'Animal Secretion' (1708 etc.).
- 'Derham': William Derham (1657-1735), divine, whose Boyle lectures of 1711 and 1712, Physico-Theology, published in 1713, and his Astro-Theology, 1715, were statements of the argument from final causes.
- 'Hawksby': Francis Hauksbee or Hawksbee, d. c. 1713, English physicist; reputed to have invented the first electrical machine (1706); determined the relative weights of air and water. Or Francis Hauksbee (1687-1763), possibly his son, writer on scientific subjects.
- 'Desaguliers': John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744), natural philosopher; lectured on experimental philosophy; inventor of the planetarium; published works on physics, astronomy and mechanics.
- 'Hailes': Stephen Hales (1677-1761), physiologist, botanist and inventor, F.R.S., 1718; author of Vegetable Staticks (1727), which pioneered plant physiology.
13. 'Locke': John Locke (1632-1704), the philosopher.  
 'Cumberland': Richard Cumberland (1631-1718), philosopher, Bishop of Peterborough, whose De Legibus Naturae Disquisitio Philosophica (1672) opposed the doctrines of Hobbes.  
 'Clarke': Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), metaphysician, disciple of Newton, published his Boyle lectures On the Being and Attributes of God (1704-5), Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity (1712); accused of Arianism, 1714; intellectualist in ethics: the moral law derives from logical necessity; collected works published 1738.
14. Transl.: 'I fear the man of one book.'



## Appendix 2

### CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID FORDYCE

Nineteen letters by David Fordyce appear here, together with three letters to him and thirteen letters and fragments of letters relating to him.

A number are contained in the major manuscript collection of the correspondence of Philip Doddridge in Dr. Williams' Library, London. The first published collection of this correspondence is that by Thomas Stedman, Letters to and from the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D. (Shrewsbury, 1790), containing versions of some correspondence about Fordyce, but the main published collection is by John D. Humphreys, The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, 5 vols. (London, 1829-31), which contains eight letters by Fordyce and others by Doddridge and William Warburton relating to him. Comparison of the texts shows considerable alteration and omission by Humphreys: the date of one letter is altered for no apparent reason and matter is omitted, transferred or otherwise altered on stylistic and moral grounds or notions of relevance.<sup>1</sup> Three letters by Fordyce which appear in Humphreys are reproduced here, but do not appear to be extant. Since Doddridge kept copies of his letters in short-hand (his adaptation of that of Jeremy Rich), there may be copies of letters to Fordyce still in the collection in Dr. Williams' Library, but at present there is no one available who has mastered the key, nor have any previous editors done so.<sup>2</sup>

The references to David Fordyce in correspondence between Doddridge and Warburton, which are not in manuscript, appear also in the literary miscellany of John Nichols, Illustrations of

Literary History of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1812-15)

and generally, though not necessarily, in fuller versions.

Humphreys follows Stedman rather than Nichols. The versions reproduced in this appendix are the most informative. References to Fordyce in correspondence between Warburton and Rev. Thomas Birch are reproduced from John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1812).

Of the three letters by Mark Akenside to David Fordyce only one appears to be in manuscript, but all are published in Alexander Dyce, editor, The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside (London, 1857). The manuscript of the one extant has been consulted.

The four letters of David Fordyce to George Benson are contained in the Unitarian Collection, John Rylands University Library of Manchester.

Other unpublished correspondence of David Fordyce is contained in the National Library of Scotland and an important letter concerning him is contained in the Clerk of Penicuik papers in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

One fragment, not in manuscript, by David Fordyce, writing officially on behalf of Marischal College, is reproduced from John Aikin et al., General Biography, (London, 1799-1815), vol. iv, p. 161.

There is an almost complete dearth of personal correspondence of David Fordyce, his Aberdeen circle and their contacts in the archives of Aberdeen University Library.

Where originals are extant, the spelling of the manuscripts has been preserved and punctuation modified only where the text might be otherwise ambiguous or unintelligible. Intelligent guesses have been made where the manuscript is indecipherable or torn, but only where it has been considered safe to do so on the



basis of guidelines in the text. Uncertain readings,  
interpolations and lacunae are marked by square brackets.

#### NOTES

1. Humphreys says his criteria were Doddridge's personal life and religious outlook (see vol. iv, p. 570n).
2. Personal communication from Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, formerly Librarian, New College, London. C.f. Alexander Gordon, Addresses Biographical and Historical (London, 1922), p. 233.

## LETTERS

(Starred items are fragments of letters)

1. David Fordyce to William Craig, 24 August 1735.
2. David Fordyce to William Craig, 23 December 1735.
- 3.\* William Warburton to Thomas Birch, n.d. [April 1738]
- 4.\* William Warburton to Thomas Birch, 7 August 1738.
- 5.\* Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 23 September 1738
- 6.\* William Warburton to Philip Doddridge, 12 February 1739.
- 7.\* Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 27 February 1739.
8. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 23 April 1739.
- 9.\* Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 16 June 1739.
10. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 3 October 1739.
11. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 13 November 1739.
12. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 20 February 1740.
- 13.\* William Warburton to Philip Doddridge, 1 July 1740.
- 14.\* Philip Doddridge to William Warburton, n.d. [July 1740.]
15. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 21 July 1740.
16. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 25 September 1740.
- 17.\* William Warburton to Philip Doddridge, 2 February 1741.
18. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 1 June 1741.
- 19.\* Thomas Blackwell to Sir John Clerk, 14 August 1741.
20. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 22 August 1741.
21. Thomas Blackwell to Philip Doddridge, 15 April 1742.
22. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce, n.d. [May? 1742]
23. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce, 18 June 1742.
- 24\* Thomas Blackwell to the Duke of Roxburgh, 15 November 1742.
25. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 6 June 1743.
26. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce, 30 July 1743.
27. David Fordyce to George Benson, 17 December 1744.
28. David Fordyce to George Benson, 25 February 1745.
29. David Fordyce to George Benson, 20 August 1746.
30. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 23 May 1747.
31. Elizabeth Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 30 July 1747.
32. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge, 22 March 1748.
33. David Fordyce to George Benson, 10 October 1748.
- 34.\* David Fordyce (on behalf of Marischal College) to James Foster,  
n.d. [December 1748]
35. David Fordyce to Elizabeth Fordyce, his Mother, 16 February, 1751.



Eggie 24th August 1735.

Dr. Sir,

Being now returned home and settled at my Ease in the Country, I am therefore in a proper and disengaged Temper to correspond with a Friend. As there was none at Glasgow with whom I spent more agreeable Hours or felt more friendly Openings and real Self-Enjoyment, you need not wonder if I am fond to keep our Acquaintance alive by setting on foot a Correspondence by Letters. As the short Acquaintance I had with you discovered enough to excite a sincere and hearty Esteem I would wish it not to stop here but to grow rather in to a firm and lasting Friendship. I am not afraid therefore nor I hope will you look on as too forward that I make Advances by offering you my Friendship if you shall think it worth accepting. I must own you captivated me at first Sight and by the first Appearance you made and the further Knowledge I got did but strengthen the Prepossession and still the more confirmed me yours. By talking to you at this Distance, I hope not only to revive the agreeable Images of our open and unreserved Conversation but to renew the same social Pleasures by giving a loose to the same free vein of Thought and honest Sentiments. If I trouble you now and then with some of my Doubts, you are not to think it strange since you contributed your Part to clear up some of them on no trivial subjects and you know it is natural to fly to that Quarter whence we expect Aid or Relief. For I have none here with whom I can enter into the Depths of Philosophy or from whom by a friendly Communication of Sentiments I can receive or strike out new Lights, so that I am the fonder to engage in this distant commerce

tho I'm heartily sorry that there is a distance of a hundred miles and upwards betwixt us.

However I must thank the Supreme Administration that I am very well situated at present for enjoying a rural contemplative Bliss. I can laugh at the Pride of Kings and Pomp of Courts and look back with Pleasure, now that I have escaped the Crowd on the busy Scenes of active Life which I was lately witness to and have been sometimes engaged in and doubly taste the present Indolence and Serenity by setting as Foils beside it that Bustle, Show and Embarrassment I was a Spectator of. How ill wou'd a Life of perpetual Din and Hurry sute with one of a contemplative Genius who likes now and then to retire within himselfe. To survey his own domestick Fund and to review his Temper and Conduct, who wishes by settling an inward Order, and by refining and adjusting the whole Frame of his Affections to open within himself a never failing Source of Pleasure, even the Πηγὰς ζῶης αἰὲ ἀναβλύγῃς and to lay the Foundations of eternal Peace and Self-Approbation, who instead of puzzling his Head with the vile Politicks of a petty Town delights to unfold the Orders of the supreme Polity and to survey at large the Oeconomy of the Universe and whose divesting himselfe of the Prejudices and little Attachments that grow upon him in a confined sphere, loves to unite with the great Whole and to qualify himselfe a worthy member of its wide Community.<sup>2</sup> In such a Situation the Enquiry recommended by a favourite Poet must appear of considerable Importance to our musing Philosopher

Qua ratione queas traducere leniter Aevum  
Quid minuatur Curas? quid te tibi reddat Amicum  
Quid pure tranquillet?<sup>3</sup>



If you remember, we were once talking of the different Schemes of Virtue that have of late appeared in the World. I mentioned a Criticism made upon my L. Sh-y's Scheme, namely that he does not sufficiently consider the Authority and Dignity of Conscience in his System of Virtue.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps there is no Justice in this remark but it seems more applicable to Mr. Hutcheson who carries the point a good deal farther than my Lord.<sup>5</sup> For he seems to allow that principle no Weight nor Authority at all when we are estimating a virtuous Character, Temper or Action. Good Affection simply considered and abstract from any other Regard constitutes according to him a virtuous Character, Temper etc. Now I shall own we approve Good Affection wherever we find it and are pleased with those Actions that result from it. But still we call this natural Goodness only or a Goodness of Temper, such as we like even in Brutes, but there seems to be something farther necessary to form a virtuous Character or to constitute that which we honour with the name of Virtue or Merit even the Sanction and Testimony of Conscience or in other Words a reflex Act of Approbation or Acquiescence in good Affection. I shall be glad to hear your Opinion at large on this Subject what Place, Weight or Superiority (if it have any) you allow Reason. I mean that Reason which is distinct from Conscience in the Fabric of a Mind and Formation of virtuous Character and whether you think the Ancients meant by their D[oc]trine] presides in the human breast Conscience or Reason considered as distinct [entities].

That Champion of the System to whom you know I had proposed my Doubts about the pernicious Effects it has produced in the World seemed [ ] him in my way home, to give up the Point

about the Prepollency of the evil Effects which you and I thought the main Stress of the Difficulty lay upon and said it would demand a Treatise to answer my Letter to Purpose but however he would try to patch up some Answer or other the best way he cou'd.<sup>6</sup> He hinted in general, that in moral Designs and Institutions the Author of them was not chargeable with the bad Effects that through a perversion of the original Design might result from them. However I shall let you hear by my next after what manner he attempts to loose [through                      ] Knot. Give my service to Mrs. Simpson and Beard and Fleming when you happen to see them and let me hear your news when you are at Leisure from the Throng of Spiritual Meditations and Exercises and believe me to be with a sincere Esteem,<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Sr. Your most affect<sup>te</sup>  
and humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

Direct for me at Aberdeen

Dav. Fordyce.

2. David Fordyce to William Craig<sup>8</sup>

Aberdeen, 23rd December 1735

Sir,

'Tis some time ago since I had the Favour of your ingenious Letter, wherein you confute so modestly the Remarks I had made upon the modern but especially Mr Hutcheson's Scheme of Virtue. You have almost brought me entirely over to your Opinion and must own I am very much pleased with your Distinction between natural and moral Goodness, you having explained in a few words



what my Lord Shaft. spins out more fully, but still I cannot help having some Scruples on this Subject, considering the Footing you put it upon, for to me you seem to confine too much the Perceptions of the moral Sense, when you allege that it is Benevolence or kind Affection alone which is the Foundation of our moral Approbation and Liking. For there seem to be other Principles in our Natures entirely distinct from this which recommend those who have them to our Esteem and Friendship and which entitle the [Ac     ] flowing from no other source but them to our Approbation and Love. De we not for instance approve of Integrity, a Love of Truth, a sacred Attachment to one's Word as Qualities in themselves really amiable, as Things quite distinct from Goodness and do we not esteem and love an Agent who sacrifices his Interest to his word or Faith from no other Aim or Affection than a hearty Regard to [Truth]? Let us suppose any Two then doing an Action equally hurtful to one of their fellows with an equal Degree of Resentment or malice but the one man guilty likewise of a Breach of Faith by his Action don't we condemn and dislike him much more than the other whose Action has not this additional Aggravation? Does not this say that there are other Measures by which we judge of Virtue and Vice than pure Benevolence? You will perhaps allege that the conduct of the one man in this Case evidences more Malice and bad Affection than the other's and that upon this account we look upon it with greater Aversion and Dislike. How can we judge of the Affection but by its Effects, where the Power is equal, as I suppose in the present Case? Now these being equal, we cannot conclude that the principle in the One is more vitious than that in the other, unless because the one Man over and above his bad Affection, which is equal to the Other's, is likewise destitute of a Regard to [Truth] or is guilty of a breach of Trust; Principles quite

distinct from Goodwill, yet nevertheless highly esteemed and delighted in. I have a strong Notion that there is in Mankind an original Disposition or Affection which we call Trust or Confidence in one another. Society is founded upon it and cannot subsist without it. As we communicate our Thoughts by Words or Signs, unless we suppose an Inclination in Men to trust and believe one another or to credit the signs or words they use to express their Sentiments by Fellowship and so are insignificant or else hurtful things. A man who is guilty of a piece of Iniquity to another or who reposes a trust in him and honestly believes him, we say, is guilty of a greater Wickedness than another who having no such Confidence placed in him does the like Deed. Does not this seem to imply that there are some other Things in Actions which render them odious and deformed and which make us abhor the agent, than the want of Benevolence or prevalence of the contrary Qualities? But further do we not likewise strongly admire and value the Love of Virtue or of Benevolence as you call it? And yet this Affection is different from Goodwill, which is its Object only. Would we not for Instance reckon it more virtuous to do a good Office to a Man of a good Character than to one of an abandoned Character who stood equally in need of it? But why? Is not the Benevolence or Inclination to do good the same in both Cases? Are not both the Persons equally the Objects of our Benevolence or rather has not the bad Character the best Claim to it, as he is the more wretched of the Two? So it would seem, that upon the Footing of pure Benevolence it wou'd be most lovely and praiseworthy to bestow the Favour upon the worse Character and to scatter our Beneficence promiscuously would evidence the same Degree of Goodness with a better placed Distribution. But as this



does not appear to be true in Life, does it not show that we do not measure Virtue by Benevolence alone, but that there are other Principles in our Nature which must be taken into our account of moral Approbation.

Again do we not esteem Fortitude, Gratitude and Piety as amiable strokes in any Character, amiable even in themselves, attractive of our Respect and Love without any Reference to anything farther and the contrary Qualities mean [ungodly] and hateful? You will say perhaps that we value and love them either as they [have] some Degree of Benevolence intermixt with them or as they are subservient to [the] Purposes of Goodness or as we wou'd value a regular machine fitly const[itu]ted to obtain its End, which does not come up to that Approbation and Esteem we place on pure disinterested Goodness. That Benevolence may mix with them I do [not doubt] and that their value may be increased by that addition of a little [oath in To] me they seem things entirely distinct from it. Gratitude and Piety may be accompanied and that for the most part if not always with Benevolence to their Objects so that they may seem to run up into one another and therefore it may be hard to separate them, but they appear to me to be original Feelings or Affections of a different Stamp from Goodwill and to be destitute of them we account the highest Demerit. As to Fortitude we seem to approve it on quite another manner than we would a regular happy Constitution. Do we not admire nay esteem a man of real Bravery, of an undaunted heroick Temper, superior sedate and firm amidst Dangers and Death as really valuable and praiseworthy on these very [grounds alone] without looking any further? And do we not reckon Cowardice a mean dastardly [hate]ful Vice? Allowing that

our Approbation of Valour, I don't mean mechanical Valour  
 as a common soldier has in the Heat of a Battle; when his  
 Blood is warmed this I urge not but that cool deliberate  
 Valour already mentioned, allowing [ ] that our Approbation  
 does not arise to the same Degree as [ ] of Goodness, yet it  
 seems too far above that which we bestow on a well formed  
 happily constituted Machine. And that we don't value [ 14]  
 as they are subservient to or dispose for the exercise of Goodness  
 seems pretty plain [ ] take a poor man who has a strong Love  
 to Mankind but is destitute of the means of serving them, would  
 we not as much esteem and love him as a richer man with the same  
 Love but without the power to testify it? I think we would.  
 Now if Fortitude, Piety etc. are no farther estim[able] or worthy  
 in our moral Account than as they are the proper means to qualify  
 us [ ] Exercise of Benevolence we would not value a man the  
 less for the want of them if he [ ] retained the same Disposition  
 to do good? But as this seems not agreeable to the general Sense  
 or Practice of Mankind, these Qualities seem to have something  
 amiable in them [ ]. and which recommend the Possessors of  
 them on a different Account, than as they are better [ ]  
 by their means, for their own or the Happiness of others. If I  
 have imagined you[having]confined the Determinations of the moral  
 Sense or the Foundation of our M. Approbation [more] than you  
 intended, I hope you'll forgive my mistake and whether I have or not,  
 let me hear your Sentiments on the above with your first Conveniency  
 begging you may be so good as not to follow my Example in the  
 delay of an answer, several unexpected Accidents hindering me from  
 acknowledging the favour of your sooner than otherwise I would have  
 inclined. My Edinburgh correspondent has not given me any  
 Solution of my Difficulties.<sup>9</sup> He is afraid to enter into so



perplexed a Labyrinth whence I'm afraid he would not easily extricate himself. He says the Affair demands an infinite Discussion and pray who would attempt this? I suppose you have by this Time read Hoadly on the Sacraments I shall be glad to hear your Opinion of it.<sup>10</sup> For my Part I don't see how he can be confuted. I am much charmed with his [ ] open generous and beneficent Prayers at the End of the Performance. Mr. Bl.1's Enquiry into Homer's Life comes out a second time under the Direction and Correction of Him and some other Clergy [ such] as Rundel, Sykes, Foster etc. who advised some Limitations and Additions to prevent [ ] and malice.<sup>11</sup> Please let me have too your Opinion of [ ]'s Life if you have read it.

