THE PHILOSOPHICAL AGE

SCOTLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

FOREWORD

This book contains texts of reports read at the international conference *Scotland and Russia in the Enlightenment* organised in Edinburgh, 1–3 September 2000. The idea to study the links between Russian and Scottish cultures was not a random choice of the organisers, but was a result of a considerable spadework and the evolution of the participants' research interests. The first meeting of the Russian-British 'team' took place in May 1998 at the international conference *The Science of Morality* dedicated to the 250th anniversary of Jeremy Bentham held by St Petersburg Centre for History of Ideas, St Petersburg Branch of Institute of Human Studies RAS, St Petersburg Branch of Institute for History of Science and Technology RAS. This conference was in fact the first one in Russian-British comparativistics. During the discussion it turned out that this field had not actually been studied and would be very promising for both Russian and British historians of ideas, would enrich their conceptions of ideas' interaction and movement mechanisms and of their cultures' specificities.

The *history of ideas* cannot exist out and above the history of human relations. That is why the problem of personal contacts — correspondence, voyages, high society — occupies the proper place in the discussion. Moreover, it is important how an alien culture is perceived, the very sensitivity to everyday details that is typical for a foreigner and often escapes the natives.

There are enough reasons for the Scottish-Russian cultural interactions to have a special place in the British-Russian studies. Scottish culture attracted Russians by its *historism*, search for *national identity*, and *moral pursuits*. This answered to certain intentions of Russian mentality which had been formed in the Enlightenment and are still actual today. That was why in Russia there emerged so many translators, followers, and commentators of Ossian, Walter Scott, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and others.

Researches in various philosophical conceptions enrich both historico-philosophical thought, making it essentially full, and general philosophical one, introducing in it new problems, revealing new aspects of "eternal philosophical questions".

Studying Scottish philosophy and its impact upon Russian one is actual now, because moral and historical Scottish thought and social philosophy, for instance, Adam Ferguson's *Civil Society* or Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, serve the urgent needs of the present. The thinkers' philosophy has strongly influenced European and American democracy, and this intensifies the interest to their ideas in Russian society.

The conference and the publication of its proceedings is only the starting point of the project in Russian-Scottish comparativistics that includes joint theoretical researches and further meetings of colleagues to discuss them in Scotland and Russia.

The International Project is organised by The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The University of Edinburgh, in association with: The Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland, The University of Edinburgh; The National Library of Scotland; The Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, The University of Aberdeen; and The St. Petersburg Institute for History of Science and Technology, The Russian Academy of Sciences, The St. Petersburg Centre for History of Ideas, RAS.

ADAM FERGUSON'S PHILOSOPHY IN RUSSIA

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The title of my essay may seem to announce a clear and simple topic, and my intention is, indeed, to show **how**, **when** and **why** Adam Ferguson's ideas arrived in Russia. But to address these questions of intercultural influence we must first tackle some more general problems, which have so far not even been formulated. They are:

1. The nature of British philosophical influence on Russian thought in general;

2. the theoretical and personal mechanisms of those influences and particular mediators;

3. the special character of the Scottish dimension in British culture and philosophy;

4. the reasons why Adam Ferguson's Philosophy was influential in Russia.

A famous Russian thinker, Michael Shcherbatov, wrote in his essay *The Corruption of Morals in Russia* that Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna did not think that "Great Britain is an island". The 'philosophical' geography of the time was

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equally poorly known. For if links between Russian and French or German philosophy were relatively clear, those between Russian and British thinkers were not. And yet works by Bacon, Locke, Newton, Robert Fludd, Bentham, Hume, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, Adam Ferguson, Berkeley, William Blackstone and others, were translated and printed in Russia: some Russians also read them in English, or in French and German translations. It was a distinctive feature of the enlightened minority that they used French for communication, German for intellectual studies, English as a sign of intellectual snobbery (and for bringing up young children) — and Russian for giving orders. It is interesting to note that almost all the British authors mentioned were either political, moral or social thinkers or, at least, were represented as such in Russia. So Francis Bacon, Locke and Hume were known in Russia as representatives of *philosophia moralis* rather than of *philosophia rationalis*.

One of the most authoritative British authors in the political and historical thought of 18-century Russia was David Hume. Russian thinkers liked his 'scientific' method. Many of them thought that "Politics could become a science". But in Russia Hume was known as the author of *The History of England* rather than of *A Treatise of Human Nature*. His emphasis on the 'science of causes' influenced Russian philosophy of history. His omission of conceptions of divine power as well as of the too 'bourgeois' *Contrat Social*, his ideas about the natural evolution of the state and the origins of society in the family, and his view that political power had its origins in the institutions of warrior chiefs, were shared by almost all Russian historians, and above all, by Michael Shcherbatov. In his *History of Russia from Ancient Times* (*Истории российской от древнейших времен*) he referred to "the erudite mister Hume" ("ученого г-на Гюма"). Following Hume, Shcherbatov tried to find in the historical process the causes and "secret mainsprings" ("пружины сокровенные") of political events. He was sure that a study of the "science of causes" could give power over the present and the future, because such knowledge revealed both how society was established, and how the state might subsequently be governed.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Russian thinkers 'discovered' Scottish moral philosophy. The Russian nobleman Dmitrii Severin wrote: "One branch of human knowledge, it seems to me, has been developed to perfection: the part known as moral philosophy. We know it as metaphysics. Scottish philosophers adopt a broad definition of moral philosophy. They deduce common rules for rational and virtuous conduct from the nature of human beings and a concrete situation. Following this method they avoid the speculative discourse of the German philosophers. They discuss matters they understand, and stop where human reason is unable to penetrate. That is why they despise the metaphysical

ravings of Kant, Fichte and others"[1]. Russian thinkers contrasted "clear Scottish" and "foggy German" moral philosophy. Alexander Turgenev, for example, compared Dugald Stewart with Kant. He wrote: "I read Dugald Steward and I am glad for the clarity of his ideas and language"[2].

Incidentally, his father Ivan Turgenev was a director of Moscow University and an eminent mason. His translation from German of *Metaphysica vera et divina* by J. Pordage, was printed in Russia in 1787 by a secret masonic publishing house.

The three main philosophical influences in the Enlightenment come from France, Germany and Britain. French philosophy was brought to Russia along with French fashion and their style of court life. In Russia, where monarchs asked thinkers such as Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu for advice, sent them kind letters and invited them to join their service, to be a philosopher was not only of a matter of prestige but was even essential for one's reputation in society. To meet these thinkers, to know their texts, or at least to consider them as authorities, demonstrated one's proximity to the highest spheres, and signalled one's participation in the caste system of values. This situation explains the identity of such notions as 'philosopher' and 'great noble' or 'grandee', which is characteristic of the 18th century. In one of his stories, V.F. Odoevskii describes a man "who was called a philosopher at that time". He "was a ladies' man to a dreadful degree, wrote rhymes in French, did not go to mass, did not believe in anything, gave extensive alms to anybody and everybody; in his head, strangely, great philanthropy lived side by side with total carelessness about his children, and the most crude royal arrogance with the most determined Jacobinism"[3]. Thus, common sense distinguished 'philosophers' as the group among the nobility who behaved strangely, had an uncommon way of thought, were oriented towards Western culture — mainly French, more rarely English — and were obviously anticlerical or 'Voltairian'. German philosophy was associated with *philosophia naturalis* in the St.Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the Academic University, both established in 1724. To create them, Peter I had listened carefully to the opinions of Leibniz and Wolff, who were then recognized authorities and who cooperated with the Russian monarch on enlightenment issues.

Leibniz believed that Russia could avoid Western mistakes and put the Enlightenment ideals into practice, by creating a society ruled by scholars, as in

[1] Цит. по: Алексеев М.П. Русско-английские литературные связи / Литературное наследство. Т. 91. М.: Наука, 1982. С. 374.
[2] Тургенев А.И. Хроники русского. Дневники. М.-Л, 1964. С. 10.
[3] Одоевский В.Ф. Катя, или история воспитанницы. // Повести и рассказы. М, 1959. С. 130.

Bacon's New Atlantis. In his opinion, an Academy of Sciences ought to be vested with more power that it used to have, and to be independent of the state. Wolff recommended the establishment of 'a regular university' to educate local intellectuals, not an academy; in this way Russia would be able to survive without intellectual aid from the West. The autocrat listened but made up his own mind. Naturally, he was not going to make the Academy independent of the government, nor establish 'a regular university' with its own regulations, internal life and autonomous educational practice. Both would create independent and uncontrollable educational results and generate a new social group of intellectuals. Instead, Peter I established the Academy, which became a kind of a 'ministry of sciences', with Russian academicians as 'intellectual officials' — exactly like professors of Moscow University later (established 1755). The Official Manifesto *On the Establishment of Moscow University* stated clearly that "no professor may freely choose the method" by which he proposed to teach his discipline, nor the authors to be studied. The curriculum became the responsibility of the highest administration, and Wolff's philosophical system was officially adopted as the only one. The same was true of the St. Petersburg Academic University. That curriculum lasted until the middle of the 19th century and, with a 'Marxist' colouring, essentially up to the end of the 20th century.

British philosophy was not associated with intellectual high fashion. It was something both more fundamental and functional. 'How?' was the most frequently asked question to Britain. To Russians, British culture looked like 'an instrument', well made and useful for solving practical tasks. Britain gave Russia the best gardeners, ships' carpenters, agricultural tools. The same was asked of British philosophy — 'good quality', functionality, practicality. Russian culture appealed to such British thinkers as Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Ferguson, Hume when it was necessary to understand how some 'mechanism' was made and worked — whether it be a cognitive, political or educational problem.

One of the most important channels for the transfer of British ideas was masonry. It was an important social institution, bonding together representatives of the 'enlightened minority' who were trying to create a refined form of spirituality. Masonry came to Russia, as to many other countries, from Britain. At first it was an organization addressing the spiritual needs of the small British Diaspora, but it was later integrated into Russian life, adapting to the needs of Russian society and mentality. English masonry had a moral character and a simple organization, and usually it had only three degrees. Later, Scottish Masonry added the degree of 'Scottish master'. The leader of so-called 'English masonry' in Russia was Ivan Elagin, *Directeur des Plaisirs* at the court of Catherine the Great, a historian and a mystical writer. He thought that only in England and

Scotland were the original Mason's Doctrines kept pure. He approved the degrees of Scottish masonry as the highest in all systems, and believed that only the best persons qualified for them. A translation of fundamental works of R. Fludd, J. Pordage and other British mystics was made in the Elagin's circle. In such ways was Russian masonry an important route for the dissemination of British philosophy[1].

British philosophical ideas came to Russia by a common, but not commonlyunderstood way: not by means of treatises but by means of 'cultural texts'.

The Oxford Russian Dictionary (Oxford-New York, 1997) states that the term 'England' is translated into Russian as "1. England, 2. Britain". It is true. From the eighteenth century until today, Russians have used *English* to mean *British*, not because of lexical, but because of sociocultural reasons. British culture was not differentiated, and was perceived as both homogeneous and concordant. To be logically correct 'Englishness' did not mean *Britishness*, but the identity became embodied in Russian cultural consciousness. That is why the reception of British culture on Russian soil was simplified, since it overlooked several features of Scottish and Irish culture. In literature and art, 'Scottish' peculiarity as it appeared in the picturesque rhymes of Ossian or the romantic novels of Walter Scott, was an object of some interest, and even imitation. But in philosophy, such features were never mentioned and David Hume, for example, was represented as an *English*, but not *Scottish* philosopher in many editions, including Philosophical Dictionaries. This itself is graphic evidence of the oversight of distinctive features of Scottish culture.

And yet the Russian Enlightenment was much more like the Scottish, than the English one. Both exploded onto the scene in the opening decades of the 18th century — St. Petersburg was founded in 1703: in 1707 the Union was declared between England and Scotland — and the agents of enlightenment were the intellectual noblemen philosophers in Russia and the *literati* in Scotland. Both nations were very sensitive to problems of language, and used in the pursuit of their enlightenment goals not their native languages but the intellectual lingua franca: French for Russians, English for Scots. Both nations had 'discovered' their own history during the Enlightenment and began to study it, and at the same time to mythologize it, very actively. So the 'long' 18 century was equally important for Scotland and for Russia, as a time when new philosophical models, metaphysical archetypes and key problems in the social sciences

[1] Артемьева Т.В. Философия истории по «елагинской системе». // Артемьева Т.В. Идея истории в России XVIII века. СПб., 1998. С. 94-134.

were formulated. Russians could happily echo David Hume: "This is the historical age and we are the historical people"[1].

Scottish history, literature and education were of great interest to Russians, and what they learned at Scottish Universities they subsequently disseminated throughout their own land. For example, Russian students of Adam Smith in Glasgow, I. Tretiakov and S. Desnickii, taught the main ideas of his Wealth of Nations in Moscow University twelve years before the book was published in Britain[2]. The Russian nobility tried to educate its children at Scottish universities.

The best known was Princess Catherine Dashkova, who brought her son Pavel to Edinburgh, spent considerable time in the "Athens of the North" (1776-1779), and organized an intellectual salon at which visitors included William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair.

Personal contacts with people like Princess Dashkova (Catherine the Small) or Catherine the Great were important for intercultural relations, and thinkers tried to dedicate or present their works to them. In the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg) there is a copy of "Ancient Metaphysics" by James Burnett (Lord Monboddo) with a dedication to Catherine the Great. It was sent by V. Zinov'ev, a relative of Semen Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador in London. Unfortunately, Lord Monboddo's work has never been translated and consequently did not become known in Russia.

Although some Scottish works were read only in their French translations, more socially or historically oriented works of Scottish scholars were translated into Russian, for example works by William Robertson *History of America*[3] (first two books of Vol. 1, from the English), *L'histoire du regne de l'empereur Charles-Quint* (Maestricht, 1775 from the French)[4], by David Hume *The Life of David Hume, esq., the philosopher and historian, written by himself* (Edinburgh, 1781)[5], and others.

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[1] Cited in: Daiches D. The Scottish Enlightenment. // The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790. A Hotbed of Genius, 1996. P. 8.

[2] Алексеев М.П. Русско-английские литературные связи. / Литературное наследство. Т. 91. М.: Наука, 1982. С. 114.

[3] История о Америке Виллиама Робертсона, первенствующего профессора в университете в Единбурге, и королевского историографа по Шотландии. Пер. с англ. А.И. Лужковым Ч. 1. СПб., 1784.

[4] Робертсон, Уильям. История о государствовании имп. Карла Пятого, с приложением наперед краткого начертания о приращениях сообщества в Европе, от разрушения Римской империи до начала шестогонадесять века. Сочиненная г. Робертсоном, доктором богословия, Едимбургскаго университета сениором, и шотландским историографом его британнического величества. Пер. с фр. С. Смирнов Т. 1-2. СПб., 1775-1778.

[5] Юм Д. Жизнь Давыда Гумма, описанная им самим, переведена с аглинскаго языка на французской, а с французскаго на российской Иваном Морковым. М., 1781.

Works by Ferguson were published in Russian on several occasions. They included *Essay on the History of Civil Society*[1], and *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (from English and German)[2]. In the Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library I found an almost complete translation of *Principles of moral and political science*, made by Vasilii Sozonovich[3], the author of translations of *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*.

Let us consider examples of authors familiar with Ferguson's work.

Mikhail Muraviev (1757-1807) was a historian, poet and high level official. He knew German, French, Italian, Latin, Greek and English, and worked extensively as a translator. From 1785 he was a teacher of Catherine the Great's grandsons, Grand Dukes Alexander (the future Alexander I) and Constantine. He taught them Russian literature, Russian history and moral philosophy and later, in 1792, taught Russian to the future Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna. His interest in Scottish culture is indicated by his translations of fragments by Ossian, for the Masonic magazine "Morning Light"[4], and *Romance, translated from Caledonian* (*Романс с каледонского языка переложенный*). His work *Some features of morals* (*Черты нравоучения*) influenced by Ferguson's *Institutes of moral philosophy*. A manuscript variant of that essay has a subtitle "Following Ferguson" ("Последуя Фергюсону")[5].

We can detect knowledge of Ferguson in P. Chaadaev's works. Petr Iakovlevich Chaadaev (1794-1856) was a major figure in the development of Russian intellectual history in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was a genuine noblemen philosopher, a grandson of Prince Shcherbatov. In his *Philosophical Letters* published in the Moscow journal, Telescope in 1836, he raised the question of Russia's relationship to the West, and its role in human culture and progress. Alexander Herzen (1812-70) compared the effect of those letters on Russian intellectual life to that of "a pistol shot in the silence of night". Chaadaev wrote about Russia's cultural isolation and backwardness, arguing that Russia had no past, present or future and had contributed nothing to world culture. According to Chaadaev, Russia had been shut out of the mainstream of history by

[1] Фергюсон А. Опыт истории гражданского общества. С англ. перевел Иван Тимковский. Ч. 1-3. СПб, 1817-1818.

[2] Фергюсон А. Наставления нравственной философии. Пер. с англ. Василий Сазонович. СПб., 1804; Фергюсон А. Начальные основания нравственной философии. Пер. с нем. А. Брянцевым. М., 1804.

[3] Фергюсон, Адам. Начала нравственных и государственных познаний... XIX в. РО РНБ, Ф. 550. ОСРК 3972. FIII-44. 1-2.

[4] Западов В.А. Муравьев Словарь русских писателей XVIII века. Вып. 2. «К—П». СПб, 1999. С. 308.

[5] Фоменко И.Ю. Исторические взгляды М.Н. Муравьева. XVIII век. Л., 1981. С. 170, прим.

the Russian Orthodox religion, which encouraged a retreat from the world. Western culture, meanwhile, had benefited from the spirit of Western churches, which encouraged involvement in ethical and social issues of the time.

In Chaadaev's library there is an edition of *Essai sur l'histoire de la societé civile* by A. Ferguson. Both volumes contain notes by Chaadaev[1]. The Russian thinker tried to find in the work of the Scottish philosopher answers to important questions, one of which was the problem of intercultural relations. Very often Russian culture was considered unable to create anything original, and was represented as a self-sufficient and society. Ferguson had written: "The Russians, before the reign of Peter the Great, thought themselves possessed of every national honour, and held the Nenei, or dumb nations, (the name which they bestowed on their western neighbours of Europe), in a proportional degree of contempt"[2]. Ferguson found this information in the book *Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary* (London, 1738) by Philip John von Strahlenberg (1676-1747). Strahlenberg was a Swedish army officer captured at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and relegated to Siberia, where he remained for 13 years. His book covers practically every aspect of life in the Russian Empire: the geographical boundaries, languages, religions, resources and manufactures, chief mercantile centres, armed forces, and so on, together with a history of Peter the Great's reign. He compared Russia before Peter with China. "The map of the world, in China, was a square plate, the greater part of which was occupied by the provinces of this great empire, leaving on its skirts a few obscure corners, into which the wretched remainder of mankind were supposed to be driven. 'If you have not the use of our letters, nor the knowledge of our books,' said the learned Chinese to the European missionary, 'what literature, or what science, can you have?'"[3]

After Peter the Great the situation reversed. Russians not only began to be interested in new contacts, but frequently underlined and even exaggerated the importance of western knowledge for Russia. As a result an image about Russia as an ignorant and rude country, or *tabula rasa* — a pupil of Western civilization and an passive object of European influence — appeared. Chaadaev was not sure that interest in Western achievement was an indicator of intellectual weakness and cultural backwardness. He found support in Ferguson's text and marked the following: "When nations succeed one another in the career of discoveries and inquires, the last is always the most knowing. Systems of science are gradually formed. The globe itself is traversed by degrees, and the history of every age, when past, is an accession of knowledge to those who succeed. The

[1] Чаадаев П.Я. полное собрание соч. М., 1991. Т. 1. С. 604.
[2] Ferguson A. An Essay on the History of Civil Society. Cambridge, 1996. P. 194.
[3] Ibid.

Romans were more knowing than the Greeks; and every scholar of modern Europe is, in this sense, more learned than the most accomplished person that ever bore either of those celebrated names. But is he on that account their superior?"[1] — "Undoubtedly"[2]. Chaadaev noted, against this passage. He underlined the passage "It is impossible for ever to maintain the tone of speculation; it is impossible not sometimes to feel that we live among men"[3].

He wrote out: "To the benevolent, the satisfaction of others is a ground of enjoyment; and existence itself, in a world that is governed by the wisdom of God, is a blessing. The mind, freed from cares that lead to pusillanimity and meanness, becomes calm, active, fearless, and bold; capable of every enterprise, and vigorous in the exercise of every talent, by which the nature of man is adorned. On this foundation was raised the admirable character, which, during a certain period of their story, distinguished the celebrated nations of antiquity"[4]. The note reads: "O altitudo"[5]. It is significant that the same words were chosen by the Adam Ferguson Institute[6], an American private non-profit and non-partisan educational organization as an explanation of its aims.

"We may expect, therefore, — wrote Ferguson, — to find among states the bias to a particular policy, taken from the regards to public safety; from the desire of securing personal freedom, or private property; seldom from the consideration of moral effects, or from a view to the genius of mankind"[7]. Chaadaev noted that similar ideas were expressed by St. Augustine and Plato. In his Philosophical Letters he explored the idea that social institutions might be bad from the moral point of view and even echoed Rousseau when quoting from Ferguson again: "The mighty engine which we suppose to have formed society, only tends to set its members at variance, or to continue their intercourse after the bands of affection are broken"[8]. It is very possible that Chaadaev borrowed from Ferguson the idea of civilization as "civil society".

Ferguson was not the only Scottish philosopher who was an object of Chaadaev's attentive studies. A French edition of *Elemens de la philosophie de l'Esprit Humain* (Geneva, 1808-1825) by Dugald Stewart, with many notes and marginalia, was in his library, testifying to the Russian thinker's interest.

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[1] Ibid. P. 33.
[2] Чаадаев П.Я. Полное собрание соч. М., 1991. Т. 1. С. 604.
[3] Ferguson A. Op. cit. P. 35.
[4] Ibid. P. 57.
[5] Чаадаев П.Я. Полное собрание соч. М., 1991. Т. 1. С. 604.
[6] See: http://www.logan.com/afi/index.html
[7] Ferguson A. Op. cit. P. 133.
[8] Ibid. P. 24.

It is curious that Ferguson's ideas only became really popular when his name had been already forgotten, because they were disseminated by Marxist philosophy. In *Capital*, *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx referred to Ferguson and Smith many times when he spoke of the 'division of labour' and the 'separation of men' in 'commercial society'. Sometimes Marxists interpreted Ferguson as an ideologist of 'class struggle'[1].

The most important of Ferguson's ideas concerned philosophy of history. Ferguson studied human beings via their life in society. The basis of human history is the 'mode of existence'. For Ferguson, the history of society moves from a 'rude' to a 'polished' state. He explains the latter notion: "The term *polished*, if we may judge from its etymology, originally referred to the state of nations in respect to their laws and government. In its later applications, it refers no less to their proficiency in the liberal and mechanical arts, in literature, and in commerce"[2]. The development of society can be divided into three phases: **savagery**, **barbarism** and **civility**, the criteria for which lie in the economy[3]. The **savage** stage is characterized by fishing, hunting and collecting, that of **barbarism** by cattle culture and agriculture: the third stage is one of commerce and manufacture. At that stage, property and political institutions appear, in the form of ranks and subordinations. Whereas the first two stages are temporal, the third is special and is subject to permanent change.

Ferguson's triad influenced the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) whose books *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877) were attentively studied by both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Morgan's books were the main sources for Friedrich Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). That book was called "one of the basic works of modern socialism" by Vladimir Lenin[4]. In Soviet times Engels' work was a theoretical foundation for so-called **historical materialism**, and was included in the obligatory set of books for high school students. Everybody who studied society ritually referred to it.

So two principal aspects of Marxists philosophy, **dialectical materialism** and **historical materialism**, were based upon two philosophers of the Enlightenment: Christian Wolff and Adam Ferguson.

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[1] Ренев Е.Г. Историософская и социально-политическая мысль Адама Фергюсона. Шотландское просвещение (40-60 гг. XVIII в.). Автореф. дисс. М, 1990.
[2] Ferguson A. Op. cit. P. 195.
[3] See: Lehmann W.C. Adam Ferguson and the Beginning of Modern Sociology New York, 1930.
[4] Ленин В.И. Полн. собр. соч. Т. 39. С. 67.

This excursion demonstrates *how ideas move*. Sometimes they were transformed and changed their meanings to their opposites. This was typical in Russia. D. Diderot once noted that ideas changed their colours when they moved from Paris to St. Petersburg. This was because they begin to work in another mental, cultural and social tradition.

Only by investigating all these phenomena can we understand ***how*** and ***why*** ideas move.

The philosophy of Adam Ferguson had its own history in my country. Some of his ideas became a part of Russian history. We should restore interest in his name because his notion of civil society is of very real significance for modern Russia. To see how metaphysical and other philosophical ideas work in different intellectual and social systems, comparative studies are invaluable. So, by an investigation in Scottish and Russian contexts, of their philosophical traditions and their interrelations, we can come to understand some of the varied roles of the intellect in European culture more generally.

JOHN MILLAR, IVAN ANDREYEVICH TRET'YAKOV, AND SEMYON EFIMOVICH DESNITSKY: A LEGAL EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND, 1761-1767

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On 15 July 1761, after delivering a discourse 'de testamentis ordinandis', John Millar was admitted as Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow.[1] His appointment was to bring a sea-change to the law school at Glasgow, which had languished somewhat in the past few years.[2] The professors of Glasgow, having successfully vanquished the sinecurist William Crosse just a few years before, wished for an active and suc-

 I am grateful to the Librarians of Glasgow University Library, Edinburgh University Library, and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, the Archivist of Glasgow University, and the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland for permission to cite and quote from the unpublished MSS in their care and to Mr Angus Stewart, Q.C. Keeper of the Advocates' Library for a similar permission with respect to the Advocates' MSS.

[1] Glasgow University Archives [hereafter GUA] 26642, Minutes of University Meetings 1760-1763, 65.

[2] The following discussion of the early years of the Glasgow chair is drawn from J.W. Cairns, 'The Origins of the Glasgow Law School: The Professors of Civil Law, 1714-61', in *The Life of the Law:*

cessful teacher of law and they were determined to have one;[1] in Millar they gained just what they sought and he turned Glasgow into the premier school of law in the United Kingdom.[2] The year of Millar's arrival in Glasgow is significant. It is also the year that two young Russian students, Semyon Efimovich Desnitsky and Ivan Andreyevich Tret'yakov, arrived to study in that university, where they were to stay until 1767.[3]

1. Semyon Efimovich Desnitsky and Ivan Andreyevich Tret'yakov

While Desnitsky and Tret'yakov attended the lectures of other professors, we know for certain that they attended 'Dr Smith's class of Ethicks and Jurisprudence' and 'Mr Millar's classes of civil law'; indeed they had attended the last for three years by December 1765.[4] Millar's teaching had thus been of great importance for the two Russians. On 31 December 1765, the two petitioned to be allowed to offer themselves as candidates for the degree of 'Doctor in Laws' and Millar was appointed to examine them privately.[5] On 9 January 1766, Millar was able to report that he had examined them privately and found them 'qualified to undergo a publick examination'.[6] This took place on 16 January, when the professors 'approved the specimen they had given of their knowledge in Law' and allocated to Tret'yakov the title *de in ius vocando* of Justinian's *Digest* (D.4.2) and to Desnitsky that *de testamentis ordinandis* (D. 28.1).[7] On 8 February, the two students read their theses to the Faculty at Glasgow and left them to be examined: a duty devolved to Millar and George Muirhead, then Dean of Faculty.[8] On 8 April, on Muirhead and Millar's favourable report upon the theses, the two Russians were given permission to print them.[9] There was no further progress in the examination process for a year; the reasons for this are

Proceedings of the Tenth British Legal History Conference, ed. Peter Birks (London, 1993), 151-194, and idem, 'William Crosse, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow, 1746-1749: A Failure of Enlightened Patronage', *History of Universities* 12 (1993), 159-196.

[1] Cairns, 'William Crosse' (note 2 above), *passim*.

[2] J.W. Cairns, '"Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh ... for medicine": Legal Education in Glasgow, 1761-1801', in *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and R.B. Sher (East Linton, 1995), 133-159.

[3] See A.H. Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers', in *Essays on Adam Smith*, ed. A.S. Skinner and Thomas Wilson (Oxford, 1975), 247-273 at 247; A.G. Cross, *'By The Banks of the Thames': Russians in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), 122-128.

[4] Ibid., 252.

[5] GUA 26645, Minutes of Meetings of Faculty and Dean of Faculty's Meetings 1732-1768, 141.

[6] Ibid., 143.

[7] Ibid., 144.

[8] Ibid., 145.

[9] Ibid., 148.

unclear but, as Brown points out, they cannot exclusively be because of the quarrel of Desnitsky with the famously irascible and difficult — if talented — John Anderson. Desnitsky had pulled off Anderson's wig in the quadrangle of the College, after he had considered himself insulted by the Professor.[1] Desnitsky's delicate position was considered and he was given the light punishment of making appropriate public apologies, rather than being expelled.[2] Why this cannot explain the long delay is that the quarrel took place on 8 December 1766. Whatever the explanation, the public defence of the theses was dispensed with on 20 April 1767, because Tret'yakov and Desnitsky had 'received orders to go home with all convenient speed', and the Faculty 'being satisfied with the specimens given of their knowledge in the Civil Law, appoint[ed] the Degree of Doctor to be conferred upon them by the Vice Chancellor'.[3]

The two men returned to Russia to face problems at Moscow University, where there was a reluctance to recognise their qualifications. They had to undertake oral examinations; Tret'yakov failed an examination in mathematics (which they had studied at Glasgow) that Desnitsky, sensibly, had refused to take. It is good to note, however, that these two possessors of a doctoral degree in law from the University of Glasgow 'distinguished themselves' in the oral examination in law.[4] In 1768, they were both appointed as Professors of Law in Moscow University. Tret'yakov resigned his chair in 1773 and the two men's experiences as professors in Moscow were not entirely happy.[5]

This said, it is worth considering briefly the work of these two pupils of John Millar. Any scholar interested in Millar will note Desnitsky's *A Legal Discourse on the Beginning and Origin of Matrimony among the Earliest Peoples and on the Perfection to which it would appear to have been brought by Subsequent Enlightened Peoples* of 1775. The correspondence with a large part of the Glasgow professor's *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* of 1771 is evident.[6] By 1783, Desnitsky was teaching a course on the History of Russian Law; one on Justinian's *Digest*, using the compend of Johann Gottlieb Heineccius; and a comparison of Roman and Russian Law. Moreover,

[1] GUA 26643, Minutes of University Meetings 1763-1768, 176 (9 Dec. 1766). For further details, see Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 256-258. On Anderson, see, above all, Paul Wood, 'Jolly Jack Phosphorous in the Venice of the North; or, Who was John Anderson?', in *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and R.B. Sher (East Linton, 1995), 111-132.
[2] GUA 26643 (note 12 above), 193 (6 Jan. 1767).
[3] GUA 26645 (note 7 above), 163.
[4] All of this is from Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 259; Cross, *'By The Banks of the Thames'* (note 5 above), 126.
[5] Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 249-250, 259-260.
[6] Ibid., 269.

among the problems they faced were disagreements with their (mainly German colleagues) over their teaching in Russian rather than in Latin.[1] The influence of Smith on these two men has often been noted and indeed some attention has been paid to Millar's influence on them; yet, these remarks drawn from Brown's research make it worth considering the nature of the legal education these men acquired in Glasgow and its likely effect on them. Brown has pointed out that the two Russians only mentioned studying Civil (that is Roman) Law with Millar, but suggests, on the basis of their published works, that they also attended his classes on Scots Law and Government.[2] All of this opens up the issue of Millar's first years in occupation of the chair in Glasgow.