12

Sr. Your most hum<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>. D.F.

3. William Warburton to Thomas Birch<sup>13</sup>

....Yesterday a young man, Mr. Fordyce, came to me from Professor Blackwell; and informing me he was acquainted with you, I told him I had hopes of seeing you this evening, and that we should be glad of his company. I am in hopes you will find him at Mr. Gyles's about the same hour with yourself, to keep you company if I should not chance to come at that hour.<sup>14</sup>

4. William Warburton to Thomas Birch<sup>15</sup>

....I had the pleasure of a letter from Mr. Fordyce, for which I beg you will make him my compliments. Had his address been in it, I should not have neglected to answer it.

5. Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark<sup>16</sup>

P.S. The people at Newport were so charmed with a gentleman who preached there the other day, that I believe they will join in a unanimous and pressing invitation.<sup>17</sup> His name is Fordyce, a Scotchman, educated at Aberdeen, and a very learned and worthy person.

6. William Warburton to Philip Doddridge<sup>18</sup>

....Young Fordyce has great merit, and will make a figure in the world, and do honour to Professor Blackwell, whom I have a great esteem for. Apropos of this last. You may remember Webster abused him in the libels he wrote against me.<sup>19</sup>

7. Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark<sup>20</sup>

... I send you this by the hands of Mr. Fordyce, a young minister who was educated in Scotland, under Professor Blackwell, and who has spent some time at Newport. You will find him an excellent scholar, nor did I ever meet with a person of his age who has made deeper and juster reflections on human nature. I know, therefore, he will merit a share in your friendship, if there be any merit in knowing how to prize it.

(addressed to Clark 'in St. Albans. To the Care of the Rev. Mr. Fordyce in Newport Pagnel.')



8. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>21</sup>

London, April 23, 1739

Rev. and Dear Doctor,

Your letters are always welcome and agreeable to me, but they are doubly so when they give me an opportunity of serving or entertaining you. In your last appear the most amiable traces of that friendship which I have always experienced, and which is now, indeed, grown so familiar to me, that I never fail to expect it, and yet am charmed with every new discovery of its fervency.

The concern you show for my brother lays me under new obligations. Could he afford to wait a considerable time for business, in such a place as you propose, and have large recommendations to the gentry in the country around, I believe Wellingborough would be a promising situation for a physician to settle in; but my brother might, perhaps, find difficulties in both these respects; and then he has a dread that nobody will venture to trust his young face; though I believe he is provided with such a stock of knowledge and experience as might be sufficient to set out with in the world.<sup>22</sup> Besides, I am told that that quarter is already possessed by Dr. Godfrey, who has all the country business; so that, unless a man could expect to have some tolerable business in the town, I do not know if it would be worth his while to set M.D. upon his door. I should, however, be glad to hear your opinion more fully upon the affair.

Since you want to know some of the reasonings on the affair of the repeal of the Test Act, I shall throw together, for your amusement, a few scraps which I have been able to pick up.<sup>23</sup>

Sir Robert Walpole made a most artful speech, in which he glossed over the affair with the finest colouring, without the least shadow of reasoning. It consisted of a sly address to the passions; a deal of banter on the subject of the absent members; a gross misrepresentation of facts; and, as you heard, a contemptuous treatment of the dissenters. He scarcely touched upon the merits of the cause; and the only appearance of doing so, was his giving a little history of the affair, in which he called the Test Act a revolutionary cartel between the dissenters and the church (on a former occasion he called it the barrier treaty between them and the churchmen), in which they voluntarily submitted to an exclusion from all offices of trust and preferment, upon the removal of the penalties of the Schism Bill, and the allowing them quietly to enjoy the liberties of the Toleration Act.<sup>24</sup>

Now, is this a position you would admit as true? Did you Dissenters ever agree that you would renounce your claim to the whole dowry of Liberty, for a paltry share which your circumstances induced you to accept? Has not even your very patience been formerly used as an argument against you; as if you were conscious of the insufficiency of your claims!

He went on by alleging the unreasonableness of the present application; that it was made against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent among the dissenters (not but that he had the highest regard for those gentlemen who presented the bills, *en hominem egregium*!) and that the weakest and over zealous among them were pushed forward by the designing, who took advantage of the present disaffection and disorders to distress the government, and to throw out a Whig trap to catch Whig gudgeons!<sup>25</sup> He laughed with great pleasantry at the unfitness of proceeding in



such an affair, in the absence of so many true friends of the church. "Let us not venture to do a thing of such importance while they are retired to their country seats; lest they should imagine we have caught the nick of their absence: and, indeed, they might be greatly disobliged, and have reason to blame our rashness; who indeed could tell what they would say!" He believed that the greatest part of the House thought one way of the affair, but they were to consider what was the opinion of the people without doors, especially of the church! He was taken up very smartly by Watt Plummer, Mr. Gibbons, and several others, even of his own friends, who showed that the claim of the dissenters is founded on the most incontestable rights of nature and civil society; that the principles of toleration ought to comprehend all who are friends to liberty and to the government; that it is most unjust to impose a fine on any for religious principles, which are universally allowed not to have the least tendency to disturb the peace and happiness of society; - and that by it the government was deprived of the services of many useful subjects; that it was a scandal to Christianity to have one of the most venerable institutions prostituted to such purposes; and that it was a source of great profaneness and impiety, and engendered a contempt of religion.<sup>26</sup>

Mr. Danvers, in his usual jocular way, said it was a ceremony to take off one's hat upon going into a church, which nobody, however, scrupled to comply with; and that he could not comprehend why people made any scruple about eating and drinking with one another, in the same place, which is just such another ceremony!<sup>27</sup> Sir J - n B - d made a distinction between natural and instituted rights; and said that men gave up the former when they entered into society, and under a civil establishment, talking of their

natural rights.<sup>28</sup> Good Sir John! I warrant too that we gave up our natural rights of eating and drinking, and left it to the discretion of you, our wise Representatives, to prescribe for us what, and how much we must eat and drink. When will your Honours please that we shall take physic, or seek relief, when willing to ease ourselves of the cumbersome load of judging for us, as we long ago complimented you with the right of judging for us, and so constituted you the supreme directors of our constitutional wants. We hope then your Honours will have some regard for our instituted rights, since you are to be the sole dispensers and proprietors of our natural ones. (I had lately a letter from my friend Cuming, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, at Edinburgh, who says, he intends to peruse your Harmony with great care, since he has heard, from several hands, so much of the author.<sup>29</sup> The Society for the Encouragement of Learning, is just now publishing a treatise of Professor Campbell's, on the Necessity of Revelation.<sup>30</sup> I have been in a hurry since I saw you, that I have not had time to look into those difficulties you mentioned in our Saviour's history.

My best respects to your lady and family, and wishing you good health and long life,

I am, tout de bon,

Mon Révérend et cher Père, votre très-affectionné,<sup>31</sup>

D. Fordyce.

9. Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark<sup>32</sup>

....I return you my hearty thanks, dear Sir, for the favour of your letter of June the 2nd, and for the trouble you gave yourself in reviewing my papers, which I now have received by the hands of Mr. Fordyce.



October 3, 1739, Newport Pagnell.

Rev. and Dear Doctor,

Having promised to preach next Lord's Day at Ailesbury that the People of Buckinghame may have the Sacrament administered to them by the Minister of Ailesbury, I must beg the Favour of you to supply this place with one of your Gentlemen that it may not be vacant.<sup>34</sup> I lately wrote Mr. Hopkins the Terms upon which I can think of accepting his Offer and wait his Answer to be determined what I shall do. Pray be so good as to let me know Mr. Fletcher of Ware's Christian name who mentioned the affair to you or his address if you know either.<sup>35</sup>

My Brother sends you his best Compliments. He has already, since he went down, laid a Woman with Child with success, who was a dangerous Case, and par ce comp me dit il, il a couru le risque d'être ruiné ou établi.<sup>36</sup> Dear Doctor We are both exceeding sensible of the hearty Friendship you have shown us; you may depend upon the Resentment of two honest minds, when it is our power to acknowledge it.

I have ventured to send you that Essay on H. Nature you have, perhaps, heard Mr. Aikin mention; if you can find leisure to throw away a less busy hour on it amidst more important cares and Occupations.<sup>37</sup> If you shall look into it you will see the progress of an opening mind, upon one of the most important subjects we can investigate. I believe you will find some of the passions considered in a light that is not quite so common, and connexions in human nature seized that I have not seen traced elsewhere; some difficulties attempted to be explained,

that have not before been, as I know of, at all considered, an endeavour to distinguish some powers of the mind that have been confounded, and to explain some beautiful allegories and maxims of antiquity particularly the grand rule of the heathen moralists, that of living according to nature. It was the work of some years; therefore you may expect a difference in the style and compositions, several repetitions, a deal of rubbish, and an intolerable luxury of fancy and language, so that had I leisure, or did I think it worth my while, I could, I think, reduce it to the third part of its present bulk. If you can command any time to peruse some part of it, I expect the severity of the friend and critic; I beg the brushes of your pen; and shall be highly obliged to you if you will assist me, either in filling up the deficiencies or mending the irregularities of my plan, and effacing, without mercy, whatever you think ought to be omitted. I assure you, I shall esteem every blot you make a beauty; for "He who strikes out, and strikes not out the best, Pours lustre in, and dignifies the rest."<sup>38</sup>

I confess myself, therefore, somewhat interested in my design, which was not to instruct, but to amuse you, and in amusing you to profit myself. I think it a pity to impose on your goodness by offering any interruption to nobler thoughts, and therefore you will not in the least disoblige me if you send the bundle back unopened. However, I thought I would not lose this only opportunity I may ever have of putting my first born under the correction of a great master.

Please to give my humble respects and thanks to your lady and family, being with a most genuine esteem, and the best wishes go along with you of

Rev<sup>nd</sup> Sir,

Your most humble faithful and obliged Servt,

D. Fordyce.



Nov. 13, 1739 Tooting

I intended to have wrote you before I left Newport to pay you my last adieu, but the Hurry of my Departure prevented me from performing that Devoir.<sup>40</sup> I intended to have told you that the good People, some of the Tails at least, have their Eye upon your neighbour Mr. H - I - he has promised to give them a visit and a Sermon - has been talking to some of them of the smallness of his stipend where he is - and as far as I can judge of Appearances, disposed to shift the Scene - a project, in my opinion, that cannot turn out to his Advantage - the whole Affair is to be carried on with Secrecy. I thought it proper to give you these Hints that you may take your own measures. I came to Tooting last Friday and found the good Family all well except Miss Hopkins who has been confined to her Room for two weeks but is on the mending hand. They desire me to send you and your Lady their Compliments. I don't see that Mr. H. has yet fixed on any Place of Settlement. I don't doubt but I shall like my Situation for which I acknowledge my Obligations to you. I shall always retain a deep sense of your friendship and wish for nothing more than an opportunity for expressing my Gratitude. I hope you will be so good as to continue your supplies till the End of this month for my Sake which I shall acknowledge as a Favour done me - and even after I shall have nothing to do with N -t - for the Gospel's sakes - tho Stupidity or Ingratitude should render any insensible of the Favours.<sup>41</sup> I think a visit to them as soon as your Conveniency will permit might be of use, because it may prevent some from taking wrong steps suddenly. Please present my best Respects and most hearty Thanks to your Lady for all her Favours and

do me the Justice to believe me to be with a perfect Esteem  
of inviolable Attachment.

Rev<sup>nd</sup> and Dear Sir,

Your much obliged and most faithful and obedient servant

D. Fordyce.

12. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>42</sup>

Tooting, Feb. 20, 1740.

Rev. and Dear Doctor,

It is always with genuine pleasure that  
I take up my pen to correspond with so worthy a friend, whom I  
should esteem though I had no personal knowledge of him; and  
whom I consider myself obliged to love on several accounts, which  
I shall not put your modesty to the blush to name.

Your friendly image comes frequently across my mind, and  
suggests very agreeable reflections on the past pleasures in which  
I have participated in your company, or derived by immediate and  
direct communication from you, if you will allow me to talk in  
the philosophical style. I shall indeed be glad if my destiny would  
allow me to lay myself open now and then to the same general and  
friendly emanations; to see the good doctor smile so pleasantly,  
talk so roundly, and look so arch and attentive, and raise his  
hand with so significant a pathos; circumstances which may seem  
but little thus described, but which to me are expresssive images  
that bring all my friend at once to mind, and along with him a most  
agreeable combination of ideas.

I have not been unmindful of any commission you charged me  
with; and have spoken to Mr. Hopkins of your intention to sell  
your estate; and of the service he might do you in the sale of it,



by seeming to bid for it; and I imagine he will not be averse to befriend you in that way, if you apply to him; though he may have no inclination to buy so small a thing, and at such a distance from his other property.<sup>43</sup> We live still in the country, nor is there any likelihood of our removing to town this winter, as the season is so far spent. Mr. Hopkins is somewhat mysterious in his designs, and loves that his plans should not be understood. I am agreeably situated, and meet with a good deal of civility, but own I am a little disappointed in the article of their not going to town, where I might have had better opportunities both of seeing and serving my friends.

Mrs. Hopkins is generous and pious, and the daughter a young lady of good sense and a fine spirit; but it is a delicate task to manage some of my young pupils, quae cultura multum egent.<sup>44</sup> I hope you have by this time finished the second volume of your Family Expositor, so that we shall soon see it simplex munditiis et nitido splendens corio.<sup>45</sup> We are likewise longing to see your friend Warburton's second volume, which they say will swell to a third.<sup>46</sup> There is just now published a good philosophical work, called "Principles of Moral Philosophy; or, an Inquiry into the Government of the Moral World", in which the continuance of a good general administration, and of a due presentation of virtue, is inferred from the order present in all things where virtue is concerned. The author is Dr. Turnbull, who has lately written "The History of Ancient Painting", an ingenious man, who was once, one of the philosophy professors at our University of Aberdeen.<sup>47</sup> He proposes to treat of moral philosophy in the same manner in which natural philosophy has been treated; namely, to resolve the principal phenomena belonging to human nature, by tracing them to

general laws. It is a curious and ingenious performance, as far as I can judge by what I have read of it. He promises us another work, which he calls "The Christian Doctrine concerning Providence, Virtue, and a Future State, proved to be perfectly agreeable to the Principles of Moral Philosophy, in accordance with the Discourse given by St Paul, 'Be not deceived, God is not mocked' - 'Whatsoever a man soweth, etc.'<sup>48</sup>

If Dr. Sykes's health will permit, I believe he will, some time this winter, publish his Connexion between Natural and Revealed Religion.<sup>49</sup> Poor gentleman, he is sadly teased with the gout, so that he is in a manner chained to his chair.

My brother seems to go on pretty well at Uppingham and retains a grateful sense of your civilities. When the fishing season comes on, my mother will remember the petty present she intends to send you, as a small acknowledgement for the great favours you have shown her sons. For my part I shall always preserve a strong impression of the general friendship you have all along been so good as to show me. When you have a leisure hour, amidst the hurry of your business, I shall be glad to hear from you, and still more to see you, and wish that some lucky occasion may bring you to town.

Please to offer my best compliments to your lady and family. Mr. Hopkins and his lady desire to send theirs with Dr. Miles's, a very worthy and sensible gentleman, with whom I spend several agreeable hours.<sup>50</sup> With hearty esteem and affection,

I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble Servant, and much obliged Friend,

D. Fordyce.



... That I do consider you as such [my entire friend], you will perceive by what I am going to tell you. Young Mr. Fordyce, whom you mentioned to me once in a letter, came to me two years ago in London, as from Professor Blackwell, whom I think he called his relation; on which account I received him with great civility and openness; introduced him into good company; and he was by no means backward in making acquaintance. But I was no sooner gone, than he used me in a very indecent manner before this very company, to which on my score he had been welcome: who therefore withdrew their countenance and acquaintance from him. When Dr. Middleton came to town the year after, this gentleman came to him, as he had done to me, and was received in the same manner; when my friends told him how he had used me, and how they resented it.<sup>52</sup> The Doctor therefore withdrew himself from him likewise. This time I was in town, I met the young gentleman accidentally in the street, who accosted me in the free manner I had indulged him in. But then, having been informed of his behaviour, I treated him with great coldness; and after walking with him the length of the street, parted from him. A year and a half ago, I received a kind but complaining letter from Professor Blackwell, that he had heard not from me, and that he feared I had forgot him: which letter I immediately answered in the friendly manner it deserved. Since that time I have never heard from him; so am a little suspicious of his pupil's having done some ill office between us; for if he would use me this freely with my intimate acquaintance in London, what might one not expect from his representation at so great a distance, where his falsehoods could not easily be

detected. If you hold any correspondence with Professor Blackwell, I should be much obliged to you to give him a representation of this case; not by way of complaint from a friend, but caution to one.

14. Philip Doddridge to William Warburton<sup>53</sup>

I saw Mr. Fordyce the very day after I received your account. And though I did not think it proper to read him your letter, I could not forbear hinting what related to him in it. He assured me, that the gentleman who represented what he said of you after you left the company must have misunderstood him. And indeed he has always spoken of you in so respectful a manner to me and everybody else, where I could trace the conversation, that I hope it was a mistake. But, if it were not, I beg you would forgive him, and place it to my account. And though I shall never have an opportunity of forgiving you anything, I will endeavour to make it out another way, by loving you, if I can, so much the better.

15. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>54</sup>

1740 July 21

Ingatstone.

I give you the Trouble of this line to ask you in the first Place you do after your long Journey I should have said Circuit thro England and then if you are in thorough good Health and disposed for an agreeable Ride to beg the Favour of you to take a Trip to Ingateston hall before your Return to Northampton.<sup>55</sup> Our family indeed expect you and I assure you, it will be a very agreeable Visit to them who will all be mighty glad to see the good Doctor and to none so much as your obliged Servant. I have a hundred things to talk to you of and would have come to town to



see you but that I know you will be in a hurry from morning to night and now that I am turned Chaplain and Parson professed I am more confirmed than formerly and therefore cannot pay my Friends the Devoirs as I would incline. I have been asked more than once by our Ladies etc. whether Dr. Doddridge would not come to see them. I have Mr. Blackwell's compliments too to pay and a Commission from him which I shall deliver when I see you. I hope you received a letter I wrote you before you set out on your Journey. If you are not disposed or able to accept of the united Offer of our Family then I beg nay insist upon it as a claim of Friendship that you write to me but not till you are at Leisure. We have got fine Gardens, charming Walks, noble Ponds and tempting Fruits to induce you to cast a transient Glance on our Paradise; If these together with the Importunities and charms of the Fair will not tempt you to comply with the afores<sup>d</sup>. Offer, then Doctor I give you up as quite insensible to all that is proper to attract at least the male species. We have got a chappel too, a most delightful Place to give Play to the lungs in and with the Toll of a great Bell can soon bring together a fine Circle to listen to a harmonious Voice.<sup>56</sup> So, good Sir! I have laid open all our B ounties if you will not come and see and taste, then good Speed you where you go.

Your humble Servant and much obliged Friend,

D. Fordyce.

P.S. Let me know when you come and I'll meet you half way.

I have sent you by Mr. [Srel e] the Money I owe you which will bear the Expenses of your Journey hither.

September 25

Ingateston Hall

Rev<sup>nd</sup> and Dear Sir,

Your most obliging and friendly letters I received the other day which I take the agreeable opportunity of answering by Mr. Collyer who is so good as to be the Messenger.<sup>58</sup> I am glad the Hams came safe to hand, but sorry you should give yourself any trouble in acknowledging so great a Trifle. However I am sure the Present of your Sermons will be one of the most agreeable you could have made to my Mamma.<sup>59</sup>

I heartily congratulate your family's escape from the pestilential distemper which is so destructive to the human race, and pray a kind Providence may preserve your lady from the infection.

'Tis with great gratitude I resent the friendship you express in your letter and kind intentions respecting my settlement in the world. 'Tis to be sure my aim to be independent in life, nor shall I be quite easy till then. I don't believe I shall settle in England; for I could never be reconciled to the dependence of a settlement among the dissenters. A l'egard de celui ou je suis a present, it y a sans doute plusieurs choses qui me choquent la dedans, la rusticite du pere qui est une homme des plus rudes, apres et capricieux qui s'est jamais trouve, et les caprices des filles. Il y a pourtant quelques circonstances qui rendent la situation plus supportable, le bonte de la mere et le loisir que j'ai a etudier. Ils semblent assez aimer mes prêches, et j'ai une telle prise sur eux que c'est moi seul qui puisse lâcher cette prise, et continuer aussi long-temps avec eux que bon me semble, ce qui ne sera quæ jusqu'à ce que j'aurai attrapé une plaque plus indépendante, qui est ma plus haute ambition. Et pour cela j'ai une telle confiance dans la bonté de la Providence



que je ne crains rien en ce qui regarde l'avenir.<sup>60</sup>

We have had a pretty great confluence of people to our chapel this summer; last Sunday we were crowded to the very doors. But as the winter approaches, and the roads grow bad, we must expect that our numbers will diminish, especially considering how far some of our Hearers come. We have been flattering ourselves all this summer, that you would bless us with a visit, but now we begin to despair of it that the Season is so far gone.

I congratulate you upon having got so agreeable a family as Mrs. Collier's in your neighbourhood and rejoice to think how happy you will be in each other. I don't wonder that even the sedate and philosophic Doctor says he enjoys a most delightful retreat at Deleprey, when he is there encircled with so many angelic forms, that would make even the desert smile. In good and sober earnest, Doctor, I envy your Situation, and could wish that either you and the ladies were brought nearer to us, or we nearer you, that we might sit under their shadow with great delight. I must beg you would present my compliments to your Lady and them, compliments not of ceremony but of esteem.

Dear Sir the more I read your Harmony the more it pleases me; I am astonished at the pains you have taken to reduce it to such a happy correspondence of parts, elegance, and order.<sup>61</sup> Your translation is just and beautiful; your paraphrase comprehensive and yet perspicacious; your notes acute and learned and such a strain of sprightly and amiable devotion animates your reflections as must charm every ingenious and attentive mind. How long must we be amused with the hope of seeing your second volume? I think you ought to finish the glorious task you have begun, and push your labours through the rest of the New Testament.

May a good God give you Life and Strength for it.

Since you are so good as to take the trouble of perusing the MS, I hope and beg that the friendly severity of your pen may be allowed to dash out whole pages. I assure you, de bonne foi, that the dashes of your pen will be more agreeable than any Compliments.<sup>62</sup> Don't imagine I have been fishing for any of the honest Remarks I have made in your Paraphrase. I must even beg you will afterwards spare that Profusion of Ornaments with which you have loaded my Brother and me, which tho they may be honestly meant, yet proceed rather from an indulgent than impartial Friendship.<sup>63</sup>

I pray you may be long continued as a burning and shining Light, to propagate knowledge, truth, Religion and Virtue all around you, and to enlighten future ages with the Train you leave behind you.

Our family talk of going to town next winter, but whether they will or not time will best determine. I shall remember your compliments to Mr. Blackwell the first time I write him. I believe if you direct your Expositors to Mr. Millar's Care he will send them forward with the first opportunity.<sup>64</sup> I think indeed you should make the tour of the Scotch Universities, and especially visit your almae matres, who will receive you as an honourable alumnus, and be glad to see such a benefactor to learning and Religion.<sup>65</sup> I am sure my mother will to receive you as a single benefactor to her sons.

I am with an unfeigned esteem and affection,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your most faithful Friend

and much obliged humble Servant,

D. Fordyce.



P.S. If you inclose your letters to me under Cover to John Falconer of Phesdo [Esq. Member of Parliament in Dukes court and direct for me as usual the letters will come safe.<sup>66</sup> I don't grudge the price of your letters but remember the old maxim a Penny saved is a penny gained.<sup>67</sup>

17. William Warburton to Philip Doddridge<sup>68</sup>

....What you say about Mr. Fordyce is extremely obliging. I could easily do much greater matters for you than forgetting the treatment I complained of. I therefore heartily forget it, and desire you would assure him of my esteem and best respects. But, as trifling as what I give and what you ask is, that you may not think it to be altogether nothing, I can assure you I have reason to be as confident of the fact, as if I myself had been an eye and earwitness of it. But he is a very young man, and such a slip is pardonable enough, as soon as ever one begins to be sensible of it.

18. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>69</sup>

London, June 1, 1741

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your letter was most welcome; I had been long waiting and wishing to hear from you, and am now extremely glad to learn that you are all well. I am extremely indebted to you for your free remarks upon the MS you have taken the trouble to peruse so much of. If you think that your more important cares would allow you to finish it again next winter, I should wish it to continue in your hands rather than to be put into those of any body else, both because of the stress I lay upon your judgment and that I do not know any one fitter to correct and polish it.

But if that would encroach too much on your other work, then I beg you will take the trouble of sending it to town along with your remarks, either to Mr. Hett's care or any body's else you shall think fit. I propose to set out for Scotland towards the end of this month, and to return, God willing, to England next September or October.<sup>70</sup> Sometime ago I received your second volume which will be part of my summer's provision in Scotland.<sup>71</sup> I shall be more sensible of the greatness and value of the favour when I have thoroughly perused it, and then you shall have my blunt criticisms as well as more judicious thanks. I have read most of Cicero's life: it is certainly a fine and elegant performance, but various criticisms are made upon it according to the interests and dispositions of people: however, let any one who criticises it write a better.<sup>72</sup> You may enclose your letter to Mr. Blackwell in mine and direct for me as formerly.

My most affectionate compliments to your lady and family. I shall return home fraught with a deep sense of your generous friendship and all the favours I have received from you, since I had the happiness of your acquaintance, on which indeed I shall always esteem and value myself. I heartily pray for the continuance of your health and strength, as one of the best blessings I can wish the dissenting cause and religion in general, being with a most cordial esteem and affection, dear and Reverend Sir,

Your much obliged Friend, and most faithful

and devoted Servant,

D. Fordyce.

P.S. I rejoice to hear of Mr. Aikin's success.<sup>73</sup> Please to give my service to him, when you see him, and to all other friends.



19. Thomas Blackwell to Sir John Clerk<sup>74</sup>

Sir,

This is put into your Hand by a young Gentlem<sup>n</sup>.

my Cousin, Mr. David Fordyce, who after studying very closely for several years at home, is lately returned from France and England, where he has spent some years more, has seen the best people, and is just settled Assistant to Mr. Wood in your Tron Church Edinb<sup>r</sup>.<sup>75</sup>

If my double Tye to him, as his Relation and quondam Tutor, does not blind me, you will find few Scholars of his Standing better or more universally read, and none who to his Knowledge joins a better Heart or more gratefull Disposition. 'Tis this chiefly that encourages me to beg the Favour you will allow him Now and then, an Hour of that Conversation which has so often Entertained and improved myself, and for which I shall not be able to keep envying my Friend, how well soever I wish him. When he has the Honour to be thoroughly known to You his personal Merit will be his best Recommendation.

....Mr. Fordyce can accurately inform You of whatever is going forward in the way of Litterature in England.

20. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>76</sup>

Edinburgh, August 22, 1741

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I presume that against the time this reaches Northampton you will be returned from your Summer Tour; therefore I take this opportunity of paying you my compliments, and thus making Scotch acknowledgements for English civilities. I shall never forget the many proofs of friendship I have received first and last from Dr. Doddridge and his Family: whenever a proper

opportunity offers of making due Returns, I hope to testify my gratitude better, than by verbal acknowledgements.

Perhaps it will not be disagreeable to you to hear what is become of your old friend, and how he now lives since his return to his natale solum.<sup>77</sup> I arrived on Scotch ground toward the end of May, rambled through the southern and western parts of the country about a couple of months, and have been another month in the character of an assistant to one of the ministers of Edinburgh, so that I had only time to spend a few days with my friends at Aberdeen. The charge where I serve is a collegiate one, and I may say the largest and most conspicuous in Scotland, this church being the grand place of resort to our nobility and best gentry.<sup>78</sup> One of its ministers is decayed, so I officiate for him until I receive and embrace a call to another Charge as a minister; so that this don't resemble the Business of an assistant in England.<sup>79</sup>

Mr. Wishart, the Principal's brother, is my colleague, one of the most eloquent preachers and worthiest men we have in this country, to whose friendship and choice I owe this small preferment, the chief advantage of which is, that it gives me an opportunity of being known to some of the best people in the country, who may afterwards serve me.<sup>80</sup> Tho therefore I intended to have returned next Winter to England I see now I must drop that Design and wait till Providence give that agreeable opportunity.<sup>81</sup>

Your Friends here and in the north did not fail to enquire about you, and are exceeding glad to hear that you think of carrying out your grand Design. The other day I met a considerable Merchant in Glasgow, a great traveller and prodigious reader,



who said he was more charmed and edified with your Paraphrase than with any Commentator he had ever seen, either domestic or foreign.<sup>82</sup> He was full of questions about you; said he had read both volumes in one week and made them his daily companions. His name is Montgomery, a very worthy and pious man.<sup>83</sup> How far are you got with the Acts?<sup>84</sup> Have you read the life of Cicero, or your friend Warburton's second voluminous volume?<sup>85</sup> Few here have as yet read them. I shall be glad to hear your opinion of both. I found Roebuck here plunged deep in physic but he is now returned to Sheffield.<sup>86</sup> Mr. Blackwell, who remembers you affectionately, seems to be in no hurry about publishing his Memoirs of the Court of Augustus.<sup>87</sup> If you can command so much leisure amidst your more important cares to look over the rest of the MS, I shall take it as a favour, and shall expect the severity of a friend. If that is more than you can undertake to manage, please to send it to Mr. Oswald's care, at the Rose and Crown, Poultry, and desire him to forward it to me by any Leith ship.<sup>88</sup> I am much obliged to you for the corrections you have already made, and doubt not but I shall learn many useful rules from them for improving the rest. If there is any thing wherein I can serve you in Edinburgh, I beg you will use me as one of your own, for it is a long while since you acquired a property in me. I beg you will offer my best compliments to your lady and family. I wish you great success both in your public work and private studies, and pray you may be long continued as a burning light in the church of Christ.

My mother sends her compliments and thanks to you for the kind present of your sermons, which I found her reading with great satisfaction when I went north.<sup>89</sup> They intend to build an Observatory at Edinburgh.<sup>90</sup> Your old acquaintance

Whitfield, is preaching here to immense crowds; and collecting large sums of money for his hospital.<sup>91</sup> I hear he is to go as far as Aberdeen. Some of our ministers have given him their pulpits, which is thought somewhat odd in our strict presbyterian kirk. You see what a spirit of catholicism we have got. Wishing you much health and happiness, I am, with great gratitude and esteem,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your much obliged Friend and most

faithful Servant,

D. Fordyce.

My Address is at Mr. Arthur's Taylor in the Advocate's Close, Edinburgh.<sup>92</sup>

21. Thomas Blackwell to Philip Doddridge<sup>93</sup>

Reverend & Dear Sir

I had certainly done myself the Pleasure of Writing to you long ago, but for the daily Expectations I had of a Letter from You. It is now a good many Months Since a Parcel Came directed to me by a Vessel bound to this Port of Aberdeen, containing several Copies of your Excellent Family Expositor: But no Letter accompanied them (that I could find) or has come to my Hands Since to inform me in What manner, and at what Price they were to be disposed off. I have however ventured to put Some of them into Gentlemen's Hands, and could have done so by many more, had I known what to demand for them. Of this therefore you will be so good as inform me with the first Opportunity, & it will be my Pleasure to promote and encourage So pious and usefull a Work.



I Believe you will no Sooner see the Face of the Young Gent<sup>n</sup>. who delivers this Letter, than you will know him to be my Cousin, & Brother to Mr. David & Mr. John Fordyce who are so much indebted to your Civilities, and I upon their Account.<sup>94</sup> He goes to his Brother at Uppingham, who stands in great Need of his Assistance, and cou'd not pass by Northampton without paying the Respect due by him & his Family to D<sup>r</sup>. Doddridge. His Coming your Way, gives Mrs. Fordyce an Opportunity of begging the Favour of your accepting from her a Taste of our Salmon, as a Small Mark of the high Sense She retains of your uncommon Friendship and Kindness to her Sons. It will be a Sincere Satisfaction to me to hear of your Health and Welfare; & now, our Vacation approaches, & gives me Leisure to mind something else than Meer Business, any Litterary News wou'd be a Welcome Entertainm<sup>t</sup>. to one almost toto divisum penitus Orbe - But who always is - With real Esteem<sup>95</sup>

Rev<sup>d</sup> & Dear S<sup>r</sup>.

Your most Humble & Obed<sup>t</sup>. Servant

T.BLACKWELL

Marischal College

April 15th 1742

To the Very Reverend

D<sup>r</sup>. Philip Doddridge

NORTHAMPTON

## 22. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce<sup>96</sup>

To be left at the shop of Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Bookseller in Edinburgh

Saturday night, ten o'clock.