2. Desnitsky, Tret'yakov and Millar's Early Years as Professor of Law

The first holder of the regius chair of Civil Law in Glasgow had at one time taught some Scots law; but, by the time of Millar's immediate predecessor, Hercules Lindesay, the duties of the chair had come to be defined as offering courses on Justinian's *Digest* and courses on Justinian's *Institutes*.[3] By the middle years of the century these were considered 'the proper business of Professorship'.[4] The course on the *Institutes* was much shorter and was given twice each year.[5] Lindesay had at some stage started to teach the course on the *Institutes* in English, reflecting the general trend away from teaching in Latin in the Scottish universities.[6]

One of the evident features of Millar's occupancy of the chair is his expansion of this curriculum.[7] Millar's biographer John Craig suggested that Millar found he still had some leisure after teaching each of these courses five days a week, and added a class on government three days a week and, in alternate years, a class on Scots law on the other two days, adding that 'a few years before his death, Mr Millar was led … to prepare and deliver a course of Lectures on English Law'.[8] Can Brown's speculation that Tret'yakov and Desnitsky at-

[1] Ibid., 250, 259.
[2] Ibid., 253.
[3] Cairns, 'Origins of the Glasgow Law School' (note 2 above), 174-183, 185.
[4] John Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar, Esq.', prefixed to John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or, an Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority, in the different Members of Society*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh, 1806), xix.
[5] See Lockhart Gordon and David Ross to the Rector, 17 Nov. 1748, GUA 30222.
[6] J.W. Cairns, 'Rhetoric, Language, and Roman Law: Legal Education and Improvement in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Law and History Review*, 9 (1991), 31-58 at 35-46
[7] See Cairns, '"Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh ... for medicine"', (note 4 above), 136-139 has a full discussion of this.
[8] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xxi.

tended Millar's classes, not only in Civil Law, which is certain, but also in Government and Scots Law be supported by any evidence? Was it possible for the Russians to have attended Millar's classes in Scots Law and Government?

When the students petitioned for examination for the degree of LL.D. in December 1765, they stated that they had given 'attendance for three years on Mr Millar's classes of civil law'.[1] Given that the degree was awarded by examination in Civil Law, it is conceivable that they did not mention attendance at other law classes simply as irrelevant; they might have attended classes in Scots law, but considered it unnecessary to mention them. This is not entirely plausible, however, since they mention attendance at 'Dr Smith's class of Ethicks and Jurisprudence' as qualifying them for examination.[2] One might have expected them to mention attendance at any law classes as relevant.

Newspaper advertisements give some assistance. Millar first inserted notices about his classes in the Edinburgh newspapers in 1763, when he advertised lectures on the *Institutes* and *Digest*, beginning on 1 November.[3] In 1764, he again advertised that his lectures on the *Institutes* and *Digest* would begin on 1 November.[4] In 1765, he advertised (in both Glasgow and Edinburgh newspapers) that his prelections on the *Institutes* and *Digest* would begin on 4 November and his lectures on the law of Scotland on 11 November.[5] This means that it was certainly feasible for Tret'yakov and Desnitsky to attend the classes on Scots Law over the academic year from 1765-1766 when they were undergoing the rather drawn-out process of examination for the degree of LL.D. Indeed, they could also have attended them in part over 1766-1767, as Millar advertised in October 1766 prelections on the *Institutes* and *Digest* beginning on 4 November and lectures on Scots law on 10 November.[6]

Millar did not advertise lectures on Government (as such) until 1771.[7] This does not mean, however, that Tret'yakov and Desnitsky could not have attended classes on this topic from Millar. We have noted that in October 1766 Millar advertised lectures on Scots law beginning on 10 November.[8] In January 1767, however, he advertised that lectures on 'the Private Law of Scotland' would begin on 3 February.[9] Was Millar giving the same course of lectures on Scots law

[1] Found quoted in Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 252.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 Oct. 1763.
[4] *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 Oct. 1764.
[5] *Glasgow Journal*, 3/10 October, 1765; *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 Oct. 1765.
[6] *Glasgow Journal*, 2/9 October, 1766; *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 October 1766.
[7] *Glasgow Journal*, 10/17 October, 1771.
[8] *Glasgow Journal*, 2/9 October, 1766.
[9] *Glasgow Journal*, 15/22 Jan. 1767.

twice in academic year 1766-1767, or was his first set of lectures something different? Here we can look at his advertisement in October 1767, after the two Russians had returned home. This stated that he would begin his prelections on the *Institutions* and *Digest* on 2 November and 'his Lectures on the Public Law of Scotland' on 8 November.[1] This strongly suggests that the lectures on Scots Law he started on 10 November 1766 were also on the *public law* of Scotland, to be followed by those on the *private law* of Scotland on 3 February 1767. Indeed, it may even be that his class on Scots Law in 1765 also started with an account of public law. When in 1771 Millar first offered a course described as on Government, this was in fact carrying on his lectures on the Public Law of Scotland (which he advertised in 1768, 1769, and 1770), under another name.[2] One may speculate that, as his popularity as a teacher grew, he realised that a course called Government or Public Law was more marketable to students than one called the Public Law of Scotland.

This means that it was clearly possible for Tret'yakov and Desnitsky to have attended Millar's class on Scots Law and probably also his class on Government, in its earlier guise as a class on Scots public law. Brown's speculation based on the works of the two Russians seems likely to be correct. It may also be possible to work out the probable sequence of the two men's studies. It was normal to take a course on the *Institutes* before a course on the *Digest*. It is always possible that they attended Millar's two courses on the *Institutes* over 1761-1762; but this seems unlikely, as they had extremely weak English on arrival and Millar taught this course in English. If this be correct, then the next year, 1762-1763, would have been when they attended Millar's two courses on the *Institutes*. One can then suppose that they took the course on the *Digest* twice in 1763-1764, and 1764-1765, making in all the three years of study of Civil Law mentioned in the petition of December 1765.[3] In 1765-1766, they could then have attended the course on Scots law, starting off perhaps with a series of lectures on Scots Public Law (or Government), although they could have attended the course on the Public Law of Scotland almost certainly given over the winter of 1766-1767 immediately prior to their departure. A measure of support for this comes from a Russian source that reveals Desnitsky and

[1] *Glasgow Journal*, 15/22 October, 1767.

[2] *Glasgow Journal*, 20/27 Oct. 1768; 26 Oct./2 Nov. 1769; 1/8 Nov. 1770 (in none of these academic years is there a special advertisement for the lectures in Scots private law, suggesting either that the course continued on without notice to deal with it or that he did not teach it).

[3] Found quoted in Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 252. Their weak English is noted in ibid., 261, note 261.

Tret'yakov in 1766 following Millar's classes in Roman Law as well as studying 'British' Law.[1]

If Desnitsky and Tret'yakov did attend Millar's classes on Scots Law and Government, it must have been in 1765-1767, because there is no evidence that he gave them before that date. If absence of evidence is not conclusive, there is a great deal of supporting circumstantial evidence to suggest these classes were a new departure in 1765. Thus, a university meeting of 11 May 1762 allocated to Millar a classroom for lectures on Civil Law, making no provision for any other classes.[2] Furthermore, in October 1762, the *Glasgow Journal* stated that 'the professors of Medicine and Law will begin their Lectures upon the first of November'.[3] The lack of detail suggests that Millar was simply going to give the 'prelections' on the *Institutes* and *Digest* that were the well-recognised, statutory, 'public' duties of his chair.[4] If so, the earliest he could have started to teach Scots law and government would have been academic year 1763-1764. This, however, seems very unlikely. First, the evidence of his advertisements in 1763 and 1764 suggests that he only taught the courses in the *Institutes* and *Digest* in those years. Secondly the content of his lectures on Scots Law also strongly suggests that they dated from after 1764. This is because in them Millar's Smithian analysis and account of Scots criminal law is strongly influenced by the tripartite division of crimes found for the first time in the third edition of John Erskine's *Principles of the Law of Scotland* of 1764.[5] This work, first published in 1754, was the textbook he recommended to his students.[6] Given that Millar, so far as we can tell, never recast his lectures drastically, this suggests that his account of Scots Law dates from after the publication of the third edition of Erskine's *Principles*.[7] This means that the earliest he could have lectured on Scots Law would have been 1764-1765. While possible, his earlier practice in advertising strongly suggests that the innovation of advertising classes on Scots Law in 1765 probably also marks an innovation in the classes offered.

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[1] Cross, *'By The Banks of the Thames'* (note 5 above), 125.
[2] GUA 26642, Minutes of University meetings 1760-1763, 147.
[3] *Glasgow Journal*, 21/28 Oct. 1762.
[4] 'Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow' (1794), in Thomas Reid, *Philosophical Works*, 2 vols. (1895; rpt. Hildesheim, 1967), vol. ii, 734, states that 'in his public department' Millar lectured daily for two hours; that is, two hours daily on Roman law, one hour on the *Institute*, one on the *Digest*. See also Cairns, 'William Crosse' (note 2 above), 177-178.
[5] For the detailed demonstration of this, see J.W. Cairns, 'John Millar's Lectures on Scots Criminal Law', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 8 (1988), 364-400 at 388-391.
[6] Glasgow University Library (hereafter GUL), MS Gen. 347, 6-8; John Erskine, *The Principles of the Law of Scotland: In the Order of Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of that Law* (Edinburgh, 1754).
[7] See further below.

3. What Desnitsky and Tret'yakov learn from Millar?

The earliest surviving sets of student notes of lectures given by Millar date from the 1770s.[1] Thus, a set of lectures on Government is known from the class of 1771-1772.[2] An early set of lectures on the *Institutes* dates from around the same period.[3] A set of lectures on Scots Law dates from the session of 1775-1776.[4] There are no notes from classes on the *Digest* until 1790.[5] This raises the question of whether we can have any sense of what Millar taught his Russian pupils.

It seems likely, however, that we can be fairly certain that Millar's classes were — perhaps with one exception — much as they were in the 1770s and that we have reasonably good evidence of what he might have taught Desnitsky and Tret'yakov. This is because, as pointed out above, he seems rarely to have changed the content of his classes in a radical fashion. This means that, though it is obvious his classes did develop through the years, there was a considerable measure of continuity, even if new matter might be added in and old deleted. The lectures on Government provide a good example. Study of student lecture notes and published syllabuses shows that the only major change made to his lectures on Government came between 1781 and 1783, when he increased the number of lectures by introducing a new preliminary lecture and another four on the government of Ireland, the national debt, the constitution of Parliament with regard to its division into three branches and its period of duration, and the royal prerogative, while reducing three lectures on the English courts to two.[6] He later added new matter, without altering the course overall, such as a lecture on the French Revolution.[7] The basic nature of the lectures and the bulk of their

[1] For details of surviving notes (other than in private hands), see Cairns, '"Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh ... for medicine"', (note 4 above), 155-156 (note 31), 156 (notes 39-40), 157 (note 48). The one set of notes surviving from the class on English law is GUL, MS Gen. 243.

[2] Glasgow, Mitchell Library, MS 99. There is also an outline syllabus: *A Course of Lectures on Government; Given Annually in the University* (Glasgow 1771) (National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Pressmark RB.s.402).

[3] NLS, MS 2743.

[4] GUL, MS Gen. 347.

[5] GUL, MSS Murray 91-92 and 93-94.

[6] NLS, MS 3931 consists of lectures on Government dating from 1780-1781, conforming to the earlier syllabus set out in *A Course of Lectures on Government; Given Annually in the University* (Glasgow, 1778), while the new syllabus is found in *A Course of Lectures on Government; Given Annually in the University* (Glasgow, 1783).

[7] See *A Course of Lectures on government; given Annually in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1787) (bound into GUL, MS Gen. 180/1); GUL MS Hamilton 116 (1798); GUL, MS Gen. 290, 34-44.

content did not change, however, between 1771 and the late 1790s. It seems a fair supposition that the core content of the later lectures on Government was found in the earlier lectures on Scots Public Law. Indeed, given the strong dependence of Millar's thinking on that of Adam Smith, his basic thinking is unlikely to have changed, even if the details, illustrations and examples in the lectures were altered and perhaps even greatly elaborated. One question which cannot be answered is the length of these classes on Scots Public Law and Scots Private Law: we do not know if each was as long as the successor courses in the 1770s, or if each was half the length of one of the successor courses.

It is as well to deal here with that one exception to general continuity. Millar's first biographer, Craig, remarked that Millar considered 'the employment of a whole winter in tracing ... the exact line of Roman Law ... a mere waste of time and study. Whatever it was useful to know of the Institutes, he thought might be sufficiently taught in the half of the session, or term; and he wished to devote the rest of it to a course of Lectures on Jurisprudence.' Millar accordingly divided his course on the *Institutes* into two parts, covering, first, the *Institutes* itself and, secondly, Jurisprudence.[1] If Craig is implying that, before Millar's appointment, the whole of one academic year was taken to teach the *Institutes* in Glasgow, this is wrong. Millar had replaced a second, identical class on *Institutes* with the Lectures on Jurisprudence.[2] When did he do this? Craig suggests that this development took place some time after Millar first occupied the chair. A first point to make is that the content of Millar's class on Jurisprudence (still usually referred to in student notes as the second course on the *Institutes*) is very similar to that of Smith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. If, for example, Desnitsky and Tret'yakov, after attending Smith's class on Ethics and Jurisprudence, attended Millar's, they would have found much duplication, although Millar's class would have had a greater focus on Roman Law.[3] It is easy to demonstrate this.

Millar's second course on the *Institutes* opened with advice on reading and then presented a discussion of moral theory, leading to an account of rights and the progress of law.[4] Millar analysed law as concerning rights and actions, with rights, in turn, concerning either persons or things. The rights of persons arose

[1] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xx.

[2] John Erskine's letter to Lord Cardross, 24 Nov. 1762, Edinburgh University Library (hereafter EUL), MS La.II.238, confirms that Millar gave two courses on the *Institutes* in 1762-63. It also implies that they were identical or nearly identical, but Erskine was probably not well informed about Millar's practice in this respect.

[3] Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, ed. R.L. Meek, D.D. Raphael, and P.G. Stein (Oxford, 1978), 397-554

[4] See, e.g., Advocates' (hereafter Adv.) MS 20.4.7, fols. 2r-23r.

from the relationships of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, guardian and ward. The rights of things were divided into real and personal. Real rights concerned property, servitude, pledge and exclusive privilege. Personal rights arose by contract, delinquency or crime. Actions were the means of asserting these rights.[1] This analysis is very familiar from Smith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence*.[2] The aim was:

> It shall now be our chief employment to enquire into the principles of the Roman law, and to compare them with those of other countries. The aim of Students of Roman Law at this period, ought to be not merely to know what was the Roman System. That would be of little consequence of itself. It has properly no authority by the Law of this country, or of most of the other modern nations in Europe. It has however a regard paid to it as the system of Lawiers and Judges of great experience, and of a country which subsisted for such a long tract of time, and where we may consequently expect to find the rules of Jurisprudence of the most perfect kind. As however in the most perfect of all human Systems, there are numberless imperfections and Blemishes, it will certainly be proper in those who study Roman Law at this period, to enquire into the justice or propriety of these regulations. This can only be done by comparing it with the Laws of other countries, and with our own natural feelings of right and wrong. This is certainly a very useful exercise, as it enlarges our experience.[3]

Craig aptly characterised this second class as one 'in which [Millar] treated of such general principles of Law as pervade the codes of all nations, and have their origin in those sentiments of justice which are imprinted on the human heart'.[4]

This content, analytical approach, and philosophical foundation in the theory of moral sentiments all suggest that it was unlikely that Millar taught a course in rivalry to that of Adam Smith (whom he revered sufficiently, after all, to use his image on his seal).[5] A plausible — but no more than plausible — explanation is that it was after Smith's resignation from the chair of Moral Philosophy in 1764 that Millar introduced his own Lectures on Jurisprudence. Secondly, Smith's successor was Thomas Reid. Millar had strongly opposed Reid's appointment

[1] For a useful analytical breakdown of the second course, see NLS, MS 3930, 299-301. All surviving manuscripts of the second course follow this structure.

[2] On Smith's analytical jurisprudence, see above all Knud Haakonssen, *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith* (Cambridge, 1981), 99-134.

[3] Adv. MS 20.4.7, fols. 1r-2r

[4] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xx. On Millar's jurisprudence see Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy: From Grotius to the Scottish Englisghtenment* (Cambridge, 1996), 154-181.

[5] It survives very clearly on Millar's letter to David Douglas, 10 Aug. 1790, GUL, MS Gen. 1035/178.

and in a letter of 2 February 1764 urged Smith to do the same.[1] Reid and Millar were noted for their philosophical disagreements at meetings of the Glasgow Literary Society.[2] Reid included jurisprudence in his moral philosophy classes, which were commonly attended by law students because of the complementary nature of the subject matter.[3] It is thus possible that Millar developed the jurisprudence lectures to counteract Reid's influence, wishing to teach a Smithian jurisprudence to his students, which could hardly be expected of Reid.[4] At the same time, Millar was probably conscious of a need to ensure his students had an adequate grounding in jurisprudence, since the Faculty of Advocates had exhorted, in 1760 and 1762, young men proposing to join their body to attend the classes of the Professor of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations in Edinburgh, while also proposing that intrants be asked questions on the law of nature and nations in their examinations.[5] Thirdly, there was by this time a definite demand for classes in jurisprudence. Robert Bruce, the Edinburgh Professor of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations, had forty students in session 1763-1764, the last that he taught.[6]

If these arguments are correct, they suggest that Millar introduced his class on Jurisprudence only after 1764; this means that if Desnitsky and Tret'yakov

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[1] *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. E.C. Mossner and I.S. Ross, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1987), 99-100. Millar wished Thomas Young to succeed Smith. It is unknown what Smith's views were on his potential successors, and there is no reason to believe he agreed with Millar. See *Selections from the Family Papers preserved at Caldwell*, 2 vols. In 3 (Glasgow, 1854), vol. ii, pt. I, 232-33.

[2] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), lxi-lxii.

[3] On the natural jurisprudence component of Reid's moral philosophy course, see Thomas Reid, *Practical Ethics: Being Lectures and Papers on Natural Religion, Self-Government, Natural Jurisprudence, and the Law of Nations*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Princeton, 1990). (Reid's assistant and successor, Archibald Arthur, also taught natural jurisprudence; see 'Notes, Taken by James Neilson, from Mr. Arthur's Lectures on Natural Jurisprudence, given in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow. From 19 march 1788 to [blank] 1788', GUL, MS Gen. 832.) On Millar's students attending Reid's classes, see Reid to Andrew Skene, 14 Nov. 1764, in Reid, *Works* (note 41 above) vol. i, 40. On the general relationship of law and moral philosophy, see John Erskine to Lord Cardross, 24 Nov. 1762, EUL, MS La.II.238, where Erskine, obviously anxious that Cardross know Pufendorf, agrees that Cardross should take Smith's class on moral philosophy along with Millar's on the *Institutes.*

[4] The speculation was first suggested to me by Nicholas Phillipson.

[5] *The Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates. Volume 3, 1751-1783*, ed. Angus Stewart, Stair Society vol. 46 (Edinburgh, 1999), 94 (8 Jan. 1760), 112 (5 Jan. 1762). For discussion of this development, see J.W. Cairns, 'The Influence of Smith's Jurisprudence on Legal Education in Scotland', in *Adam Smith Reviewed*, ed. Peter Jones and Andrew Skinner (Edinburgh, 1992), 168-89, and idem 'The Formation of the Scottish Legal Mind in the Eighteenth Century: themes of Humanisation and Enlightenment in the Admission of Advocates', in *the Legal Mind: Essays for Tony Honoré*, ed. Neil MacCormick and Peter Birks (Oxford, 1968), 253-77, esp. 265-66.

[6] See Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh. Arts-Law-Divinity' (transcribed by Alexander Morgan), EUL, 3 vols., vol. i, 262.

studied the *Institutes* with him in 1762-1763, as argued above, they will not have attended his second course when it dealt with jurisprudence. Of course, they could always have attended it later: it may even have been the course of Roman law they took with him in 1766.[1] In any case, the influence of Smith would have meant that their philosophical outlook would have suited Millar's classes.

Turning to classes that the two Russians certainly took, Millar's class on Justinian's *Institute* was based on the textbook of Heineccius, according to Craig.[2] This was the most popular textbook of the day.[3] Millar started, however, with some lectures discussing vice and virtue and distinguishing law from ethics.[4] He then raised the question of whether or not legal studies should start with the law of one's own country. He pointed out that in most European countries other than England the practice was to begin with the laws of other nations before concluding with the national law. If this practice were adopted, he commented, then 'the Roman law must attract particular notice. The Romans were a great people, possessed extensive territories and therefore must have had much experience as of necessity many private quarrels and disputes would come to be decided in their wide empire'. There followed a survey of the history of Roman law and its reception in Europe.[5] Thereafter Millar went through the text of Heineccius, paragraph by paragraph. In later years, the first course did not reach the end of Heineccius's compend; but it presumably did when taken by Desnitsky and Tret'yakov. In all, this class amounted to around seventy lectures.[6]

Paragraph references in the surviving notes of lectures on the *Digest* show that Millar used Heineccius's compend as his textbook, the popular student work of the day.[7] Craig commented that the 'multifarious doctrines to be explained in the Pandects' meant that Millar could not shorten the length of this course and indeed he gave 116 lectures on the *Digest*, from the beginning of

[1] Cross, *'By The Banks of the Thames'* (note 5 above), 125.
[2] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xx. His claim is readily verified from surviving student notes, e.g., NLS, MS 2743, fol. 18r.
[3] J. G. Heineccius, *Elementa juris civilis secundum ordinem institutionum* (Amsterdam 1725 and numerous other editions). An edition of this work aimed at Scottish law students was published at Edinburgh in 1780.
[4] E.g., Adv. MS 28.6.8, 1-11, first pagination sequence (lects. 1-3).
[5] Ibid., 12-19.
[6] See Cairns, '"Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh ... for medicine"', (note 4 above), 140-141.
[7] J. G. Heineccius, *Elementa juris secundum ordinem pandectarum* (Amsterdam, 1727 and many subsequent editions). See GUL, MSS Murray 91-92; GUL, MSS Murray 93-95. The first of these consists of two volumes from an originally four-volume set of notes. The second is possibly a copy of the complete version of the first; if so, both date from 1790-91.

November and ending about the beginning of May.[1] He added, however, that 'aware that the ordinary arrangement is confused, and almost unintelligible, he soon published a new syllabus, following very nearly the order of the Institutes, according to which he discussed the various and sometimes discordant laws of Rome, and the still more discordant opinions of Roman lawyers'.[2] No printed syllabus has yet been discovered for Millar's lectures on the *Digest*. Study of the surviving notes shows, however, that, as in the second course on the *Institutes*, he expounded the *Digest*, not according to the order of the *Institutes*, but according to the Smithian analysis of law into rights and actions, an approach that involved a complete rearrangement of the sequence of the *Digest*.[3] Since the surviving manuscripts contain only a detailed scheme, rather than a full report of what Millar actually said in his class, it is difficult to assess this course. The lectures assumed that students had already attended the course on the *Institutes* and obviously dealt with the *Digest* in considerable detail, raising the type of historical issues that interested Millar.[4] He also seems to have made — at least — occasional references to modern Scots law.[5]

The lectures on Scots law also started from Millar's version of Smithian analytical jurisprudence, using it as a scheme for exposition and classification. Smith's thinking in fact determined Millar's account of and entire approach to Scots law.[6] He told his class:

> The Law of any Country comprehends a Set of Rules which the Inhabitants are bound to obey and wherever there is a Rule for performing an obligation there must be a corresponding right to inforce the performance — To every Rule therefore there is a corresponding Right — The enumeration of these Rights will be the same thing as the enumeration of the Rules. — To enumerate the Rights then is the first object of Law.

When it came to exposition of these rights, he stated:

> The Lectures therefore proposed to be given on the Law of Scotland naturally divide themselves into the consideration of

[1] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xx. See, e.g., *Glasgow Journal*, 3/10 Oct. 1765, starting 4 Nov.; *Glasgow Mercury*, 13/20 Oct. 1789, starting 3 Nov.; *Glasgow Courier* , 15 Oct. 1799, starting 5 Nov. GUL, MS Murray 92, fol. 55v shows he finished on 29 Apr. 1791, which fits with having started that year on 1 Nov. 1790 (*Glasgow Mercury*, 21/28 Sept. 1790), generally lecturing five days per week and delivering 116 lectures in all.

[2] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xx.

[3] Cairns, 'John Millar's Lectures' (note 42 above), 378, note 70.

[4] W.C. Lehmann, 'Some Observations on the Law Lectures of Professor Millar at the University of Glasgow (1761-1801)', *Juridical Review*, 15 (1970), 56-77 at 68-70. See GUL, MSS Murray 93, fol. [1]r, and 94, fol. 48v, lect. 54 for the assumption that the students had taken the course on the *Institutes*.

[5] GUL, MS Murray 94, fol. [60]r, lect. 59.

[6] Cairns, 'John Millar's Lectures' (note 42 above), 374-395.

> 1st Rights and 2nd Actions.
> Rights may be divided into two Grand divisions. vizt. Such as arise from the distinctions of persons and their Ranks in society — and such as are independent of this distinction which is understood to comprehend every other Right — These Rights are therefore distinguished into
> 1st Rights of Persons.
> 2nd Rights of Things.[1]

He followed this scheme rigorously in his account.

The close link with the lectures on government can easily be seen from Millar's remark in the class on Scots law that:

> But as it is necessary that every Rule of conduct be promulgated to the people that they may know how to observe them, So it is necessary that some provision be made for enforcing these Rules and compelling the people to observe them — For this purpose Courts of Justice are established — The knowledge of the different Courts — The Causes to which they are competent — and the legal methods of obtaining redress of grievances before these Courts, constitute the second great object of Law — But as the different Courts of Justice and the Jurisdiction of Judges fall properly to be considered in a political point of view though no doubt connected with the Law of a Country — We have therefore reserved these for part of a Course of Lectures on Government.[2]

Millar covered three broad topics in his lectures on government: first, the origin and progress of government in society; secondly, illustrations of this from particular governments, namely Athens, Sparta, Rome, France, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland (after 1781), and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and thirdly, the present state of the government in Great Britain, including discussions of parliament, the royal prerogative, and English and Scottish courts.[3] The lectures again not only show Millar's indebtedness to basic tenets of Smith's thought, but also his historical and comparative approach.[4] The advantages of such an approach were that 'by comparing the Systems [of Government] in different Countries we may judge concerning the expediency of different institutions and enlarge our views concerning the principles of Government', while this also meant that 'we ought to examine each particular system historically, tracing each regulation from the origins through all the subsequent changes'.[5] The authority that was one of the ultimate foundations of government was based on personal wealth or qualities strengthened by the custom that created a habit of obe-

[1] GUL, MS Gen. 178, 2-5, second pagination sequence.
[2] Ibid.
[3] For a good account, see Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xli-lvii.
[4] See Cairns, '"Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh ... for medicine"', (note 4 above), 145-146.
[5] GUL, MS Hamilton 116, 1-2.

dience, while the progress of government was explained utilising Smith's stadial analysis.[1]

The content of the courses that Desnitsky and Tret'yakov took with Millar will have taught them that laws were based on 'the various rights acknowledged and protected by society'. These rights were derived from the moral sentiments, according to which actions were approved on the grounds of their propriety and utility. When individuals were wronged, they felt resentment and spectators felt indignation. Rules of justice thus rose spontaneously this way from individual concrete situations. Individuals thus had rights not to be wronged. Spectators would interfere in disputes in order to assist individuals with whose motives they sympathised — not only disinterestedly in order to prevent an injustice, but also out of self-interest, as they themselves might some day be in a similar predicament. Rights so established might vary from place to place and time to time according to the character, history and manners of different societies, though long-established customs were not readily abandoned and could continue to exist even if defective for a changed society.[2]

The courses on Civil Law, Scots Law, and Government followed by Desnitsky and Tret'yakov were all interrelated and put forward a coherent view demonstrating how such rights were elaborated historically. The class on Government showed how the legislative power, national defence and the securing of public tranquillity by the appointment of magistrates and the establishment of courts of justice created the framework within which private rights arose, were recognised and could be enforced. The classes on Scots Law and Civil Law showed how this worked out in particular historical contexts. This was a rich and detailed theory of legislation.

So far the focus has been on the content of Millar's classes. A further important lesson learned by the two Russians would also have been that the manner of teaching can dramatically affect the success of the learning of the students. Here there are two linked points. It had been traditional in teaching for the professor to dictate notes on a set text to his students; in law, traditionally this had been done using the *Corpus iuris civilis*, though from the later seventeenth century it had become increasingly common for teachers to lecture on the basis of a compend, such as that of Heineccius, rather than on the original texts. Moreover, lectures had traditionally been delivered in Latin. (It is worth pointing out that Scots law was always taught in English in the Scottish universities.)

Taking the language of instruction first, we have noted above that Millar's predecessor in the chair, Hercules Lindesay, had started to teach the *Institutes* in

[1] See, e.g., GUL, MS Gen. 289, 15-29, 31-33.
[2] See Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xxxii-xxxix.

English. At some stage, Millar extended this innovation to the course on the *Digest*.[1] When he did so is unclear. What is certain is that, after the departure of Desnitsky and Tret'yakov, the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh (the Scottish bar) reported to the advocates in 1768 that 'he understood that the Professor of Civil Law in Glasgow lectured to his students in the English Language'. He thought that it was 'incumbent upon the Faculty' to find a way to put 'an effectual Stop' to this 'unprecedented way of teaching the Civil Law'. The Faculty recommended the Dean to communicate their worries to the Rector of the University of Glasgow and request him to 'use his authority in ordering that the Lectures on the Civil Law be, for the future, in Latin and not in English'.[2] This complaint was ineffective, though it stimulated a small pamphlet debate, which does not seem to have been studied, but to which a return will be made below.[3] There is no evidence to suggest that Millar's innovation had just taken place in 1768; indeed it may well be that Millar always lectured in English on the *Digest*. If so, then his two Russian students will have been taught the *Digest* by him in English.[4]

Why this seems likely is that Millar did not read his lectures, but always lectured extempore from detailed headings. His biographer commented that Millar 'was not merely desirous to convey to his students just views and accurate information', but also 'to convey them in the manner most likely to seize the attention, and to promote habits of original thought and philosophical investigation'. This meant that Millar 'never wrote his Lectures'; any disadvantages en-

[1] 'Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow' (note 41 above), 734. For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Cairns, 'Rhetoric, Language, and Roman Law' (note 23 above).

[2] *Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates. Volume 3, 1751-1783* (note 65 above), 184 (5 Mar. 1768).

[3] See, strongly in favour of Millar's approach, *Considerations on the Practice of Teaching the Civil Law in English* (Edinburgh, 1768). A wider examination was given in *Essays. Viz. I. On the Origin of Colleges, Or Universities. II. On the Origin of the Custom of Lecturing in Latin. III. On the Impropriety of this Custom, at Present* (Glasgow, 1769) countered in *An Inquiry Whether the Study of the Ancient Languages be a Necessary Branch of Modern Education? Wherein, by the way, some observations are made on a late Performance, intitled, Essays on the Origin of Colleges, of the custom of Lecturing in Latin, &c.* (Edinburgh, 1769) (although accepting the fact of lecturing in English).

[4] The *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 Dec. 1767 carried an advertisement for all 'who studied Law under Mr. Millar at Glasgow' to meet at Fortune's tavern on Saturday 19 December. It is possible that this reflects knowledge of the forthcoming complaint; on the other hand, it seems more likely that it may be to do with the Faculty of Advocates' recent return to the issue of entails, a matter of earlier controversy and in which Millar was deeply interested and that we discussed in his classes: see *Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates. Volume 3, 1751-1783* (note 65 above), 177 (12 Dec. 1767); N.T. Phillipson, 'Lawyers, Landowners, and the Civic Leadership of Post-Union Scotland: An Essay on the Social Role of the Faculty of Advocates 1661-1830 in 18th Century Scottish Society', *Juridical Review*, 21 (1976), 97-120.

countered by not reading a full text were 'much more than compensated by the fullness of his illustrations, the energy of his manner, and that interest which is excited, both in the hearer and speaker, by extemporaneous eloquence'. Millar was indeed noted for his powerful lecturing and his ability to respond to the reactions of his auditors.[1] No doubt Millar's skills in teaching developed over his tenure of the chair; but such a belief in how to communicate effectively with his audience must have been held from the beginning. Lecturing in Latin would have made any kind of extempore and responsive teaching impossible. The professor would have had to read full notes slowly to the class.[2] All of this suggests that Millar always taught the class on the *Digest* in Latin and that, as his classes became increasingly popular, his innovation came to the attention of the Faculty of Advocates.

4. Some Concluding Points

Desnitsky and Tret'yakov will have returned to Moscow with a view of law that was rooted in a historical theory of society, in which government (necessary for the protection of property that was the foundation of society) was based on authority and utility, and which saw political obedience as based on habit, custom, fear, and utility. Law was not derived from higher norms of divine law; there was indeed a philosophical underpinning in the Smithian theory of the moral sentiments, but rules of justice emerged from social life.

Others can discuss more fully the extent to which this teaching influenced the two new doctors of law of Glasgow university on their return to Moscow; a few remarks will suffice here. Brown has certainly claimed that Desnitsky's socio-political and legal views can be traced to Smith and Millar and that 'a great many of the ideas of a theoretical nature in the lectures of Desnitsky and Tret'yakov, as well as numerous points of detail, can be traced back to the Glasgow lectures of Smith and Millar'.[3] While Brown fully recognised the importance of Millar's teaching for the two men, he understandably does tend to focus on Smith, undoubtedly the greater thinker. Yet, more courses were taken with Millar than with Smith, so it is possible that many Smithian ideas in the work of the two Russians came second-hand, so to speak, through Millar. Desnitsky has been described as 'the founder of Russian jurisprudence'; the juris-

[1] Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar' (note 21 above), xii, xiv-xvi; Francis Jeffrey, review of *Historical View of the English Government*, in *Edinburgh Review*, 3 (1803), 155.
[2] A point recognised in *Considerations on the Practice of Teaching the Civil Law in English* (note 89 above), 10, where it was also suggested that teaching in Latin encouraged professors to be content 'with reading over the same written lecture from year to year', ibid., 11.
[3] Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 260.

prudence he developed was based on that learned in Glasgow in the classes of John Millar. For example, he utilised Millar's clearly developed version of Smith's theory of the four stages as his major analytical tool in his comparative-historical approach to law and society.[1] Even a cursory examination of Desnitsky's *Proposal for the Establishment of Legislative, Judicial and Executive Power in the Russian Empire* reveals the influence on him of his experiences in Scotland.[2] Thus, his proposal for a jury of fifteen to assist judges and his suggestion as to how such a jury should operate in criminal cases was distinctly reminiscent of eighteenth-century Scottish criminal practice.[3] The aim to make judges accountable through publishing their decisions reflected a strong theme in the thinking of Smith.[4] The general curriculum for the studies to be undertaken by judges also derived from legal education in Glasgow, with its emphasis on moral philosophy, natural law, Roman law and then Russian law.[5] More could be said on this.

Both Desnitsky and Tret'yakov were in favour of the change to lecturing in Russian rather than in Latin in the University of Moscow; a change understandably strongly resisted by the Germans who composed the majority of the professors.[6] It is fair to assume that the two Russians' experience of education in the University of Glasgow and, in particular, of Millar's lectures on law, predisposed them to this reform, directly contrary to current practice in the German universities. It is therefore interesting to note that, in the debate started in 1768 over Millar's teaching of Civil Law in English, one pamphlet noted that 'the law is, at present, taught in the Russian language, in the university of Moscow'.[7] The practice of Desnitsky and Tret'yakov in Moscow, reported to their *alma mater* by the Clyde, could be prayed in aid of the general prevalence and good sense of the methods of their former professor.

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[1] Ibid., 269-272.

[2] S.E. Desnitskii, *Proposal for the Establishment of Legislative, Judicial and Executive Power in the Russian Empire* (1768), in *Russia under Catherine the Great*, ed. and trans. Paul Dukes, vol. 1 (Newtonville, Mass., 1978), 44-65.

[3] Ibid., 53; see J.W. Cairns, 'Hamesucken and the Major Premiss in the Libel, 1672-1770: Criminal Law in the Age of Enlightenment', in *Justice and Crime: Essays in Honour of the Right Honourable The Lord Emslie*, ed. R.F. Hunter (Edinburgh, 1993), 138-179 at 142-145.

[4] Desnitskii, *Proposal* (note 95 above), 53; see J.W. Cairns, 1994 'Adam Smith and the Role of the Courts in Securing Justice and Liberty', in *Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Law and Economics*, ed. R.P. Malloy and J. Evensky (Dordrecht, 1994), 31-61.

[5] Desnitskii, *Proposal* (note 95 above), 54.

[6] Brown, 'Adam Smith's First Russian Followers' (note 5 above), 250.

[7] *Essays. Viz. I. On the Origin of Colleges, Or Universities. etc* (note 89 above), vi.

BRITAIN AND RUSSIAN CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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There exists a vast and rapidly growing body of research about the impact of Britain on ancient Russian culture: works by M.P. Alekseev, Prof. S. Konovalov, Prof. A. Cross, and many other scholars are well known. As a result of their painstaking analysis of a great variety of sources, we can conclude that various elements of British culture were known in and were significant for medieval Russia.

Until the time of Peter the Great Western ideas played an almost negligible role in the development of old Russian culture. There were some contacts in the ancient period[1], but it is likely that they were indirect, by way of Scandinavia. Nevertheless, "we know beyond doubt that Scot must have met Slav during the medieval period in a number of ways, both in peace and war"[2]. The last quarter of the 15th century witnessed a marked increase in Russian diplomatic relations

[1] See: Алексеев М.П. Очерки из истории английско-русских литературных отношений (XI–XVII вв.). Тезисы диссертации на степень доктора филологических наук. Ленинград, 1937.

[2] Dukes P. Scotland and the Slavic World: An Introduction, in: Coexistence. Vol. 29. 2. June 1992. P. 107.

with the West. Up to that time the most important exchange had been with Rome in 1469-72, over the marriage of Zoe Paleologa. The reign of Ivan III saw a marked turning towards the West. But direct contacts between Russia and Britain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were checked by the Hanseatic League. Novgorod's trade in the Baltic especially with the Hansa, with the northern lands forming part of her empire, and along the Volga to the Caspian Sea, flourished during that period. Active diplomatic and cultural contacts between Britain and Russia began in the middle sixteen hundreds. At that time many Scottish commercial travellers arrived in Poland, which was then the main route of western influence to Russia. Sir Jerome Horsey wrote about them as: "a nation of strangers, remote, adventurous, and warlike people, ready to serve any Christian prince for maintenance and pay" and in particular ready to fight for Ivan the Terrible against his enemy the Crimean Tatars. Horsey claimed that 1200 of such Scottish mercenaries performed better services than 12,000 Russians[1]. We know that some of the Scottish soldiers of fortune became Russified.

To be sure, Russia's political and geographical situation did not encourage a lively cultural exchange with Western Europe, and this helped to conserve old customs; but it is equally true that political schemes in Western Europe frustrated such efforts as Ivan III did make towards closer cultural contact. In the reign of Ivan the Terrible steady diplomatic and trade relations between Russia and Britain were established[2]. 'British' doctors, mechanics and architects began to work in Moscow. British merchants made frequent journeys to Russia and rumours were bound to reach Moscow. These assumed fantastic forms in the provinces. The Pskov chronicler wrote that a certain evil warlock, an English heretic, told the tsar to slay all the boyars and flee to Britain[3]. And in fact, Ivan's plans concerning Britain were considerable. First, he was prepared to jet-

[1] Stuart Fr. Scottish influences in Russian history. Glasgow, 1913. Pp. 14.

[2] By the way, all researchers of Scottish-Russian connections note that the first Russian embassy in Britain was in Edinburgh. As Professor Cross noted "the first Russian ambassador sent to England by a Russian tsar was also by mischance the first to visit Scotland. The Tsar's ambassador, Ossip Gregorievitch Nepeia was undoubtedly mightily glad to reach land when the ship taking him in 1556 from Kholmogory to London foundered off the Scottish north-east coast near Fraserburg". (Cross A. The History Road and the Low: Russian Students and Travellers in Eighteenth-Century Scotland // Coexistence. Vol. 29. 2. June 1992. P. 113) [Nov. 10, 1556, Pitsligo Bay, Aberdeen. — T. Ch.]. "It was near Pitsligo Bay, — wrote Steuart, — the wreck took place, and all the Tsar's presents were lost, with the English captain, Richard Chancellor, his son and seven Russians of the ambassadors suite. Robert Best, interpreter of the embassy, escaped with the ambassador. The unfortunate refuges left Edinburgh, whither they had a 'Talmatsch' or 'speachman' sent to them from London, on 14th February, 1557, with but a few trifled saved from their wreck, to begin their embassy so long hindered" (Steuart A. Scottish influences in Russian History. Glasgow, 1913. A. Scottish influences in Russian History. Glasgow, 1913).

[3] Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. 2. С. 262.

tison his last wife to win the hand of an English princess. Secondly, at the height of the Livonian war, Moscow tried to forge a military alliance with England in order to use that country's fleet in the Baltic, but without success, for Elizabeth's council refused to ratify the treaty, which had been struck in Vologda. This provoked the tsar to criticize the English queen harshly: "We understood you were sovereign in you realm and ruled it alone, but pretty traders, which you continue to vaunt your maidenly state like a vulgar girl" ("Мы надеялись, что ты в своем государстве государыня и сама владеешь и заботишься о своей государевой чести и выгодах для государства, — поэтому мы и затеяли с тобой эти переговоры. Но, видно, у тебя, помимо тебя, другие люди владеют, и не только люди, а мужики торговые, и не заботятся о наших государских головах и о чести и о выгодах для страны, а ищут своей торговой прибыли. Ты же пребываешь в своем девическом чину, как всякая простая [пошлая. — др. русск.] девица")[1]. This epistle is a very good source for studying the concepts of royal authority in Britain and in Russia. George Vernadsky has made a comparative analysis of old Slavonic common law and the underlying principles of Anglo-Saxon law[2].

In the reign of Ivan the Terrible Russia received from England the weapon of medicines and from then on many of the tsar's physicians were from Britain[3]. Even Boris Godunov declared that he was under the strong influence of British doctors, for between 1601-1603 eighteen Russian students had been sent to France, Lubek and Britain (to London — "в Лундун"). The following persons had been sent to London: "Микифор Олферьев сын Григорьев. Да Софон Михайлов сын Кожухов, да Казарин Давыдов, да Федька Костомаров для отвоза в аглинскую землю для науки латынскому и и аглинскому и иных

[1] Иван Грозный. Сочинения. СПб., 2000.

[2] See: Vernadsky G. Medieval Russian Laws. N.Y., 1947.

[3] The physicians swore the following oath to the tsar: "Яз имя рек. Целую сие святое евангелие великому государю царю и великой княгине Евдокие Лукьяновне и их царским детем государю благоверному цревичу князю Олексею Михайловичу и государыне царевне и великой княжне Ирине Михайловне и тем которых имъ государем впредь Бог даетъ. На том, что мне государю служити и прямити и добра хотети во всемъ въ правду и до своей смерти безо всякия хитрости, а лиха мне ему государю своему царю и великому князю Михаилу Федоровичу всеа Руссие и его царице, и их царским детем, не хотети ни какова не мыслити, ни думати ни которыми делы и ни которыю хитростьюи въ естве и въ питье и в лекарствах во всяких и въ ином ни в чем лиха ни какова не учинити и не испортить ни которыми делы и ни которою хитростью и зелья лихова и коренья не давати и съ лихим ни с каким злам умышлениемъ и съ порчею къ ним государем ни приходити и въ своем лекарстве и въ составех и въ лечебных ни в чем никакого злаго зелья и коренья не примешати..." — Материалы для истории медицины в России. Вып. 1. СПб., 1881. С. 85.

разных немецких государств языков и грамоте"[1]. But the Russian boys had not returned — as they wrote — "by reason of the long troubles in our Country of Russia"[2]. After long diplomatic negotiations in the reign of the Michael Fedorovich Romanov, it was established that: "Not only were they detained and kept in England against their wills. But one of them Mekepher Alphery, by reason of his younger years hath forsaken our trew and undowghted religion and is become a priest, whether urged thereto against his will or willingly is to us unknown"[3] ("Подлинно ведомо, что те дети боярские Никифор Олферьев сын Григорьев, да Софонко Кожухов с товарищи четыре человека в агглинской земле задержаны неволею, а Никифорко Олферьев и веры нашея православныя отступил и. Несведомо по какой прелести в попы стал"[4]). The Russian envoy reported that the students had been sent to Britain "in bondage, but not voluntarily" ("в неволю, а не для воли"). Mekepher Alphery was by then a graduate of Cambridge University, and was Rector of Woolley, in Huntingdonshire from 1618[5].

In the seventeenth century contacts between Russian and Britain culture became more intensive and distinctive. There began to be Russian-British families. For example, the two sisters Hamilton, who lived in the Nemetskaia Sloboda (Moscow), married Russians, one the Tsar's favorite and chief Boyar, Artamon Sergeevich Matveev (1625–1682), and the other Fedor Poluektovich Naryshkin. The Scottish wife of Matveev brought up and educated Natalya Kirillovna Naryshkina according to the free manners of the Scots, allowing her to receive male visitors, a practice quite horrible to those accustomed to the cloistered seclusion of women. But on 21st January 1672, Tsar Aleksei Michailovich Romanov wedded Natalia Naryshkina, and she became mother of Peter the Great.

By looking carefully at historical material we can trace three ways in which British culture penetrated Russia before the reign of Peter. First, there were contacts with representatives of British culture. Second, there was the influence of cultural monuments, such as architecture, art, scientific and technical achievement, including arms. Third, there were British books, which were read or even

[1] Арсеньев А.В. История посылки первых русских студентов за границу при Борисе Годунове. СПб., 1887. С. 9.
[2] Konovalov S. Anglo-Russian Relations, 1620–4. // Oxford Slavonic Papers, P. 80.
[3] Konovalov S. P. 80.
[4] Арсеньев А.В. С. 20.
[5] See: Biographia Britannica on the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 1. London, 1747. P. 129; Walker I. An attempt towards recovering an account on the suffering of the clergy of the Church of England in the late times of the Great Rebellion. London, 1714. P. 183.

translated by Russians. To illuminate this, it is necessary to study: 1) the representation of foreigners in Russian culture; 2) Russian cultural monuments created by foreigners[1]; 3) translated books, and Russian Libraries before the reign of Peter[2]; 4) relevant parallels in the cultures of our countries.

The image of foreigners

The image of man, in medieval Russia, resulted from an interaction of church ideas and Old Russian pagan culture. The Church was the foundation of spiritual unity for Orthodox Russia, and national and patriotic feelings played no part in medieval life[3]. But Russian chronicles of the Moscow period reveal a considerably higher religio-historical self-consciousness than their precursors. Not only had 'Holy Russia' developed a view of kingship as something quasi-religious, with symbolic roots in biblical tradition; it had also begun to perceive itself as a nation state with a role alongside others on the world stage. For example, in the formal debates between Ivan IV, Tsar of Russia, and Jan Rokyta, a minister of the Czech Brethren, or between the Tsar and the Pope's envoy, the Tsar betrays no ignorance of modern trends or the proverbial Russian 'backwardness'. Rather, he shows a deliberate cultivation of the tradition of authority, and demonstrates strong ties between the church and daily life in Russia. He wrote to Rokyta: "Не хотел тебе отвечать, поскольку ты заявлял, *что прения эти лишь ради спора, а не веры*. Но мы научены Христом не давать святое псам и не метать бисер перед свиньями, не давать святого слова псам неверным"[4]. Russian culture was strongly shaped by the Orthodox Church and by the Byzantine heritage that the church brought with it to Russia. Stephen Baehr finds that "The imagery examined thus far often combined to represent Russia as God's chosen country. Within this variant of the paradise myth, the Russians, as a result of their 'true belief' (the etymology of 'Orthodoxy'), were often portrayed as having obtained the Promised Land, depicted as

[1] See: Howard J. The Scottish Kremlin Builder. Livingston, 1996.

[2] See: Библиотека Ивана Грозного. Реконструкция и библиографическое описание / Сост. Н.Н. Зарубин; подг. к печати А.А. Амосова под ред. С.О. Шмидта. Л., 1982; Библиотека А.А. Матвеева (1666–1728). Каталог. М., 1985; Исторический очерк и обзор фондов Рукописного отдела Библиотеки Академии наук. М.; Л., 1956. Вып. 1.; Слуховский М.И. Библиотечное дело в России до XVIII в. М., 1968.; Янковская Л.А. Библиотека Дмитрия Ростовского. Автореф. дисс. докт. филолог. наук. М., 1994.

[3] See: Pichio R. Questione della lingua e Slavia cirillometodiana // Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi. Ed. By R. Picchio. Rome, 1972. P. 7–120, esp. 10–13.

[4] Ответ царя Ивана Васильевича Грозного Яну Роките / Пер. Т.В. Чумаковой // Сочинения Ивана Грозного. СПб., 2000.

the new Israel or new Zion"[1]. The construction of a New Jerusalem under Moscow became a clear objective of the Russian church and government. But there was a difficulty. On the one hand, in order to survive, the government had to adopt Western science and technology; on the other hand, it had to take care not to fall prey to the cultural hegemony of Europe. It had to maintain its cultural identity by reference to its defining feature, the Orthodox Church, not European Catholicism and Protestantism, which were considered sinful and heretical[2].

Numerous sources confirm this account. In materials of the Aptekarskii prikaz we read that apprentices of the watch-maker Kozel ask to be given payment not defiled by the owner: "Дело по челобитной часовых учеников Аптекарского приказа Кошурина и Милютина: о выдаче им хлебного и денежного жалованья, которое получает на них из двора хозяин их Анц Козель, лично самим, чтобы им от него не осквернiться"[3]. We know that up to the end of the seventeen hundreds Russians considered foreigners dirty, and after personal contact with them washed their hands. In a cultural-typological sense, Russia was characterized by the basic cultural antithesis 'свой-чужой'[4]. The image of the foreigner in Russia was formed mostly as a result of routine communication with so called 'nemtsy' (немцы) abiding in towns. At different times, different features of the image were emphasized, although, on the whole, it was never that of an enemy. Watching the 'nemets' (немец), trying to appreciate them, Russian common people based their ideas on their own concepts of life and life style. The naive belief of Russians that they were in possession of values more important than learning, skill and craft, than cunning and wealth, determined the good-humoured mockery of the West in Russian mass culture. But the image of a Russian in the minds of Western people combined contempt and respect, good-humoured mockery and readiness to criticise. Samuel Collins, physician to Tsar Aleksey of Russia for most of the 1660s, wrote: "In our clock-dials the finger moves to the figure; in Russia on the contrary, the figures move to the pointer. One Mr Holloway, a very ingenious man, contrived the first dial of that fashion; saying, because they acted contrary to all men, 'twas fitting their work should be made suitable'"[5].

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[1] Stephen L. Baehr. Utopian Patterns in Early Secular Russian Literature and Culture. Stanford, 1991. P. 31.

[2] See: Dujcev I. Slavia orthodoxa // Collected studies in the History of the Slavic Middle Ages, pref. by I. Shevchenko. London, 1970.

[3] Материалы для истории медицины в России. Вып. 1. СПб., 1881.

[4] Лотман Ю.М. О понятии географического пространства в русских средневековых текстах // Труды по знаковым системам. Тарту, 1965. С. 210-216.

[5] Collins S. The present state of Russia in a letter to a friend in London. London, 1671. Chapter XV. Cited from: Howard J. The Scottish Kremlin Builder. Edinburgh, 1997. P. 5.

Books

During the Middle Ages, no major work of ancient Western or Greek philosophy or science was translated in its entirety by Orthodox Slavs. As Igor Shevchenko observed: "the earliest translation of a pseudoepigraphic text ... which purported to contain Aristotle's precepts, found its way into Muscovy only in the sixteenth century and the earliest (and partial) translation from Greek into Russian of the authentic Aristotle dates from the mid-eighteenth century"[1]. In looking for an explanation, it is useful to use the theory of selective adaptation, originally adopted by Russian scholars assessing the extent to which Western or Byzantine culture had been assimilated in Kievan Rus'. According this theory, the selection of cultural values and content taken over by a society is determined by the needs of that society. It is important, therefore, to be as aware of what was not assimilated, as of what was. It is necessary also to note, what the Soviet scholar Rainov in his work *Science in Russia in 11–17 Centuries*[2] called, not 'needs' or 'interests', but the 'capabilities' of Medieval Russian thought in their selection and absorption of translated texts. In spite of interest in Britain, translations of books written in Britain appeared in Russia only in the seventeenth century. The first such book known to researchers is the treatise *Tractatus de sphere* of Johannes de Sacrobosco, which was the clearest, most elementary, and most used textbook in astronomy and cosmography from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. The appearance of this work in Russia is not surprising. Interest in astrology, forbidden by the church, was intense. It is no accident that one of the first British doctors to appear in Russia, originally a native of Westphalia, but also a graduate of Cambridge, one Elijah Bomel, was author of the astrological work *De utilitate astrologia*. In this work he expounded a theory about the life of states. In Russia, Bomel was personal Physician to Ivan the Terrible and rendered the Tsar services of a sinister nature, preparing poison for courtiers fallen from grace. He was also the first royal astrologer, informing the tsar about the unfavourable position of the stars, foretelling frightful disasters, and showing him how to escape his fate.

In the seventeenth century the fragment of Michael Scot's work *De secretis naturae sive de procreactione hominis et phisiognomia* (*О естествовании*) was translated from Hebrew or Polish, and the first translation from English appeared in the 1620s. *Zemlemerie* (*Землемерие*) was the first Russian textbook

[1] Ševčenko I. Byzantine scientific literature // Byzantium and the Slave in letters and culture. Napoli, 1991.

[2] Райнов Т.В. Наука в России XI–XVII вв.: Очерки по истории донаучных и естественнонаучных воззрений на природу. М.; Л., 1940.

on theoretical geometry, containing 47 definitions, 74 theorems. Scholars consider that the translation was made from A. Rathborne's *The Surveyor in four books* (London, 1616), itself derived from the works of J. Speydel — *Geometrical Extraction* (1616), and *Sphaerical Triangle* (1627).

Doubtless some British books were known in Russia not only in translations, but also in the originals. It is known that Russian bookmen from the end of the fifteen hundreds received books in their original Western languages. We see from correspondence between Rostov (1651-1709) and his book supplier Isaacio Vanderburg, that to draw up *Cell Chronicler* (*Келейный летописец*) among other books Dmitrii Rostovskii ordered the works of Francis Bacon ("Franc. Baconis de Verulamio").

Parallels

Scholars working on medieval European culture have emphasized that the cultural history of medieval Russia should be examined within the context of a continuous line of parallel developments in Eastern and Western Europe. Material for comparative research on British and Russian cultures can be found everywhere. We find tension between Russian and Scottish images and ideas, and these ideas sometimes have a common source. For example, the legend of Presbyter John (known in Russia as *A Legend of the Indian Kingdom — Сказание об Индийском царстве*) played an important part in Russian utopian traditions. The legend was popular in Thomas More's family, and his son John translated from Latin into English the book entitled *The legacye or embassate of Prester John unto Emanuell, kynge of Portugale*, by More's friend Damian a'Goes[1]. That text was itself based on an earlier Latin work[2].

There are parallels in the religious life of Scotland and Russia. Both adopt the sacred patron of St. Andrew, and in both an image of a 'Prophet' has been important — such as the Scottish and Russian 'Prophets' Alexander Peden and Archpriest Avvakum (1620/1621–1682). The latter was leader of the Old Believers, conservative clergy who were responsible for one of the most serious crises in the history of the Russian church. They intended to separate from the Orthodox Church in order to support the 'old rite', which consisted of many purely local Russian traditions. As C. Cant observed: "To their own countrymen of the present day, the names of Avvakum and Peden come immediately to mind in connection with the Raskol or the Covenant. This would have surprised

[1] See: Алексеев М.П. Славянские источники "Утопии" Томаса Мора. М., 1955.
[2] See: Taylor E.G. Tudor Geography. London, 1931. P. 10, 168.; Reed A.W. Early Tudor Drama. London, 1926. P. 79-80.

their contemporaries since, when the movements began, neither was of the first importance. Each rose to the leadership through the death or defection of others and their posthumous reputation is probably due to the fact that more is known about them than about the other leaders. Avvakum had an exceptional literary gift and wrote his own *Life* (*Житие*), while an outstanding writer, Patrick Walker, was inspired to write that of Peden; thus the events of their remarkably similar careers became widely known amongst Russians and Scots during the 18th and early 19th centuries[1].

It would be interesting to publish together in one book the texts of the Lives of Peden and Avvakum, as an illustration of the ideas of their times.

[1] Cant C. The Archpriest Avvakum and his Scottish Contemporaries // The Slavonic Review. July, 1966. P. 381.

"A SORT OF CONNEXION WITH THAT COUNTRY": JOHN ROBISON'S CONTRIBUTION TO SCOTO-RUSSIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

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From the Olympian heights from which I am accustomed to survey British relations with Russia, particularly in the eighteenth century, I would venture to suggest that John Robison (1739-1805) is an unsung hero. He has been relegated too often to playing a bit-part or the role of middle-man or facilitator in other people's dramas and avoiding the spot-light which the range of his endeavours and achievements in the Brito-Russian cause would seem to merit. It is also wholly appropriate that he should be allowed to take his solo bow at a conference both staged in Edinburgh and devoted to Scotland and Russia in the Age of the Enlightenment.

John Robison was born in 1739 near Glasgow and it was in Glasgow, first at the grammar school and then, from 1750, at the university that he received his education. He was to take his M.A. in 1756, fail, the following year, when still

only eighteen, to be accepted as assistant to the aged Robert Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy (whose son with whom he shared the professorship had just died), move south of the border for some six years, before returning to Glasgow in 1764, where he became lecturer in chemistry in 1766, performing successfully in this post for the next four years until, unexpectedly, he decided to accept an offer to go to Russia. When the Russian episode in his life ended in 1774, it was to Edinburgh, and not to Glasgow, that he came to spend the last thirty years of his life as a much respected professor in the university. If the Russian and Edinburgh periods in his life command most attention, not least in this paper, the preceding Glasgow and English periods are full of colourful incident and intellectual import for his biography, even in its Russian configuration.

Glasgow University was the place to be in the 1750s and early 1760s, not Edinburgh or Oxbridge. Among the professoriate were Adam Smith, who was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1752 and was to publish his *Theory of the Moral Sentiments* by the end of the decade, John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics, and William Cullen, Professor of Medicine, who was succeeded in 1756 by Joseph Black. Black and a man whose fame was to equal his own, James Watt, soon to become the University's instrument maker, were to be influential figures in the young Robison's life and, according to their own testimony, he in theirs. Robison had made the acquaintance of Black while still an undergraduate but it was only after his return that he began to study chemistry under the tutelage of the discoverer of latent heat and with such success that Black felt confident to recommend Robison as his successor. As for Watt, he recalled, in a memorandum written soon after Robison's death in 1805,[1] that "Our acquaintance began in 1756 or 57, when I was employed by the University of Glasgow to repair and put in order some astronomical instruments [...] Mr. Robison was then a very handsome young man, and rather younger than I. He introduced himself to me, and I was happy to find in him a person who was so much better informed on mathematical and philosophical subjects than I was, and who, while he was extremely communicative, possessed a very clear method of explaining his ideas". It was Robison, according to Watt, who "turned my attention to the steam-engine, a machine of which I was then very ignorant". By the time Robison returned to Glasgow, Watt had worked out new principles for improving the steam-engine and he did not recall Robison "being present or assisting me in any of my experiments in

[1] E. Robinson and D. McKie (eds.), *Partners in Science: Letters of James Watt and Joseph Black* (London, 1970), pp. 410-13. (Robison is very much the 'third man' in this admirable edition.)

steam"; they saw each other rarely but "our friendship, however, subsisted", as did their admiration of each other's abilities.

There was, of course, a Russian connection with Glasgow University in the early 1760s, precisely during the years of Robison's second period there. In 1761 Semen Desnitskii and Ivan Tret'iakov, who believed, when they left Moscow University, that they were on their way to Oxford or Cambridge, were fortunate to end up in Glasgow and enjoy the fruits of the broad-based course of studies that took them to their M.A. degrees in 1765. They then proceeded to their doctorates in law before their eventual departure for Russia in 1767. Although there is no direct evidence of Robison's personal acquaintance with the Russians there can be little doubt that he knew of their existence and activities, not least in the latter case in connection with the unfortunate incident of Desnitskii's brush with Professor Anderson which threatened to ruin his career. More pertinently, among the professors under whom the Russians studied were Adam Smith and James Millar, Professor of Civil Law from 1761 (lectures by both of whom Robison himself said he had heard)[1] and they also attended Black's lectures on latent heat in 1764-5 and were acquainted with Watt.[2] Some awareness of Catherine's Russia may thus have lurked in Robison's mind when in 1770 he received the call to go to Russia and accepted. The call was a result, however, of his London, rather than of his Glasgow, connections.

Robison had spent a number of years, dithering about his choice of career. His father pressed for the cloth, but Robison looked for more active outlets for his talents and knowledge. In 1758 he went to London to take the position of tutor in mathematics and navigation to the young Duke of York and to accompany him to sea. In the event, that specific plan was aborted, but Robison agreed to take on the same tasks with respect to Edward Knowles (1741-62), another young man who had also been intended to accompany the duke. He was the elder son of Sir Charles Knowles (1704?-77), Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, whose own prowess in science and mechanics allowed him to appreciate the quality of Robison and whose patronage was to play a decisive role in the development of his career over the next fifteen years. Robison was plunged into a life at sea, more full of incident and danger than he could ever have imagined, and at a period of particular import for the Royal Navy. Robison was with young Knowles on Admiral Saunders's flagship when the fleet set sail for North

[1] "the advantages I have enjoyed of studying under Drs Smith and Millar": Letter from Robison to William Robertson, undated [September-October 1776], National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ms. 3942, f. 301v.

[2] For a full account of the Russians' stay in Glasgow, see A.G. Cross, *By the Banks of the Thames: Russians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), pp. 122-8 and footnote references, pp. 291-2.

America in February 1759; he was with General Wolfe the night before the British stormed the Heights of Abraham; and he was on the *Royal William* that brought the general's body back to England. The following year, he was at sea for six months on the same ship and suffered severely, like the majority of the 750-man crew, from scurvy. After a period of recuperation and collaboration with Admiral Knowles, he went to sea once more on a ship commanded by his pupil and friend, now Lt. Knowles, and visited a Lisbon recovering slowly from the great earthquake that had already brought a famous response from Voltaire. He then received, on the recommendation of Admiral Knowles, the prestigious assignment from the Board of Longitude of monitoring the trials of John Harrison's chronometer; accompanied by Harrison's son William, he set out for Jamaica on 18 November 1761 on what was to be his final, and on the return leg, an almost fatal, voyage. (This voyage has been graphically described by Dava Sobel in her acclaimed novel *Longitude* and given prominence in the subsequent TV series.) Despite his successes and Knowles's good offices, Robison did not receive the rewards or placement that would have made a naval career worth pursuing, although he himself many years later was to suggest that "my health suffered so much by a seafaring life that I was obliged to give it up, much against my inclination, and return to my academical habits".[1] Knowles never lost touch, however, and Robison was entrusted with the tutoring of the admiral's remaining son, Charles Henry (1754-1831), Edward having perished at sea in 1762. Thus, when Knowles, approaching seventy years of age, decided to "make a tender of his Services" to Catherine the Great to effect the plan "for the better Construction, Equipment, Discipline and future preservation of the Russian navy",[2] he entreated Robison to accompany him as his amanuensis and Robison consented. Whether this decision was a result of frustration in his university position or an unsatisfied love of adventure or a sense of obligation and gratitude to Knowles must remain a matter of speculation, but it was one that was to earn Robison his niche in the history of Brito-Russian relations and bring him into contact with the high and the mighty at the Russian court.

Accounts of Knowles's visit to Russia, beginning with contemporary news snippets in the *Scots Magazine* and including the most recent studies, have naturally concentrated on the admiral's activities, barely mentioning in a footnote, if at all, the presence of Robison [3] Indeed, when the *Scots Magazine* published in

[1] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 257.

[2] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 'Copy Notebook containing correspondence between Admiral Sir Charles Knowles and Catherine the Great regarding the former's review of the Russian Navy, 1771-1774', [f.1].