Dear Sir,

About ten minutes ago I received your letter. I hope I may congratulate you on the pleasures you are now enjoying at

Edinburgh among those whose conversation I envy you, and to whom I envy your conversation. Your reflections on the face of society in those countries you have been travelling through, are, I dare say, extremely just; but I am afraid we have at present no prospect of any valuable change, any general introduction either of plenty or independence among the multitude, much less of that manly and rational spirit of thinking and acting which ought to be the very end of society, and is the best and noblest of those enjoyments which society produces. I am very sensibly vexed when I hear people asserting that nine-tenths of the human species must, by the necessity of civil government, remain ignorant of the divine possession, brutal and without even a comprehension of the ends of life, which they spend in vain as to their own parts, going out of the world just as they came into it, without nourishment or growth to their minds, without advancing one step in the scale of nature. What can I think of that scene of government which naturally leads men to a position so shocking and absurd?

Your view of the Inquiry about the Sciences is perfectly congruous to mine. As to your Initiation and Oath, I like it extremely - only do not you think those terms, or appellations, the Throne of Honour and the Chamber of Heroic Virtue, will look rather affected?<sup>97</sup> If we conceive the thing as actually existing and students at an academy calling chambers, &c., by such names, I am afraid we should think the fashion strained almost to pedantry. The statues of Virtue and Liberty on each side the rostrum are, I think, very proper; also the inscription and the other bustos, excepting only Machiavel. He was, no doubt, a man of genius, and has wrote well as far as his materials allowed



him to go; but being conversant only with little Italian republics and principalities, where personal considerations are the principal or only springs of action, and, consequently, where government is often subservient to the worst passions, and carried on by the worst arts - from these causes having no comprehension of an extensive and virtuous plan of a Constitution, he has often wrote crudely, generally so monstrous wickedly, that I think you should not allow him a place among those heroes, but put Sir Thomas More in his stead.

I have enclosed the Oath as I would choose it: the alterations are marked with figures: - 1. This passage redundant. 2. Systems too recluse and subtle a word. 3. King has naturally a bad or sordid idea. 4. Honourable more sober and moral than glorious. 5. So, &c., too vulgar and trivial a phrase.<sup>98</sup>

As for the poem, I am just respiring from a pretty bold undertaking, not only in poetry, let me tell you, but even in philosophy - namely, to develope and describe the general species and laws of ridicule in the characters of men, and give an universal idea of it in every other subject.<sup>99</sup> I have been grievously put to it in the descriptive part. The general idea of the poem is rather bashfully candid - exclude the phrase - and ill admits any appearance of satire, though this Inquiry was absolutely necessary to the plan as relating to the materials and ground of comedy.

"Lo, thus far,  
With bold adventure to the Mantuan Lyre,  
I sing of Nature's charms, and touch, well pleas'd,  
A stricter note. Now haply must my song  
Unbend her serious measure and declare,  
In sportive strains, how Folly's awkward arts  
Awake impetuous Laughter's gay rebuke.  
The lighter province of the comic scene.<sup>100</sup>

I am filing and re-touching every day, and confess I long to see the first book fairly and entirely transcribed; and

if I had it once off my hands, I amagine my thoughts would be freed from some constraint and anxiety. For to you I dare pretend to so much philosophy, as that I shall not be much disturbed about its success; and I fancy my mind will be much more at leisure after putting an end to this task I have so long imposed on myself; for, though this be but a small part of the design, yet I have no views of completing the remainder otherwise than in the most leisurely manner in the world; for this, if it be worth aught, must answer all the ends I propose by it at present; and you know that if it do answer them, I shall have other matters to mind than versifying. I expect to finish the transcribing part in a fortnight or three weeks. I must have a few notes too; but I blush to have said so much. I have been for these three weeks proposing every post to write to Mr. B., but shall certainly muster up courage to do it next post, for does it not require (if not courage) resolution, at least, and self-control?<sup>101</sup> Remember me to all our friends, and believe me, dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

M.A.

P.S. - Write to me soon, and in my next I will tell you what to do about those letters you are so good as to mention.<sup>102</sup>

23. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce<sup>103</sup>

At Aberdeen, N. Britain

Newcastle, 18th June, 1742.

Dear Sir,

I should have answered your letter sooner, but that I was uncertain, till of late, whether to direct for you at Edinburgh or at Aberdeen. I durst not, however, reply in the language you



wrote in; for, though I could perhaps have filled two or three pages with Italian words ranged in grammatical order, yet, without assuming the natural air and spirit of the language, you would no more think I had wrote Italian than you would call that a musical composition which was only a number of concords put together without any regard to the rhythm or style of the whole. This reason was stronger in writing to you, who have attained so perfectly the wild elegance, the vaghera, which the Italians are so fond of, both in language and painting, and in which, I believe, they exceed all the moderns. What is good in the French authors is of a more sober, classical manner, and greater severity of design. The Spaniards, I imagine, approach much nearer to the Italian manner. Our English poetry has but little of it, and that chiefly among the older compositions of our countrymen - the juvenilia of Milton, and the fairy scenes of Spenser and Shakespeare. Our nervous and concise language does not willingly flow into this fanciful luxuriance; besides that the genius of our poetry delights in a vehemence of passion and philosophical sublimity of sentiments much above its reach.

Since we parted, I have been chiefly employed in reading the Greek philosophers, especially the Stoics. Upton's edition of Arrian was published just as I got hither: it is in two small quarto volumes, near enough; the second consists principally of the editor's comments and the notes variorum.<sup>104</sup> He has got a great many remarks of Lord Shaftesbury, but they are entirely critical, and contain very ingenious conjectures on the reading of several passages.

I have had great pleasure from the writers of this sect; but, though I admire the strength and elevation of their moral, yet, in modern life especially, I am afraid it would lead to something splenetic and unconvertible. Besides, it allows too little to domestic virtue and tenderness, it dwells too much on the awful and sublime of life; yet even its sublimity resembles that of a vast open prospect in winter, when the sun scarce can shine through the atmosphere, and looks on the vigour of the season with a kind of sullen majesty; to the generality of mankind, a much narrower landscape in the sunshine of a spring morning would be much more agreeable. I would therefore mix the Stoic with the Platonic philosophy; they would equally temper and adorn each other; for, if mere stoicism be in hazard of growing surly and unsocial, it is no less certain that Platonic enthusiasm has always run to extravagance, but where it was kept steady by a severe judgment; besides that the constant pursuit of beauty and elegance is apt to fill the mind with high and florid desires, than which nothing is more dangerous to that internal freedom which is the basis of virtue. In short, the case seems much the same here as with the human sexes, either of which is liable to these very imperfections when apart, and therefore the perfection of human life is best found in their union. Were I a painter, and going to represent these two sects in an emblematic way, I would draw the genius of the Stoics like a man in his prime, or rather of a green and active old age, with a manly sternness and simplicity in his air and habit, seated on a rock overlooking the sea in a tempest of wind and lightning, and regarding the noise of the thunder and the rolling of the waves with a serene defiance. But the Platonic



genius I would represent like another Muse - a virgin of a sweet and lively beauty, with wings to her head, and a loose robe of a bright azure colour. She should be seated in a garden, on the brink of a clear and smooth canal, while the sky were without a cloud, and the sun shining in the zenith. Our theological lady, conscious that her eyes could not endure the splendour of his immediate appearance, should be fixed in contemplating his milder image reflected from the water. But enough of this. I thank you for your account of the manner in which you dispose of your personages; I am only afraid you will scarce find room for the full exercise of Philander's genius and virtue in the station you have assigned him, for the statutes of a college are too well known and too strictly observed to leave a probability of much improvement under any particular president or master.<sup>105</sup> The rest, I think, are very well settled. You might find occasion, in the characters of Atticus and Sophron, to give a little good advice on the ancient and present state of our political constitution.

We have little news. I saw yesterday proposals by an Oxford man to publish an edition of Polybius.<sup>106</sup> I am quite sick of politics - our present politics I mean. Within this last month or six weeks I have seen Richardson, Pickering, and Frank Hume, who all remembered you with affection; the two former were for Paris, the last for Flanders with the regiment to which he is surgeon.<sup>107</sup> I had a letter last post from Russell; he has been ill of a quinsy, but is much better: all other friends are well.<sup>108</sup> Roebuck is at Leyden, and takes his degree there this summer, as Allen has already done at St. Andrew's.<sup>109</sup> Ogle died about a month after we left you.

I am, with great esteem and affectionate remembrance  
of the pleasures of our late conversations.

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

Mark Akinside.

(Direct to be left at Mr. Akinside's,  
Surgeon in Newcastle-upon-Tyne).

24. Thomas Blackwell to the Duke of Roxburghe<sup>110</sup>

.....thanks for the Regard paid to our Recommendation  
of Mr. David Fordyce. We hope his Capacity and Diligence will  
equally justify our Request and your Lordship's Condescension  
in guaranteeing it.

25. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>111</sup>

June 6 1743

Dear Sir,

I am much indebted to you for your friendly  
and obliging letter which I received along with my manuscripts  
some weeks ago. I must acknowledge with great Gratitude your  
kind Condolences with me upon the Death of my dearest Sister  
which was indeed one of the severest Blows I ever met with  
and would have made me quite inconsolable if I had not had  
the agreeable Prospect of seeing her again in our Father's  
House and renewing that imperfect Friendship which was begun  
here below and which neither Time nor Death can alter or  
dissolve.<sup>112</sup> Meantime I resign her without Reserve to that  
God who gave her in hopes that we shall be soon reunited on  
better Terms and never to part.



I return you my hearty thanks for your obliging  
Congratulations upon my little Preferment which was the more  
agreeable as there was no inconsistency between it and the  
ministerial Office of which I am far from having laid the  
Thoughts aside.<sup>113</sup> I shall always be ready to accept of a  
Station in the Church when Providence shall assign me one;  
meantime my present Business can be no ill Preparation for it.  
I was always considered in that Light by our Founders and by  
this church. I wish the Business was confined as you seem to  
think it is to the teaching moral philosophy; since that  
Province would suite my Taste most; but the Professors of  
Philosophy in our University have a larger Sphere assigned  
them, being obliged to go the Round of all the Sciences, Logics,  
Metaphysics, Pneumatics, Ethics, strictly so called and the  
Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations, with natural and  
experimental Philosophy; which last is to be my Task next winter.  
I had last Winter besides my public Class, a private one to  
which I read lectures on Morals, Politics and History upon that  
Plan of which I shewed you a small Part when in England. I  
believe I shall have a great deal of Pleasure in inspiring the  
minds of the Youth with just and manly Principles of Religion  
and Virtue, and doubt not but I shall reap Advantage myself  
by the practice of Teaching.

Now, Dear Doctor: how shall I thank you for the generous  
and uncommon Pains you have taken in perusing and correcting  
that rude unformed juvenile Performance of mine. You bestow  
more Encomiums on it by far than I really believe it deserves.  
I heartily approve of all your Corrections and only wish they  
had been double the number, and that you had not only corrected  
little Inaccuracies of Style etc. but drawn your Pen cross whole

Pages. For in good earnest you have been too modest, I assure you I should have submitted to your Corrections with a most hearty Conviction and Gratitude, which you need not have placed by way of Queries. But it seems you were afraid to spoil the Symmetry of the Writ[ing and] Clearness of the Page. Your Defacings I should have reckoned genuine Beauties. For you know

That he who cuts off and cuts not off the best

Pours lustre in and dignifies the rest.<sup>114</sup>

However I reckon myself infinitely obliged to you for what you have done, which was much more than I expected considering your many public Cases and Avocations. You need not be afraid that I shall publish any Heterodoxy. I don't think such a raw and puerile Trifle worthy the Press; had I any thought of that, which I never had, I should model it in a very different Manner but neither my Business nor Humour will permit that. I shall be in better Case to judge of the truth of your Philosophical Remarks, when I have more carefully perused the Thing and better considered of the Subject.

I am glad to see you have animadverted on that unfair and unjust Performance of Dodwells, which I have read, but have not seen your Answ<sup>red</sup>, they are not yet come hither but I long to see them for I think it will require no Small Delicacy to answer it to good Purpose.<sup>115</sup> I see a Piece of the same kind with your advertised by Mr. Mole. Your Paraphrase [and Sermons of all kinds, particularly your late ones on Regeneration are read here with great esteem and Approbation by all sorts polite and unpolite.<sup>116</sup> I am glad you are going on with those Plans.



My being in the Country now in the Time of our Vacation has prevented me from examining what of your Works are in our Library. When I am returned from a pretty long north Country Journey I shall enquire that I may not hinder or retard your generous Design of enriching our public Collection. I presented your most acceptable Compliments to our society met in a Body.<sup>117</sup> They return you theirs and their hearty acknowledgements for your kind Offer. Mr. Blackwell salutes you with a particular Regard. I believe by this time he has disposed of all your Family Expositors.

I intend next summer since you will not come to see us, to see you in England and to bring a Brother of mine, another divine along with me.<sup>118</sup> Meantime my humble Compliments and best Wishes to you to good Mrs. Doddridge and all your blooming Race, in which my Mother and her Train particularly my now eldest Sister who is a great Admirer of yours and has bought your Expositor for her own Use, most heartily join me. I wish you may be long preserved a burning and shining light in the House of God. Pray forgive this hasty scrawl and believe me to be with the sincerest Esteem and Affection.

Dr. Doctor

Your much obliged Friend and  
most faithful humble Servant.

Eggie near Aberdeen

D. Fordyce.

6th June 1743

P.S. 'Tis sometime since my Mother wrote a Return to your most obliging and welcome letters. We all rejoice in the Recovery of so valuable a Woman as Mrs D. Long May Heaven preserve her for the Happiness of her Family and Friends. We have no literary News here just now. You will see ere long Mr. Blackwell's

Letters on Mythology.<sup>119</sup> Have you seen Essays published at Edinburgh entitled Moral and Political in which there is something original and masterly?<sup>120</sup> Leechman has published lately a Sermon on Prayers which they say is well done.<sup>121</sup>

26. Mark Akenside to David Fordyce<sup>122</sup>

At Mr. Gavin Hamilton's, Bookseller in Edinburgh.

Newcastle, 30th July, 1743.

Dear Sir,

With respect to Shaftesbury's Test of Truth, I apprehend the matter thus:- Ridicule is never conversant about bare abstract speculative truth - about the agreement or disagreement or ideas which merely inform the understanding without affecting the temper and imagination.<sup>123</sup> It always supposes the perception of some quality or object either venerable, fair, praiseworthy, or mean, sordid, and ignoble. The essence of the τὸ γέλοιον consists in the unnatural combination of these in one appearance; and hence you will observe of that difference which is made between true ridicule and false; for I, by a wrong imagination, may apprehend that to be sordid and ignoble which really is not; I may also apprehend it inconsistent with the other appearances of reverence or beauty, when they are in fact perfectly coincident.<sup>124</sup> Take an instance of each. I remember to have heard you condemn the late comic romance of Joseph Andrews, for representing Joseph's temperance against the offers of his lady in a ridiculous light; your sentence was perfectly just, for it is custom, corrupted custom, and not nature, which teaches



us to annex ideas of contempt to such an abstinence; for by vicious conversations and writings the world is deceived, to think it incongruous, inconsistent with the character and situation of a man, and therefore ridiculous.<sup>125</sup> An instance of the second kind may be this: suppose a gentleman nobly drest, a person of a public character, perhaps in the robes of his office, walking in a foul street, without any conceited airs or self-applause from his splendid appearance; suppose, by an accident or fall, his garment quite stained and defaced, - the opposition between the splendour of one part of his dress, and the foul appearance of the other, might perhaps excite the sense of ridicule in a light, superficial mind; but, to a man of taste and penetration, the ridicule would immediately vanish, because, as our gentleman's mind was not fondly prepossessed with any conceit of worth or considerable splendour in his habit, so neither will the change produced in it give him any sensation of real disgrace or shame; consequently, in his mind there is no incongruity produced by this external circumstance, therefore nothing ridiculous in the man, in sentiment, in life: now take away all ideas of this intellectual and feeling species, and then try whether ridicule can have any place in an object: you will find, I believe, none at all. But alter the example a little, and suppose the person so begrimed to have been a fop, whose whole appearance and gesture showed how much he valued himself on his finery, there the ridicule will [be] irresistible and just, because the incongruity is real. Now, as to the test of our divine Master. This sense of ridicule was certainly given us for good ends - in a word, for the same sort of end as the sense of beauty and veracity and gratitude; to supply the slow deductions of our reason, and lead us to avoid and depress at first sight some

certain circumstances of the mind which are really prejudicial to life, but would otherwise have required a longer investigation to discover them to be so than we are usually at leisure for. If, therefore, by any unfairness in an argument, certain circumstances relating to a point in question be concealed, to apply the ridicule is to drag out those circumstances, and set them (if they be opposite) in the fullest light of opposition to those others which are owned and pleaded for, and thus render the claim incongruous and ridiculous. Is there any great mystery or danger in this? and is not Mr. Warburton - are not all the priests in Christendom - at full liberty to inquire whether these circumstances which I represent as opposite and incongruous, be really so; and whether they are any way connected with the claim?<sup>126</sup> If they be not, my procedure is certainly itself ridiculous, as connecting in my own mind the idea of the τὸ γέλοιον with what is no way related to it, and very inconsistent with it.