[3] See *Scots Magazine*, XXXII (1770), 675; XXXIII (1771), 155, 264; 'Biographical Memoir of the Late Sir Charles Knowles', *Naval Chronicle*, I (1799), 89-124; II, 365-82; Al. Sk. [Aleksandr Soko-

July 1771 his graphic description of a fire that had swept through the Russian capital, it introduced it as 'A letter from a gentleman late of Glasgow, now secretary to Adm. Knowles at Petersburg'.[1] When, following Robison's death, his good friend and colleague John Playfair reluctantly took on the task of writing a biographical memoir, he was very aware that there were so many gaps in his knowledge that he consulted, as is the wont of good obituarists, with those who had known him at various times and at various places, and especially with those who might know something of his Russian years. James Watt proved not particularly helpful, writing that "I cannot recollect the date he went to Russia, nor do I know much of his transactions there, only that in general he was much esteemed";[2] but Playfair also turned to William Porter, a merchant who had been a prominent and long-standing figure in the British community in the Russian capital and was much respected in the Edinburgh social and academic world.[3] Porter's manuscript memoir, which is now in the archive of Glasgow University, provided most of the information Playfair incorporated, sometimes word-for-word, sometimes in a very compressed form — for Porter loved his rhetoric and stylistic flourishes — into his brief account of the Russia years, as first published in *The Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* in 1815, and, in its turn, serving as the basis for entries in subsequent biographical dictionaries.[4] This previously unrecognized use apart, Porter's memoir has remained an untapped source.

It is Porter who suggested that Robison "readily embraced" the prospects that Knowles laid before him of the position as "Secretary to the Admiralty with appointments & the chance of perquisites equal or superior to those enjoyed by the person who holds that post in London".[5] On their arrival in St Petersburg in

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lov], 'Admiral Noul's', *Morskoi sbornik*, II (1849), 509-27; Philip H. Clendenning, 'Admiral Sir Charles Knowles and Russia, 1771-1774', *Mariner's Mirror*, LXI (1975), 39-49; Anthony Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 192-5.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, XXXIII (1771), 374-5.

[2] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 412.

[3] ..See Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 35-6, 233, 401, note 85.

[4] John Playfair, 'Biographical Account of the late John Robison, LL.D. F.R.S.E. and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, VII (1815), 495-540; Thomas Thomson, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, III (London, 1875), 296-9; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIX (London, 1897), 57-9. (In the recent *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Rosemary Gowing (Edinburgh 1992), p. 373, there are three mistakes in the three lines given to Robison's stay in Russia.)

[5] [William Porter], 'Particulars respecting M^{r}. Robison from 1769 to the autumn of 1774 when he returned from Russia & settled as Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh', Glasgow University Library, Ms. Murray 503, ff. 5-6. Subsequent references are by folio number in the text.

the January 1771, they discovered that no such position existed within the structure of the Russian Admiralty and Robison was to remain Knowles's private secretary. Knowles, nonetheless, "carried him to court & introduced him there, having previously contrived thus the Sovereign should be informed of his worth and of his fair claim to consideration and encouragement as a person of distinguished talents & unusual acquirements" (f. 6). For the next year or so, however, Robison had to be content to make an undoubtedly considerable but nevertheless anonymous input into the admiral's attempts to introduce radical changes into the way the Russian navy operated, incurring, as Porter notes, the wrath and opposition of highly-placed Russians. In the specific and important problem of supplying reliable cannon for the Russian ships to which Knowles turned his mind Robison's own contribution can be traced. In April 1771, he wrote to his friend James Watt "in order to see how you would relish the Scheme of coming here in quality of Master Founder of Iron Ordnance to Her Imperial Majesty" and essentially introduce the processes employed by the Carron Company at Falkirk;[1] but Watt declined. The following year, there is no indication that Robison was a member of the party that accompanied Knowles on his "secret expedition" to the Danube delta in February-July 1772; and the only reference in Knowles's letterbook to Robison dates in fact from December 1773, when the admiral suggested sending him and a specialist to seek suitable mast timbers in the forests around Smolensk and Novgorod.[2] However, by that time Robison had moved out of the admiral's shadow, for in April 1772 he had been appointed to the vacant professorship in mathematics and navigation at the Noble Naval Cadet Corps with double the salary of his predecessor and "a free House, Wood &c 2 Servants & the rank of Colonel" (f. 9) and had moved to Kronshtadt, which had become its new home after fire had destroyed its buildings on Vasilii Island the previous summer. Kronshtadt, however, had become a particular target for Knowles's energetic reforms after his return from the south and Robison was inevitably drawn into the plans to replace the antique windmills that had been used to empty the dry docks by 'fire-machines' imported from Britain. It was from Kronshtadt that Robison wrote in 1773 in a second attempt to attract Watt to Russia, but received the diplomatic reply that "I think you are fully able to conduct that project and it will do you credit in the country you are".[3] It was to Carron that Knowles next turned, but by the time its work-

[1] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 24. See also H.W. Dickinson and Rhys Jenkins, *James Watt and the Steam Engine* (London, 1927), p. 35.
[2] National Maritime Museum, 'Copybook', [f.38].
[3] Dickinson and Jenkins, *James Watt*, p. 35. As Watt himself put it many years later, he "respectfully declined" (Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 412).

men arrived to install a steam engine, Knowles, and Robison, had left Russia and Admiral Samuel Greig had assumed responsibility as the new commandant of Kronshtadt.[1]

On her accession Catherine had looked to improve the state both of the Russian navy and of its institutions. She immediately returned to the Noble Naval Cadet Corps its independent status, which it had briefly lost when Peter III merged it with the Noble Land Cadet Corps, and encouraged a fundamental revision of its teaching programme. The reorganization of the Corps was completed in June 1764 and was largely the responsibility of its new director, Ivan Golenishchev-Kutuzov; its new teaching programme was in fact devised by Grigorii Andreevich Poletika, the inspector of classes, and Nikolai Gavrilovich Kurganov, teacher of mathematics and author to-be of the celebrated *Pis'movnik* (1769).[2] (Kurganov, incidentally, had good English and in 1768 had produced a Russian version (unpublished) of John Harrison's treatise on his chronometer.[3]) Robison's appointment was, nevertheless, very much in accord with the Corps' British traditions, originating with Peter I's recruitment of the Liddell Mathematical Tutor at Marischall College, Henry Farquharson, and the two young men from Christ's Hospital, and continuing with Professor Thomas Newberry at the end of the Empress Elizabeth's reign.[4]

Robison was to occupy his post for only two years, during the second of which, at the wish of the Director Golenishchev-Kutuzov, who seems to have been very impressed by the Scot's abilities, he took on the duties of inspector of classes during Poletika's extended absence. In addition to his lectures on mathematics and mechanics, Robison was contracted to teach courses in experimental physics and in the construction and navigation of ships (for an additional 300 rubles on top of his 1200-ruble stipend).[5] He began work on a primer for the cadets entitled 'A Naval Mathematical Manual' (*Morskoe matematicheskoe nastavlenie*), embracing the basics of geometry, trigonometry, physical and mechanical sciences, shipbuilding and navigation,[6] but otherwise

[1] P.P. Zabarinskii, *Pervye "ognevye" mashiny v Kronshtadtskom portu* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), pp. 150-1; Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 194, 197.

[2] See F. Veselago, *Ocherk istorii morskogo kadetskogo korpusa* (Spb., 1852).pp. 159-60.

[3] F. Veselago (ed.), *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo flota*, XI (Spb., 1886), 622. (Possibly, *The Principles of Mr Harrison's Timekeeper, with plates of the same, published by order of the Commissioners of Longitude* (London, 1767))

[4] See Anthony Cross, 'Educating the Russian Navy: The British Contribution', forthcoming in the Proceedings of a conference held at Potsdam in 1997. See also on Newberry, Anthony Cross, 'Professor Thomas Newberry's Letter from Petersburg, 1766, on the Grand Carousel and Other Matters', *Slavonic and East European Review*, LXXVI (1998), 484-93.

[5] Veselago, *Materialy*, IX, 73.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 231.

little is known of his activities at Kronshtadt. Accepting Porter's assurances that "the difficulties overcome in ascending the steps by which the man of learning mounts to the Temple of Fame are in most cases known only to himself" (f. 11), we also have no evidence to contradict his statement that Robison was an effective teacher admired by his superiors, fellow teachers and pupils and "at once the ornament & pride" of the Corps (f. 9).

Although he continually overwrites, Porter is, however, informative about other aspects of Robison's social life and activities. He stresses how Robison immediately "assiduously applied himself to the acquiring a competent knowledge of the beautiful but difficult language of the Country" with such success that he impressed Count Chernyshev, the Vice-President of the Admiralty College (f. 8), and possibly thereby ensured his appointment to the Corps, where classes were taught in Russian. Evidence of Robison's interest in the contemporary Russian cultural and intellectual scene are some of the books which he collected at the time and which are now in the Special Collections Department of the University of Glasgow: they include first editions of the satires of Antiokh Kantemir (1762) and the spiritual odes of Aleksandr Sumarokov (1774), Novikov's *Attempt at a Historical Dictionary of Russian Writers... (Opyt istoricheskogo slovaria o rossiiskikh pisateliakh*, 1772), the first part of Mikhail Chulkov's *Collection of Various Songs* (*Collection of Various Songs*, 1770) and *The Festivals of Note Singing* (*Prazdniki notnogo peniia*, 1772).[1] The last item, a festal menaion which gives the appropriate hymns, with music, for the monthly Orthodox feasts, is revealing of Robison's musical interests and expertise. Porter in fact stressed that Robison had "made himself completely master of the Theory of music", played the German flute better than a professional, and "he sang with taste, and the words as well as the air were frequently of his own composing" (f. 13). The Robison who emerges from Porter's memoir is a thoroughly engaging personality, who moved with ease from the study to the drawing room, who made music, sang, wrote verse, was well-informed on every conceivable subject, affable, urbane, relaxed, free from pedantry and as well as from false modesty, welcome in Russian high society and among the British merchants (of whose qualities Porter is amusingly eulogistic). In a phrase, "Mr Robison was not the mere Philosopher & man of deep research; he was also a Gentleman in the completest acceptation of the word" (f. 11).

In a memoir of this nature, written more than thirty years after the period it describes, it is not unexpected that Porter inclined to general observation rather

[1] David Weston, *Slavica: An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts from the University's Collections 17 October — 30 November 1990* (Glasgow, 1990), items 19-22, 29. The exhibition also included as item 12 Porter's memoir.

than the naming of individuals and events, but the period he was describing was of particular import not only in the life of Robison but also of the British in the Russian capital. Under Catherine the British came into their own as a community with a strong identity, bolstered by a number of characteristic institutions and enjoying the benevolent gaze of the empress.[1] Just months before Robison's arrival in St Petersburg, the famous English Club had been founded, which was followed by the English Masonic Lodge of 'Perfect Union'. Although Robison's name does not appear in the membership lists of the former, he became an active participant in the latter, firstly as a Visitor, being initiated into the degree of Master in June 1771, and was accepted as a full member of the lodge on 27 October / 7 November.[2] It is an episode in his life in Russia which he chose later to recall, uniquely if imperfectly, in the introduction to *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies* , his notorious denunciation of continental Freemasonry in the wake of the French Revolution which he first published in 1797.[3]

Although the majority of masons attending 'Perfect Union' were merchants, there were others whose interests were more closely related to Robison's, preeminently William Richardson (1743-1814) and the Rev. William Tooke (1744-1820). Richardson, who had come to Russia in 1768 as tutor to the children of the British ambassador, Charles, Lord Cathcart, was a shrewd observer of the Russian scene; unlike Robison, he was to publish many years later his impressions under the title *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire* (1784), but, like Robison, he was to return to Scotland to occupy a university chair, the professorship of humanity at the University of Glasgow from 1772.[4] Tooke had arrived in Russia a few months after Robison to become chaplain to the British congregation at Kronshtadt, where he remained all the time Robison was teaching at the Naval Cadet Corps, before his election as chaplain in St Petersburg. Tooke (and his predecessor in the Petersburg chaplaincy, the Rev. John Glen King (1732-87)) shared Robison's interests in the humanities, if not his expertise in the sciences, and enjoyed close links with the predominantly German scholars of the Russian

[1] See, in detail, Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 9-40.
[2] See A.G. Cross, 'British Freemasons in Russia during the Reign of Catherine the Great', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, NS IV (1971), 49-58.
[3] *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies* (5 ed., Dublin, 1798), pp. 2-4. (Robison writes that he was originally initiated into Freemasonry in Liege.)
[4] Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 347-9. See also H.J. Pitcher, 'A Scottish View of Catherine's Russia: William Richardson's *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire* (1784)', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, III (1967), 236-51.

Academy of Sciences, among whom Porter lists Euler, Aepinus, Pallas, Gmelin and Lexell as particularly appreciative of Robison's abilities (f. 14).[1] Many years later, in a letter to Watt of December 1796, Robison himself provided a little cameo of his time in St Petersburg, conversing about Watt's and Black's discoveries with members of the Academy, including Aepinus, J.G. Model and Kruse.[2]

It was also a period when several of the Petersburg academicians were involved in the momentous travels of exploration that took them east to Siberia and south to the Caspian and the Black Sea and engaged the interest of the scientific community throughout Europe. Tooke was to translate J.G. Georgi's *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reiches* in 1780-3 and after his return to England in 1792 was to incorporate much information from similar accounts in the series of books that made him the most important British commentator on Russia at the end of the eighteenth century. There were, however, many who were curious to receive as much information as they could in the early 1770s and they included William Robertson, famed historian and Principal of Edinburgh University, and two of the men who helped him to receive it were John Rogerson (1741-1823), Edinburgh M.D., court physician since 1769, and soon to be appointed body-physician to the Empress Catherine,[3] and Robison. In a letter of August 10/21 1773 Rogerson told Robertson that he had presented his *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769) to the empress and had asked on his behalf for information relating to Russian exploration of the American coast for possible use in *The History of America* (1777) he was then writing.[4] The empress had in fact only the day before given Admiral Knowles, who had made similar enquiries at the behest of Robison, "the original Journals of the expeditions that had been undertaken under her Government [...] together with the large Chart not hitherto published". Rogerson received another chart and everything was to be passed on to Robertson by Robison "a Gentleman every way qualified and well disposed to make the most of them". A second letter, dating from 20 September / 1 October 1776, is about the same matter but ends with thanks for news about Robison, who was by then at Edinburgh Uni-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-8 (King), 108-13 (Tooke). See also A.G. Cross, 'The Reverend William Tooke's Contribution to British Knowledge of Russia at the End of the Eighteenth Century', *Canadian Slavic Studies*, III (1969), 106-15.

[2] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 248. (Robison was recalling the evidence he had given in the recent successful suit for plagiarism of patents of the steam engine that Watt and Boulton brought against the Cornish firm of Hornblower and Maberley.)

[3] Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 143-7. See also A.G. Cross, 'John Rogerson: Physician to Catherine the Great', *Canadian Slavic Studies*, IV(1970), 594-601.

[4] National Library of Scotland, Mss 3942, ff. 137-41.

versity, and for "the interest you took in his promotion and the essential Services you rendered in ensuring its success [which] were very sensibly felt by me and his other friends in this country".[1] The old friends were to meet again in Edinburgh in 1786 and in a letter to Watt at that time, Robison said of Rogerson that his "Society and friendship were the chief comforts of my Life while I was in Russia".[2]

Without in any sense exhausting the circle of Robison's close friends in St Petersburg, mention should, nevertheless, be made of Dr Matthew Guthrie (1743–1807). He was another Scots physician with wide-ranging scientific and literary interests and was distantly related through his elder sister to Robison, "my own relation and old Russian companion", as Guthrie was later to describe him to Joseph Black.[3] Guthrie, indeed, seems to have returned from a visit to Scotland on the same ship as Knowles and Robison and to have accompanied Knowles on his expedition to Moldavia.[4] In 1792, when Robison was nearing the end of his second decade as an Edinburgh professor, Guthrie, under the pseudonym 'Arcticus', began to supply the new Edinburgh journal *The Bee* with all manner of communications on Russian folklore, ethnography, history, science — and exploration. Guthrie was a full or corresponding member of numerous Russian and British learned societies, including the Royal Society; Tooke and Rogerson were also not only fellows of the Royal Society but corresponding and honorary members respectively of the Russian Academy of Sciences, seemingly the one such honour to elude Guthrie. Similar honours were to come to Robison, the most original and profound scholar of the quartet, only much later in his career.

Robison was to resign from the Cadet Corps in May 1774 on accepting the chair of Natural Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. He succeeded the late James Russell and was elected despite the strong pretensions to the chair of two eminent physicians, Drs Buchan and Lind, but with the strong support of the Principal, Robertson, who knew of him only by repute, and of Professors Black and Cullen, who knew him from his Glasgow days. On leaving Russia, Robison promised to finish his manual (which he never did) and undertook to inform the Corps of all the latest developments in naval matters (about which, unfortunately, there is no evidence), but, most important of all, to take with him

[1] *Ibid.*, ff. 277-8.
[2] Robinson & McKie, *Partners in Science*, pp. 153-4.
[3] Edinburgh University Library, Correspondnece of Joseph Black, Gen 873?II, ff. 276-7.
[4] Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva*, pp. 147-52. See also Jessie M. Sweet, *'Matthew Guthrie (1743-1807): An Eighteenth-Century Gemmologist'*, Annals of Science, XX (1964), 245-302; A.G. Cross, 'Arcticus and *The Bee* (1792-4): An Episode in Anglo-Russian Cultural Relations', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XI (1969), 172-81.

two young cadets to be trained at Edinburgh., for which services he would receive an honorarium of 400 rubles a year.[1] In the event, he was accompanied by three cadets, all about twelve years of age, Stepan Ivanovich Rachinskii, Nikolai Ivanovich Beliaev and Ivan Shishukov, and they became the first Russians to appear on the matriculation rolls of the University. Over the next three years they took courses with Robison, Dugald Stewart in mathematics, and Adam Ferguson in moral philosophy, before returning to Russia, where Rachinskii became Admiral Greig's adjutant, while his companions began to teach at Kronshtadt.[2] Porter suggested furthermore that "until his want of health made such a charge [of supervising cadets] inconvenient, he had always two & some times three such at a time living in his house & pursuing their studies under his tuition" (f. 17).

It seems, nevertheless, that, despite its obvious success, the experiment of sending naval cadets to Edinburgh was not continued; but Edinburgh had become the Mecca for foreign students, in whose number over the next decade were to be found a dozen or more Russians. Robison's own move from Glasgow to Edinburgh was symbolic of the shift in significance between the two universities, as were to an even greater degree the moves of Professors Black and Cullen. Edinburgh thrived under the dynamic leadership of Robertson, who had been appointed Principal in 1762, and its professoriate boasted such scholars as Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, John Pringle, Hugh Blair, John Hope and Alexander Munro, in addition to Black and Cullen. It was pre-eminent in medicine, which several of the young Russians were to study in the 1780s, but it was a broad grounding in the arts and sciences that the formidable Princess Ekaterina Dashkova considered necessary for the illustrious military career she foresaw for her thirteen-year-old son Pavel, with whom she was to settle on or near George Street in December 1776.

Not unexpectedly, Robertson turned for advice to Robison, who wrote at great length, describing the Princess as "a very uncommon character both for great natural parts, cultivated understanding and generous principles" and suggesting that "so far as I know the Russians in general, and the princess more particularly, the subjects on which the stress must be laid are ethics and jurisprudence. Their Gentry, with very shallow knowledge, are great dabblers in all the french books of philosophy of this kind, and I know that the Lady would wish that her Son should not only be well provided(?) in these branches of edu-

[1] Veselago, *Materialy*, IX, 231-2. (Cf. Veselago, *Ocherk*, Appendices, pp. 141-2.) (Robison returned to Britain in June 1774, at precisely the same time as his patron Admiral Knowles (although the two resignations were apparently not connected), and as the Rev. King.)
[2] Cross, *By the Banks of the Thames*, pp. 129-31.

cation, but should also shine in such conversation".[1] He agreed with Robertson that the prince should stay in London for a further year under the care of a tutor in order to improve his English, but that when he came to Edinburgh, he, Robison, might take him under his care: "I can even now give him very genteel apartments and decent accommodation for I believe I should at any rate have placed two of my Russians in other houses with a tutor to attend them". He was coy about "acknowledgement for his trouble", which might "rather be considered wholly as a reputable than as a profitable thing". He then outlined proposals for his course of studies over the various years, mentioning Blair and Ferguson as obvious teachers, before ending with a paragraph of hesitant self-promotion:

> Should you think of mentioning my name to Princess Dashkoff, it would be of Service, if you can decently do it, to put her in mind of having seen me at Sir Charles Knowles' while I was his Secretary, and of my having had the Charge of the Marine Academy, under the direction of her intimate friend General Kutuzoff, who I know has frequently expressed to her his great regard for me. You can easily conceive that I would not only be pleased in recommending myself to one of whom I entertain so high an opinion, but that I should even feel disagreeably if I, who have a sort of connexion with that country, should be overlooked.[2]

Robertson obviously did more than mention Robison to Dashkova; if we are to judge from the princess's reply, in the absence of Robertson's letter, he passed on much that he had written. The princess, for her part, took particular exception to the idea that her son might not live with her throughout his years at the university; indeed she could only contemplate his staying with Robertson and the prospect that he might be at Robison's in the company of other young men seemingly appalled her. As for Robison himself, "je le connois assez de Reputation pour l'estimer infiniment comme homme de Lettres, et pour etre persuadée qu'il seroit d'une grande Utilité pour les Etudes de mon fils, car j'espere qu'il seroit un des Professeurs dont le Prince de Daschkaw frequentera les Colloques".[3]

The princess duly arrived with her family and over the next three years her son took courses with Black, Blair, John Bruce, Ferguson, Stewart — and Robison, and became the first Russian to graduate M.A. from Edinburgh.[4] In her memoirs Dashkova waxed lyrical about their Edinburgh days, when "the immortal Robertson, Blair, Smith and Ferguson came twice a week to spend the

[1] ..National Library of Scotland, Ms. 3942, ff. 301-301v.
[2] *Ibid.*, f. 302v.
[3] *Ibid.*, f.281 (letter of 9 October 1776).
[4] See Cross, *By the Banks of the Thames*, pp. 131-4.

day with me" and although she described *all* the professors as "generally esteemed for their intelligence, intellectual distinction and moral qualities", she nowhere mentioned Robison.[1] On her departure in June 1779 she gave the university a magnificent cabinet of Russian medals and it was Robison with his command of the Russian language who was charged by the Senate to prepare a "Catalogue of the Medals with a Translation of the Inscriptions", but at his death some twenty-five years later two medals were missing and only two sheets of paper were found which seemed "to be all that he performed in the way of a Catalogue".[2]

In 1778 Pavel Dashkov had been joined in his classes by another young Russian, Ivan Sheshkovskii, the son of the notorious head of Catherine the Great's Secret Chancellery. Sheshkovskii was to prove the least diligent of students, a "brainless youth" in the words of Princess Dashkova, who had earlier "recommended him to all the best people here, including the professors, whom I consulted about his expenses and his plan of studies".[3] He attended, or least, put his name down for, classes by Robison, before finding himself in the debtor's prison, the Tolbooth, early the following year. In 1780 Blair, Ferguson and Robison had in their lectures Vasilii Zybin, who was to achieve a reputation of sorts on his eventual return to Russia for affecting to have forgotten his native language and despising his fellow countrymen for their ignorance.[4] Finally, the university's matriculation roll for 1786 reveals that a certain Elijah Shdanoff (Il'ia Zhdanov) took classes with Robison and Playfair, but nothing further about him is known other than that he had been personally recommended by Dashkova to Black.[5]

It is difficult to be precise about the nature of the lectures the various Russians actually heard from Robison or of the benefits they might have derived, given the probably rudimentary nature of their English and the complexity of the subject matter. Playfair, nevertheless, provided an assessment of Robison as a lecturer which most subsequent biographers have been happy to repeat:

> The sciences of mechanics, hydrodynamics, astronomy, and optics, together with electricity and magnetism, were the subjects which his lectures embraced. They

[1] *The Memoirs of Princess Dashkov*, translated and edited by Kyril Fitzlyon (London, 1958), pp. 147-9.
[2] Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Da. 1 30/7. See A.G. Cross, 'Edinburgh University's Cabinet of Russian Medals', *Study Group on eighteenth-Century Russia Newsletter*, no 1 (1973), 27-8.
[3] Institute of Russian Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, Fond 620, Arkhiv A.A. Samborskogo, ed. khr. 92, no. 7, f. 11.
[4] M.I. Pyliaev, *Zamechatel'nye chudaki i originaly* (Spb., 1898), pp. 225-6.
[5] Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh - Arts-Law-Divinity, transcribed by Dr Alexander Morgan, University of Edinburgh Library, II, 454, 456; Correspondence of Joseph Black, Gen 873/II, ff. 274-5. (This Zhdanov is not to be confused with the Zhdanov (Prokhor Ivanovich) who was at the Russian embassy in London and later taught English at the Naval Cadet Corps.)

> were given with great fluency and precision of language, and with the introduction of a great deal of mathematical demonstration. [...] His lectures, however, were often complained of, as difficult and hard to be followed; and this did not, in my opinion, arise from the depth of the mathematical demonstrations, as was sometimes said, but rather from the rapidity of his discourse, which was in general beyond the rate at which accurate reasoning can be easily followed. [...] To understand his lectures completely was, on account of the rapidity and the uniform flow of his discourse, not a very easy task, even for men tolerably familiar with the subject. On this account his lectures were less popular than might have been expected from such a combination of rare talents as the author of them possessed.[1]

It was probably all too much for the likes of at least Sheshkovskii and Zybin.

Robison's reputation within the university and beyond grew steadily during the 1780s. Despite being plagued by a serious debilitating illness for the last sixteen years of his life, he was unflagging in his efforts as permanent secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh from its inception in 1783 and contributed a number of papers to its transactions. He is perhaps best known for the series of articles he contributed to the third edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1797) on such subjects as seamanship, the telescope, steam and the steam-engine[2] His most popular work was undoubtedly the most controversial and least scientific of all his writings, the already mentioned *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, which went through four editions in two years. Robison sought the reasons for the French Revolution in the machinations of freemasons and illuminati, fulminating against the *philosophes* in France, singling out for attack in Britain Dr Joseph Priestley, and causing consternation in friends and admirers who saw it as an unhappy aberration.[3] It is a book, however, which, had it been published during the lifetime of the Empress Catherine, would undoubtedly have found in her a most eager and appreciative reader.

During these years Robison does not seem to have maintained contacts with scholars from the Russian Academy of Sciences, although friends from the St Petersburg British community kept in touch during their periodic visits to Scotland. Robison was not, however, forgotten in Russia, although it was not until the turn of the century that recognition of his worth took tangible form.

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[1] Quoted from the reprinting of Playfair's 'Biographical Account, *Annals of Philosophy,* VII (March 1816), 180.

[2] W.A. Smeaton, 'Some Comments on James Watt's Published Account of His Work on Steam and Steam Engines', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* XXVI (1971), 35-42.

[3] J.B. Morrell, 'Professors Robison and Playfair, and the *Theophobia Gallica*: Natural Philosophy, Religion and Politics in Edinburgh, 1789-1815', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* XXVI (1971), 43-63.

It had been Robertson and Black, understandably, whose election as Honorary Foreign Members Dashkova promoted when she became Director of the Academy of Sciences in 1782; in 1795 it was the turn of Dugald Stewart through the good offices of Pavel Petrovich Bakunin, a relative of the Princess and her successor as Director, who had studied at Edinburgh in 1786-7, despite being officially attached to the London embassy. Black died early in December 1799 and it was Robison who was elected in his stead to honorary foreign membership of the Academy on 13 April 1800 on the proposal of its President, Baron L.H. von Nikolay, the reigning Emperor Paul's former tutor and an old acquaintance of Robison. Robison conveyed the news to his friend Watt, adding that

> I was unanimously elected — without a single Solicit[at]ion. von Nicholay named me as a Man well known to several of the Members Æpinus seconded the Motion — as did Euler the Secretary [...] The Emperor asked Dr. Rogerson about me — he spoke favourably, but very artfully and kindly declined any more, remanding the Emperor to General Kutuzof under whom I had acted in the Marine Cadet Corps four Years, and who Rogerson knew to love me like his own Son — this clinched the Matter at once. Mr Kutuzof also reminded His Majesty of an agreeable Anecdote which happened at a Masquerade at Peterhof the day I was presented to him when Grand Duke — he smiled and said he was glad to hear so well of an old Acquaintance. I have received my diploma with a fine gilt Silver box holding the Seal.[1]

In the same letter of 23 July Robison informed Watt of the progress he was making with his scrupulous editing of Black's lectures, which were for the greater part "loose scraps of paper, patched and pasted over and over sending the reader backward and forward thro' several pages".[2] Although Robison did not believe the lectures showed Black at his best, it was an heroic labour of love and devotion to an old friend, which he eventually finished early in 1803 and which was in its turn to bring him further recognition from Russia. A copy of *Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry, delivered in the University of Edinburgh; by the late Joseph Black* was presented by Dr Rogerson on his behalf to the Emperor Alexander I, who rewarded Robison with a diamond ring and or-

[1] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 347. In a letter of 9 September 1800 Robison acknowledged receipt of the diploma, thanked Euler for his patronage during his Petersburg years, and expressed his regret that illness now prvented him from being an active correspondent of the Academy: Iu. Kh. Kopelevich, V.I. Osipov and I.A. Shafran (comp.), *Uchenaia korrespondentsiia Akademii nauk XVIII veka: nauchnoe opisanie 1783-1800* (Leningrad, 1987), p. 132.

[2] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 343.

dered that the work be translated immediately into Russian by his former pupil, Nikolai Beliaev.[1]

There was a further Russian honour about which Robison was never to know and which has never previously been mentioned: on 19 April 1805 (O.S.), unaware of his death nearly three months previously, the noted Russian literary figure Mikhail Murav'ev, in his new capacity as Curator of the University of Moscow, wrote to inform Robison that the University's "learned Council" had elected him to honorary membership in recognition of one whose fame in the "literary World" and earlier labours in Russia had given him "a right to the gratitude of our Countrymen".[2] He was awarded an annual pension of two hundred rubles "for the trouble it may occasionally give you as a corresponding Member". Murav'ev's tribute may take its place as a fitting epitaph alongside Watt's words on hearing of the death of his friend: "He was a man of the clearest head and the most science of anybody I have known".[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 385. The news was conveyed from Russia by one of Robison's three sons, Hugh (d. 1846).

[2] The text of the letter is provided by Porter in his memoir, ffs. 10-10a. The whereabouts of the diploma that was sent, as well as of the earlier diploma in the silver-gilt case from the Academy and the diamond ring, are not known.

[3] Robinson and McKie, *Partners in Science*, p. 389.

ADAM SMITH AND CATHERINE THE GREAT

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The combination of the names of Adam Smith and Catherine the Great may seem rather strange, or even ridiculous. The great scholar and the great Empress never met and although Catherine is known to have corresponded with many celebrities of her age, she never corresponded with Smith. Adam Smith, so far as I know, is not mentioned in any document or letter written by Catherine, and there is no evidence that Catherine ever read anything written by him. At first sight the only thing that connects these two persons is that both of them lived in the second half of the 18th century. Still, a link between the two did exist, and has long been known to students of 18th century Russia. It even has a name: or rather, several names.

First, there is Semen Desnitsky, who attended Adam Smith's lectures at the University of Glasgow in 1762-1763. It is even possible that a draft copy of Smith's lectures, preserved now at Glasgow and published by Edwin Cannan in 1896, was written by Desnitsky[1]. On returning to Russia in 1767 Desnitsky became a Professor of Law at Moscow University. He is considered to be the first

[1] G. Sacke 'Die Moskauer Nachschrift der Vorlesungen von Adam Smith', in: Zeitschrift fur Nationalokonomie (Vienna), Bd. IX. (3), 351-356.

Russian professional lawyer, and the true founder of the Department of Law at Moscow University. In 1768 he wrote his most famous paper, *Proposal concerning the Establishment of Legislative, Judicial and Executive Authorities in the Russian Empire* (*Predstavlenie o uchrezhdenii zakonodatel'noi, suditel'noi i nakazatel'noi vlasti v Rossiiskoi imperii*) which was addressed to Catherine the Great, in response to her setting up a Legislative Commission a year earlier. To a great extent this paper was based on Adam Smith's ideas. It is also generally agreed that many points from Desnitsky's paper were incorporated, in turn, by Catherine into the second supplement to her *Grand Instruction* (*Nakaz*) to the Legislative Commission, issued in April 1768. The whole story has been thoroughly studied by several scholars, and especially by Archibald Brown[1]. His articles published in the 1970s have since been widely cited by both Russian and Western scholars. Brown argued that Catherine had read, if not the whole, at least part of Desnitsky's paper. But since the paper in question was only about 10 pages long, Catherine, to my mind, either read the whole of it or didn't read it at all. "It is evident", added Brown, "that not only Desnitsky but (indirectly) Adam Smith exercised influence over Catherine's famous *Nakaz* which was published in Russian, French, German and English eight years before the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*[2]. But again: there is no strong, no documented evidence that Catherine actually read Desnitsky's paper, and the whole story has been recently modified by the Russian historian Oleg Omel'chenko. Against Brown, he argues that Desnitsky's influence on Catherine was indirect. The Empress actually used papers prepared for her by Andrei Shuvalov, who had been appointed Director of the Legislative Commission, and it was Shuvalov who had used Desnitsky as his own adviser. Shuvalov was to prepare the so-called "plan for the laws of the state", and in this work he used drafts for the *Grand Instruction* as well as Desnitsky's paper. According to Omel'chenko, Catherine reworked this plan before it was issued under the title *Directions for Bringing the Legislative Commission Project to the End*[3]. Archibald Brown had argued that the implementation of Desnitsky's proposals "would have set Russia far along the path towards constitutional monarchy". But to my mind this is not quite true. In fact, in their main points Desnitsky's proposals were totally unrealistic: not only because Catherine had no intention of establishing a constitutional monarchy, but also because it seems that, in the few

[1] A.H. Brown. S.E. Desnitsky, Adam Smith, and the Nakaz of Catherine II, in: Oxford Slavonic Papers. N.S. Vol. VII. Oxford. 1974. P. 42-59.
[2] Ibid. P. 49.
[3] Omel'chenko O.A. "Zakonnaia monarkhiia" Ekateriny Vtoroi. M., 1993. S. 144-145.

years that he spent abroad, Desnitsky had managed to forget what his native country was like. For instance, he proposed to transform the Russian Senate into a body consisting of six to eight hundred elected members. But in no way did he think of it as something similar to the British parliament. It was to create new laws, not by its own will but only by the order from the tsar. Also, we know that the Legislative Commission established by Catherine consisted of just 550 people, and proved incapable of doing anything useful, due to lack of experience, as well as controversy between different social groups. Desnitsky also proposed a civic authority of seventy-three people in Russian capital cities, consisting of eighteen noblemen and fifty-five merchants. But unfortunately there were not enough merchants in Russia at that time to compose such authorities. Even eighteen years later, when Catherine the Great issued her Charter to the Towns, establishing authorities in the towns consisting of just seven elected merchants, it appeared to be difficult in many towns to find the needed people. There is no need to go into every detail of Desnitsky's proposals concerning judicial authorities. His plan could be have been fulfilled only after he had himself educated at least several dozens of Russian professional lawyers. As far as judicial authorities are concerned, it is worth mentioning that Desnitsky's proposal was to follow British examples, although he preferred the Scottish model, with its jury of fifteen people, rather than the English model.

Soviet historians used to insist that in his paper Desnitsky appeared to be very critical of serfdom. Indeed he was. But what he actually wrote, in its main part, was simply a repetition of Catherine's words in her Grand Instruction. Both of them insisted that it was impossible to give freedom to all serfs at once, although it was possible to lessen their burden. Desnitsky proposed that a serf who got freedom from his landlord shouldn't be enserfed again. Several years later Catherine made it a law in her manifesto of March 17, 1775.

In general I'd say that Catherine knew Russia much better than Desnitsky did. Still, she was certainly aware of his existence. It was she who permitted him and another student of Adam Smith, Ivan or John Tretiakov as he was called in Scotland, to deliver their lectures in Moscow University in Russian and not in Latin. Also, it was by Catherine's initiative that in the early 1780s Desnitsky's Russian translation of the first volume of William Blackstone's *Commentaries* was published. Desnitsky not only translated Blackstone's book, but also wrote his own commentaries to it. In one of these he mentioned Smith's book *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, informing his readers that he was going to publish it in Russian as well. Unfortunately this plan wasn't realized. Desnitsky published a few more papers on various legal issues. One of them, entitled *A Word on the Causes of Executions in Criminal Cases*, was in major part based

on Smith's ethical theory. The same may be said about Desnitsky's paper entitled *A Word on the Ways to Study Law*. In that paper he argued that the first and important stage in studying law was moral philosophy. "To my mind," he added, "and, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Smith's, Moral Philosophy is more combined with the natural science of law than any other systems of this science".

It should be added that in his *Proposal concerning the Establishment of Legislative, Judicial and Executive Authorities in the Russian Empire* Desnitsky mentioned the name of one more famous person that he met in Glasgow. And that is James Watt. There is no doubt that the Russian student not only met him personally, but also knew of his work. He proposed to invite Watt to Russia with several of his aids and to ask him to produce special brass tubes for fire fighting machines.

As I've already mentioned, Desnitsky wasn't the only Russian student of Adam Smith at the University of Glasgow. The other was Ivan or John Tretiakov. He also became a professor of Moscow University, and in 1772 published a short paper whose title reminds us of the great book by Adam Smith. It was called *Discussion of the causes of abundance and slow enrichment of the nations both ancient and modern*. The paper was dedicated to Catherine the Great, and was in fact the speech that Tretiakov delivered at the meeting of Moscow University faculty in June, 1772 on the tenth anniversary celebration of Catherine's ascent to the throne. It is a short paper of just 15 pages, but it was certainly written under the influence of Adam Smith, and more generally of the impressions that Tretiakov experienced during his visit to Scotland. The paper begins with speculations about the importance of the division of labor and the author's example is of a clock master, whose work he could observe in Britain but not in Russia. He then argued that the wealth of nations does not consist in the accumulation of gold or silver but in the production of goods. Several more pages of this paper are devoted to the importance of banks (again with examples from Britain) and foreign trade.

Scholars who have thoroughly studied everything written by Desnitsky and Tretiakov think that the influence of Adam Smith on them may be traced not only in matters concerning law and economics but also in those concerning religion and the church. That doesn't seem to me very convincing, although it goes without saying that Smith did make them believe that such issues were closely connected with each other. On the topic of the church I would add that although Catherine didn't read Smith's books, she would have certainly agreed with him in considering the profits of the church as the nation's losses: that is why in 1764 she deprived the Russian Orthodox church of its land property.

In A. Anikin's biography of Adam Smith, published in Moscow in 1968, there is a description of a meeting between Smith and his former Russian students in London in 1767, when Desnitsky and Tretiakov were on their way back home and Smith was returning from his voyage abroad. Anikin devoted several pages to a description of the three of them walking around London discussing all manner of topics, including the latest news from Russia. Unfortunately I have failed to find the origins of this story, and it seems likely that it was simply invented by a Soviet author wanting to prove that Smith, too, was critical of despotism and serfdom in Russia. In fact, we know nothing about Smith discussing news from Russia with Desnitsky and Tretiakov in 1767, although we can assume that they did five years earlier in 1762 when, after Catherine had ascended the throne, the Russian government temporally stopped sending money to the students in Scotland. Since they had no other means for leaving, they applied to the administration of the University of Glasgow and the faculty decided to lend them 40 pounds. From the university documents we know that it was Adam Smith who personally handed the money to the Russians. Also, I have no doubt that Smith discussed the latest events in Russia during his stay in Paris in 1765. Indeed, he made the acquaintance of many people with whom Catherine corresponded. One of them was Madame Marie-Therese Geoffrin, whose salon in Paris was very popular at that time. And it was precisely then that Catherine, in her letters to Geoffrin, informed her of various details about her plans for reform in Russia, and about her work on the Grand Instruction. In every book on Catherine we find speculations about her wishing not just to inform Madame Geoffrin but, through her, the Western public in general. The Empress's letters were certainly widely discussed in Madame Geoffrin's salon, which Smith visited frequently during his stay in Paris. Another person whom Smith met was Denis Diderot. Anikin noticed that features of the physiocrats in one of Diderot's letters to Catherine, resemble Smith's in his *Wealth of Nations*.

There is one more possible link between Catherine and Adam Smith, mentioned by Anthony Cross in his book *By the Banks of the Thames*. In 1786, the Russian Ambassador in London, Count Semen Vorontsov, sent a copy of Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, published ten years earlier, to his brother Alexander in Petersburg. Semen Vorontsov was Smith's admirer and met him personally. Later in 1801 he wrote to Catherine's grandson Emperor Alexander I about Smith as the greatest authority in economics. Soon after that, in 1802-1806, the first Russian translation of *The Wealth of Nations* appeared. Earlier, in 1776, the year in which Smith's most famous book was published, Semen and Alexander Vorontsov's sister Princess Ekaterina Dashkova arrived in Edinburgh for several years with her son, who was a student at the University of Ed-

inburgh. Dashkova was close to Catherine the Great, whom she had assisted in her plot against her husband in 1762 and was even sometimes called Catherine the Small. Dashkova described her visit to Edinburgh in her memoirs, mentioning that "the immortal Robertson, Blair, Smith and Ferguson came twice a week to spend the day with me". "I made the acquaintance of the University professors", she wrote, "all of whom were generally esteemed for their intelligence, intellectual distinction and moral qualities. Strangers alike to envy and to the pretentiousness of smaller minds, they lived together in brotherly amity, their mutual love and respect making of them a group of educated and intelligent people whom it is always an immense pleasure to see and whose conversation never failed to be instructive"[1]. Dashkova didn't mention Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, though she couldn't but be aware of it, and it was probably one of the topics she discussed with her guests. At the same time, however, I wonder whether she could read it and, if she did, whether she read all of it. Probably she did, as she was highly educated and after her return to Russia was appointed by Catherine the Great to be the Director of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1779 Dashkova's son got a degree of Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh, and in his Latin dissertation on tragedy managed to mention Smith, calling him *vir summi ingenii et singularis eloquentiae* (a man of great talent and remarkable eloquence). Later, the Provost [Lord-mayor] of Edinburgh made Prince Dashkov an honorary citizen of the city[2].

It is very important to note that Dashkova's brother Alexander Vorontsov, to whom Smith's book was sent, was not just another educated Russian, merely curious about popular trends of his time, but an important official, President of the College of Commerce and one of Catherine the Great's most respected economic advisers. Unfortunately, his economic views and activities have not been studied thoroughly yet. In the Russian State Archives of Ancient Records in Moscow there is very interesting correspondence between Vorontsov and Prince Michael Scherbatov. Scherbatov is mostly known as an historian, but he was also a prominent official and for many years member of the Commission of Commerce. In 1782 Vorontsov sent Scherbatov a draft project for a new customs tariff, and asked for his opinion on it. That was the start of an argument between the two, in which Vorontsov appeared to be more of a protectionist, and Scherbatov an advocate of free trade. He thought that ruinous luxury should not be fought by very high customs tariffs, because it would disappear in the

[1] A. Cross. "By the Banks of Thames". Russians in Eighteenth Century Britain. Newtonville, Mass. 1980. P. 132, 144.

[2] Kross A. Poezdki kniagini E.R. Dashkovoi v Velikobritaniiu (1770 I 1776-1780 gg.) i ee "nebol'shoe puteshestvie v gornuiu Shotlandiiu" (1777). // XVIII vek. Sbornik 19. SPb., 1995. S. 233.

same natural way that it had appeared. He also insisted that the best way to develop Russian manufactured products was by means of free competition.

Another Russian politician who was an admirer of Adam Smith, was Admiral Nikolai Mordvinov. Born in 1754, a few days before Catherine's son Paul, he was taken by the Empress to the imperial court and spent several years there. At the age of twelve he started to serve in the Russian navy. At the age of twenty he was sent to Britain and later married an English women. As a navy commander, Mordvinov participated in the Russian-Turkish war of 1787-1791, but as a writer on economics he became more famous under Alexander I when he chaired the Department of economy of the State Council. He considered serfdom to be the main obstacle to the successful economic development of Russia, and wrote that "Freedom, property, enlightenment and justice are the main and only origins of wealth". He also advocated free enterprise, principles of private property and, like Vorontsov, defended a protectionist customs tariff[1].

But what about Catherine? Even if she didn't read Smith's famous books is it possible to find any similarities between their views? I think it is, because their origins were the same. Like Smith, Catherine was confident that the fundamental premise of social order is the system of positive law, which must embody our perceptions of the rules of public behavior: those rules, in their turn, are intimately linked with justice, and are managed by the state, or rather by some institutions of power. As a disciple of the physiocrats, Catherine would have gladly signed her name under Smith's words in his *Lectures on Police, Justice, Revenue and Arms* that "Agriculture is of all other arts the most beneficent to society and whatever tends to retard its improvement is extremely prejudicial to the public interest. The produce of agriculture is much greater than that of any other manufacture"[2]. Like Smith, Catherine was the enemy of all kinds of monopolies and fought them severely throughout her reign. She certainly realized the importance of private property and freedom of enterprise, and did much to lessen state control over entrepreneurs. She also thought it unjustifiable to concentrate industry in capital cities: rather, industry should be distributed among different cities of the nation. In one of her notes, Catherine wrote that it would be good to establish a free industrial city in Russia, where native and foreign artisans could settle enjoying various freedoms and advantages, free both to work and to sell their produce. "The very art", she wrote, "has proved that English cities like Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester, being established on the basis of such freedom, achieved remarkable wealth in a short time, while other English industrial cities even situated in a happier location though in spite of

[1] Semenova A.V. Vremennoe revoliutsionnoe pravitel'stvo v planakh dekabristov. M., 1982. S. 63-83.
[2] A. Smith. Lectures on Police, Justice, Revenue and Arms (1763). N.Y., 1964. P. 224.

oppression and restrictions from above, still do produce some goods but are always in decline". A few years ago, when I published this note in my book on Catherine the Great, Isabel de Madariaga sent me a message asking where Catherine could possibly have found his information. I replied I didn't know and I still don't know. But if we compare Catherine's words with what Adam Smith wrote about free trade cities in Book Five of his *Wealth of Nations* we find a great similarity.

SCOTTISH-RUSSIAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER: Some Problems in the Eighteenth-Century History of Ideas

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During a test, three Carron guns exploded. General Demidov used the occasion to recommend additional safety precautions for those present against flying fragments of Scottish metal.
An anecdote[1].

... the Russian worked too hard, ate and drank too little, and was desperately homesick; at one point he simply decamped ...[2]

1.

"By the time of Catherine's accession the British community in St Petersburg was well established and it was to continue to grow and flourish during her long reign. Catherine encouraged and increased the traditional influx of naval officers, craftsmen, and technical experts into her service <...> It was also a period of true interchange,

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[1] Cited in: Bartlett R.P. Scottish Cannon-founders and the Russian Navy, 1768-85. // Oxford Slavonic Papers, 1977. Vol. X. P. 58.

[2] Doty R. The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money. L., 1998. P. 85-6.

for not only was England visited by Russian aristocrats and gentry on their version of the Grand Tour, many of them eager to imitate on their return aspects of English life and to import products of English workmanship, but it also became the destination for young Russians, who were to learn the famed methods of English agriculture, become apprenticed to leading craftsmen and specialists, enter English and Scottish universities, or study at the Royal Academy. Contacts also increased between British and Russian scholarly bodies and societies <...> between the Royal Society and the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences <...>"[1]

Turning to 18th-century science and technology transfer, historians tell almost the same story over and over again: some sphere of industry, or branch of technology, or military power, or arms production has fallen into decay, and is in a run-down or ruined state: the skilled labour force has been dispersed for decades. To raise it to the proper level, to oppose or even to rival Europe or the world, foreign craftsmen and specialists are invited, both military and civil, together with their technologies. As matters of state survival are always concerned, all the initiative, naturally, comes from the state or the monarch. Lacking skilled labour at home, Russians search abroad for it, and seek for "not a simpler master-founder, but an originator or entrepreneur".

At this period Britain, and Scotland in particular, are important for Russia as sources of the most skilled labour and the most advanced machinery. Russia is a great source of raw materials vital for the British Navy and industry, but also a wild place where a craftsman or entrepreneur can make his fortune. In a letter of 1785 from Boulton's Archives in Birmingham, we read that "Britain consumes only 90,000 tons of Bar Iron, of which she makes 30,000 tons, and buys 60,000 tons at a cost of £600,000. She is dependent on foreigners for this essential article. Should Russia advance the price of iron <...> we should still have to buy, for Sweden could not furnish a quarter what we want, and the price is now <...> above the Russian"[2]. This means that Russia furnished more that three quarters of all imported iron, that is more than a half of all iron then needed by Britain.

Modern scholars of British-Russian 18th-century relations are very lucky to have the results of brilliant research by Professor Cross now available in his pa-

[1] Cross A.G. 'The Great Patroness of the North': Catherine II's Role in Fostering Anglo-Russian Cultural Contacts. // Oxford Slavonic Papers, 1985, New Series, Vol. XVIII. P. 67.

[2] Cited in: Industrial Revolution. A Documentary History. Industrial revolution: a documentary history. Ser. 1, The Boulton and Watt archive and the Matthew Boulton papers from the Birmingham Central Library. Marlborough, 1993. P. 67.

pers and books[1]. From these books we know the names of the majority of people who played important roles in one or other of the two countries, and we can now begin to examine the ideas transferred by them. But this is not an easy task, and special methods may be called for. In what follows I can only give some examples of what I consider to be important.

2.

In 1776 the "Scots Magazine" informed readers that "[o]n the 8th of December, arrived at Edinburgh, from London, the Princess d'Aschkow, a Russian lady. She lives in a house which she has taken in the New Town; and has with her a son and a daughter"[2]. The family spent about three years in Scotland, and the same periodical reports in July 1779:

> On the 12th of June was deposited in the library of the university of Edinburgh, a cabinet of medals, presented to that learned body by the Russian Princes Daschkau, Countess of Woronzow, &c. who, with a son and daughter has resided in Edinburgh since December 1776. — This valuable collection contains,
>
> 1. A series of the Sovereigns of Russia, from the Grand Duke Rurick <...> to the Empress Elizabeth <...>
>
> 2. The Medallic History of Russia, in a series of medals struck in commemoration of the great events which have happened in that empire from the birth of Peter the Great <...>
>
> 3. Medals struck under different sovereigns, in honour of illustrious persons, who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country <...>
>
> The young Prince attended the university of Edinburgh three sessions, and his proficiency was such as to entitle him to the degree of Master of Arts at the early age of fifteen <...>[3]

All this is well-known, but it is very difficult to establish precisely what exchange of ideas occurred. First, Dashkova presents a cabinet of medals that is an engraved conception of the Russian history. The Princess and her son also add a book of Mikhail Lomonosov's selected essays in verse and prose (in Russian), thus conveying to the university a concise version of the Russian humanities of the time. Whether the set has been ever analysed from this point of view is unclear, though the first step was done by the Senatus Academicus. As mentioned in the Memorandum of April 27, 1805, by the Librarian Andrew Dalzel,

[1] See Cross A.G. 'By the Banks of the Thames': Russians in Eighteenth- Century Britain. Newtonville, Mass., 1980 (Russian translation: SPb, 1996); Cross A.G. By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia. Cambridge, 1997; etc.

[2] Scots Magazine, 1776. Vol. XXXVIII. December. P. 676.

[3] Scots Magazine. Vol. 41. July. P. 398.

> The Senatus [on receiving the Cabinet on 17th May 1779] requested Prof. John Robison to make a Catalogue of the Medals with a Translation of the Inscriptions from the Russian Language. The Cabinet, which was then delivered to Prof. Robison, remained in his custody till his Death January 30, 1805. Soon after which it was returned to me as Keeper of the Library but wanting two of the Medals <...> Whether these were lost while the Cabinet was in the custody of Prof. Robison, I have not yet been able to discover. The two papers in this 2d Drawer, in the handwriting of Prof. Robison seem to be all that he performed in the way of a Catalogue[1].

Second, Prince Dashkov, fully equipped with the best education of that time, returns to Russia — and ideas he has encountered in Scotland go nowhere. He becomes a military man, a marshal of nobility, but he never teaches and writes no papers or books. One cannot tell whether he ever used the ideas or disseminated them.

3.

The next example is a problem of British-Russian scientific connections in the last half of the 18th century. Some research makes no reference to them over the sixty year period between the retirement of Sir Hans Sloane as President of the Royal Society of London on 1741 and the end of the century[2]. Other research suggests mutual influence in the form of the exchange of letters and books between literati[3]. But it is also often silently assumed, especially in Russia, that science at this time developed primarily through its institutions. Some recent papers, however, have demonstrated the failure of scientific institutions to collaborate efficiently even to the extent of corresponding or ensuring a regular exchange of journals[4].

Princess Dashkova, having returned from abroad with her well-educated son, was appointed Director of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences by the Imperial decree of 27 January 1783. The very next day she opened her first official meeting at the Academy with an introductory speech, and straight away

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[1] The Edinburgh University Library. Da-30/7. I thank Jean Jones for her most kind help during my work with the Cabinet.

[2] Radovskii M.I. Anglo-Russkie nauchnye sviazi. M.-L., 1961; Fedorov A.S. Russia and Britain in the Eighteenth Century: A Survey of Economic and Scientific links. // Cross A.G. (ed.) Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century: Contacts and Comparisons. Newtonwille, Mass., 1979. P. 137-144.

[3] Home R.W. Scientific Links between Britain and Russia in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. // Cross A.G. (ed.) Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century: Contacts and Comparisons. P. 212-224.

[4] Ryan W.F. Chairman's Afterword. // Cross A.G. (ed.) Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century: Contacts and Comparisons. P. 225-227.

proposed to affiliate to the Academy as foreign members two Scots: Dr. William Robertson and Dr. Joseph Black. Both these scholars are very well-known, she says. The academicians unanimously voted for them. On the next day Prince Dashkov writes a letter with the news to Black, and Dashkova herself forwards him a letter, saying quite openly that:

> Indeed I thought, I could not make a better use of the Power the Empress has pleased to confer on me, than by proposing You to be elected a member of that Academy, for nobody better than You, whose abilities are well known in all Europe could add a lustre to it. You will oblige me infinitely, and You will render a great Service to the Academy, by taking the trouble to correspond with us and communicate to us the many useful discoveries and interesting Experiments, You may at times be making. The Secretary of the Scientific Conference will be charged of this Correspondence[1].

Dr. Black wrote at last to Dashkova giving her the general principles of James Hutton's theory of the Earth in a letter of 27 August 1787[2].

On 14 July of the same year and also at Dashkova's proposal, the academicians had made Admiral Samuel Greig a honorary member of the Academy. In such elections, obviously, there was as much politics as personal interest.

It is true, therefore, that international scientific links were maintained by determined, but not always disinterested, individuals. In fact, almost all scientific contacts between Britain and Russia at that time were through individuals, and the level of official scientific exchange between institutions depended almost entirely on the zeal of their secretaries. Studies in 18th-century international science and scholarship thus need to move to the level of individuals.

4.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain was based on the payment of regular wages, in the form of coinage. And since wages were uniformly low, what the Industrial Revolution initially and most urgently required was a large number of low-denomination coins. Matthew Boulton, one of the most important industrialists and entrepreneurs of the age, addressed the problem and created the first industrial money with the aid of steam power that could create more and better coins. It could also create them more cheaply[3]. Boulton's machinery was so radically new that nobody in Europe knew it.

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[1] The Edinburgh University Library, Gen 873/II/102,103. I thank Jean Jones for giving a copy at my disposal.

[2] The Edinburgh University Library, Gen 873/III/36, 37a. I thank Jean Jones for giving a copy at my disposal.

[3] Doty R. The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money. P. 15.

The industrialist also had a plan to sell his mints created in Soho to other countries, including Russia, where Boulton's wares had already found a favourable reception with Catherine II. The Empress was interested in his coinage, but not because of the ormolu vases he had once sent her: the truth was that the St Petersburg mint had become sadly outdated[1]. Among the foreign adventures of Boulton, Watt & Company, those in Russia were the most significant, and there were a number of reasons for this. It was a very large project, and very welcome. This was the first modern mint that Boulton actually built specifically for export[2]. The cost of the mint came to £11,520, which Boulton admitted to be a great deal of money, even for a Great Power. But he remained firm, refusing to dismember the mint, since the entire, integrated package was, to use his favourite word, 'philosophical' in construction. "This emphasis on philosophy was no mere cant: Boulton saw mints in an essentially organic way"[3]. In March, 1806 Boulton wrote:

> <...> for although an artist might make the finest organ in the World yet he would not be able to play upon it unless he understood music & was in the habit of playing. In order therefore that the Machine, when completed, should be able to coin money (which it cannot do of itself) it must receive the aid of some intelligent beings properly instructed for the purpose[4].

Apart from rulers, Soho had dealings with another set of Russians in London over the years. The group consisted of the Russian Ambassador to the Court of St James, Count Simon Vorontsov, his secretary, the Reverend Yakov Smirnov, and Alexander Baxter, a transplanted Scotsman who was now serving as the Russian Consul General in London[5]. The middlemen or intermediaries who promoted the exchange of both ideas and people, were usually members of the Russian Embassy and a small group associated with it.

The migration of good workers was not at all uncommon in 18th-century Europe, and in this respect Russia was in line with other industrial nations of the time. It was often in Britain that the Russian government found what it was looking for. But British law forbade both foreign recruitment of British workmen, and the export of British industrial machinery. Russian diplomats seeking workers for Russia thus had to move with caution, taking also into account spies who penetrated everywhere in Europe at that time of Napoleonic wars.

One of the best examples of such an intermediary was Yakov Ivanovich Smirnov (1754–1840), for sixty years Chaplain to the Russian Embassy, who

[1] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 79.
[2] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 15.
[3] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 87, 91.
[4] Doty R. Op. cit.. P. 114.
[5] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 76, 79.

"became over the years the repository of Russian knowledge about England"[1]. As Professor Cross has observed, Smirnov's services "might be termed the 'intelligence sector', the procuring of information useful for the Russian College of Foreign Affairs through their large network of acquaintances"[2]. It may be added that such services were also a form of industrial reconnaissance.

The mint project, under the constant supervision of Smirnov, proceeded. Mintaneers, as Boulton called them, that is four members of the 'Soho Corps', were sent to St Petersburg to establish the mint. The group's leader was James Duncan; he was constantly challenged by the three others, namely, James Harley, James Walker and William Speedyman[3]. From beginning to end the project was packed with professional Scotsmen, although the Britons were joined by several Russian apprentices. Some of these learned the new coining methodology at Mr Boulton's knee[4], others were sent to St Petersburg where James Duncan, the most experienced of the mintaneers, was to teach them. Duncan, by the way, never returned to Great Britain. He grew acclimatized to the Russian environment, staying on as foreman at the mint he had done so much to create[5].

Unfortunately, the project encountered many difficulties, such as the once notorious 'Birmingham Memorial'. This was published on 21 June 1800, and was signed by forty-seven merchants. The Memorial discussed the dire effects which such export would surely have on both the city, and on the country. The sending of machines and workmen to Russia "may be injurious to Birmingham, by enabling Russians to execute most of our manufactures to the greatest advantage"[6]. A lucrative trade would pass from Britain to Russia. Of even greater importance, talent and genius, once resident in the Eastern country, might be persuaded to remain there, sharing the secrets learned at home, to the great detriment of British manufactures.

On the other hand, the Russian mint "was the only one of Matthew Boulton's foreign adventures which changed the way he did business at home. The Russians informed him that their mint would have to be arranged in a particular fashion. Boulton panicked, then began tinkering with his invention. And he shortly emerged with a new idea, not only about how to dispose the Russian machinery in an acceptable manner, but how to arrange coin making at Soho in

[1] Cross A.G. Yakov Smirnov: A Russian Priest of Many Parts. // Oxford Slavonic Papers, 1975, New Series, Vol. VIII. P. 37.
[2] Cross A.G. Yakov Smirnov... P. 41.
[3] Doty R. The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money. P. 76.
[4] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 81.
[5] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 118.
[6] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 94.

a better manner too, and by extension any manufacturing process whatsoever"[1]. This development may be the greatest single contribution made by Matthew Boulton to the history of technology. He proposed that:

> <...> new mint would be so arranged that every kind of work & every department should be kept separate from each other and the people employd not permitted to enter into each others apartments but the pieces [of money] pass through tubes [from one place to another][2]

Boulton's idea was that manufacturing should be a progressive activity, in terms of the location of the various materials and movements which made it up. He wrote:

> It is a decided & leading principle with me in the arrangement of so great a Manufactory of money 1st to appropriate an apartment for every distinct process or operation & not mix one thing with another 2nd Never to permit the persons who work in one apartment to enter or pass through another 3d To weight or tale the pieces in one room & pass them through a proper sized hole in the Wall forward into another 4th To arrange the rooms in such an order that the Metal & the Money shall go forward progressively from one room to another untill it is compleatly packed & ready to deliver for circulation & never go backward & forward 5th That it shall proceed as above on the same horizontal ground floor & never be carried up & down, that being expensive[3].

It was a new way of thinking about the process of manufacturing itself.

In this Russian affair Boulton also received his greatest disappointment. While he naturally wanted to sell mints abroad, his primary concern was that the recipients take them as seriously, and see them in the same light, as he did himself. The Russians refused to do so. Matthew Boulton had assumed that the Russian monarchy desired his machinery for the same purposes for which he had contrived it: to manufacture safe and abundant copper coinage for the labouring poor. Russians had even encouraged him to such a conclusion[4]. But the monarchy had other ideas: it wanted a Boulton mint, not to provide secure money for its people, but as a symbol of its enlightenment and modernity. Soho's industrial writ did not extend beyond the shores of Great Britain[5]. From the Russian point of view, the labour cost of creating the coinage, because of the system of serfdom, was non-existent and was thus more economical than Boulton's steam-powered mint[6].

[1] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 74.
[2] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 83.
[3] MBP 414, Matthew Boulton to James Smirnov, 20 February 1798.
[4] Doty R. The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money. P. 108.
[5] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 75.
[6] Doty R. Op. cit. P. 108.

Zack Walker, Boulton's nephew and aid, was far more realistic than his uncle, when he made the following observation:

> the Russians in general may with propriety be still considered as great Babies, who, when they hear of a novel & pretty thing cry after it, & must have [it] 'coute qui coute' [whatever the cost] whilst the fit lasts, but it is seldom of long duration, & as soon as the attention is diverted by some fresh object, the former is totally forgotten[1] <...> any thing requiring either accuracy or attention to its use here will soon be destroyed[2].

In time, the Russian Government would indeed begin coining copper coinage at Matthew Boulton's mint, on Matthew Boulton's model, but only because a Russian Tsar decided that it would be so[3].

5.

Regarded as one of "the most important persons to emigrate"[4] from Britain to Russia, Charles Gascoigne nevertheless had a very bad reputation among his compatriots from the Caledonian Phalanx, which was "the strongest and most numerous"[5] in St Petersburg at that time. Everybody knew that he had run away to Russia from his British creditors. "Much as he was envied and disliked by British and Russian alike", wrote Eric Robinson, "his energy and his technical 'know-how' were respected, and he was known to have a hand in every mechanical development worth mentioning during his twenty years in Russia"[6]. Let us have a closer look at the impression Gascoigne had upon his colleague and rival A. Yartsov, who wrote about the Scot's activity in his unpublished manuscript *A Russian Mining History* (1812).

Russia was in great need of good-quality cannons for the Navy and the army. Gascoigne arrived in Petrozavodsk, at the Alexandrovsky factory, in 1786 and began his improvements and reforms. Yartsov writes: "<...> the government decided to invite <...> director Gascoigne together with other craftsmen, and his craft consisted only in re-melting and re-casting of cast iron from bad cannons and other things into good guns, in self-blasting and coal-heated furnaces; but as to melting iron directly from the ore, as it had been arranged at the

[1] MBP 415, Zack W., Jr. to MB., 15 Feb. 1804 OS.
[2] MBP 360, Walker Z. jr. box: Zacchaeus Walker, Sr., 12 June 1803.
[3] Doty R. The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money. P. 120.
[4] Robinson E.H. The Transference of British Technology to Russia, 1760-1820: A Preliminary Enquiry. // Ratcliffe B.M. (ed.) Great Britain and Her World, 1750-1914. Essays in Honour of W.O. Henderson. Manchester, 1975. P. 12.
[5] Z. Walker to M. Boulton, 4 April 1805. Cited in: Robinson E.H. The Transference of British Technology to Russia, 1760-1820. P. 13.
[6] Robinson E.H. The Transference of British Technology to Russia... P. 14.

factory long before his arrival, Gascoigne did not know this craft at all <...>"[1] One of Yartsov's main arguments concerns money: Gascoigne and his fellows earned about five times more than Russian workers "making as good cannons as these foreigners, as it was proved during the Russian-Turkish marine war"[2].