I have not yet fixed either the day of my departure or my route, being detained by some accidents longer than I expected, only I am pretty sure I shall set forward in the second week of August. If you could be at leisure to send me two or three letters enclosed in one to myself, the carrier who sets out every Thursday from Bristow Port would bring them safe enough, especially if you tell him I will give him sixpence or a shilling for his trouble. You or Russell might send them to his lodging by a cadie: you see my impudence, but you taught me it by your too great complaisance. There is another carrier, who sets out from the head of the Cow-gate; so that if one should not be in the way, you will find the other. I was half angry in



mirth, that you should so misapprehend me about my difficulty in writing to Philostratus; I thought the word self-control would have given you a different idea of the matter than a diffidence and terror appearing under so formidable an eye.<sup>127</sup> I assure you, Sir, I wrote a very simple letter, without correction, without brilliancy, without literature. I wrote to Cleghorn last night, to make him laugh, to puzzle and astonish him in this combination of woes.<sup>128</sup> As I make no doubt but he would think me distracted, you may be so good as tell him that you have received a letter, wrote the next morning, in which, after passing an easy night, with nine hours' sleep, there appears some pretty favourable symptoms of a return to my senses. I want letters from him and [            ], and Russell and Blair, immediately; for I have waited too long for them.<sup>129</sup> Farewell: I shall write from London. Commend me to all ours.

I am, dear Fordyce,

Your affectionate friend and obedient  
servant,

M.A.

27. David Fordyce to George Benson<sup>130</sup>

Aberdeen 17th Dec<sup>r</sup> 1744

Dear Sir

I am favoured with your most agreeable & welcome letter in answer to mine; it gives me great Joy to hear of your and your Family's Welfare. I cannot help being a good deal surprised that the Diploma was not come to hand, when you sent off your Letter.<sup>131</sup> It was to come along with a Diploma for a Doctorate of Physic to D<sup>r</sup> Wright of Norwich & accordingly in the month

of Sept<sup>r</sup> was brought by Land as far as Leith by one Mr Thomas Forbes of Aberd<sup>n</sup> now in London, who, finding the Diplomas too heavy or unwieldy to carry in his Portmantle, left them in his Chest to come round by Sea from Leith, & told me, before I left London, that he expected them soon.<sup>132</sup> They were both directed to Messrs Catanach in Comp<sup>y</sup> Merch<sup>ts</sup> in Loth. bury with whom I left orders to forward them to you by Mr Oswald's Canal: I wrote Mr I. Chandler the Apothecary to call there for that to his Friend; for he was anxious to know what was come of it & to enquire likewise for M<sup>r</sup> Forbes who lodged & I believe still lodged at Mr George Udny's Merch<sup>t</sup> in Angel-Court Throgmorton Street near the Exchange.<sup>133</sup> If you will give yourself the Trouble to call at Mr Chandler's or any of the other Places you may probably hear something of your Diploma. If any Accident has happened to either of them We can easily supply that Defect by sending you & Dr Wright another. Please therefore advise me of the Result of your Enquiry.

I rejoice to hear that you will be able to make up two Volumes of Dr Hunt's Remains.<sup>134</sup> I am sorry that I had no Opportunity of purchasing any of his Books. I wanted particularly Marmonides's More Nevochim & Smith's Select Discourses.<sup>135</sup> If Mr Whiston has not disposed of them, I should be much obliged to you to bespeak them for me & M<sup>r</sup> Oswald will pay them. I should be glad to hear your Criticism on Rom: 8. 19,20 & verses.<sup>136</sup> I remember I once heard Dr Hunt give a very probable Acc<sup>t</sup> of it; but cannot, for my Life recollect it. Perhaps you can either refresh my Memory or substitute a better meaning in its Room. I return you my



heartly Thanks for the future Pleasure I am to receive  
from the Ep<sup>les</sup>.<sup>137</sup> Mr Blackwell, who is to add a Postscript  
to this Letter, will himself take an opportunity of  
acknowledging the Favour you intend him. It was he who  
principally assisted in drawing up your Diploma, and of whom  
the World expects an Account of the Augustan Age.<sup>138</sup> I am  
but an incompetent Judge in Works of Divinity; but if any  
thing occurs in my Perusal of your's, I shall frankly mention  
it to you. Mr Stewart is just now perusing your History of, etc.  
which he says gives him great Pleasure.<sup>139</sup> I believe I shall,  
before the Post goes off, send you his name inclosed to add to  
the Diploma, as he happened to be in the Country when it was  
signed & sent off. I wrote Mr Lardner 10 or 12 Days ago & hope  
he has received my Letter.<sup>140</sup> I long much to see the Urn he  
raised to the Memory of our worthy Friend. It will be a most  
worthy Present. My best Compliments to the good Man. I wish  
Heaven may give him Health to finish his Designs.

Our Society offer their Compliments. My Brother's best  
Respects & mine wait on you, Mrs Benson & Miss Kettle. I  
would again give you the Trouble of presenting my humble  
Compliments to Mr Ricards & his good Family & Dr Avery and his  
Lady.<sup>141</sup>

I heartly wish you all Success in your public Ministry  
and private Labours for the public Good & am with a very  
sincere & deed Regard

Dear Doct<sup>r</sup> your affect<sup>e</sup> Friend &  
obliged humb<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

I beg you will be so good as David Fordyce  
to desire Oswald to send me that little  
Dialogue, I think you call it with  
the Bishop.<sup>142</sup>

Aberd<sup>n</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1744/5

Dear Doctor

Your agreeable Letter of 1st [     ] came to hand only by last Post. I was exceeding glad to hear that the Diploma came safe to hand & am still more so that the Strain in which it is writ pleases you. I dare say it has done you no more than Justice. As it was intended by our University as a Mark of their Esteem & especially of the Sense they entertain of the good Service you have done the Christian Cause & the Interests of Learning, they will think it an abundant Recompence, if you are, by that means, excited to redouble your Industry in so glorious a Service: and I am sufficiently convinced it will have that Effect.

If you have not already heard it, I am confident it will be a particular Pleasure to you to hear that our Society have likewise most cordially & unanimously conferred a Degree of Doctorate on our most worthy & deserving Friend Mr Lardner; &, I am only waiting for a proper Opportunity of sending up his Diploma, which is already signed by all our Members & in which honourable mention is made of his excellent Labours in the Christian Cause.<sup>144</sup> I have already wrote him of it & in answer to his obliging Letter, but I suppose his Modesty has possibly made him conceal it from his Friends. I am still hopeful that Mr Leechman will succeed in his Attempt, notwithstanding the Bigotry of some & that you will receive an additional Proof of the Regards of the Learned.<sup>145</sup> I am glad however that our Body despite the Prejudices arising from Names & little Distinctions etc. know how to respect Learning & Merit wherever they find either.

That Clergyman of the Church who desires to have a Degree must be well attested by some proper Person or Persons as to his Probity &



Morals & a competent Degree of Learning before he can obtain it. The ordinary Fees of a Doctorate are twenty Guineas. If you, Sir, either upon your own Acquaintance or on exact Information will take upon you to attest his Qualifications I believe it will be held sufficient.

I am much obliged to you for your judicious Paraphrase on Rom 8. 19 etc. I think it exceeding ingenious & satisfying only this Creature κτίσις in the Parenthesis seems to be understood differently in your Paraphrase from what it is in the other verses & to be taken for Men in general, w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>d</sup> lead one to conclude that it ought to be understood in the same Extent throughout. I should be glad to hear your Opinion of that difficult verse, "Else what shall they do who are baptised for the Dead"? I am much charmed with your Explication of "The Found<sup>n</sup> of the L<sup>d</sup> standeth sure, having this S[eal]" I remember to have heard Dr Hunt expl<sup>n</sup> it in the s[ ].<sup>146</sup> If it is not too much Trouble I should likewise be glad to hear your Acc<sup>t</sup> of the first rise and Use of Sacrifice, particularly the Jewish; of w<sup>ch</sup> I remember you gave me some Hints when at L<sup>n</sup>.<sup>147</sup> I am exceedingly indebted to you for your most agreeable Presents of your Paraphrase and Sermon & shall make it my Business to spread both them & all your other Works of w<sup>ch</sup> all People here who know them express the greatest Esteem.<sup>148</sup> I assure you not only Mr Bl-l & St-t but all my other Colleagues will recommend them every where.<sup>149</sup> I thank you most heartily for the Pain you hve been at in seeking Smith & Marmon;<sup>s</sup> (in Lat<sup>n</sup>;) I wish it were in my Power to serve you in my Turn.<sup>150</sup> The Faculty send you their hearty Complim<sup>ts</sup> particularly your two Acquaintances in it. I beg you will present my & my Broy<sup>rs</sup> most respectful Complim<sup>ts</sup> to Mrs Benson & the lovely Miss Kettle

who does us a great deal of Honour to remember us. I often think of her with great Esteem & should be much pleased to see her smiling face now & then & that I could at pleasure transport myself to Prescot Street. Pray return my best Wishes & Complim<sup>ts</sup> to Mr Ricards & his Family who are so good as to remember me, to Dr Lardner & to good Mrs Hunt & her's. I rejoice to think that you can find so much of Dr Hunt's to print. Wishing you all Health & Success I continue most unfeignedly,

D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Your much obliged

D. Fordyce

29. David Fordyce to George Benson<sup>151</sup>

Dear Doctor

Your most welcome Letter came to hand a great while ago which I intended to have acknowledged sooner, but I have been much from home ever since, particularly having taken a Jaunt to some Parts of the Highlands to see a Country that has been so famous or infamous of late.

I heartly rejoice in your Recovery from that dangerous Fever & congratulate your Friends & Country on that Account. For I hope your Life is lengthened out not only to extend your public Labours, but to bring them to greater Maturity.

I am obliged to you for your literary News. I beg you will rank me among the Subscribers to your Friend Mr Knight's Book which I dare say will be a curious Performance, tho' I confess I do not admire those Arg<sup>ts</sup> a Priori.<sup>152</sup> Had not my Colleagues been dispensed up & down the Country I should, I doubt not, have got some of their Subscriptions. I thought your last Defence of X<sup>ty</sup> would not pass unobserved by the Deists as it is such a blow



to Infidelity.<sup>153</sup> Who is thought the Author of X<sup>ty</sup> not  
founded on Argum<sup>t</sup>?<sup>154</sup> I think you judge well in publish<sup>g</sup>  
your Answer separately.

I had wrote Mr Hutcheson of Glasgow about a Diploma from  
their Society to which he sent this Answer. "I am sensible  
of Mr B-n's Merit.<sup>155</sup> But some of us who dable in Divinity  
spare not to declare him unsound; one of our Body, when he  
was accidentally mentioned in Faculty spoke of him with  
Abhorrence as an avowed Socinian. As the matter of a degree is  
not worth great Contention, others of us who esteem his Learning  
would not raise any Flame by moving for a Compliment which many  
think is a sort of espousing his Principles. Indeed I think  
Academic Honours import no such Thing: but this would be Matter  
of high Debate: If your Society are less awake upon such Points,  
his Learning no doubt deserves that Honour." So you see some  
Academic Bodies are less quick sighted or less zealous in Points  
of Orthodoxy than some of their neighbours. What kind of a Book  
is that published lately by Weston on X<sup>ty</sup>?<sup>156</sup>

I should be glad to hear your Opinion concerning the  
meaning of the Word Spirit, πνεῦμα παράκλησις in the N. Test:  
I have long doubted about the meaning & thought we did not enter  
enough into the Jewish Phraseology; But did not know what to  
make of its being often personified if I may say so, & particularly  
spoken of as a distinct Pers<sup>n</sup> in the Form of Baptism, w<sup>ch</sup> must  
naturally & almost unavoidably lead ordinary Readers, the Bulk  
of X<sup>ns</sup>, into mistakes, if we suppose no separate distinct  
Subsistence meant.<sup>157</sup> Pray clear up this Point to me, & give  
me a Key to this obscure & little understood Subject.

Have you read Sykes's answ<sup>r</sup> to Warburton's Remarks about the Theocracy?<sup>158</sup> Who seems to have the best of the Argument? Pray what can be the meaning of our not having Dr Hunt's Things published? Is Mr Taylor of Norwich doing any thing now? How has his Piece on the Romans being relished?<sup>159</sup> You see how I tease you. I hope you will forgive me. You [can] send inclosed in your next Mr Knight's Proposals to me under Cover as formerly to Mr Walter F[ ] Clerk to the Post office in Edinburgh; who will forward it to me. My hum<sup>le</sup> Compliments to Mrs Benson & Mr Justice Ricards's Family. This comes inclosed in Dr Lardner's. Wishing you all good Things I continue with great Esteem

D<sup>r</sup> Sr

Your much obliged hum<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

D. Fordyce

Eggie near Aberdeen

20<sup>th</sup> August 1746

30. David Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>160</sup>

London, May 23, 1747.

Dear Sir,

According to your desire I have sent you Mr. MacLaurin's proposals, which you may please to show to Mr. Lawton or any other person whose taste lies that way.<sup>161</sup>

Dr. Middleton's introduction to his great work, which I suppose you have seen, raises a horrid combustion and noise here especially among the Clergy, who seem to think, that to remove the rubbish of false miracles is to undermine the true ones; and that his writing upon dissenting, free principles is pulling up the pins of the tabernacle.<sup>162</sup>



Mrs. Cockburne, a clergyman's wife in the north, who once lived in Aberdeen, has written a book against Rutherford in defence of Dr. Clarke's Fitness, which your friend, Warburton, has ushered into the world with a pompous commendatory preface, in which he says that he thinks the author wrong, yet recommends the book.<sup>163</sup>

Two reverend doctors, of which Chapman is one, are drawing quills, full fraught with gall, against Dr. Middleton.<sup>164</sup> Mr. Blackwell's book on Mythology will, I hear, be soon published; Mr. Mallet has published a pretty poem, called the Hermit; and Richardson, the author of Pamela, is going to entertain the world with a still more divine creature, called Clarissa.<sup>165</sup> Mr. Miller is publishing a new edition of Sydney's works, a life by Mallet.<sup>166</sup> I know of little else of the literary kind going forward.

As to politics there was a great debate the other day on the Scotch jurisdiction bill, for which the Duke of Argyle spoke an hour and a half, though people shrewdly suspect he does not like it; yet en habile homme, he submits gracefully to what he cannot help.<sup>167</sup>

My compliments wait on Mrs. Doddridge and your family,  
and I am

Your most obedient humble Servant,

D. Fordyce.

31. Elizabeth Fordyce to Philip Doddridge<sup>168</sup>

To the Rev<sup>nd</sup> Mr Philip Doddridge Doctor of Divinity at Northampton

Uppingham 30th July 1747

Re<sup>vd</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I was favoured with your Obliging Letter of July the 14th and must Accknowledge it is a disappointment to me that I have been so near North<sup>mtn</sup> and not to have seen so good a Friend as Doctor Doddridge Eath<sup>or</sup> at his house or here at Uppingham I know very well Sir that you are continually Engaged in one duty or Another; and that difficult work of Improveing the minds of so many young gentlemen in your Academy is great and good service done not only to them but to generations yet to come: and Indeed Sir I Beleive you have the love and gratitude of thousands for the many Excelent Sermons and others of your works published to the wordle your writeing the life of Collo<sup>l</sup> Gardiner must be a mighty pleasure to all his Friends and well wishers to see Justice done to the Character of so worthy a Gentleman who lost his life in the Cawse of liberty and Religion.<sup>169</sup>

dr Sir I have a deep sence of the goodness of the divine in our preservation dureing the time of the Rebellion b<sub>u</sub>t much more so upon Acount of the wonderfull and surpriseing deliverance wrought for us att Culloden with many happy circumstances that Attended that victory a mercy so great that Im Afraid we have not been suficiently thankfull for it to this day! to be saved from poprey cruelty and slavery all att once is indeed the doing of the lord of Hosts who is mighty to save.

Sir I have been always obliged to you for the sympathy you had with me on Acount of the loss of my daughter but I desire at all times to Reverence God in Every dispensation of his adorable providence and humbly to be Resinged to the will of



my heavenly Father constantly beleveing Every thing is,  
deseinged to make me wiser and Better if I be so happy as  
to improve those chastisements for the Good purposes which  
God intends by them.<sup>170</sup>

Re<sup>vd</sup> Sir I shall be glad if any pairt of my sones  
conduct can meet with your aprobation Eather with Regard to  
the settleing a minister in this Congregation or any other  
step of life wherein he Acts consistently Both as a christian  
and a wise man.<sup>171</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Sir itt would give me and many others  
a Reall pleasure to see [you] in Ab<sup>d</sup>; if ever providence  
Bring you there I insist upon itt that my house be your  
home that so I may testefy a litle of that Gratitude [to] you  
for all the kindness shoven to my Children.