Gascoigne also made experiments, trying to cast iron from various ores in furnaces with various parameters. But here again his critic found that these experiments had been done by Russians earlier, and Gascoigne, it turned out, "used these first experiments as patterns, and that was why he then decided to take the same ores, but Russians serve for their Fatherland not by contracts, so they do not hide their works and results, but foreigners just use these results, adapting all that was established before to their only skill"[3].

To refurbish the factory according to the Carron model, Gascoigne was radical enough to destroy the old dam and build a new spillway, "due only to his enormous vanity"[4]. Next spring water crushed the arrangement and damaged some factories. "To repair all this cost about 50,000 roubles; but this was done by a foreigner, so he was pardoned, and from this event one may judge, how little the foreigners worry about preservation of the Russian benefit, because their harmful deeds are only explained by their speaking no Russian"[5].

In Cronstadt the Scot built a foundry with two air furnaces, "mostly for his own benefit", in which he re-cast old cannons into shells, heating the furnaces by very expensive coal imported from Britain, though Russian non-resinous wood would have been as good. Gascoigne also introduced a new price policy, but this, together with the factory's improvements, was interpreted as a specially selfish scheme to impress ignorant Russian officials and finally, as all the foreigners always did, to extract money from them.

In such cases we see that Russians tried to deny that the Scots brought them any essentially new ideas: on the contrary, everything that was new was too expensive, not at all of better quality, and almost never took into account local customs, traditions and skills. The arrivals' management was considered unfair and selfish, since they thought first of all of their own profit, vanity and comfort, not of the state treasury and of Russia's benefit.

I am afraid that this rank and file's feeling of "the state treasury and Russia's benefit" is still very much alive and is an essential component of the paint that tinges all ideas in our country, be they native or imported.

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[1] Yartsov A.S. A Russian Mining History. Part. III. 1812. Manuscript. The St Petersburg Mining Institute Library. V 19569. L. 63ob (109).
[2] Yartsov A.S. Op. cit. L. 64 (110).
[3] Yartsov A.S. Op. cit. L. 64ob (112). Note.
[4] Yartsov A.S. A Russian Mining History. L. 65 (112).
[5] Yartsov A.S. A Russian Mining History. L. 65 (113).

FIELD MARSHAL PETER LACY: AN IRISHMAN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA

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Irishmen, albeit few in number entered the service of the Russian court well before the reign of Peter the Great. However, the coinciding of that modernizing tsar's desire for Western military experts with the defeat by William of Orange of King James's outnumbered and poorly equipped army on the Boyne in July 1690, meant that of those 19,000 Irish men-at-arms who fled to Europe, some at least found their way to Russia. It was much more the usual pattern for such soldiers of fortune to join France's Irish Brigade, or to enter the Spanish or Austrian service. Indeed, it was not uncommon for officers to seek and accept a series of commissions at a number of courts. The Russian service, by contrast, was not a widely sought after career move. As one Irish historian put it earlier this century: "Russia has never attracted the Irish to any great extent, partly on account of the climate. and partly on account of the repugnance the Irish have always entertained towards despotism". Nevertheless, in the same writer's view, there are common national characteristics which would seem to favour closer contacts: 'Both races are dreamers and idealists; both believe in

fairies and ghosts; both are intensely religious … both have a natural antipathy to commerce and both are born fighters'.[1]

It is, certainly, difficult to establish even approximately the number of Irishmen who made their way to the eighteenth-century Russian court. Any systematic search of officers' service records in Russian military archives would be likely to yield considerably more than the twenty or so Irish army and naval officers identified to date. Three of the most outstanding of these were Field Marshal Peter Lacy, Count John O'Rourke, and General George Browne. Their careers span the reigns of all Russia's eighteenth-century rulers with the exception of Paul. It is the extraordinary contribution to Russian service made by the first of these, Field Marshal Lacy, which is the focus of this article.

Peter Lacy from Co. Limerick was at 22 year of age among the first group of one hundred Western European officers recruited by Peter I in 1700, following his first embassy to the West which is this year celebrating its bicentenary. Lacy was presented to Peter during the Russian siege of the Swedish fortress of Narva, which started in October 1700 and ended in disaster for the Russians. The introduction was made by the hapless Duc de Croy, foreign commander of the Russian troops overwhelmed by the sudden Swedish attack in November of that year. The shock defeat underlined Peter's need for experienced and battle-hardened Western commanders to meet Russia's needs in the Great Northern War against the Swedes. It was in the earliest Russian campaign against Charles XII of Sweden that Peter Lacy saw his first action on his new master's behalf in the Baltic territories of Livonia and Ingria. His obvious talent ensured him a rapid rise: in 1706 the tsar entrusted him with the command of the Polotskii regiment and the task of training three newly-raised regiments.[2] An action he undertook in December 1708 was to prove typical of his decisiveness and boldness: as colonel at the head of three battalions of infantry, one company of grenadiers, one regiment of dragoons and 500 Cossacks he attacked and captured the HQ of Charles XII at Rumna. The delighted tsar rewarded Lacy with the prestigious command of a grenadier regiment.[3]

His next conspicuous action was in July the following year at the decisive battle of Poltava, where the Swedes gambled and lost in taking on a Russian army twice as large as its own, thereby marking the start of their eventual defeat in the Great Northern War. Peter Lacy's advice to the tsar on musketry methods

[1] E. O'Donnell, *The Irish Abroad: A Record of the Achievements of Wanderers from Ireland*, London, 1915, p. 306.
[2] M. O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigade in the Service of France*, London, 1870, p. 482.
[3] J.E. McGee, *Sketches of Irish Soldiers in Every Land*, New York, 1881, p. 104.

is said to have played a decisive role in Russia's celebrated and important victory, whose significance has been compared in this century with the Soviet victory at Stalingrad (1943). According to one source:

> It was Marshal Lacy who taught the Russians to beat the King of Sweden's army, and, from being the worst, to become some of the best soldiers in Europe. The Russians had been used to fighting in a very confused manner, and to discharging their musketry before they had advanced sufficiently near the enemy to do execution. Before the famous battle of Poltava, Marshal Lacy advised the tsar to send orders that every man should reserve his fire until he came within a few yards of the enemy. The consequence was that Charles XII was totally defeated and in one action lost the advantage of nine glorious campaigns.[1]

In spite of this victory, Russia's war with Sweden dragged on, and so did Lacy's role in the continuing action. By 1719 the necessity of invading Sweden was generally recognized and reflected in a diary entry made by Lacy in June of that year: 'I know of no other way of forcing the Swedes to make peace,' he wrote.[2] Accordingly, promoted to the rank of major-general, Lacy led a raid on the Swedish coastal towns of Osthammer and Oregrund as well as 135 villages and smaller settlements. In a similar action two years later, Lacy, now lieutenant-general in command of 5,000 troops, razed Sundsvall along with two other towns and numerous villages in the locality.[3] Commenting on Lacy's tactics, a contemporary English observer noted that Lacy 'always commanded apart with his division, and perpetrated numerous devastations'.[4] The devastations visited by Lacy on Sundsvall were, in the view of one authority, enough to prompt the Swedish negotiators at Nystadt to yield Livonia to Russia, thereby providing her with direct access to the Baltic Sea and so paving the way for the Treaty of Nystadt which was at last concluded in September 1721.[5]

Although the Great Northern War was over, this was to be by no means the last Sweden had seen of Peter Lacy. His career from this point went from strength to strength. The high esteem, which he had enjoyed at court during the last years of Peter's reign, was marked by his appointment in 1723 to membership of the College of War. Similar esteem was shown by Peter the Great's successors. Catherine I made Lacy a Knight of the Order of St Alexander Nevsky

[1] Ibid., pp. 104-105. McGee cites Ferrar; this is, presumably, M.L. Ferrar, the nineteenth-century military historian.
[2] R. Wittram, *Peter I*, Gottingen, 1964, vol. 2, p. 417.
[3] E. Schuyler, *Peter the Great*, London, 1884, vol. 2, pp. 517, 533.
[4] C.A.G. Bridge (ed.), *History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great, by a Contemporary Englishman (1724)*, Publication of the Navy Record Society, 1899.
[5] Schuyler, op. cit., p. 533.

on the very day of its institution, 21 May 1725.[1] In addition, he was appointed General-in-Chief of Infantry, and commander of all forces garrisoned in Petersburg, Ingria and Novgorod.[2] In the general staff list for 1728, Lacy's name ranked third among the six full generals in the Russian army. As a foreigner, his annual salary was 3,600 rubles, whereas Russians received 3,120.[3] A further indication of Lacy's standing at this time is the fact that his signature always occupied first place on War College reports to Catherine I. It is interesting to note in this connection that he always signed his name in English as 'C-te P. Lacy', even on official Russian documents. This perhaps lends support to the claim of one commentator that Lacy's command of written and spoken Russian was never particularly good.[4]

From the time of Peter's death in 1725, foreigners at the Russian court were to play an even greater role in the execution of the country's increasingly ambitious foreign policy. Lacy's own career is a clear illustration of this tendency. There was a shift in emphasis, already apparent during the closing stages of the Great Northern War, away from his training of troops and advising on tactics and weaponry, to leading his men into action and planning and engaging in front-line operations. Typical of these was his mission in 1727 to expel Maurice de Saxe from the Duchy of Courland. Maurice, much to Russia's irritation, had managed to have himself elected Duke of Courland. The duchess of Courland was Anna, who became Empress of Russia when she succeeded Peter II to the throne in 1730. Her request to marry Maurice de Saxe was rejected by Empress Catherine I and led to the decision to expel him and his retinue from the duchy. Lacy's successful execution of this task fully justified the confidence placed in him, and confirmed him as the most influential foreigner at the Russian court. This position, however, was not without its dangers. Lacy was always careful never to become embroiled in the notorious perils of court intrigue. Indeed, it is to his studious avoidance of court cabals that his remarkable survival throughout the 'era of palace revolutions' is generally attributed. However, his evident standing aroused the resentment and jealousy of the most ambitious of the many Germans at court. The most powerful threat came from Burkhardt Munnich (known in Russian as Minikh), one of Anna's Courland favourites, who from

[1] D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Biografii russkikh generalissimusov*, Moscow, 1840, pp. 203-15 (p. 204).
[2] O'Callaghan, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 483.
[3] 'Protokoly, zhurnaly i ukazy verkhovnogo taynogo soveta', (Jan-June, 1728); *SIRIO* (Sbornik Imperatorskogo Rossiiskogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva), vol. v, St.Petersburg, 1891, p. 369.
[4] *SIRIO*, vol. III, passim. Cf. *Rizhskii vestnik*, 2 June 1871, no. 121.

the start of her reign skilfully set about concentrating all authority over military affairs into his own hands.[1]

The growing rivalry between Lacy and Munnich was intensified when they saw action together in 1733 in the Russians' march on Warsaw in support of Augustus of Saxony's candidacy as King of Poland against that of Stanislas Leszczynski, who was supported by France. The ensuing War of the Polish Succession, which continued until 1735, gave both men an opportunity to display their military prowess. Of the two, it was Lacy who had the better war, in the view of the military historian Maslovsky. After successfully raising the siege of Gdansk in 1733, Lacy's action the following year at the Battle of Wisiczin 'showed him to be one of the best type of foreign generals of Peter's time who knew and loved the art of warfare.' Moreover, Lacy 'essentially preserved the modus operandi of dragoon-type cavalry of Peter's time, which was extremely important at a time when Munnich was beginning to introduce foreign methods, which he did not really understand, without considering their suitability for an army like ours.'[2] In addition, Lacy is credited with having 'terminated the civil war in that distracted country by the battle of Busawitza where, with only 1500 dragoons, 80 hussars and 500 Cossacks, he completely routed 20,000 Stanislavites commanded by the Palatine of Lublin'.[3]

On the successful conclusion of the War of the Polish Succession, Augustus created Lacy a Knight of the Order of the White Eagle of Poland. The next two years he spent assisting Augustus consolidate his position as King of Poland, fending off attacks from elements hostile to him in a series of remarkable feat of arms. Lacy visited Vienna where he was warmly received by the Emperor and Empress and presented with gifts. It was on his return from the Austrian capital to Petersburg that he was met by an imperial courier bearing him a signal honour: his patent as a Russian field marshal.[4] This was the first time in Russia's history, and consistent with the general thrust of Anna Ivanovna's reign, that there had been two foreigners serving as field marshals in imperial service. The other was Munnich.

Lacy's first mission in his new rank was to prepare for the siege of the fortress-town of Azov in anticipation of the long-expected war with Turkey, which was waged from 1735 to 1739. During the ensuing siege he was wounded and

[1] D. Maslovskii, 'Russkoye voyennoye delo pri Fel'dmarshale Graf Minikh', *Voyennyy sbornik*, 7, 1891, pp. 5-21 (p. 6).
[2] Maslovskii, op. cit., 8. 169-87 (p.174).
[3] McGee, *Sketches of Irish Soldiers in Every Land*, p. 107.
[4] O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 484.

lucky not to fall into Turkish hands. Azov capitulated to Lacy's forces in July 1736, after which the field marshal was directed to join Munnich in the Crimea.

In 1737 Lacy was awarded the prestigious Order of St Andrew, and appointed commander of a new campaign to annexe the Crimea. Two previous attempts to do so, Leontiev's in 1735 and Munnich's in 1736 had ended in failure. Lacy eagerly accepted this new challenge, and rose to it with characteristic brilliance and improvisation. To the considerable astonishment of the Crimean khan, Lacy bridged the Azov Sea at a narrow point near Perekop. Within four days, aided by favourable winds and tide, his entire army crossed it and began marching on Arabat. As one commentator has wryly observed, 'the parallel to a well-known incident in the Book of Exodus was sufficiently striking to make an immense impression upon the superstitious Russian soldiers'.[1] Then, on learning that the khan had reached Arabat before him, Lacy decided to spring a further surprise by fording the sea separating him from the rest of the Crimea. His amazed generals countered this audacious plan by proposing immediate retreat. But to their further embarrassment, Lacy promptly ordered the protesting generals to return to Russia without delay. It was three days before they managed to persuade the angry field marshal to relent and to forgive them their presumption in proposing a retreat to him.[2] By the use of characteristically imaginative and novel strategy, Lacy made a great success of the expedition of which it has been remarked that 'without knowing why he had been sent into the country he quitted it with very great glory to himself and very little sickness to his army.'[3] All the same, in spite of the success Lacy made of this operation, the Crimea was not finally annexed to the Russian Empire until 1783, well into the reign of Catherine the Great. Meanwhile Lacy's relationship with Field marshal Munnich deteriorated. The Irishman's achievements in the field, together with the high standing he enjoyed among his troops and at court, profoundly antagonized the increasingly eclipsed Munnich. His jealously boiled over when, on one occasion, he drew his sabre and launched himself at Lacy who promptly defended himself until the timely intervention of a third party, General Levashev, brought about the separation of the two field marshals before any serious damage was done.[4]

In the spring of 1741, Lacy was placed in command of Russian forces in Finland mobilising for renewed war with Sweden. Following Sweden's declara-

[1] F.T. Jane, *The Imperial Russian Navy: its past, present, and future*, London, 1904, p. 73.
[2] E. Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1857-60 (2 vols.), *to 1744*, London, 1770, p. 169. vol. 1, pp. 211-12; *Baron de Manstein, Memoirs of Russia, historical, political from 1727 to 1744*, London, 1770, p. 169.
[3] O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 489.
[4] Ibid., p. 485.

tion of war in July, Lacy advanced at the head of 30,000 troops on Villmanstrand and inflicted a defeat on the 11,000 Swedish defenders under General Wrangel. Although the victory boosted morale in the Russian capital, Lacy was prevented from continuing his advance into Sweden as far as Fredrikshamn by the lack of reinforcements and supplies, and so returned to Petersburg.

Here, in December, 'an incident occurred in the life of the marshal, which', as J.E. McGee relates, 'but for his ready wit, smacking somewhat of his race and nation, might have been attended with very serious consequences'.[1] Elizabeth, Peter the Great's daughter, became empress literally overnight as a result of a palace revolt. As already mentioned, Lacy prudently avoided court intrigue and generally played no part in it. Nevertheless, the coup was hardly over when, in the account of Baron de Manstein, Lacy 'was applied to at 3 o'clock in the morning to say of what party he was — that of the Grand Duchess Anna, or the Princess Elizabeth? Although suddenly awakened out of sleep, perceiving that there was in fact an empress who had the reins, but not being equally satisfied if it were the grand duchess or the Princess who had succeeded, he replied: "of the party of the reigning empress".'[2] This answer apparently satisfied Elizabeth, whose accession brought an end to the supremacy at court of the so-called 'German' party. Senior Courlanders, such as Ostermann, Biron, and Munnich, were stripped of their high rank and office, and sent into Siberian exile. But Peter Lacy survived this purge of foreigners to become the principal field marshal in Russian service. An immediate consequence of Elizabeth's policy of the russification of the Russian court and armed forces was an outbreak of xenophobic riots in the capital. For example, on Easter Sunday 1742, Lacy took prompt action following a brawl between Russian and foreign serving officers by implementing a policy of much stricter policing of army personnel in Petersburg. As a result, potentially much more dangerous disturbances in the capital were averted. In fact, Lacy is credited by McGee with having 'saved Petersburg and, perhaps, the Empire. Most certain it is, that, if it had not been for the good arrangements made by Marshal Lacy, the disorders would have multiplied and gone greater lengths'.[3]

After the three-month truce with Sweden following Elizabeth's accession, Lacy returned in June to Swedish Finland at the head of a large force. He took Fredrikshamn, which had been torched and abandoned by the Swedes. There

[1] McGee, op. cit., p. 115.
[2] Ibid., p. 116.
[3] Ibid., p. 117. For fuller details of such incidents, see Sergei M. Soloviev, *History of Russia, vol. 37, Empress Elizabeth's Reign, 1741-1744*, edited and translated by Patrick J. O'Meara, Academic International Press, Gulf Breeze, 1996, pp. 62-4.

was jubilation at the capture of what was the only fortified town in Swedish Finland without the loss of a single man. Lacy now, to quote from E. Cust, 'obliged the Swedish army under Count Lowenhaupt to retire before him from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors'.[1] In fact, the instructions Lacy had received from Petersburg following the capture of Fredrikshamn ordered the conclusion of the campaign once the enemy had been driven beyond the river Kymen. The Russian generals were ready to comply, but the foreigners (Lacy, Keith and Lowendahl) were anxious to exploit the Russian advantage by pushing on to Helsingfors. Thus, in August, Lacy caught up with the retreating Swedish army near Helsingfors and pre-empted its further retreat to Abo by leading his forces along an unmapped road. This had been built during the campaigns of Peter the Great and was now revealed to the field marshal by a local Finnish peasant. As a result of this stratagem, the surprised Swedish army capitulated, leaving all Finland subject to the Russian Empire. Lacy thus returned in triumph to the Russian court with whose orders he had so judiciously dispensed.[2]

The empress's approval of Lacy's actions was clearly indicated when, at the start of Russia's operations against Sweden in 1743, Elizabeth boarded the field marshal's ship in Petersburg to present him with gifts and to bless his newest enterprise. However, Lacy's eagerness to match his success on land with a victory over the Swedes at sea was pre-empted by the Treaty of Abo, which was signed in August 1743. Once more he returned in triumph to Petersburg, this time aboard a yacht sent by the empress herself. After the peace celebrations, which marked the culmination of his fifty years' active service, Lacy retired to his estates in Livonia as governor of the province, a post to which Peter II had originally appointed him back in 1729. There he resided until his death in May 1751 at the age of 72. John Cook, the doctor who attended Count Lacy in his last months, recalled that the citizens of Riga so mourned the field marshal's death that 'they tolled their bells eight days'.[3] He left a large fortune (£60,000 sterling) and sizable estates, acquired as his will states by way of an epitaph, 'through long and hard service and with much danger and uneasiness'.[4]

Lacy was a popular commander combining qualities of unusual ability and sound judgement. He had a notoriously quick temper, but, in the words of one English historian of the early eighteenth century 'he was generous to a fault, as

[1] Cust, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 24-6.
[2] O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 485.
[3] J. Cook, *Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary and Part of the Kingdom of Persia*, Edinburgh, 1770, p. 622.
[4] Ibid., p. 498; *Dictionary of National Biography* (4th reprint), vol. II, pp. 385-7 (p. 387).

brave as a lion and incapable of committing a mean action.'[1] In the course of his remarkable career he served five eighteenth-century sovereigns — six if one counts the fact that he partnered the 16-year-old future Catherine II at her wedding dance in 1745. It was an incident which, as she describes in her memoirs, almost drove her to tears, so painfully did her clumsy partner tread on her toes.[2] Unquestionably, his most affectionate imperial patron was Elizabeth. This is evident not only from the various attentions and favours she showed him, as already described, but also from the fact that other foreign officers regarded Lacy as the best channel for reaching the Empress. For example, in 1747 General Keith turned to Lacy begging him to petition Elizabeth on his behalf for an audience.[3] The medic, John Cook, similarly secured Lacy's assistance in returning his wife and sons to Scotland. Moreover, when Elizabeth was told that Lacy's health was improving (during what was to be his final illness), Cook recalled that 'she expressed as great satisfaction as if he had been her father'.[4] What particularly impressed Russians about Lacy was his loyalty to their country. 'Necessity obliged him to sell his sword', one commentator has rightly observed, 'but he served his paymaster loyally and with honour. He differed markedly from the other Russian commanders of foreign birth in that he always pursued Russia's interests, never his own'.[5] The admiration he aroused was typically expressed in a common soldier's view, as recorded by Sergei Soloviev: 'Even though he was a foreigner, he was a good man', while Frederick the Great dubbed him 'the Prince Eugene of Muscovy'. In 1891, one hundred and forty years after his death, this remarkable Irishman was commemorated by the naming after him of a division of the Russian army.[6]

[1] R. Nisbet Bain, *The Pupils of Peter the Great*, London, 1897, p. 219.
[2] *Memoirs of Catherine the Great*, London, 1955, p. 100. Further evidence of Elizabeth's regard for Lacy is the warm wording of the wedding invitation she sent to him on this occasion (reproduced in *Rizhskii vestnik*, 26 May, 1871, no. 115).
[3] *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, vol. 9, app. 2, 1884, p. 227.
[4] Cook, op. cit., pp. 611, 617.
[5] *Russkiy biograficheskiy slovar'*, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. 10, p.86.
[6] *DNB*, loc. cit.

OSSIAN
IN THE LATE 18th AND EARLY 19th-CENTURY RUSSIAN THEATRE

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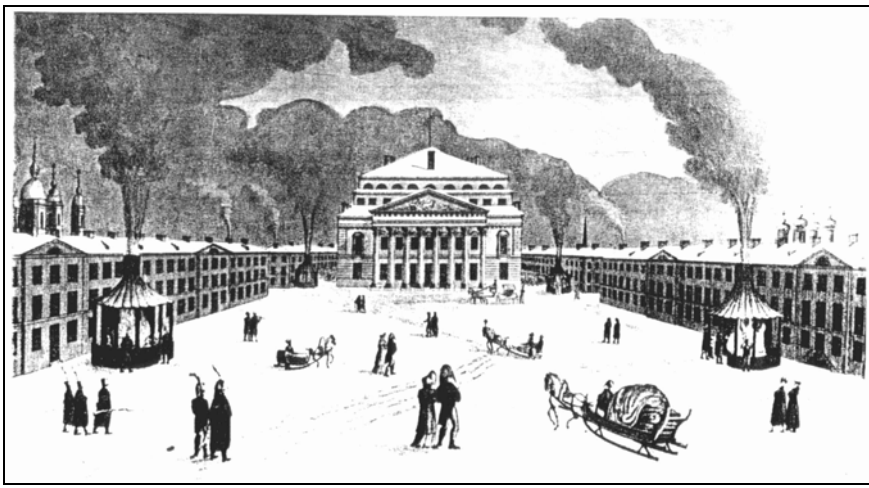
From the beginning in 1756 until the mid-19th century, Russian audiences regarded the stage primarily as a mirror of public emotions and events, and only secondarily looked to it for artistic innovations. Consequently, the adoption of European Renaissance genres and styles assumed a uniquely Russian character, because innovatory stage practices were simply equated with looking in the mirror, and treated as something familiar and 'native'. At the same time, however, translators of drama and literature developed a new method of so-called 'moral interpretation', as a result of which translations of new works were adjusted to domestic perceptive and cognitive stereotypes. The first 'moral interpretations' presented on the Russian stage to national audiences were the dramatic works of Goethe, Shakespeare, Rousseau, etc.

Scottish themes and subjects occupied a special niche in Russian theatre at that time, and by the turn of the century the 'Bard Ossian' provided the emblem

and symbol. There would be no sense in rehearsing the past literary mystification of James MacPherson, particularly in view of its important role in historical and cultural contacts between Scotland and Russia: it should be considered simply as a fact of art history.



Bolshoi (Kamennyi) Theatre in St Petersburg
Engraving by Dubois, drawing by Courvoisier. The first quarter of the 19th century.

Russian readers of the poems of 'Bard Ossian', published in "Moskovsky zhurnal" (Pt. 2. M., 1791) in the 1790s, were thrilled to discover a wonderful and distant northern land, so like their own country and yet so full of secret charm and mystery. Russians were fascinated with descriptions of grim rocks and seas so similar to the Russian North. But their image of Scotland was far more poetic than geographical. The easy adoption of Ossian's poetic work within the late 18th- and early 19th-century Russian cultural context was enhanced by an exceptionally quick artistic and stylistic response by domestic authors. Interestingly, when initial 'Ossianic' sources were not explicitly acknowledged by an author, they were nevertheless clearly implied by characteristics of style. For instance, in the tale *Oscold* by M. Muraviev (1785-1796) with a plot presumably motivated by "fragments from old Gothic scalds", the 'Ossianic' origin was evident in genre definitions. The whole description seemed a piece of stern Northern landscape painting[1]. Repercussions of 'Ossianic' ex-

[1] Altshuller M. The Age of W. Scott in Russia. St. P., 1996. P. 33.

pressiveness are felt in the metaphorically psychological scenery: "<...> fierce is the breath of winds, fearful thy sight, ye Russian sea, with dark waves dying in wrath on sharp rocks scattered in the bay of despair"[1]. The 'Ossianic' shadow spread over many literary and dramatic works such as the pseudo-historical prose of V. Narezhny (*Rogvold*), and V. Zhukovsky (*Vadim of Novgorod*). There was a rapidly emerging and strengthening tradition for a certain 'Ossianic' remix, i.e. a sophisticated combination of Russian heroic names and Slavonic-Ossianic scenery.

V.A. Ozerov

All this, however, was a mere prelude to a genuine Ossianic age in Russian culture, central to which, of course, was the overall impact of MacPherson's Ossianic imagery and style. Keen interest in published poems and the Scottish theme was further enhanced in literary circles by the increasingly popular idea of Nordic — Varangian and Scandinavian — origins of the Russian state system itself, and of

[1] Muraviev M. Oscold // The Russian Historical Tale. M., 1986. P. 21.

'Varangians' on the Russian throne. The Empress Catherine the Great was known to regard herself as one, and she was the author of well-known 'historical performances' dedicated to the legendary Varangian rulers of Old Russia — Prince Rurik and his descendants (*Rurik, Early Years of Oleg's Rule* 1786-1790).

The most powerful catalyst of all artistic processes at the time, however, was the gradually emerging Romanticism, or rather pre-Romanticism of the time, which introduced emotional elegiac colouring into every aspect of the literary process. The era of undisguised and emotional dialogue between Russian theatre and Ossian started in 1805 and lasted for an exceptionally long period of over 30 years. The main features of this intensive process were defined by a work which was performed in St Petersburg throughout those years: V.A. Ozerov's *Fingal* — "a tragedy in verse with choral and ballet pieces, and battles". Its success was itself paradoxical, since the decay of classicist style and the progress of Romanticism seemed to exclude the very possibility of such a long life on the metropolitan stage for a 'second-rate' work. And yet it appeared repeatedly, was regarded as a beneficial piece, and was often requested by actors keen on box-office returns and the like.

Ozerov's *Fingal*[1] supplied the Russian audience with the characteristic image of that faraway northern land, and while the reader's mind was excited with vague scenes reminiscent of the Russian North, stage imagery integrated the fragmented details. Mysterious scenes of distant Scotland were mixed in with theatrical scenery, imagery, events, characters and stories of a different, national culture. By 1805 there had emerged a memorable literary and theatrical image of Scotland. Of course, scenes of Ossianic Scotland represented by such playwrights as Ozerov are invalid by modern historical and cultural criteria. The land and heroes were presented in the elegiac tones and colours of early Romanticism, and scenes of Scotland in the stage version of *Fingal* are predominantly tragic. Compare the three grand scenes successively presented to Russian theatre goers in Acts One, Two and Three.

First, the "stage represents a Hall with french windows, the Oden Temple and Burial Mound visible in the distance". The mystic temple and the warrior's burial place are the two poles determining both the events of the tragedy and, presumably, the whole life of legendary Scotland. Additional romantic tones are supplied by continuous Scottish chanting by "bards and Lochlin maids".

Second Act scenery produced the effect of a visual approach to the secret and fatal land where the fates of living and dead heroes become oddly entangled, and the union of loving hearts is impeded by revenge and hatred of the

[1] Ozerov V.A. Fingal. A tragedy in 3 acts with choral and ballet pieces, and battles. St. P., 1807. Cit. from manuscript copy in St.-P. Theatre Library.

other world. “The stage represents the interior of the Oden Temple open upwards, the sacred idol resting in the centre with the burning altar in front. Over the stairs of rough stone the burial mound and hall of Act I are visible”. In this case, however, the grim surroundings are designed to celebrate the wedding of Fingal and Moina. “While still singing, Lochlin youths and maids dance the ballet, bring flower wreaths and garlands; decorate Moina and Fingal and take them to the altar and Oden idol”. Characteristically, the audience was to view the symbolic image of future happiness doomed by an inevitable clash with mystic evil, amidst nocturnal scenery and to the tunes of orchestral music (‘scenic night’ according to stage directions).

A.S. Iakovlev as Fingal in Ozerov’s *Fingal*. 1805.
Engraving by G. Ivanov, drawing by V. Lukianov.

And finally, Act Three opens with Scottish scenery designed to express the utmost depths of emotional despair. Spectators observe: “a wild forest with rock

fragments and Toskar's burial mound in the centre. Following tradition, the burial is marked with four big corner stones, the tree planted on the barrel decorated with the shield, sword and arrows of the slain prince [Moina's brother. — M.Sch.]; the stone altar at the tree, the sea and Oden temple on the coast are seen in the distance". "Fingal sits down on the stone on one side of the stage, Starn [Moina's father. — *M.Sch*]. also sits down on the other side". As before, action is supported with music: "Bards appear and sing in chorus without the orchestra". The characters go to pray for the dead prince Toskar.

Notice that Ozerov, acting both as playwright and stage designer, planned every perspective of Scottish scenery for the audience. The first view is of a "hall with french windows", with the temple and burial mound only "visible in the distance". In Act II the spectator moves to the second viewpoint, the temple, in order to see the familiar "burial mound and hall of Act I" from the inside. And the last Act is centred around the third scenic point designed by the author, the grim burial mound. This becomes the scene of terrible slaughter, with Moina dying to save her beloved Fingal and her intriguing father Starn stabbing himself. In this way the spectator is both visually and psychologically involved with the Scottish road to Golgotha trod by the characters. The stage design reflects this in the route from the hall to the temple and then to the burial mound, where death triumphs.

Such was the romantic image of Scotland, perceived by Russian audiences in 1805, a land of mystic charm, of fierce and passionate romantic heroes, seas, wild rocks and grim scenery. Along with it there emerged in the Russian mind a certain subconscious feeling of inevitable Scottish doom.