My sincere compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> Doddridge and your Famely  
whom] I should have been glad to have seen my young folks joyn  
their B<sup>est</sup>] Respects and I am with great Regaird

Reverend and dear Sir  
your Obliged and Most Humble [Servant]

Elizabeth Fordyce

Aberdeen, 22nd. March, 1748

Dear Doctor,

I ought sooner to have acknowledged the favour of your obliging letter, which gave me great pleasure and entertainment. I rejoice to hear that you have health and spirit to go on with such a variety of works for the service of the public, to which I am confident they are sincerely devoted. I heartily congratulate you on the success they have already had abroad, as well as at home, and do not question but that they will increase the savoir of true religion and virtue.<sup>173</sup>

I have read Colonel Gardiner's Life, and felt my heart melted in many Places.<sup>174</sup> I cannot see that there was any impropriety in publishing his letters, but rather think they redound greatly to his honour. He was a most amiable man; and I believe, the glorious fruits of his piety will abundantly screen him from the imputation of an ill-informed enthusiasm, even among those who dare not reproach, tho little disposed to imitate his exalted piety. Perhaps there is too just ground for your reflection in the third Section; but I must be frank as to tell you, that it has brought your orthodoxy into question among many who cannot see what plausibility there is in the objection against the Colonel's character, for his adherence to the principles in which he was educated, i.e. those of the Church of Scotland, which are the same upon that matter with those of England, unless upon the supposition of those principles being false or pernicious. If they are neither, where was the harm of adhering to them, especially as you intimate that the Colonel did not seek to impose or persecute?



That infamous libel did not reach this place, and I think you are right to take no notice of it; tho perhaps, it had been better not to have thrown out so shrewd a hint, which the freeest inquirers in both churches will surely think levelled at themselves.<sup>175</sup> The subscription to such large formularies is undoubtedly a grievance in most establishments. But do Dissenters enjoy, or dare they use, in fact, in the full extent of the thing (not the word), that liberty of which they boast? Are they exempt from expedients and salvos, and from phrases of ambiguous or equivocal meaning? I am afraid, Doctor, we must always make some concessions to the foibles of the creature if we mean to do him good; which, if rigidly examined, need to be understood cum grano salis.<sup>176</sup> And are assemblies of creatures with such foibles to be less respected than individuals? When you can produce a perfect individual, then I will show you a perfect society!

I hope you will judge candidly of this freedom, which I would not have taken, had not some here who sincerely love you been somewhat offended at the smartness of the remark.

You have greatly obliged me by the rich store of literary news you have taken the trouble to send me, and I shall always be glad to sow a few grains of seed, when I have the prospect of being repaid by so plentiful a harvest. I wish I could return the favour, but it is poor gleanings only I can pick up. I am much pleased to hear you correspond so intimately with the amiable Mr. Lyttleton, and doubt not but you will suggest further works for his fine Christian pen.<sup>177</sup> An eminent lawyer in Edinburgh (Mr. Harry Hume) talks of writing against his pamphlet, and says it puts him in mind of the pleading of

lawyers, which appear strong till their antagonist rises and takes up the other side of the argument.<sup>178</sup> He is a very acute clever man, and published some ingenious treatises, immediately after the rebellion, on Hereditary Rights, etc. and is a strong Whig. I shall be prodigiously glad to see Mr. West's Pindar, etc, of which I heard before.<sup>179</sup> I remember a beautiful poem of his, some years ago, in imitation of Spenser. I dare say you will be glad to hear that Thomson's "Castle of Indolence", which has laid so long indolent, is in the press.<sup>180</sup> I have got Lowman, but have not yet had leisure to read him.<sup>181</sup> Dr. Sykes writes me that he read him with great eagerness, expecting to have his own work on sacrifices superseded; but he was disappointed, and went on boldly in his own way.<sup>182</sup> He adds that his is a philological, rather than a theological work. He writes me of an odd book, called 'A full and perfect View of Christianity,' written by one Deacon, of Manchester, a non-jurant; which he calls one of the most consistent books he ever saw, and very extraordinary to come from a non-jurant, who differs but little from a papist: he would have it considered by a good hand.<sup>183</sup>

Have you read Roderick Random?<sup>184</sup> It is done by a Scotch surgeon, one Smollett, (who has written a pretty good tragedy) and, I'm told, is well liked. What is this new play of Dr. Hoadley's?<sup>185</sup> You do not mean the Suspicious Husband?

I think Mr. Lyttleton was right not to accept of the Oxonia Diploma. Your freethinking wits would have said 'the man wrote for a plume'.<sup>186</sup>

My mother offers her best compliments to you and good Mrs. Doddridge, as I do. She still recovers very slowly. I expect your candid and unreserved criticisms on the Dialogues, for, verily, you are a good judge; and, heartily, wishing you health



and success in serving mankind, I am very sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and obliged humble Servant,

33. David Fordyce to George Benson<sup>187</sup>

Dear Sir

It is some time ago since I had the Favour of your agreeable Letter with Proposals inclosed concerning an Uranometria.<sup>188</sup> These I have shown to some Mathematical Acquaintance but I have not been able to procure any Subscriptions for it. They think the Author should publish his name to give Weight & Encouragement to the Subscription, or procure proper Attestations from the R. Society or others of his Abilities to execute so great & expensive a Work. I am sorry that the Taste for encouraging Works of Learning seems so low in this Part of the World. Besides so many Impositions have been put on the World by Subscriptions that I observe a general Disinclination to encourage such Ways of publishing Books. This makes me believe that it will be no easy matter to get your Friend Mr. Taylor's useful & laborious Work, I mean his Dictionary, pushed forward into the World, which I think is great pity.<sup>189</sup> I rejoice however in his late good Fortune; & most sincerely and heartily congratulate the late Miss Kettle on her Marriage & wish her all the Happiness in that State which so amiable & accomplished a Woman deserves.<sup>190</sup>

Pray do you know whether Mr. Taylor has done any thing worth while in that Argument of the Atonement which he mentions in the

Introductory Discourse to his Paraphrase on the Romans?<sup>191</sup>

I have been lately reading that sensible and ingenious Discourse, for which the World is much obliged to him. I wish his Style had been more compact & his Work shortned. I remember Dr Hunt was of the same Opinion. I am glad to hear you are going forward with the Doct<sup>r</sup>'s Works & likewise printing the rest of your own Paraphrase, which I long to see completed. After that I think you may say you have had your abundant Share of Labours in the Christian Vineyard. Yet while you have Life & Health I shall always expect some new Production. I wish you or some able hand would undertake to explain the christian Doctrine concerning the Spirit, which seems to be yet a Desideratum.

What do you expect from this moral Work of Grove's which I see advertised?<sup>192</sup> Does his Scheme concerning the Foundations of Morality differ from Dr Clarke's Fitnesses or Woollaston's Truth?<sup>193</sup> I see a large Work advertised by Mr Foster in which I suppose We shall have all his common Place Divinity.<sup>194</sup>

I happened to be in the Highlands at the time of the Solar Eclipse, & the cloudy day prevented me from making any Observations; but our Friend Mr Stewart tells me he wrote a full answ<sup>r</sup> to Mr Munckly's Queries; which I suppose you have seen. A young Lady at or near Elgin in Murray observed the Edge of the Moon's Disc enlightned as she approached to the Sun. The annulus was very visible at Aberdeen & other places in this Country.<sup>195</sup>

I suppose you have heard of the Death of our late Principal Mr. Osborne who died of an illness of only a few hours Continuance.<sup>196</sup> It is yet uncertain who will succeed him; but it is generally thought it will be one of our Town's Ministers, probably Mr Pollock, as such Posts are generally conferred on Clergymen; these being the only Preferments the Court has to



bestow on our Clergy.<sup>197</sup>

I had by last post a Letter from good Dr Lardner which I shall not be long of acknowledging. I am glad to hear you are all well. I lately wrote Dr Miles.<sup>198</sup>

What sort of Things are those Dissertations of Dr Doddridge's prefixed to his Paraphrase.<sup>199</sup> Have you ever looked into them? He will scribble on eternally.

I had lately some Letters from Dr Sykes at Winchester. I suppose he intends to publish his large Work on the Mediation next winter.<sup>200</sup> Have you read the Letters on Mythology?<sup>201</sup> I think Dr Lardner's Remarks on them are exceeding just. I cannot help thinking that there is too much Learning thrown away on so trite & stale a Subject & which after all is rather curious than useful.

My best Compliments wait on Mrs Benson, Mr. Justice Ricards Family, Dr Lardner & Dr Avery.

I heartily wish you good Health & all success in your public & private Labours for the Good of Mankind & continue with a sincere Affection

Dear Doct<sup>r</sup> your most obliged & affect<sup>te</sup> Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>

D. Fordyce

Aberdeen 10<sup>th</sup> Oct 1748

34. David Fordyce (on behalf of Marischal College)  
to James Foster.<sup>202</sup>

We beg that you will be so good as to accept of the diploma, as a small mark of the sincere veneration we have for you and of the sense we entertain of the eminent services you have done to the cause of liberty, religion, and virtue by your writings as well as by your public instructions.

35. David Fordyce to Elizabeth Fordyce  
(his mother)<sup>203</sup>

Rome, 16th February, 1750/51

I wrote you a Letter from Leghorn, in answer to your most welcome letters which I received there, and [another] to John and Will.<sup>204</sup> Since that, I wrote one to Jacob. immediately after my Arrival here, almost three weeks ago, which I hope are come to hand.<sup>205</sup> All things have hitherto, I thank God, happened most prosperously for me, and I am every day meeting with new Instances of the singular Favours of a good Providence, by the Civilities I receive. I keep health perfectly well, I have had no ailments to complain of since I left Britain, scarce even my usual headaches, though I have often met with many occasions of catching cold. I stayed some days in a public House after I came to Rome. Since I have got into private lodgings /an Antichamber and Bed Chamber/ with an old Woman, who dresses my Victuals for me, and furnishes me those chambers for 11 shil<sup>s</sup> a month. But I am so frequently invited to dine abroad that I have seldom occasion for anything at home. I drink a dish of chocolate in the morning and sup on Bread and milk. After supper I generally go to have my ears soothed with a little Italian Music at the opera, which likewise (by the favours of my English Acquaintance) costs me nothing, or to a Play. To make you easy about my returning home, you must know that one walks the Streets of Rome as safe at night as those of Ab'n.<sup>206</sup> There are never any Robberies or Murders heard of here; and the Italians are a very harmless civil People, especially to the English. In the morning and Afternoon I pay visits to see Churches, Palaces and old Ruins which are



reckoned precious Things here. This is my present Plan of Living. The Romans are at present in the midst of the highest Entertainment of the whole year, the Carnival, which is nothing else but a Procession in masks through the Streets, especially the great one, in coaches and on Foot; the People are immensely fond of this insipid Diversion, as they delight in their love to appear in strange, grotesque Figures and are allowed some shadow of Liberty in scolding, jesting and throwing their [Weight] at one another. I have joined this wise Band both on Foot and in coach but without a mask. The Horses are dressed with Bells and a Profusion of Ribbons and Lawn. The people in the coaches assume the most fantastic Dresses according to their several Taste and Humours and throw Almonds and other sweetmeats at one another in the coaches and out of 'em. Some Ladies and others of our Acquaintance rained showers of 'em at my Companion and me, as we passed along, which felt sharp like Hailstones, yet this is reckoned a Strain of fine manners of peculiar Complaisance. This Sport continues eight days without any great Variety and every day a Troup of Horses without Riders run from the one end of a long Street (called the [            ]) to the other. The winner gets a piece of [            ,            ] or Brocade. In the Evenings the whole Town crowd to the operas or Playhouses of which there are about a dozen in Rome at present; after that they go to spend the whole night at Balls. After these eight days comes Lent, when Preaching, Fasting and Pennances of 40 days succeed to those of mirth and Jollity. The People are exceptionally poor and therefore you may believe very knavish too; yet the lowest of 'em are well, nay richly, dressed in silk and silver Lace on those Festival days. They are fond of Strangers, particularly

the English whom they esteem and venerate. I have been to call on some of the Cardinals who received me with great Politeness and I have seen the Pope, who is a fresh, hale, good-natured looking old man, but have not yet had the Honour to kiss his Toe. I have likewise seen the Pret-d-r in church, who appears a grave melancholy Man and behaves very devoutly at church, whither he goes every day.<sup>207</sup>

I have not yet seen many Palaces, and it would be endless to describe the fine Things to be seen in them and elsewhere. The Riches in them and the Churches exceed Imagination, yet Rome, at present is only a faint shadow of what it once was. One half of the People seem to be Priests or Retainers to them, and the Pope, when he comes abroad, appears with a Magnificence equal to that of our King. The People kneel in the Streets in Crowds to receive his Benediction. The Character of the present one is very good. When we came here first the weather was very bad, almost constantly Rains and the Rivers overflowed many of the Streets, in which Boats sailed; the People in the Country meanwhile were reduced to the utmost Distress. But the weather is grown fine again and sweetly warm. I proposed at first coming to have gone to Naples but I [shall wait till] the days are longer. My Companion goes thither soon, because he must return to England sooner than he intended; so I have taken a separate Lodging. An English gentleman has offered to take me in his Chaise to Naples, which will save me Expense. I believe I shall accept his offer and doubt not of finding company homeward. I found Mr. Gerard's Letter when I arrived which was very welcome.<sup>208</sup> I am much obliged to him for his Care of my Class; I beg to be remembered to him and them affectionately. As I wrote before he may gather up the dues.



When I can furnish out a few materials, I intend to do myself the Pleasure of writing Mrs Duff. My best compliments meanwhile to her and Mrs. Burnet. My love to all the Fireside. I wonder I hear from none of you; though I desired you to write me hither at the English Coffee House. Pray write [and tell me] how you and all friends are. A Letter may still reach me as I return from Naples by Rome. Remember me affectionately to all friends, to my Uncle's Family, the Mr [ ] Black's Sister.<sup>209</sup> Mr French and family, Mr Duncan's, my colleagues and other good Friends.<sup>210</sup> Pray keep warm, drink heartily and keep merry till I come home and then we shall laugh till our Sides crack. I ever am yours most affectionately.

D. Fordyce.

## NOTES

1. NLS MS 584, 971.
2. Transl.: The well-springs of life always gushing up.
3. A quotation from Horace, Epistles, no. xviii. Transl.: How may you be able to pass your days in tranquility? What will lessen care? What will make you a friend to yourself? What gives you unruffled calm? Horace is asking if virtue or material things is the summum bonum and, by inference, the classic question: can virtue be taught? Thus Fordyce's ensuing discussion.
4. The moral ideas of Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713), advocating a Platonist ethics of benevolence and 'good taste', expounded in Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (1711, revised 1713). Fordyce's thinking is probably influenced by Joseph Butler's formulation of conscience in Fifteen Sermons from the Rolls Chapel (1726).
5. Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), the Scots Irish philosopher, educated at Glasgow and Professor of Moral Philosophy there, 1729-46, developed the ideas of Shaftesbury on benevolence and the moral sense and influenced the Scottish School of Common Sense philosophy.
6. Presumably Thomas Blackwell, the younger (1699-1757), Professor of Greek and later Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, relative of David Fordyce and self-confessed devotee of Shaftesbury.
7. Mrs. Simpson may be a landlady, possibly wife of John Simson, Professor of Divinity, who was suspended indefinitely in 1726 on grounds of heresy. Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics, was unmarried. Students frequently boarded in the houses of professors or persons connected with the university, for example, the widows of professors. See W.R. Scott, Adam Smith as Student and Professor (Glasgow, 1937), p. 29.  
'Beard' is possibly Francis Buord, who taught French at Glasgow. See James Coutts, A History of the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1909), p. 231.  
'Fleming' may be John Fleming who graduated in 1739. See W. Innes Adamson, The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858 (Glasgow, 1913), p. 22.
8. NLS MS 2670, f. 158.
9. This may be Rev. Patrick Cuming (see note 29, below) or Rev. George Wishart, minister of the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh (see note 79, below).
10. Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), Bishop of, successively, Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester and "the most attacked of all Church of England divines" (D.N.B.); most famous as originator of the Bangorian controversy by challenging the authority of the Church in relation to the State under the Hanoverians. His A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper (1735), published anonymously caused great theological excitement by trying to remove all elements of mystery and treating the act as one of commemoration only, thus leaving himself open to a charge of Socinianism.



11. Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer was first published, anonymously, in 1735, second edition 1736 (not 1746, as some sources state) and in 1747 Proofs of the Enquiry into Homer's Life and Writings, mainly translations of the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian and French notes to the original. Blackwell was accused of atheism in the treatise, notably by Rev. William Webster in The Weekly Miscellany (cf. note 19, below). Thomas Rundle (1688?-1743), appointed Bishop of Derry in 1735, although he resided in Dublin. Arthur Ashley Sykes (1684-1756), Latitudinarian divine, from 1718 preacher at King Street Chapel, Westminster; a follower of Hoadly, he wrote voluminous controversial works and was an opponent, among others, of Conyers Middleton and William Warburton. Fordyce corresponded with Sykes. See above p. 411. James Foster (1697-1753), Deistic divine and eloquent preacher at the Old Jewry, London, from 1728, and participant in theological controversies; in 1744 became pastor of the Independent Church at Pinners' Hall and published the first of four volumes of sermons. He received a D.D. from Marischal College in December 1748, an official letter being written by David Fordyce.
12. A lacuna makes it uncertain whose Life is referred to.
13. Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 86.
14. Fletcher Gyles's bookshop in Holborn.
15. Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 92.
16. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/10/41, not printed, but the P.S. containing the reference is attached by Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 346, to the letter from Doddridge to Clark of 7 October (Dr Williams' Library MS L1/10/42).
17. I.e., Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire.
18. Not in MS. Printed by T. Stedman, Letters to and from... Doddridge (1790), p. 160; more fully by Nichols, Anecdotes, vol. 11, p. 813; Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 363.
19. Rev. William Webster (1689-1758) wrote anonymously a 'Country Clergyman's Letter' against Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses as editor of The Weekly Miscellany of 14 February 1737. His attacks on Warburton were published separately, probably in 1739, as Remarks on the Divine Legation.
20. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/10/47. Printed by Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 358.
21. Not in MS. Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 363.
22. Dr. John Fordyce (1717-60), who subsequently gained a practice at Uppingham, Northamptonshire, through Doddridge's assistance. Cf. letter of Doddridge to Sir James Stonhouse, Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 336.
23. The Act of 1673, which imposed heavy burdens on Nonconformists along with the Clarendon Code, forbidding them from holding offices under the Crown.
24. The Toleration Act of 1689 grudgingly gave rights to the Dissenters which were diminished by the Act against Occasional Conformity in 1711, which made it difficult for a dissenter to hold office of any kind. The Schism Act of 1714 made a bishop's license necessary for setting up a school. Walpole was notoriously inconsistent in his dealings with the problems



of religious toleration. He tried to appease the Dissenters in 1727 with the first Indemnity Act since 1714 (which was supposed to be annual) and annually thereafter with certain exceptions, a situation which continued for the next hundred years until the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. Although Dissenters were generally good citizens, prejudice against them was easily aroused. By 1739 Walpole had become concerned with the retention of power for its own sake.

25. Transl.: See! What an astute man!
26. Plumer, M.P. for Hertfordshire, in March 1736 had tried to bring in a Bill for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, but was defeated. An approach to Walpole in 1739 brought the reply: "the time has not yet arrived." A renewed attempt in March 1739 was defeated by 188 votes to 89.
27. Joseph Danvers 1686-1753, M.P. for Totnes, 1734-47, generally a supporter of Walpole.
28. Sir John Barnard (1685-1764), merchant and politician, city financier; M.P. for the City of London, 1722-61 and sometime Lord Mayor of London; opponent of Walpole, although actually admired by him; famous for his persuasive skill in debate.
29. Rev. Patrick Cuming (1695-1776), Professor of Church History at Edinburgh University from 1737 to 1761, leader of the Moderates in the Church of Scotland before the rise of Principal Robertson; three times Moderator of the General Assembly; highly rated as a preacher but generally considered too much the political tool of the Duke of Argyll, who used him particularly over matters of patronage. Cuming's lectures are preserved in New College, Edinburgh (6 vols. 1738 onwards).  
 Fordyce may be referring to Doddridge's Family Expositor. See note 45, below. The New Testament, or History of Christ contained in the Four Evangelists, harmonised by the late.. Philip Doddridge does not appear to have been published until 1804.
30. Archibald Campbell (1691-1756), Professor of Church History at St. Andrews, 1730, accused of Pelagianism in 1735; published The Necessity of Revelation in 1739 in answer to Tindal's Christianity as Old as the Creation (1730), which brought the Deist controversy to a climax. More than thirty replies to Tindal are listed in the BL catalogue.
31. Transl.: My reverent and dear father, your very affectionate.
32. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/10/41. Printed by Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 382. The P.S. is attached by Humphreys to the letter of Doddridge to Clark of 7 October, Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 346.
33. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/167. Printed by Humphreys as 10 April 1740, vol. 111, p. 442.
34. There is a reference to Doddridge taking the sacrament at Newport Pagnell between 4 November and 2 December in Humphreys, vol. V, p. 417.  
 "Having promised to preach...if you know either" is omitted by Humphreys.



35. John Hopkins of Essex, with whose family Fordyce became tutor and chaplain.
36. Dr. John Fordyce, now established at Uppingham. Humphreys, bowdlerising, writes: "since he went down, had great success in a dangerous case; and we're both, dear Doctor, exceedingly sensible..."  
Transl.: on this account he told me he has run the risk of being ruined in setting himself up.
37. John Aikin (1713-80), scholar and theological tutor, born in London of a Scots father, went to Kibworth Academy as Doddridge's first pupil, then to King's College, Aberdeen, where he gained an M.A. in 1737. After being Doddridge's assistant for a short time, he became minister of a congregation at Market Harborough in 1738, then in 1757 divinity tutor at Warrington Academy for twenty-one years.
38. This quotation has not been traced.
39. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/166. Not printed.
40. Exercise, duty.
41. Newport Pagnell.
42. Not in MS. Printed by Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 414.
43. Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 417n, says: "John Hopkins, Esq., of Bretons, near Rumford, in whose family Mr. Fordyce officiated, for a time, as domestic chaplain."  
Land bequeathed to Doddridge by his aunt, Mrs. Norton, of Cookham, according to Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 415n.
44. Transl.: who lack culture to a great extent.
45. The Family Expositor, Doddridge's companion to Biblical studies, published in 6 volumes, 1739-56.  
Transl.: simple in neatness and elegant in shining leather cover.
46. The first part of The Divine Legation of Moses was published in January 1738 and the second in 1741, inviting an enormous critical response. Warburton argues paradoxically that the lack of reference to any future life in the Mosaic law actually proves the divine purpose of the lawgiver.
47. George Turnbull (1698-1749), Edinburgh graduate, regent at Marischal College, 1721-6, then travelling tutor for some years and tutor to the Prince of Wales, later joining the Anglican Church; published The Principles of Moral Philosophy and A Treatise on Ancient Painting in 1740.
48. The promised work is not listed in the BL catalogue, although James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (London, 1875), p. 98, says that it was published.
49. The principles and connection of natural and revealed religion distinctly considered (London, 1740). Cf. note 11, above.
50. Henry Miles (1698-1763), D.D., Dissenting minister and scientific writer, in 1737 became assistant at the Old Jewry, until 1744, then for the rest of his life was minister solely at Tooting; became F.R.S. in 1743; contributed to Philosophical Transactions between 1741 and 1753 and conducted some new experiments. Miles was well known for his amiability.



51. Not in MS. Printed in Stedman, op. cit., p. 174, with \*\*\*\*\* for 'Fordyce'. Printed in Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 818; Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 481, with \*\*\*\*\* for 'Fordyce.'  
Boswell notes that, in conversation with Alexander Gerard on the tour to the Highlands, "Mr Johnson said Warburton had accustomed himself to write letters as he speaks, without thinking any more of what he throws out." See Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D. 1773, edited Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett (London, 1963), p. 66.
52. Conyers Middleton, (1683-1750), Cambridge divine and noted controversialist.
53. Not in MS. Printed in Stedman, op. cit., p. 176n, with \_\_\_\_\_ for 'Fordyce.' More fully by Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 821n; Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 482n, with \*\*\*\*\* for 'Fordyce.'
54. Dr. Williams Library MS L1/5/168. Not printed.
55. Five miles north of Billericay, Essex, originally a religious house, dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. No records exist, however, of Hopkins' ownership or occupancy, although he owned a number of properties in the neighbourhood.
56. The chapel of Ingateston Hall was rebuilt in 1860, although there is no evidence Fordyce is actually referring to this chapel. See Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Essex (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 225.
57. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/169. Printed by Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 516, where 'Ingateston' appears erroneously as 'Ingrateston.'
58. Probably Mr. Collyer of Delepree, near Northampton, with whose family Doddridge was closely associated. See Humphreys, vol. 111, p. 519n.
59. Doddridge's Ten Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ, and the Evidences of his Glorious Gospel was published in 1736. See Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 50n.  
The first three sentences are omitted by Humphreys.
60. Transl.: Regarding the one settlement I'm with at the moment, there are doubtless several things which shock me there: the rustic character of the father who is one of the most rough, grim, capricious men to be found; the whims of the girls. However there are some circumstances which render the situation more bearable, the mother's kindness and the leisure time I have for study. They seem to like my sermons fairly well and I have such a hold on them that I alone can let it go and continue too, for as long as it seems good to me, which will only be until I have gained a more independent position which is my greatest ambition. For that I have such confidence in the goodness of Providence, that I fear nothing concerning the future.
61. Cf. note 29, above,
62. Humphreys has "manuscripts" for "MS."  
Transl.: of the good times.
63. Humphreys omits: "Don't imagine.....impartial Friendship."



64. Andrew Millar (1708-68), Scots publisher, went to London c. 1729 and quickly prospered; worked closely with Dr. Johnson, for example, on the Dictionary, and was called by him the "Maecenas of the age."
65. Doddridge received D.D.s from Marischal and King's Colleges in 1736. The original Diploma is contained in the NLS.
66. John Falconer (1674-1764) of Phesdo, Kincardineshire, M.P. for Kincardine, 1734-41, a noted Francophile.
67. Humphreys omits the P.S.
68. Not in MS. Printed by Stedman, op. cit., p. 178, with ——— for 'Fordyce.' More fully by Nichols, Illustrations, vol. 11, p. 821. Humphreys, vol., 111, p. 529, with \*\*\*\*\* for 'Fordyce.'
69. Not in MS. Printed by Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 23.
70. I.e., June, according to the date of the letter, yet in the letter of 22 August 1741 he says he arrived in Scotland "at the end of May," which seems less likely.
71. Presumably volume 11 of The Family Expositor.
72. Probably The History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero, 2 vols. (1741) by Conyers Middleton. The Life was long regarded as a model of style, although Middleton was accused of plagiarism. Fordyce may, however, be referring to the anonymously published Observations on the Life of Cicero (London, 1733, 2nd edition 1741), actually by George Lyttleton.
73. It is not clear what Aikin's good fortune was. He was at this time minister at Market Harborough.
74. SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD 18/5036/46.
75. Matthew Wood (1676-1741), minister at the Tron Kirk from 1715 till his death on 19 October 1741, i.e., soon after Fordyce's appointment.
76. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/170. Printed in Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 53.
77. Transl.: native soil/heath.
78. A charge served by two ministers.
79. I.e., Rev. Matthew Wood.
80. Rev. George Wishart (1712-95), minister of the Tron Church (the 'tron' being originally the public weighing machine) from 1730, one of the leading Moderate preachers. His brother, William (d. 1753) was Principal of Edinburgh University from October 1737 until his death.
81. "Tho therefore I intended ....agreeable opportunity" is omitted by Humphreys, who begins the next sentence: "Your friends in the north..."
82. See note 29, above.
83. Several merchants of the name Montgomery are listed in James R. Anderson, editor, The Burgesses and Guild Brethern of Glasgow 1573-1750 (Edinburgh, 1925): see p. 299 (Hugh), p. 395 (Patrick), p. 428 (James), p. 448 (Daniel). A notable Adam Montgomery merchant and benefactor, is mentioned in John McUre, The History of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1736), p. 121 and a James Montgomery in George Eyre Todd, History of Glasgow, 3 vols. (Glasgow, 1934), vol. 111, p. 76.



84. I.e., of the Apostles, in Doddridge's series of Bible commentaries.
85. See notes 46 and 71 above.
86. John Roebuck (1718-94), educated at Doddridge's academy until 1737, then trained in medicine at Edinburgh, but his interest in chemistry led to important inventions and involvement in industry, notably as founder of the Carron Iron Works and colleague of James Watt.
87. Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 54n, notes that the Memoirs were published in 1753, but were not esteemed as highly as the Enquiry.
88. Oswald is probably the prominent London bookseller.
89. Probably Ten Sermons (see note 59, above) or Practical Discourses on Regeneration (1741). Cf. Humphreys, vol. 1V, p. 50n.
90. Proposed by Colin MacLaurin on 10 July 1741 and to be built in the college. See Alexander Bower, The History of the University of Edinburgh, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817-30), vol. 11, p. 249. An observatory (for astronomical observations) had been planned in Edinburgh, but accidents, for example, the Porteous Riots, preoccupied the civic leaders. See Hugo Arnot, A History of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1773). Then in 1740 the Earl of Morton, Lord Register of Scotland, gave £100 for the building, with Colin MacLaurin and others as trustees, MacLaurin donating £300 in profits from a course of lectures for the purpose. See AUL MS 2106, Earl of Morton to William Wishart, 22 April 1740. The plans, however, were laid aside with MacLaurin's death in 1746. The observatory still standing on Calton Hill was built in 1776, mainly the work of Robert Adam.
91. George Whitefield (1714-70), itinerant Methodist preacher, but Calvinist in outlook, unlike the Wesleys. He was originally invited to preach in Scotland in 1740 by the Seceders, the conservative Calvinist group, whose rift with the established Church of Scotland dated from 1733, but he offended them by not preaching in Seceder churches only. In Edinburgh he preached in the Canongate Kirk, the grounds of the Orphan Hospital and elsewhere.
92. Humphreys omits the note of Fordyce's address.
93. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/4/107.
94. The brother referred to must be William, who graduated M.A. in 1742.
95. Transl.: utterly cut off from the whole world.
96. Not in MS. Undated, printed in Alexander Dyce, editor, The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside (London, 1857), p. lxxxiii.
97. Akenside has clearly been shown an early draft of Dialogues concerning Education for criticism.
98. The "affected" elements which Akenside criticises are largely omitted from the published work.
99. Akenside is referring to his philosophical poem, The Pleasures of Imagination, published anonymously in January 1741. He followed Shaftesbury's idea of ridicule as a test of truth and so received abusive criticism from Warburton.



100. Dyce op. cit., p. lxxxv, notes "This was afterwards introduced, slightly altered, into The Pleasure of Imagination, Book iii, ver. 70 etc. (First edition)."
101. "Mr. B." could be Thomas Birch, someone, at least, who could facilitate publication. Birch was a correspondent of Akenside. See BL MS 4300/10 of 1756-62.
102. The letters are probably another part of the early draft of Dialogues concerning Education, whose disparate elements at this stage were criticised by Blackwell.
103. Not in MS. Printed in Dyce, op. cit., p. lxxxvi.
104. John Upton (1707-60). Epicteti quae supersunt dissertationes ab Arriano collectae, recensuit notisque illustravit Joannes Uptonus (1739, 2 vols., 1741).
105. Akenside is again commenting on the draft of Fordyce's Dialogues.
106. Probably A Fragment of the sixth book of Polybius, containing a dissertation upon government by a Gentleman E. Spelman (London, 1743).
107. Possibly William Richardson, appointed Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University in October 1768.  
The identity of "Pickering" is uncertain. Francis Hume (1719-1813), M.D., surgeon of dragoons in Flanders, 1742-8; first Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh University, 1768; author of Principia Medica (1758); pioneered the chemistry of bleaching, investigated plant mutation and contributed to preventive medicine.
108. Probably James Russell, appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University in 1764.
109. On Roebuck see note 85, above.  
The identities of "Allen" and "Ogle" are uncertain.
110. NLS MS 7051, f. 44.
111. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/171. Not printed.
112. It is not clear from the Family Record which sister had recently died.
113. The "little Preferment" must refer to the appointment at Marischal College.
114. Cf. note 38, above.
115. Henry Dodwell, the younger (d. 1784), whose sole claim to fame was the pamphlet Christianity not founded on Argument, published anonymously in 1742, but well known to be by Dodwell. Although professing to be a defence of Christianity, its seriousness has been generally doubted, since the arguments taken to the extreme reduce Christianity to absurdity. In opposition to Deists who had tried to prove revealed religion unorthodox and the orthodox who had tried to prove it reasonable, Dodwell said that rational apprehension of revealed truth was impossible, at a time when the Methodist stress upon individual salvation was already indicating a reaction. Wesley, however, saw through Dodwell's work and Doddridge called it "a most artful attempt, in the person of a methodist, but made indeed by a very sagacious deist, to subvert Christianity" (quoted in D.N.B. under "Henry Dodwell").

116. Cf. note 88, above.
117. "Society" clearly refers to the college faculty rather than a literary-philosophical club.
118. Rev. James Fordyce.
119. Thomas Blackwell's Letters concerning Mythology did not in fact appear until 1748.
120. Essays Moral and Political, published 1741-2, by David Hume (1711-76), leading philosopher of the Enlightenment. These essays were ignored by the Edinburgh papers and first noticed in London, 25 February 1742. Although generally well received, they were not as important as his Treatise of Human Nature (1739), which, said Hume, "fell deadborn from the press."
121. Rev. William Leechman (1706-85), appointed Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University at the end of 1743 and Principal, 1761-85. He resigned his charge at Beith on 3 January 1744, but the Presbytery of Glasgow refused to enrol him, claiming his sermon published in 1743, On the Nature, Reasonableness, and Advantages of Prayer, was heretical, placing too little stress on the role of the intercession of Christ. The accusation was rejected by the synod of Glasgow and Ayr and his acquittal confirmed by the General Assembly.
122. BL MS 20,723,f. 26. Printed in Dyce, op. cit., p. lxxxviii.
123. Shaftesbury's ideas on ridicule as the text of truth are expounded in Characteristics (1711).
124. Transl.: the ridiculous, laughable.
125. Joseph Andrews, published in 1742, Henry Fielding's first novel, was begun as a skit on Samuel Richardson's Pamela (see note 165, below), where the serving maid, Pamela Andrews, tries to escape the attentions of her master. So, here, Joseph Andrews, her brother, also in service, is exposed to attacks on his virtue.
126. Cf. note, 98, above.
127. "Philostratus" clearly is "Mr. B." of Akenside's previous letter. See note 101, above.  
The original Philostratus ("the elder") was teacher of rhetoric at Athens and Rome in the early third century A.D.
128. Probably William Cleghorn, later Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University.
129. On Russell, see note 108, above.  
"Blair" is probably John Blair, later Prebendary at Westminster, but possibly Hugh Blair, his relative and later Professor of Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University.
130. MUL MS BI.13.
131. Benson received a D.D. from Marischal College in 1744.
132. Dr. Kervin Wright received the degree on the recommendation of David Fordyce (see Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 115).
133. 'Oswald', see note 88 above.