But compare this with the general form of foreign themes in Russian theatre of the period. In the age of Enlightenment there was assumed to be a universal map of knowledge, embracing both the geographical and cultural world, and informed by a universal logic. In this context, Russian theatrical audiences encountered a kaleidoscope of impressions derived from the imaginative and stylistic forms of European Classicism. For example, as early as the 1790s Russian theatre presented scenes of Spain (*Clavigo* by Goethe), England (Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, von Kotzebu's *Indian Family in England*), America (*Lensa, or American Wilderness* by Plavilshchikov). Of special importance were French dramatic connections, both original and translated (i.e. translated from other languages and, in turn, translated material treated as original French)[1].

It is easy to see how the emergence of Scottish themes on the Russian stage contrasted with existing traditions, generating, as they did, a new and romantic

[1] For more detail see: Scherbakova M.N. Music in Russian Drama. 1756 — 1st half of the 19th century. St. P., 1997. P. 51-56.

view of current national ideas. Indeed, when Russian theatre entered the 'Ossianic' age, in the wake of Ozerov's *Fingal*, Romanticism became a fact. Although it was outwardly bound by classicistic canons, *Fingal* actually illustrated a new performance type. Such multiple musical, poetic and choreoplastic (so-called 'mimic') pieces transformed stage action as musical performance. And it was probably this new stage genre, devised by Ozerov, as much as other things, that attracted both stage professionals and the public during the next thirty years or more. Ozerov's tragedy was not the only work with a Scottish theme on the Russian stage in the 1790s and 1800s. Among other works were von Kotzebu's 'dramma' *Edward, or Night of Escape* (1805) and Voltaire's play *The Coffee-house, or Scotswoman*.

An illustration to Ozerov's *Fingal*.
Engraving by A. Ukhtomskii, drawing by I. Ivanov.

The 'dramma' written by von Kotzebu, a late 18th- and early 19th-century German author well known in Russia, at one time resident and intimate member

of Russian Imperial Court circles in the reign of Paul I, heightened the romantic image of Scotland created by Ozerov. The complementary nature of his work was quite in line with Kotzebu's own character as a pragmatist and a born courtier. He transferred a general romantic interest in Scotland to the sphere of particular historical and political concerns in contemporary Scotland. The events of his 'tearful' 'dramma' were associated with claims for the Scottish throne. The characters are "Edward or Charles, grandson of James II", the compassionate "Malvina MacDonald" and Lord Atol's family. This was probably the moment when Russian theatre and its public were first introduced to real Scottish names and places ("the action takes place on a small island in southern Scotland", etc.), as well as to aspects of English-Scottish politics. Thus, officer Argyll mentions 10.000 Scotsmen fighting for Stuart against England, and the main character maintains with fervour: "If only I had won at Culloden, I would have ruled England", etc. Yet Kotzebu's general ideology and imagery are similar to Ozerov's: prevalent faith in better times for Scotland whose "wild scenic charms would win a loving heart", "plunging it into sweet melancholy oblivion"[1], etc.

Then in 1806 another scene of Scotland appeared in Saint Petersburg: "a comedy in 5 acts" by Voltaire, *The Coffee-house, or Scotswoman*, translated from the French[2]. Among the characters is a certain "visitor from Scotland", Montrose, a "Scotswoman Lindana" and her servant girl Polly. The simple plot involves the suffering father (Montrose) eventually finding his daughter (Lindana), clearly distinguishing the characters sympathetic to the "hapless exiles" from Scotland and their opponents. Some episodes made Russian spectators both sympathize and, involuntarily, analyse causes of social injustice, as when Montrose soliloquises: "A young girl taken in custody only because suspected for Scottish and lonely".

The Ossianic age, which began with the performance of Ozerov's *Fingal* in 1805, was actively integrated into the romantic period of Russian stage history during the first half of the 19th century. Two decades later in 1824, Fingal, with his love and suffering, acquired a new literary and stage image in a play written by a leading light of Russian theatre, A. Shakhovskoy: *Fingal and Rosecrana, or Caledonian Ways*"[3]. This "dramatic poem in free verse", also "starting from the tales of Ossian", once more enabled the audience to experience the romantic

[1] Aug. von Kotzebu. Edward in Scotland, or Night of Escape. Dramma. M., 1805. P. 4, 18, 43, 8-9.

[2] Voltaire. The Coffee-house, or Scotswoman. Manuscript copy of stage version (Saint-Petersburg State Theatre Library, ORRK).

[3] Shakhovskoy A. Fingal and Rosecrana, or Caledonian Ways. Manuscript copy of the stage version (Saint-Petersburg State Theatre Library, ORRK). A fragment was published in *Drama Almanac for Theatre Loving Gentlemen and Ladies published for 1828*. St. P., 1828.

passions of violent Scots. This new Ossianic mixture again presented an appealing image of Scotland as a land of romantic Highlanders, in a stage play "with songs, choral pieces, fights, Morvenic customs and splendid performance".

Enthusiasm for Ossian extended until the 20th century, as interpretations of the literary myth emerged as a specific theme in Russian theatrical culture. Among the more interesting examples of the Fingal theme at the turn of the 20th century, is the 'tragic opera' of Iu.V. Kurdiumov, entitled *Fingal's Bride* (1913)[1]. Typically, for this moment of theatrical evolution, the work focuses both on the legendary Ossian and on his Russian advocate playwright, V.A. Ozerov. Kurdiumov, rather than quoting the legendary Ossian, draws on "the plot and a few verses from the three-act tragedy *Fingal*".

Whether the Russian reading and theatre-going public of the late 18th- and early 19th century gained any realistic knowledge of Scotland as a land of unique national culture and history is highly doubtful. However, the fine poetic image so happily emerging on the Russian stage certainly influenced the contemporaries of Ozerov and Shakhovskoy, and this prolonged poetic 'deception' suggests a voluntary illusion, whose loss in the Russian theatre was comparable to lost dreams of beauty.

[1] Fingal's Bride. A tragic opera in 1 act. Music and text by Iu.V. Kurdiumov. St. P., A.N. Lavrov press, 1913.

ADAM SMITH: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE WEALTH OF NATIONS

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In 1976 R.D.C. Black gave a lecture on the subject of 'Smith's Contribution in Historical Perspective'. The lecture was delivered on the occasion of the bicentenary conference held in Glasgow, and published in the same year. Black recalled that his brief was to review the ways in which Smith *as an economist* had been evaluated at various points in history, making the valid, but disturbing, point, that economists had tended to see Smith in the light generated by their own current pre-occupations, in terms of both policy and analysis (1976, p. 62).

I

The two pillars of Smith's success may be represented by his contribution to economic analysis and the advocacy of free trade. Richard Teichgraeber has

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noted in this connection that there is 'no evidence to suggest that many people explored his arguments with great care before the first two decades of the nineteenth century' (1987, p. 339).

Black's judicious conclusion is also perceptive, suggesting that for Smith's early nineteenth century successors, the WN was 'not so much a classical monument to be inspected, but as a structure to be examined and improved where necessary' (op. cit., p. 44).

Black quoted Lord Robbins to this effect: 'There is a vast extent of analysis and prescription which the generation of Malthus and Ricardo more or less take for granted, the essential work having been done by Hume and Smith; and a great deal of what they do themselves is to be regarded, not as a series of propositions thought out in a void, but rather as an attempt to correct and improve propositions and explanations which are already to be found in the *Wealth of Nations* (Black, p. 44; Robbins (1958), p. 233).

Equally the authors of the new orthodoxy were able to identify important criticisms of specific areas of analysis, such as the theories of value, interest, rent and population; criticisms which resulted in *models* of the economy which represented it in terms of a series of (short-run) self-regulating mechanisms and of a theory of growth; a theory which W.J. Baumol (and others) were able to translate into mathematical terms (1962).

But if Smith's successors found merit in the great 'principia', the deficiencies, which were identified in the treatment of particular topics, led to a rising tide of criticism. Interestingly, one focal point of criticism was *macro*-economic in character, in that Malthus, Lauderdale and Sismondi all drew attention to the importance of the distribution of income as it affected consumption and savings and thus the performance of the economy. The theme was continued in J.S. Mill's troubled *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (1844).

The concern with the distribution of income and its effect on the contrast between the power to produce and the power to consume is of course very much the province of that other great classical economist, Karl Marx. But if it is correct to state that Lauderdale and Sismondi *challenged* Smith's authority, that cannot be said of Marx.

At the time that Marx was about to publish *Capital*, with its attendant emphasis on impending crisis, technical economics in Europe was becoming preoccupied with a *mathematical* revolution — the Marginal Revolution. In England this was announced in a famous paper written by W.S. Jevons and confirmed by the preface to his *Theory of Political Economy*, (1871).

'In this work I have attempted to treat Economy as a calculus of Pleasure and Pain, and have sketched out, almost irrespective of previous opinions, the form which the science, as it seems to me, must ultimately take. I have long thought, that as it deals throughout with quantities, it must be a mathematical science in matter if not in language.'

Jevons was attracted by the technique as it applied to the statics of the subject, and especially to the theory of value (op. cit. pp. vii-ix). Appreciation of the potential of the 'new' technique led to a pre-occupation with the analytics of Book I of WN and a negative re-appraisal of its content. Black records Bagehot's opinion that:

> 'although...Adam Smith had the merit of teaching the world that the exchangeable value of commodities is proportioned to the cost of their production, his analysis of that cost was so very defective as to throw that part of Political Economy into great confusion for many years, and as quite to prevent his teaching being used as an authority upon it now' (Black, p. 55).

Even more remarkable to modern eyes was the assessment offered by Edwin Cannan, Smith's distinguished editor, who noted that:

> 'Very little of Adam Smith's scheme of economics has been left standing by subsequent inquirers. No one now holds his theory of value, his account of capital is seen to be hopelessly confused, and his theory of distribution is explained as an ill-assorted union between his own theory of prices and the Physiocrats fanciful Economic Table' (Black, p. 57; Cannan (1926), p. 23; see O'Brien, 1999).

The theme was repeated by Paul Douglas in his paper on Smith's theory of value and distribution; delivered on the occasion of the Chicago conference in 1926.

II

Why then should a modern student of political economy trouble to add, or be recommended to add, Adam Smith to an expanded syllabus and reading list, however philosophically circumscribed? The answer may lie in Smith's concern with *system* in the sense that he (and many others at the time) often sought to provide a coherent and all-embracing account of the social phenomena to be studied.

There is a special aspect to this concept of 'system', duly noted by Black, in adverting to the fact that the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations* should be 'seen afresh as two parts of one system' (op. cit., p. 62), thus reminding at least one of the bicentennial congregations of Smith's wider purpose, while noting that Cliffe Leslie had been among the first to appreciate the point in the previous century (op. cit., p. 53).

Ethics, jurisprudence and economics were certainly subjects which Smith treated as the separate but inter-related parts of a system of the moral or social sciences. The point was clearly made in the concluding sentences of the first edition of TMS and repeated in the advertisement of the sixth edition which was published thirty-one years later. We also have the advantage of knowing that Smith taught his students in a particular order: ethics, jurisprudence and economics. It may well be that he encouraged his students to view aspects of the human predicament through three distinct lenses — with the ultimate object of persuading them to view that predicament through all three lenses at the same time.

If this is true, we may vary the position of the lenses without damage to their quality. For the student of Smith's political economy, the most dramatic part of the early analysis is the treatment of the origins, development, and breakdown, of the feudal state. For Smith this was indeed the 'great revolution'.

The features of what Smith described as the 'great revolution', and the reasons for these features being of interest to the student of political economy, were, for Smith, quite clear.

First, Smith suggests in effect that the economic structure which is consistent with the fourth stage (of commerce) is not to be regarded as a model (although it may be modelled) but as a structure with a history. The historical process suggests the emergence of an economic system with interdependent sectors of activity wherein all goods, services, and factors command a price.

Secondly, he argued that this new structure would feature new forms of activity and sources of wealth; a development which would bring with it a shift in the balance of economic and therefore of political power. The point owed much to David Hume, who noted that in England 'the lower house is the support of our popular government, and all the world acknowledges, that it owed its chief influence and consideration to the increase of commerce, which threw such a balance into the hands of the commons' (Essays, p. 277-8).

Third, Smith confirmed that in the case described there must be a major change in the pattern of dependence and subordination as compared to the feudal period. Since all goods and services command a price, it follows that while the farmer, tradesman or artificer must depend upon his customers, 'though in some measure obliged to them all... he is not absolutely dependent upon any one of them' (WN, III. iv. 12).

Finally it is suggested that the type of institutional structure described will be associated with what Hume described as a particular set of 'customs and manners'. The link here is once again with the analysis of the TMS and man's desire for social approbation.

For Smith, 'power and riches appear... then to be, what they are, enormous and operose machines contrived to produce a few trifling conveniences to the body, consisting of springs the most nice and delicate' (TMS, IV. 1. 8). But Smith continued to emphasise that the pursuit of wealth is related not only to the desire to acquire the means of purchasing 'utilities' but also to the need for status:

> 'From whence, then, arises that emulation which runs through all the different ranks of men, and what are the advantages which we propose by that great purpose of human life which we call bettering our condition? To be observed, to be attended to, to be taken notice of... are all the advantages which we can propose to derive from it' (TMS, I. iii. 2. 1).

Smith also suggested that in the modern economy, men tend to admire not only those who have the capacity to enjoy the trappings of wealth, but also the qualities which contribute to that end.

Smith recognised that the pursuit of wealth and 'place' was a basic human drive which would involve sacrifices which are likely to be supported by the approval of the spectator. The 'habits of economy, industry, discretion, attention and application of thought, are generally supposed to be cultivated from self-interested motives, and at the same time are apprehended to be very praiseworthy qualities, which deserve the esteem and approbation of everybody' (TMS, IV. 2. 8). Smith developed this theme in a passage which was added to the TMS in 1790:

> 'In the steadiness of his industry and frugality, in his steadily sacrificing the ease and enjoyment of the present moment for the probable expectation of the still greater ease and enjoyment of a more distant but more lasting period of time, the prudent man is always both supported and rewarded by the entire approbation of the impartial spectator' (TMS, VI. 1. 11).

But such values are specific to a particular type of culture, (Phillipson, 1983, p. 179, 182; c.f. Dwyer, 1987).

Professor Pocock concludes that:

> 'A crucial step in the emergence of Scottish social theory is, of course, that elusive phenomenon, the advent of the four-stages of history. The progression from hunter to shepherd to farmer to merchant offered not only an account of increasing plenty, but a series of stages of increasing division of labour, bringing about in their turn an increasingly complex organisation of both society and personality' (Pocock, 1983, 242).

Pocock associated these trends with the emergence of what has been described by others as a 'bourgeois' ideology.

III

A Model of Conceptualised Reality

If the *Theory of Moral Sentiment* provides an account of the way in which men erect barriers against their own passions, thus meeting a basic precondition for economic activity, it also provided an account of the psychological judgements on which that activity depends. The historical argument on the other hand explains the origins and nature of the modern state and provides the reader with the means of understanding the essential nature of the exchange economy. For Smith:

> 'the great commerce of every civilised society, is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country... The gains of both are mutual and reciprocal, and the division of labour is in this, as in all other cases, advantageous to all the different persons employed in the various occupations into which it is subdivided' (WN, III. i. 1).

The concept of an economy involving a flow of goods and services, and the appreciation of the importance of intersectoral dependencies, were familiar in the eighteenth century. Such themes are dominant features of the work done, for example, by Sir James Steuart and David Hume. But what is distinctive about Smith's work, at least as compared to his Scottish contemporaries, is the emphasis given to the importance of three distinct factors of production (land, labour, capital) and to the three categories of return (rent, wages, profit) which correspond to them. What is distinctive to the modern eye is the way in which Smith deployed these concepts in providing an account of the flow of goods and services between the sectors involved and between the different socio-economic groups (proprietors of land, capitalists, and wage-labour). The approach is also of interest in that Smith, following the lead of the French Economists, worked in terms of period analysis - the year was typically chosen, so that the working of the economy is examined within a significant time dimension as well as over a series of time periods. Both versions of the argument emphasise the importance of capital, both fixed and circulating.

A Conceptual Analytical System

The 'conceptual' *model* which Smith had in mind when writing the *Wealth of Nations* is instructive and also helps to illustrate the series of separate, but inter-related problems, which economists must address if they are to attain the end which Smith proposed, namely an understanding of the *full range* of problems which have to be encountered. Smith in fact addressed a series of areas of

analysis which began with the problem of value, before proceeding to the discussion of the determinants of price, the allocation of resources between competing uses, and, finally, an analysis of the forces which determine the distribution of income in any one time period and over time.

The analysis offered in the first Book enabled Smith to proceed directly to the treatment of macro-economic issues and especially to a theory of growth which provides one of the dominant features of the work as a whole (c.f. Skinner, 1996, ch. 7). The idea of a single, all-embracing conceptual system, whose parts should be mutually consistent is not an ideal which is so easily attainable in an age where the division of labour has significantly increased the quantity of science through specialisation. But Smith becomes even more informative when we map the content of the 'conceptual (analytical) system' against a model of the economy, which is essentially descriptive.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Smith's vision of the 'economic process', to use Blaug's phrase, lies in the fact that it has a significant time dimension. For example, in dealing with the problems of value in exchange, Smith, following Hutcheson, made due allowance for the fact that the process involves judgements with regard to the utility of the commodities to be received, and the disutility involved in creating the commodities to be exchanged. In the manner of his predecessors, Smith was aware of the distinction between utility (and disutility) anticipated and realised, and, therefore, of the process of adjustment which would take place though time. Jeffrey Young has recently emphasised that the process of exchange may itself be a source of pleasure (utility): (1997, p. 61).

In an argument which bears upon the analysis of the TMS, Smith also noted that choices made by the 'rational' individual may be constrained by the reaction of the spectator of his conduct — a much more complex situation than that which more modern approaches may suggest. Smith makes much of the point in his discussion of Mandeville's 'licentious' doctrine that private vices are public benefits, in suggesting that the gratification of desire is perfectly consistent with observance of the rules of propriety as defined by the 'spectator', i.e. by an external agency. In an interesting variant on this theme, Etzioni has noted the need to recognise 'at least two irreducible sources of valuation or utility; pleasure and morality'. He added that modern utility theory 'does not recognise the distinct standing of morality as a major, distinct, source of valuations and hence as an explanation of 'behaviour' before going on to suggest that his own 'deontological multi-utility model' is closer to Smith (1988, p. 21-4) than other modern approaches.

Smith's theory of price, which allows for a wide range of changes in taste is also distinctive in that it allows for competition *among* and *between* buyers and sellers, while presenting the allocative mechanism as one which involves simultaneous and inter-related adjustments in *both* factor *and* commodity markets.

As befits a writer who was concerned to address the problems of change and adjustment, Smith's position was also distinctive in that he was not directly concerned with the problem of *equilibrium*. For him the 'natural' (supply) price was:

> 'as it were, the central price, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating....whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this center of repose and continuance, they are constantly tending towards it' (WN, I. vii. 15).

The picture was further refined in the sense that Smith introduced into this discussion the doctrine of 'net advantages' (WN, I. x. a. 1). This technical area is familiar to labour economists, but in Smith's case it becomes even more interesting in the sense that it provides a further link with the TMS, and with the discussion of constrained choice. It was Smith's contention that men would only be prepared to embark on professions which attracted the disapprobation of the spectator if they could be suitably compensated (Skinner, 1996, p. 155) in terms of monetary reward.

But perhaps the most intriguing feature of the macro-economic model is to be found in the way in which it was specified. As noted earlier, Smith argued that incomes are generated as a result of productive activity, thus making it possible for commodities to be withdrawn from the 'circulating' capital of society. As he pointed out, the consumption of goods withdrawn from the existing stock may be used up in the present period, or added to the stock reserved for immediate consumption, or used to replace more durable goods which had reached the end of their lives in the current period. In a similar manner, undertakers and merchants may add to their stock of materials, or to their holdings of fixed capital while replacing the plant which had reached the end of its operational life. It is equally obvious that undertakers and merchants may add to, or reduce, their *inventories* in ways which will reflect the changing patterns of demand for consumption and investment goods, and their past and current levels of production.

Smith's emphasis upon the point that different 'goods' have different life-cycles means that the pattern of purchase and replacement may vary continuously as the economy moves through different time periods, and in ways which reflect the various age profiles of particular products as well as the pattern of demand for them. If Smith's model of the 'circular flow' is to be seen as a spiral, rather than a circle, it soon becomes evident that this spiral is likely to expand (and *contract*) through time at variable rates.

It is perhaps this total vision of the complex working of the economy that led Mark Blaug to comment on Smith's sophisticated grasp of the economic *process* and to distinguish this from his contribution to particular *areas* of economic analysis (c.f. Jensen (1984), Jeck (1994), Randive (1984)).

Taking the model(s) as a whole, it is not difficult to see why Smith's successors could find, in his writings, the building blocks of a classical orthodoxy, both static and dynamic (O'Brien, 1975). Nor is it difficult to see why critics of the orthodoxy could find materials which formed the basis of an alternative tradition.

IV

Conclusion

Adam Smith came to be regarded as the 'founding father' (Rothbard, p. 435; Rashid, p. 140), of the discipline of political economy. If this was indeed the classical perception of Smith then the results were to prove unfortunate, not least because the history of the subject was seen to date from 1776. Rothbard has claimed that Smith was believed 'to have created the science of political economy, *de novo*' (op. cit., p. 435). Donald Winch quotes an important passage from J.B. Say, a committed disciple, to the effect that:

> 'whenever the Inquiry into the *Wealth of Nations* is perused with the attention it so well merits, it will be perceived that until the epoch of its publication, the science of political economy did not exist' (Winch, 1994, p. 103).

Scant wonder that Dupont de Nemours, who edited Quesnay's works under the significant title of *The Origin and Progress of a New Science* (1767), should have been moved to protest:

> 'This idea that occurs to you to reject us, and which you do not hid well, my dear Say, does not do away with the fact that you are through the branch of Smith a grandson of Quesnay, a nephew of the great Turgot' (Winch, 1994, p. 103).

The perspective generated real problems.

Hutchison has argued that 'the losses and exclusions which ensued after 1776, with the subsequent transformation of the subject and the rise to dominance of the English classical orthodoxy were immense' (1988, p. 370). One such loss was the Physiocratic concept of the 'circular flow' (to which Smith owed much). The use of the historical or institutional method was a further loss and so too was the concern (shared by Hume and Steuart) with structural unemployment and the model of primitive accumulation. In addition, the classical orthodoxy showed little interest in the problems presented by differential rates of growth in the context of international trade.

Ironically, the new orthodoxy also made it possible to think of economics as a discipline quite separate from ethics and jurisprudence, thus obscuring Smith's true purpose. In referring to the way in which Smith organised this 'system of social science' Hutchison has observed, in a telling passage, that Smith was led as if by an Invisible Hand to promote an end which was no part of this original intention, that of 'establishing political economy as a separate autonomous discipline' (1988, p. 355). A.L. Macfie made a related point in observing that 'It is a paradox of history that the analytics of Book I, in which Smith took his own line, should have eclipsed the philosophical and historical methods in which he so revelled, and which showed his Scots character' (1967, p. 21).

There is another paradox in the sense that it was a Marxist historian, the late R.L. Meek, who did much (while not alone) to emphasise the importance of the Scottish Contribution to a materialist interpretation of history (Skinner, 1996, ch. 4), which was intended to be seen as an integral part of the study of political economy.

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ШОТЛАНДСКИЕ КНИЖНЫЕ СОБРАНИЯ В ФОНДАХ БИБЛИОТЕКИ РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК

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SCOTTISH BOOK COLLECTIONS AT THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES LIBRARY

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Abstract

The Russian Academy of Sciences Library (BAN) is remarkable as the oldest research library in Russia, founded in 1714, and one of the largest book collections in the Russian Federation. BAN was founded by Peter the Great in 1714, based on three extant collections: *Aptekarskii prikaz* (the Apothecary Chancellery, transferred from Moscow in 1712), the library of the Dukes of Courland (given to the Library as a gift of future Empress Anna Ioannovna, d. 1740), and the Gotthorp library. Readers were first served in 1718, making BAN the first and (until 1814, when the Imperial Public Library opened, the only) public li-

brary in Russia. At first BAN included some 2000 items, by 1725 it included some 10,000 volumes, and in this year it was joined to the newly-established Academy of Sciences.

A Scot Dr. Robert Erskine (Areskin, 1677–1718) became the first director of the Library. He nominated his secretary, Master of philosophy, I.D. Schumacher, German by birth, for organization of Library's books. In that way, representatives of different European countries organized work in the Library. A lot of foreigners, among them Scots, served in the Russian army by Peter I the Great (1682–1725). One can remember names of general John Patrick Gordon (1635–1699), who took part in Azov campaign of the Russian tsar, and personal physician of Peter I, above-mentioned Robert Areskin. The library of the latter was one of the largest private scholarly collections of that time — at about 4000 volumes. This collection was bought by the Library by order of Peter I in 1718. Areskin was a real bibliophile and collected all rare books he could acquire. In the same year the Library acquired Archibald Pitcairn's collection (approximately 2000 vol.). Pitcairn was a Scot physician and philosopher, who collected mainly classical literature. He never visited Russia, and his library was bought abroad. One more collection belonged to Jacob Bruce (*Jakov Vilimovich Brius*, 1670–1735), a son of William Bruce, an immigrant from Scotland. Jacob Bruce studied mathematics and astronomy in England. He was a general for Peter the Great. His library was transferred to the Library in 1735–1737. This collection consists of more than 1500 books on mathematics, astronomy, medicine and other disciplines.

Areskin and Bruce marked their books with special book-plates. Besides, a lot of Areskin's books have a distinguishing red leather binding, as they were bound specially for him. As for Pitcairn's collection, his books, unfortunately, have no special bookplates. We can distinguish them only by not numerous presentations to Pitcairn and by using a checklist of the collection. It was compiled in the 1730s. In the same time checklists were compiled for Areskin and Bruce's collections. Not all of mentioned collections have a scholar description. Description of the Bruce's library[1] was published in 1989. Nowadays books from Pitcairn and Areskin collections in the Russian Academy of Sciences Library are being described by Galina N. Pitul'ko, Head of the Division for Rare books of the Rare books Department, and research associate Anastasia A. Romanova.

In 1829, a part of Academician collection (some 4000 volumes, among them books from Areskin's, Bruce's and Pitcairn's collections) was donated to the Helsinki University by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Several Bruce's and Areskin's books are now in the library of Moscow University and the Mining Institute. An annotated catalogue *Collections donated by the Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg to the Alexander University of Finland in 1829* was compiled in 1980s by a research associate of the Russian Academy of Sciences Irina Lebedeva and Helsinki librarian Sirkka Havu (published in 1997). Unfortunately,

[1] Biblioteka Ya. V. Briusa. Sostavitel' E. A. Savelieva.

compilers did not recognize Pitcairn's books among other books donated to the Helsinki University.

The further research of these three collections could give a lot of interesting observations concerning history of Russian-Scottish connections.

В истории государственных библиотек России Библиотеке Академии наук принадлежит особое место. Она является родоначальницей всех учреждений подобного рода в нашей стране и одним из первых институтов открытой в 1725 г. петербургской императорской Академии наук.

Начало первой общедоступной библиотеки в Петербурге было положено в 1714 г., когда в Летний дворец Петра I были свезены три крупных книжных собрания: библиотека Аптекарского приказа, Готторпская библиотека и часть библиотеки герцогов Курляндских. Общее число книг в первом фонде было примерно 2000 единиц. Для их разбора и организации каталога первым директором библиотеки главой Аптекарской канцелярии выходцем из Шотландии Р.К. Арескиным был назначен его секретарь Эльзасский немец магистр философии И.Д. Шумахер. Таким образом, уже у истоков нашей библиотеки стояли выходцы из разных стран Европы.

В первые десятилетия XVIII в. иначе не могло быть, поскольку Петр Великий, заинтересованный в развитии наук, и, прежде всего, прикладных наук, должен был создать в России национальный коллектив ученых, используя при этом все накопившиеся в Западной Европе научные открытия и достижения. Во время Великого посольства, после посещения Голландии, чтобы научиться там искусству мореплавания и судостроения, Петр, не получив удовлетворения от Голландской судостроительной науки, отправился в Англию. О состоянии в этом государстве судоходства ему было известно уже потому, что одним из его приближенных генералов был знаменитый участник азовских походов шотландец Патрик Гордон, а другой выходец из Шотландии будущий граф Я.В. Брюс сопровождал его во время Великого посольства и был оставлен в Англии для получения математического образования.

Связи будущего императора с Англией в целом и с Шотландией, в частности, не прекратились и после возвращения посольства в Россию. Исторически так сложилось, что ряд видных государственных деятелей России XVIII в. вел свое происхождение из Шотландии. Это уже упомянутые Джон Патрик Гордон (1635-1699), принимавший участие в азовских походах Петра I, лейб-медик царя, библиофил и ученый Р.К. Арескин (16...–1718), собравший одну из самых крупных библиотек того времени, пони-

мавший толк в хорошей книге, и названный выше Я.В. Брюс, потомок шотландских королей.

Необходимо отметить, что уже в первые десятилетия своего существования будущая Библиотека Академии наук, тогда Библиотека Его Величества — полуофициальное название нашего учреждения в то время, — сохраняла в своих фондах три крупных для того времени книжных собрания, имевших непосредственное отношение к Шотландии. Эти библиотеки возникли на рубеже XVII–XVIII вв. и были в общем и целом типичными для Западной Европы и совершенно необычными для России начала XVIII в. В 1718 г. по распоряжению Петра Великого для петербургской Библиотеки Его Величества было куплено собрание книг крупного шотландского ученого медика, философа, историка Арчибальда Питкарна, насчитывающее около 2000 томов. Знаток греческой и римской классической литературы Питкарн собирал также и книги по своей главной специальности — медицине. Кроме того, в его библиотеке были в большом числе сочинения его современников — английских ученых конца XVII — начала XVIII вв. Ни собственного экслибриса, ни владельческого переплета книги Питкарна не имеют. Их можно определить либо по дарственным записям, которых сравнительно немного, либо по описи, составленной в 30-х гг. XVIII в. и хранящейся в Архиве Академии наук. Определение книг по описям всегда проводится с большой долей вероятия, поскольку подобные экземпляры могли быть и в других книжных собраниях, поступавших в БАН на всем протяжении ее существования. Однако ни в одной другой частной библиотеке, составившей фонды БАН не было такого числа памятников классической литературы древности. Библиотека А. Питкарна до настоящего времени является одним из крупнейших заграничных приобретений.

Вторым по времени поступления в фонды Библиотеки Его Величества является книжное собрание первого ее начальника, лейб-медика Петра Великого Р.К. Арескина. Оно было куплена вместе с кабинетом редкостей после его смерти в 1718 г.

Глава Аптекарского приказа уроженец Шотландии доктор Роберт Карл (или Роберт Карлович) Арескин был принят на русскую службу в 1700 году. В 1713 г. был произведен в лейб-медики, а в 1716 г. назначен архиатром и президентом Медицинской коллегии. О том, как Петр оценивал его заслуги свидетельствует отношение царя к его завещанию и то церемониальное погребение, которое ему было устроено в Петербурге по распоряжению Петра.

До настоящего времени никто не занимался серьезно биографией первого лейб-медика его царского величества. Роберт Арескин происходил из

благородной Шотландской фамилии. Он получил образование в Эдинбургском университете, затем в Париже под наблюдением хирурга Г.Ж. Верне, после — в Утрехтском университете в Голландии, где после защиты в 1700 году получил степень доктора философии и медицины, что само по себе свидетельствует о его научных успехах. За его знания и достижения в науках Британское Королевское Общество избрало его своим членом, каковая честь оказывалась в то время весьма немногим. По прибытии в Россию он был сначала врачом у князя А.Д. Меншикова. По его рекомендации Петр I в 1707 году назначил Арескина главой Аптекарского приказа. Многие из современников, знавшие Арескина лично, в частности, англичанин Джон Перри и племянник П. Гордона Александр Гордон, называют его благоразумным, обходительным, прямодушным и благовоспитанным человеком. Поэтому и не удивительно, что Петр I, умевший ценить истинные заслуги, поручал ему не только почетные должности, но главным образом те, которые требовали особых знаний. Таким и явилась новая для России должность начальника Библиотеки и Кунсткамеры, которую он занял в 1714 г. После смерти личного врача Петра I доктора Донеля в 1713 г. Арескин был произведен в лейб-медики его величества, а в 1716 г. получил чин императорского советника, архиатра и президента Медицинской коллегии России.