134. Jeremiah Hunt (1678-1744), Independent minister, student at Edinburgh and Leyden; D.D. of Edinburgh, 1729; died 5 September 1744. Eleven of his Sermons had been published between 1716 and 1736. His 'Sermons' were published in four volumes postumously (-1748), edited by George Benson.
135. 'Maimonides': cf. Appendix 1, note 9. The Medieval Jewish writer's classic in religious philosophy More nevukhim (The Guide of the Perplexed) was begun in 1176 and written over fifteen years, blending science, philosophy and religion. From Arabic it was translated into Latin and most European languages and had a big influence on the history of religious thought. John Smith (1618-52), the Cambridge Platonist, whose Select Discourses (1660) were still popular reading for their refined thought and literary ability.
136. I.e., St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.
137. Benson's commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. Cf. note 147, below.
138. Subsequently published as Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, 3 vols. (1753 etc.).
139. John Stewart, Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College.
140. Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768), nonconformist divine and scholar, assistant in the presbyterian church in Poor Jewry Lane, Crutched Friars, where Benson became pastor in November 1740. Lardner obtained a D.D. from Marischal College early in 1745.
141. 'Ricards': Cf. 'Mr Justice Ricards' of letter 29, below, but no further details are known. Benjamin Avery (d. 1764), physician, originally presbyterian minister at Bartholomew's Close, London, quitted 1720, but kept an administrative appointment in dissenting circles, working closely with Benson and Foster.
142. No such dialogue appears to be listed in the BL catalogue.
143. MUL MS BI.13.
144. Cf. note 139, above.
145. Cf. note 120, above. The reference here is to the attempt (which failed) to gain a D.D. for Benson from Glasgow University.
146. The two quoted texts are from 1st Corinthians, chapter 15, verse 29 and 2nd Timothy, chapter 2, verse 19, respectively. The latter, however, in the Authorised Version, has 'God' instead of 'the Lord'.
147. I.e., 'London'.
148. Benson's A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul (1734 etc.) was the first of a series of New Testament commentaries. Various sermons by him were published.
149. I.e., Thomas Blackwell, Principal of Marischal College, and John Stewart, Professor of Mathematics.
150. Cf. note 134, above.
151. MUL MS BI.13.
152. Possibly a work of James Knight, the theological writer.



153. Benson's The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, (2nd edition, 1746). 'Xty': i.e., Christianity ('X' being the Greek 'Ch' and common abbreviation for 'Christ').
154. Cf. note 114, above.
155. I.e., 'Benson's'.
156. William Weston, Cambridge divine, author of An Enquiry into the rejection of the Christian Miracles by the Heathens (1746).
157. Transl.: the Spirit, the Comforter.
158. Warburton's Ramarks on several occasional Reflections appeared in two parts, in 1744-5, and was devoted to the demolition, among others, of A.A. Sykes, who, in An Examination of Mr Warburton's Account of the Ancient Legislators, was said to confound the 'theocracy' with the 'extraordinary providence' which existed under it.
159. John Taylor (1694-1761), Dissenting divine and Hebraist, critic of original sin. His study of Pauline theology, partly on the lines of Locke, resulted in a 'key' applied to Romans: A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistles to the Romans (1745).
160. Not in MS. Printed in Humphreys, vol. IV, p. 536.
161. Probably an intimation of An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (first drafted in 1728 after Newton's death), published posthumously by subscription, by Patrick Murdoch, for the benefit of the children of Colin MacLaurin (1698-1746), the prominent mathematician, who died as a consequence of his exertions in defending Edinburgh against the Jacobites.
162. A Free Inquiry into Miracles (1748), by Conyers Middleton, which concluded that post-apostolic miracles were unreal.
163. Catherine Cockburn (1699-1749), dramatist and philosophic writer, married to Patrick Cockburn, who became minister of the Episcopal church in Aberdeen in 1726, later moving to Morpeth, Northumberland in 1737. In response to An Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue (1744) of Thomas Rutherford, who advocated a system of egoistic utilitarianism, Mrs Cockburn restated the ethical theory of Samuel Clarke, the rationalist metaphysician, in her Remarks upon the Principles.. of Dr. Rutherford's Essay..in vindication of Dr. Samuel Clarke (1747).
164. The opposition of Rev. John Chapman (1704-84) to Middleton's views on the Christian miracles (see note 161, above) does not appear to have resulted in a published pamphlet or book (according to the BL catalogue), but can be inferred from Middleton's An Introductory Discourse to a larger work designed hereafter to be published, concerning the miraculous powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church, ..with P.S. on charges of Rev. Dr. Chapman. Henry Stebbing published Observations on a Book in opposition to Middleton's work.
165. Cf. note 118, above.  
David Mallet (originally Malloch), (1705?-65), Scots poet and miscellaneous writer, published in May 1747 his Amyntor and Theodora, or the Hermit.
166. Andrew Millar: see note 64, above.  
Mallet's The Life of Bacon was published by Millar in 1740.



167. The Bill was intended to take away heritable jurisdictions in Scotland.  
Archibald Campbell (1682-1761), third Duke of Argyll, previously Earl of Islay, succeeded his brother in 1743; shrewd and successful, Walpole's chief administrator in Scotland; considered "the uncrowned king of Scotland", but in fact fair and tolerant.  
Transl.: cf. note 25, above.
168. Dr. Williams' Library MS L1/5/164.
169. Philip Doddridge, Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Col. James Gardiner (1747). Gardiner (1688-1745), a reformed rake and colonel of dragoons, became a religious enthusiast and was killed at the battle of Prestonpans.  
Cf. note 186, below.
170. It is not clear from the Family Record which daughter had died.
171. Referring presumably to Rev. James Fordyce, at this time minister in Brechin.
172. Not in MS. Printed by Humphreys, vol. V, p. 55.
173. Transl.: knowledge.
174. Using the Life as a moral exemplum clearly left Doddridge open to criticism. Alexander Carlyle, the leading Moderate, who lived near Gardiner, claims that Doddridge melodramatised. See James Kinsley, editor, Anecdotes and Characters of the Times (London, 1973), pp. 9 and 10n.
175. The "libel" presumably concerns the status of Dissenters. Cf. letter 8, above.
176. Transl.: with a pinch of salt. Humphreys has, incorrectly, "Cum granos salis."
177. George Lyttleton, first Baron (1709-73), politician, well known for his integrity, benevolence and religious convictions, published Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul (1747).
178. Henry Hume, Lord Kames (1696-1782), leading Scottish judge and man of letters.
179. Gilbert West (1703-56), author, friend of Lyttleton, Pitt, Pope and correspondent of Doddridge. See Humphreys, vol. V, pp. 50 and 126. His verse translation, Odes of Pindar, with several pieces translated, was often reprinted. Dr. Johnson declared the work "too paraphrastical." West's imitation of Spenser was contained in A Canto of the Faerie Queene (1739).
180. James Thomson (1700-48), Scots poet, author of The Seasons (1726-30), Liberty (1735-6), and several plays. The Castle of Indolence: an Allegorical Poem (1748) was conceived over a period at Richmond.
181. Moses Lowman (1680-1752), nonconformist divine, minister at Clapham, 1714, until his death. His A Rationale of the Ritual of the Hebrew Worship was published in 1748.
182. See note 11 above. Sykes's own work was An essay on the nature....of sacrifices (1748).
183. Thomas Deacon (1697-1753), physician and nonjuring bishop. founder of an Episcopal church in Manchester, involved in the Jacobite rebellions. His A Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity was published in 1747.

184. The novel by Tobias Smollett (1721-71), also a historian, journalist and dramatist. The play referred to is Regicide, composed while Smollett was a medical student at Glasgow and based on the murder of James I. In 1737 he went to London with the tragedy and letters of introduction, seeking the patronage of George, Baron Lyttleton, who turned the play down, since it was "exceptionally bad".
185. Benjamin Hoadly (1706-57), son of Bishop Hoadly, physician and dramatist, wrote The Suspicious Husband, first acted at Covent Garden on 12 February 1747. Garrick wrote a prologue and acted in the play, which was very successful and published in 1747.
186. Cf. note 176, above.
187. MUL MS BI.13.
188. A work of uranometry, i.e., describing the heavens, especially the fixed stars, with regard to magnitude, position etc.
189. Probably The Hebrew Concordance of John Taylor, not published until 1754, although 'An Advertisement' (undated) appeared, possibly in 1745.
190. Mrs. Mary Kettle was Benson's second wife.
191. Cf. note 158, above.
192. Henry Grove (1684-1738) Dissenting tutor at Taunton Academy from 1725, disciple of Newton and close friend of Isaac Watts; taught ethics (a kind of Christian Stoicism) and divinity; posthumously published A System of Moral Philosophy, 2 vols. (1749).
193. Cf. note 162, above, and Appendix 1, note 13. William Wollaston, moral philosopher, published Religion of Nature Delineated (1722 privately, published 1724), a version of the 'intellectual' theory of Clarke, that all virtue can be deduced from truth.
194. Discourses on all the principal branches of natural religion and social virtue, 2 vols. (1749-52).
195. Transl.: ring.
196. John Osborn, Principal of Marischal College, 1728-48, died 19 August 1748.
197. Robert Pollock, minister of Grey Friars, Professor of Divinity 1745, recommended by the Magistrates to the Crown as Principal in 1748 but the appointment went to Blackwell, whom Pollock followed as Principal in 1757. Blackwell wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on 19 August 1748, the day of Osborn's death, soliciting the Duke's patronage and stressing his own loyalty: "neither Patriot Giddiness, nor Jacobite Fury cou'd shake my Attachm<sup>t</sup>" (to his Majesty etc.). See BL MS 32863.
198. Cf. note 50, above.
199. Cf. note 45, above.
200. Sykes's The Scripture Doctrine of the redemption of man by Jesus Christ was not published until 1756, according to the BL catalogue.



201. Cf. note 118, above.
202. Not in MS. Printed in John Aikin et al., General Biography, 4 vols. (London, 1803), vol. 1V, under 'James Foster'.
203. NLS MS 1707, f. 33.
204. 'Leghorn': i.e. Livorno, on the Italian coast, south of the Arno estuary, about ten miles from Pisa. Aberdeen boats at this time traded with Leghorn.  
'John and Will': i.e. his brothers.
205. Jacobus, James, his brother.
206. I.e., Aberdeen.
207. The Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart, exiled in Italy after the failure of the Fifteen rebellion at the invitation of Pope Clement XI and living in the Palazzo Muti, where he died in 1766.
208. Alexander Gerard (1728-95), a magistrand under Fordyce in session 1743-4, Fordyce's temporary replacement as philosophy professor during Fordyce's Grand Tour (sessions 1750-1 and 1751-2) and permanent successor in July 1752. Gerard became Professor of Divinity at Marischal College in 1760, at King's College in 1771, Moderator of the General Assembly in 1763, and wrote the influential An Essay on Taste (1759) and An Essay on Genius (1774), the most notable admirer being Kant.
209. The 'uncle' is probably Blackwell, married to Barbara Black.
210. William Duncan, M.A. 1735, then probably attending some divinity lectures before becoming a professional author in London; appointed regent 1752, contributor with Fordyce to Dodsley's Preceptor. Ironically, Duncan too was drowned, on 12 May 1760 at Belhelvie. See Fasti Mariscallanae, p. 45; Belhelvie Kirk Session Minutes, SRO CH2/32/6, vol. 2, p. 167; the year of drowning is incorrectly given as 1769 by Lord Tweedsmuir, One Man's Happiness (London, 1968), p. 143. For the claim that Duncan wrote the best articles for the Monthly Review, his influence on Jefferson and similarity with the Port Royalists see W.S. Howell, Eighteenth Century British Logic and Rhetoric (Princeton, 1971), pp. 372-3.

AN EPITAPH

Sacred to the Memory  
Of Mr DAVID FORDYCE,  
Late professor of philosophy in the Marischal Coll., Aberdeen.  
Justly esteemed,  
For his learning, and fine taste;  
For much more valued  
For his unaffected piety,  
And benevolent disposition,  
The social duties  
He warmly recommended to others,  
And in his own conduct exemplified them;  
The dutiful son,  
The affectionate brother,  
The sincere friend,  
And the kind master,  
Were blended in his character.  
A laudable thirst for useful knowledge  
Prompted him to visit foreign countries  
Especially Italy,  
So long the seat of liberty,  
(ever dear to him!)  
So justly famous  
For the great men it had produc'd  
And still distinguish'd for the finer arts.  
In his return home,  
After about a year's absence from his native country,  
The supreme disposer of all events  
Permitted this valuable person  
To lose his life in a storm  
On the coast of Holland, the     Sept. 1751.  
Blame not, O reader! but adore  
That awful providence  
Which is ever directed  
By unerring wisdom  
And infinite goodness  
Was he thy friend?  
Yet grieve not;  
The friendly wave  
Which wrapt him up from pain and sorrow,  
Wafted his soul from earth to heav'n;  
Where his desire of knowledge  
Will be fully satisfy'd,  
And his virtues  
Abundantly rewarded.

Aberdeen, Oct. 4, 1751.



APPENDIX 4

(from SRO Clerk of Penicuik papers, GD18/5036/15)

Memorandum Concerning a Subpoena laid upon Prov. Geo: Fordyce in Aberd<sup>n</sup>.

That the Servant who looks after his Farm about Six Miles from Aberdeen, had during his residence in Town in the Winter, contrary to his Orders and without his Knowledge concealed four Bolls of Bear in Malt.

That the Officer who found it, far from acquainting his Superiors, tampered for 2 or 3 days with the Serv<sup>t</sup>. until the sd. Prov<sup>t</sup>. Fordyce, upon going to his Farm, displeased with the Managem<sup>t</sup>. of both plainly told him that if he wo<sup>d</sup>. not instantly inform the Coll<sup>r</sup> of the Concealem<sup>t</sup> He w<sup>d</sup>. do it himsf. Whereupon the Officer thinking his Civilities ill-placed wrote to the Gen<sup>al</sup> Supervis<sup>r</sup>. Hobson that He was abused in the Exercise of Office, who without once examining into the Truth or falsehood of the Officer's letter wrote for the above Subpoena.

In the meantime the Comm<sup>rs</sup> upon application ordered Mr Molyson Superv<sup>r</sup>. of the District to enquire into the Affr. who having examined the Serv<sup>t</sup>. by way of precognition, Found that Prov. Fordyce had never given Orders for concealing any Malt and that the above Conceal<sup>t</sup> was made upon the Occasion of his Absence in Town which he is ready to declare upon Oath when called before a Judge. He also found that the Officer's Complaint was absolutely groundless by the Declaration of two Men of respect and good Character who were present at the sd. Prov. Fordyce's threatening Morison the Officer That if he did not inform his Superiors but continued to tamper with his Serv<sup>t</sup>, he wou'd delate it himselfe. All which lies at present before his Majy's Commis<sup>rs</sup>. in the Precognition.

Notwithstanding of which the sd. Comm<sup>rs</sup>. have thought fit to send an Order to their Coll<sup>r</sup> in Aberd<sup>n</sup> to call the Pr. Geo. Fordyce and his Serv<sup>t</sup> before a Justice of Peace and in his or some other Officer's presence to make Oath of all Malt made by the sd. Servant Since June 1725 not charged with Duty, which Affidav<sup>t</sup>. being sent to them they are to resume the Consideration of the Affair.

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'Of the Nature, Progress and Origin of Philosophy',  
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#### (b) Letters by David Fordyce:

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to William Craig, 23 December 1735, NLS MS 2670, f.158

to Philip Doddridge, 3 October 1739, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/167

to Philip Doddridge, 13 November 1739, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/166

to Philip Doddridge, 21 July 1740, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/168

to Philip Doddridge, 25 September 1740, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/169

to Philip Doddridge, 22 August 1741, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/170

to Philip Doddridge, 6 June 1743, Dr. Williams' Library  
MS L1/5/171

to George Benson, 17 December 1744, MUL MS BI. 13

to George Benson, 25 February 1745, MUL MS BI. 13

to George Benson, 20 August 1746, MUL MS BI. 13

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#### (c) Letter to David Fordyce:

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