Будучи лейб-медиком Петра Великого, Арескин сопровождал его в 1716–1717 в путешествиях по Германии, Голландии и Франции. Именно Арескин объявил на заседании Парижской Академии о желании Петра I стать ее членом. Об ученых познаниях Арескина свидетельствует его библиотека, состоявшая из 4200 издательских единиц, и большой кабинет раковин и минералов. Оба собрания в последствии поступили в Петербургскую Библиотеку и Кунсткамеру, главой которой он был с момента ее возникновения в Петербурге. После смерти Арескина эту должность занял доктор Блюментрост, впоследствии первый президент Петербургской Академии наук.

Арескин умер в конце 1718 г. в Олонце. Свидетелем завещания был полковник артиллерии и Олонецкий комендант Георг Вильгельм фон Гекинг. По своему завещанию Арескин отказал свое имение Габшель со всеми крестьянами старшей дочери Петра принцессе Анне. Находившиеся в Англии деньги отдал матери и сестрам, им же должны были перейти деньги от продажи Петербургского дома и библиотеки. Находившиеся при нем в Петербурге деньги и имущество он передал на благотворительные нужды. Деньги, полученные от продажи кабинета редкостей, просил отослать

в госпиталь для бедных в Эдинбурге. Ценя заслуги Арескина, Петр Первый повелел похоронить его в только что основанном Невском монастыре.

Библиотека Арескина для России начала XVIII в. представляет собой явление уникальное — в ней находилось такое количество редкостей, как ни в одной другой современной ей библиотеке России. Арескин имел и собственный экслибрис — один из ранних книжных знаков России, — представлявший собой родовой герб Арескина. Кроме того, с 1716 (время поступления в Библиотеку Его Величества переплетчика Х. Битнера) по 1718 г. все книги Арескина либо были переплетены в характерный красный переплет с шифром систематической расстановки на корешке, либо получили наклейку на корешок с указанным шифром.

Арескин — первый библиофил в России, который буквально не мог пройти мимо понравившейся ему книги. Причем его никоим образом не останавливало то, что книга предназначалась для фондов вверенной ему библиотеки. Например, часть книг из Аптекарского приказа осела в собрании лейб-медика и попала в Библиотеку Его Величества уже после смерти ее владельца. Об этом свидетельствуют красные кожаные наклейки на корешках, иногда закрывающие весь корешок, иногда только его верхнюю часть, которые имеются на книгах, имеющих все характерные признаки принадлежности к другому частному или государственному собранию. Подтверждением тому служат полистные записи на первых листах, свидетельствующие о происхождении книги, а иногда и сохранившаяся наклейка на верхней крышке переплета с указанием: “Из аптеки”. К таким книгам относятся сочинения Клавдия Галена, конволют из 3-х аллигатов с сочинениями Абубетра, Диоскорида, И. Кардано и И. Лоницера и многие другие.

Особый интерес представляет сочинение Дельрио. Книга имеет переплет коричневой кожи с тиснеными золотом лилиями и монограммами Людовика XIV под коронами. На обеих крышках вытиснен суперэкслибрис герб французского короля. На корешке наклейка из красной кожи (работы Битнера) с шифром библиотеки Арескина. Сохранились половины форзацев из бумаги “павлинье перо”, прикрепленные к крышкам. О принадлежности к библиотеке Аптекарского приказа свидетельствуют остатки наклейки на русском языке на верхней крышке. На титульном листе имеются пометы, в том числе первоначальный штамп Академической библиотеки. Однако судьба распорядилась так, что после смерти Арескина эта книга, как и многие другие, снова вернулись в ту библиотеку, для которой она ранее предназначалась.

В книжном собрании Аресκина было много изданий, напечатанных в Британии, с которой он до последних дней не терял связи, о чем прямо свидетельствует его завещание.

До конца жизни был связан с Британией и владелец третьего книжного собрания генерал-фельдцейхмейстер Я.В. Брюс. Он был сыном Вилима Брюса, выходца из Шотландии, потомка шотландского короля Роберта Брюса, который приехал в Россию задолго до начала реформ Петра Великого. Я.В. Брюс, большая часть жизни которого прошла рядом с Петром, был человеком энциклопедически образованным. Математическую науку он осваивал в Англии и первым в России воспринял ньютонианскую философию. Одна из крупных научных библиотек начала XVIII в., насчитывающая более полутора тысяч томов, — книжное собрание Якова Вилимовича Брюса после его смерти было взято в Академию наук, минуя прямых наследников. Видимо, по аналогии с библиотекой Аресκина долгое время считали, что свои книги и кабинет редкостей Брюс завещал тому учреждению, с которым он был связан в последние годы. Дело обстояло иначе. Когда известие о смерти Брюса достигло Петербурга, бывший в то время президентом Академии наук барон И.А. Корф, зная его библиотеку и кабинет редкостей и разделяя его увлечение оккультными науками, добился от императрицы Анны Иоанновны распоряжения московскому генерал-губернатору Салтыкову перевезти книги и редкости Брюса из его московского дома в Петербург. Для составления описей в Москву были отправлены служащие Академии наук Тидеман и Аладьин. В декабре 1735 г. книги и коллекция редкостей вместе с составленными описями были перевезены в Академию наук. Книги передавались в библиотеку, а редкости — в Кунсткамеру в течение двух лет, с 1735 по 1737 г.[1]

Соратник Петра I, генерал-фельдцейхмейстер, а в конце жизни генерал-фельдмаршал Я.В. Брюс родился в Москве в 1669 г. Все энциклопедические справочники вплоть до настоящего времени указывают дату его рождения — 1670 г., что не согласуется со сведениями, данными в жалованной грамоте на дворянское достоинство, один из экземпляров которой хранится в рукописном отделе БАН.

[1] Материалы для истории имп. Академии наук. СПб., 1886. Т. 2. С. 257; Татищев В.Н. История Российская. Л., 1968. Т. 7. С. 437, прим. 3; Ерофеева А.Ф.; Синдеев В.Н. Яков Вилимович Брюс (Материалы к биографии) // Материалы и сообщения по фондам отдела рукописной и редкой книги Библиотеки Российской Академии наук. СПб., 1994. С. 211-226.; Савельева Е.А. Библиотека Я.В. Брюса в собрании БАН СССР // Русские библиотеки и их читатель (Из истории русской культуры эпохи феодализма) / Под ред. Б.Б. Пиотровского и С.П. Луппова. Л.: Наука, 1983. С. 123-134.

Вскоре после рождения Я.В. Брюса семья переехала на место службы его отца Вилима Брюса в Псков. Вилим Брюс покинул родину около 1647 года в связи с приходом к власти Кромвеля и вскоре обосновался в России. Своим детям Якову (Якобу Даниелю) и Роману (Роберту) он дал хорошее образование и, безусловно, обучил их английскому и шотландскому языкам. Знание этих языков в России конца XVII — начала XVIII в., да и в более позднее время, было большой редкостью. В 1683 г. Якоб и Роман поступили в потешные войска царевича Петра. С этого времени их судьбы тесно переплелись с судьбами Петра и России. Я.В. Брюс принимал участие в Крымском и Азовском походах русского войска, входил в состав "Великого посольства" 1697-1698 гг.[1]

В январе 1698 г. русское посольство во главе с Петром I прибыло из Голландии в Англию. В его задачи входило намерение завязать связи с английскими учеными, главным образом с математиками и астрономами, которые могли содействовать заведению морского флота в России, и склонить их к переезду в эту страну. Выполняя роль переводчика (толмача) при посольстве, Брюс должен был вести переговоры с этими учеными[2]. Когда в апреле того же года Петр вместе с посольством покинул Англию, Брюс остался там и по повелению царя обучался точным наукам и практическому их применению, в частности, изготовлению астрономических приборов. Первыми учителями Брюса были математики Джон Колсон, в доме которого он жил, и астрономы Джон Флемстид и Эдмунд Галлей. Здесь же в Англии Брюс впервые познакомился с законом всемирного тяготения, открытым И. Ньютоном, и стал его верным последователем. По словам одного англичанина, побывавшего в России до 1715 г., именно благодаря Брюсу в Москве в то время уже рассуждали "о новой системе вселенной, которую изобрел сэр Исаак Ньютон"[3].

Возвратившись на родину в 1699 г., Брюс по повелению Петра I принял участие в организации в Москве "Навигацкой школы", которая расположилась в Сухаревой башне, где размещалась также первая русская астрономическая обсерватория[4]. Занимая должность генерал-фельдцейхмейсте-

[1] Луппов С.П. Библиотека Я. В. Брюса. С. 249-250; Советская историческая энциклопедия. М., 1964, Т. 2. С. 775; Бантыш-Каменский Д.Н. Биографии российских генералиссимусов и генерал-фельдмаршалов. СПб., 1840. Ч. 1. С. 147-148; Пекарский П.П. Наука и литература в России при Петре Великом. СПб., 1862. Т. 1. С. 290-291.

[2] Андреев А.И. Петр I в Англии в 1698 г. // Петр Великий. М.; Л., 1947. С. 70-71; Босс В. Ньютон в России // Вопросы истории естествознания и техники. 1973. Вып. 3 (44). С. 1-32.

[3] Босс В. Ньютон в России. С. 32; Boss V. Newton and Russia. The Early Influences. 1698-1798. Cambridge, 1972. P. 68-69.

[4] Ченакал С.А. Очерки по истории русской астрономии. М.,1951. С. 68-69.

ра русских войск, уже в 1701 г. Брюс вынужден был отказаться от руководства школой, так как должен был выступить в поход против шведов к городу Нарве. В обсерватории же он продолжал вести наблюдения, когда возвращался в Москву.

Я.В. Брюс был не только ученым-астрономом, он командовал артиллерией и при Нарве, и в Полтавском сражении, участвовал в Прутском походе, переводил книги для Московской и Петербургской типографий. В 1717 году он стал сенатором и президентом Берг- и Мануфактур-коллегии. Брюс обладал незаурядными дипломатическими способностями, которые Петр I неоднократно использовал. Брюс вел переговоры о заключении мира со Швецией на Аландском конгрессе. Позже, в августе 1721 г., вместе с А.И Остерманном он добился выгодного для России Ништадтского мира. До поездки в Ништадт феврале того же года Брюс получил графское достоинство и собственный герб с орденской лентой Андрея Первозванного. Из родового герба шотландских баронов Брюсов он сохранил только девиз “Fuimus”, т. е. “Мы были”. Фигуры, поддерживающие щит герба, взяты из английской геральдики. Это английский Лев и шотландский Единорог[1].

После смерти Петра I Брюс, не желая участвовать в спорах за верховную власть в стране, вышел в отставку в звании генерала-фельдмаршала и удалился в свое подмосковное имение Глинки. Здесь он почти все свое время посвятил научным занятиям — изучению физики, химии, метеорологии и, конечно, астрономии. Он разработал проект собственного дома в Глинках и предусмотрел в нем астрономическую обсерваторию, оборудованную по новейшим достижениям европейской науки, поскольку поддерживал связи с учеными, особенно с английскими физиками и астрономами[2]. После смерти Брюса в 1735 г. обсерватория прекратила свое существование и была перестроена. Дом сохранился до настоящего времени, правда в перестроенном виде. Во времена Брюса он имел мезонин с двумя террасами, на одной из которых и была оборудована обсерватория. Позднее он был перестроен, и террасы были переделаны в обычные комнаты третьего этажа.

Наиболее важным для науки в России в научной и просветительской деятельности Брюса является тот период, когда он непосредственно принимал участие в событиях русской жизни (с 1697 по 1725 гг.) Будучи в со-

[1] Фейгина С.А. Аландский конгресс: Внешняя политика России в конце Северной войны. М., 1959. С. 200; Брикнер А.Г. История Петра Великого. СПб., 1882. С. 545, 551.

[2] Ченакал В.Л. Очерки по истории русской астрономии. С. 78-79; Бантыш-Каменский Д.Н. Деяния знаменитых полководцев и министров, служивших в царствование Петра Великого. 2-е изд. М., 1821. С. 219.

ставе “Великого посольства”, Брюс завязал научные знакомства в Голландии, но особенно важными для него оказались связи с Англией и Шотландией, их он сохранил до конца своих дней. Об этом говорит наличие в его библиотеке многочисленных издания трудов английских ученых, опубликованных вплоть до 1733 г., в том числе сочинения И. Ньютона. Но точные науки и прикладная медицина необходимая в то время, не составляли единственный круг интересов Брюса.

С 1705 г. Брюс по распоряжению Петра I надзирал за московский типографией В. Киприанова. В его обязанности входило редактирование изданий, выпускаемых этой типографией, регулярная публикация “Календарей, или месяцесловов” на каждый год, перевод, редактирование и сочинение книг по различным областям науки. В то время он написал и напечатал три книги “О превращении фигур плоских во иные такова же содержания” (М., 1708), “Лексикон русско-голландский и голландско-русский” (М., 1717), “Юности честное зерцало” (первое издание вышло в Москве в 1717 г.) в соавторстве с Гавриилом Бужинским и переводчиком И.В. Паузе[1].

Оба лексикона были составлены для работы над переводом книги Вилима Севела “Искусство нидерландского языка” (СПб., 1717), которую Брюс в это время переводил с голландского языка. Книга не была его первым переводческим опытом. В переписке Брюса с Петром I и другими государственными деятелями неоднократно сообщается, что во время военных походов Брюс занимался переводами или редактированием переводов книг, необходимых для научных занятий, сделанных иными людьми[2].

Я.В. Брюсу принадлежит честь перевода на русский язык первой книги, напечатанной гражданским шрифтом в Москве в 1708 г. в типографии Василия Киприанова — сочинения Буркхарда фон Пюркенштейна “Геометрия, славенски Землемерие”. Некоторые исследователи даже называли Брюса ее автором. Одна из переведенных им книг “Книга мирозрения, или мнение о небесных глобусах” Х. Гюйгенса (СПб., 1717) получила в официальных кругах название “еретической”, поскольку в ней излагалась гелиоцентрическая система Н. Коперника[3].

Однако и в тех случаях, когда Брюс выступал в роли редактора перевода, ему приходилось многое доделывать самому, а иногда почти целиком переводить книгу заново. Брюс редактировал переводы следующих книг:

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[1] Луппов С.П. 1) Книга в России. С. 187; 2) Библиотека Я.В. Брюса. С. 253; Быкова Т.А., Гуревич М.М. Описание изданий гражданской печати. М.; Л., 1955. № 6, 18, 228, 232, 378.

[2] Пекарский П.П. Наука и литература при Петре Великом. Т. 1. С. 292-295.

[3] Луппов С.П. 1) Книга в России. С. 188; 2) Библиотека Я.В. Брюса. С. 252-253.

“Новейшее основание и практика артиллерии” Эрнста Брауна (М., 1709); “Новое крепостное строение на мокром или низком горизонте” Минно Кугорна (М., 1709); “Учение и практика артиллерии” Иоганна Зигмунда Бухнера (М., 1711); “Таблицы синусов, тангенсов и секансов” А. Влакка (М., 1716); “Земноводного круга краткое описание” Иоганна Гюбнера (М., 1719)[1]. Для последней книги по распоряжению Петра I Брюс исправил главу о Русском государстве и заменил традиционное для Западной Европы его название “Московия” на новое, принятое в нашей стране “Россия”. К этой же книге он должен был написать совершенно новую главу о России, основанную на данных геодезических съемок различных областей Русского государства. Но в то время результаты съемок еще не были получены и глава осталась ненаписанной[2].

Поручение Петра I, относящееся к географии, не было случайным, поскольку Брюс неоднократно применял собственные астрономические наблюдения для практических целей, в частности, для составления календарей. Кроме того, он еще в 1696 г. составил карту части Европейской России к югу от Москвы до черноморского побережья Турции по материалам генерал-майора фон Менгдена[3]. Однако интерес к историко-географическим наукам у Брюса после составления этой карты не пропал. В 1715 г. он представил Петру I записку о пользе и необходимости изучения географии. В то же время он помогал первому русскому историографу В.Н. Татищеву в его занятиях по географии и картоведению, а впоследствии неоднократно указывал ему, где находится необходимый для работы над “Историей Российской” источник по русской истории начального периода[4]. Об этом сообщил Татищев в своей книге: “Будучи в Сенате, Я.В. Брюс говорил, что из-за отсутствия географического описания России и карт Русского государства большой вред приключается”[5].

О занятиях Я.В. Брюса математикой, астрономией, фортификацией, физикой, химией и другими точными и техническими науками и их практическим применением существует достаточно обстоятельная литература, показывающая, что он, как и большинство его ученых современников, был

[1] Быкова Т.А.; Гуревич М.М. Описание изданий гражданской печати. № 22, 24, 51, 220, 336.
[2] Пекарский П.П. Наука и литература при Петре Великом. Т. 1. С. 300.
[3] Гнучева В.Ф. Географический департамент Академии наук XVIII в. М.; Л., 1946. С. 17; прил. II. № 4. Карта была напечатана в Амстердаме в типографии Яна Тессинга, ее подлинник хранится в РО БАН.
[4] Андреев А.И. Труды В.Н. Татищева по географии России. // Татищев В.Н. Избранные труды по географии России. М., 1950. С. 4.
[5] Татищев В.Н. История Российская. Т. 1. С. 88-89.

по своим склонностям энциклопедистом[1]. И его большая библиотека, насчитывающая более 1500 томов, в соответствии с его научными интересами также носила универсальный характер, с явным преобладанием физико-математических и технических книг. Второе место в его собрании занимает литература по медицине, имевшая прикладной характер[2].

Как показали исследования состава библиотеки Брюса, проведенные С.П. Лупповым, это книжное собрание носило рабочий характер и почти не имело случайной литературы. Редки в нем и подносные роскошные экземпляры, не отвечающие научным интересам владельца. Исключение составляют две книги. Первая из них — рукопись на латинском языке "Письма Мартина Шишковского" — была подарена Брюсу бароном Г. Гюйссеном после заключения Ништадтского мира, о чем на книге имеется собственноручная помета барона: "Его сиятельству господину графу Брюсу, генерал-фельдцейхмейстеру, президенту Берг- и Мануфактур-коллегий его царского величества и его полномочному министру на Конгрессе для заключения мира, кавалеру ордена св. Андрея Первозванного"[3].

Вторая книга напечатана в Нюрнберге на немецком языке в 1682 г. Это "Теория и практика артиллерии" И.З. Бухнера. На титульном листе понемецки почерком Брюса написано: "Подарена его царским высочеством наследным принцем. 1704 г. Нарва". Ее Брюс получил от царевича Алексея Петровича, видимо, после победы во второй нарвской битве, состоявшейся в 1704 г.[4] По этому экземпляру Брюс правил русский перевод.

В библиотеке Брюса также почти нет книг на тех языках, которыми он не владел, например, на французском языке[5]. По сохранившимся передаточным описям библиотеки, больше всего в ней было книг на немецком языке — 658 экз. На втором месте была литература на английском язы-

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[1] Ченакал В.Л. Очерки по истории русской астрономии. С. 65-89; Пекарский П.П. Наука и литература при Петре Великом. С. 289-290; Хмыров М. Д. Главные начальники русской артиллерии. 2-й генерал-фельдцейхмейстер граф Яков Вилимович Брюс (1704-1726). // Артиллерийский журнал. 1866. № 2, февраль, отд. неоф. смесь. С. 81-84; Boss V. 1) Newton and Russia. P. 61-77; 2) Russia's first Newtonian: Newton and J. D. Bruce. // Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences. An. 15. № 60-61. P. 233-240.

[2] Луппов С. П. 1) Книга в России. С. 192-203; 2) Библиотека Я.В. Брюса. С. 260-272.

[3] Szyszkowski Martinus. Martini Szyszkowski primum Leuceoriensis, postea Polocensis episcopi... Epistolae an. 1604. 5, 6, 7, 18, 19. Шифр: РО БАН о. № 45.

[4] Buchner J. S. Theoria et praxis artilleriae. Nürnberg, 1682. (Шифр: 5025.f./1756); Мурзанова М.Н. Первые фонды рукописных книг Академической библиотеки. // Исторический очерк и обзор фондов Рукописного отдела Библиотеки академии наук СССР. М.; Л., 1956. Вып. 1. С. 127.

[5] Луппов С.П. Книга в России. С. 195. По данным С.П. Луппова в библиотеке Брюса, насчитывающей более 1500 названий, на французском языке было всего 11 книг.

ке — 308 экз. В меньшем числе были книги на голландском языке — 89 экз. В настоящее время это соотношение изменилось. Если книги на английском языке сохранились почти полностью, поскольку английская книга в России в то время была большой редкостью, то большая часть изданий на немецком языке в составе Академической библиотеки до нашего времени не сохранилась, что объясняется исторически сложившимися традициями. Когда в 1735-1737 гг. библиотека Я.В. Брюса была привезена в Петербург, Академическая канцелярия приняла решение сохранить ее как мемориальную. Но в скором времени книги разошлись по разным фондам — русскому и иностранному, а затем по систематическим разделам Библиотеки. Почти все дублеты, в том числе и большая часть книг на русском языке, попали в книжную лавку и были проданы. Впоследствии следы многих книг отыскиваются в разных учреждениях, основанных в XVIII в., например, в библиотеках Московского университета. Таким образом, уже в самом начале библиотека Брюса потерпела значительный урон. Позднее, после 1727 г., книги из частных библиотек, составлявших первооснову Академической библиотеки, все еще не считались редкими и ценными, поскольку после пожара университетской библиотеки в финском городе Або и основания университета в Хельсинки (тогда Гельсингфорсе) два раздела по “Камерному каталогу” Теология и Юриспруденция, как не профильные для Академии наук, были отправлены в новую университетскую библиотеку. Среди них были и книги Брюса, Питкарна Арескина и др. При составлении каталога первоначальных фондов Академической библиотеки, хранящихся в Хельсинки, было обнаружено около 30 книг Брюса — Арескина[1]. Книги Питкарна, поскольку их определение требует больших усилий, т.к. никакими характерными признаками эта библиотека не обладала, в каталог включены не были.

В собрании Брюса англоязычные книги хронологически охватывают конец XVII — 30-е гг. XVIII в. Он был единственным в России того времени обладателем полного комплекта научного английского журнала “Философские труды”, печатавшегося в Оксфорде и Лондоне, начиная с 1666 г. Последний том этого журнала, указанный в описи Брюса, датируется 1730 г.[2] Из книг, опубликованных в Англии в 20-х–30-х гг. XVIII в., в библиотеке Брюса находились следующие: труд известного голландского ме-

[1] Кукушкина М.В. 1) Редкие книги из частных библиотек и Библиотеки Академии наук в библиотеке Хельсинкского университета // 2-я Всесоюзная конференция “Книга в России до середины XIX в. Читатель. Библиотеки”. Тезисы докладов. Л., 1981. С. 39. 2) То же. // Русские библиотеки и их читатель (Из истории русской культуры эпохи феодализма). С. 22.

[2] Philosophical Transactions. Savoy–London, 1666-1736. Vol. 1-26.

дика Г. Бургаве “Элементы химии”, вышедший в Лондоне в переводе на английский язык[1], “Искусство миниатюры” и “Школа рисунка”, напечатанные в Лондоне в 1732–1733 г. и др.[2] Даже литературные сочинения Брюс предпочитал иметь в своей библиотеке в переводе на английский язык. Для примера можно назвать “Басни” Эзопа и “Дон Кихот” Сервантеса[3]. Из книг о Шотландии у него были “История Шотландии” Дж. Бьюкенена (Лондон, 1690) и иллюстрированный путеводитель Александра Гордона “Северный путеводитель” (Лондон, 1726).

Многие книги носят на себе следы чтения Брюса. На сочинениях по математике, физике, астрономии — это различные математические выкладки, решения задач, расчеты, сделанные для работы над каким-либо инструментом, например, подзорными трубами, оптическими стеклами или зеркалами[4]. Из рецептурных справочников Брюс часто выписывал на форзацы рецепты, которыми он, видимо, пользовался сам. На некоторых книгах имеется просто его редакторская правка.

Если с книгами на иностранных языках в сохранившейся части библиотеки Брюса дело обстоит более или менее благополучно, то судьба книг на русском языке из этого собрания оказалась достаточно печальной. По описям в составе библиотеки числится 38 русских изданий. В настоящее время удалось обнаружить только пять книг, которые можно с уверенностью отнести к этой библиотеке. Две из них напечатаны гражданским шрифтом. Это “Земноводного круга краткое описание” И. Гюбнера (шифр: Р.О. 171. П. I) и “Сокращение математическое” Ч. 1-3. СПб., 1728 Я. Германа и Ж.Н. Делиля (шифр: 1728/8). Три издания напечатаны кириллицей: “Таблицы логарифмов”. М., 1703 (шифр: 3574 сп.), “Торжественные врата” (М., 1703. Шифр: 5957 сп) и двухтомный “Новый завет” на голландском и русском языках. Голландский текст книги напечатан в Гааге, русский — в Санкт-Петербургской типографии в 1717 г. (шифр: 496-4988 сп). В последнем издании в тексте перевода на русский язык имеется редакторская правка Брюса.

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[1] Boerhaave H. A New Method of Chemistry. Transl. ... by P. Shaw M. D. and E. Chambers. London, 1727 (Шифр: 4347.f./4166.R.).

[2] The Art of Drawing and Painting in Water-Colours. 3-e ed. London, 1732.; The School of Miniature. London, 1733 (Шифр: 10860.o./32539-41.R.).

[3] Aesopus. Fables of Aesop. London, 1714. (Шифр: 6571.q./1377.R.); Cervantes de Saavedra M. [The Delightful History of Don Quixot the most Renowned Baron of Mancha. London, 1689] (Шифр: 15431.o./31692.R.).

[4] До настоящего времени в Государственном Эрмитаже сохранилось вогнутое зеркало для отражательного телескопа, на котором имеется надпись: “Зделано собственным тщанием графа Якова Вилимовича Брюса 1733 году августа месяца”. (Ченакал В.Л. Очерки по истории русской астрономии. С. 82-84; Boss V. Russia’s first Newtonian. P. 256-257).

Лучше, чем печатные русские издания, сохранились рукописи, принадлежавшие Брюсу. Из 53 рукописных книг в фондах Библиотеки Академии наук удалось обнаружить 4 русские и 20 иноязычных. Русские рукописи Брюса по содержанию являются историко-лингвистическими. Самой ранней из них является "Степенная книга с добавлениями выписок из хронографов", датируемая третьей четвертью XVII в. (на книге стоит 1672 г.; шифр: 32.8.4). Ею пользовался М.В. Ломоносов при составлении первой печатной исторической книги России "Краткого российского летописца" для изложения событий времени Ивана Калиты[1]. Вторая рукопись — сочинение директора московской типографии "Печатный двор" Федора Поликарпова-Орлова "История о владении российских великих князей вкратце о царствовании десяти российских царей, а наипаче всероссийскаго монарха [тем именем] перваго и его войне против свейскаго короля Карола втораго на десять пространнее описующая" — написана в 1715 г., о чем свидетельствует поставленная в конце текста дата (шифр: Собр. П. I, ч. 2. № 78); третья — "Лексикон латинский с русским толкованием речей" (шифр: 17.5.9). На книге имеется также помета Академической канцелярии. Четвертая книга — "Латино-русский словарь" (шифр: 17.7.42). На трех рукописях, исключая треть, имеются автографы Брюса.

По существующим описям известна также книга под названием "Вокабулы", написанная И. Максимовичем. Она находилась в библиотеке еще в начале 40-х г. XVIII в., о чем свидетельствует запись в русском варианте "Камерного каталога" и помета в его экземпляре, хранящемся в рукописном отделении БАН, соделанная составителем этого каталога Андреем Богдановым. Где она находится в настоящее время, обнаружить не удалось[2].

Из рукописных иностранных книг наиболее интересными являются самая старая и наиболее известная книга в собрании Брюса — список с "Золотой легенды", содержащий жития святых на латинском языке в изложении Якопо де Вараццо или де Варагине (XV в.; шифр: F. N 157); несколько тетрадей математических заметок и решений задач, которые Брюс привез из Англии в 1699 г.; перевод на немецкий язык "Описания рефракции солнца, наблюдаемой в 1695 г." И. Билберга, напечатанного около 1695 г. в Стокгольме параллельно на латинском и шведском языках. Оригинал перевода также находился в библиотеке Брюса; "Описание музея Шпенера" (XVIII в.); "Приказы принца Оранского", также в переводе на немец-

[1] Моисеева Г.Н. Ломоносов и древнерусская литература. Л., 1971. С. 89; Петров В.А. История рукописных фондов Библиотеки Академии наук с 1730 до конца XVIII в./ Исторический очерк и обзор фондов... Вып. 1. С. 207.

[2] Петров В.А. История рукописных фондов... С. 207.

кий язык (XVIII в.). Несколько книг относится к полемике, вызванной на Западе изданием книги Стефана Яворского "Камень веры". Особую ценность представляет латинский вариант жалованной грамоты на графское достоинство, выданной Брюсу в феврале 1721 г. до заключения Нейштатского мира между Россией и Швецией. Интересен также перевод на немецкий язык латинских диссертаций о происхождении славянских народов, в том числе и русского "О происхождении русского народа"[1].

По документам известна еще одна рукопись, принадлежащая Брюсу — "Сборник приветственный Я.В. Брюсу" (XVIII в.). В 1904 г. она была отправлена в Гельсингфорский университет, но, видимо, не вернулась обратно, так как в Библиотеке она отсутствует, и о ее возвращении не сохранилось никаких документов[2].

Принадлежавшие Брюсу рукописные и печатные книги легко определяются по его экслибрисам, являющимся повторением графского герба русских Брюсов и автографам, не только его собственным, но и на русских книгах большей частью библиотекарского помощника Андрея Богданова. Поскольку в графское достоинство Брюс был возведен только в 1721 г., то и экслибрис его не мог появиться ранее этого срока. Таким образом, книги из библиотеки Брюса, вошедшие в передаточные описи, составлявшиеся в Москве в 1735-1736 гг. Аладьиным и Тидеманом по распоряжению президента петербургской Академии наук барона И.-А. Корфа, не могли поступить в Библиотеку никаким иным способом, как только из Академии наук, куда они были перевезены в 1736-1737 гг. Некоторые книги с автографами Брюса экслибрисов не имеют. Но известно, что в 1717 г. Брюс передал ряд своих книг в Библиотеку. Видимо, книги без экслибрисов попали сюда в это время[3].

В настоящее время найдено в Библиотеке Академии наук, Горном институте, Московском университете и в библиотеке Хельсинкского университета около 1000 книг Брюса. Более 800 из них находятся в Библиотеке Академии наук[4]. Известно, что в описи, составленной в Москве довольно большое число чаще английских книг дублировано по два-три раза, что

[1] Лебедева И.Н. Рукописи латинского алфавита XVI–XVII в. Л., 1979. С. 111 (шифр: F N 127), 119 (шифр: F N 104), 121 (шифр: F N 105), 123 (шифр: F N 130); Боброва Е. И. Собрание иностранных рукописей. // Исторический очерк и обзор фондов... Вып. 2. М.; Л., 1958. С. 206 (шифр: Q N 24), 225 (шифр: F N 20), 236 (шифр: F N 130, F N 127), 237 (шифр: F N 103, F N 67), 246 (шифр: F N 132), 253 (шифр: O N 72, O N 73), 256 (шифр: Q N 157, Q N 77, Q N 58).

[2] Копанев А.И.; Петров В.А. Исторический очерк Рукописного отделения Библиотеки Академии наук. // Исторический очерк и обзор фондов... Вып. 2. С. 43.

[3] История Библиотеки Академии наук. С. 17.

[4] Библиотека Я.В. Брюса / Сост. Е.А. Савельева, отв. ред. А.И. Копанев. Л.: БАН, 1989.

может найти свое объяснение в тех условиях, при которых довелось работать служителям Академии наук.

Пометы на книгах Брюса изучались неоднократно, но больший интерес у английского ученого В. Босса вызвали его записи на английских книгах. Босс по переводам в описи заглавий этих книг на русский язык пытался также определить, какие издания в действительности были у Брюса. Эти изыскания английского ученого не всегда удачны, хотя он проделал огромную работу. Иногда оказывается, что под определенным переводом подразумевалась совсем иная книга, нежели это казалось Боссу.

В комплексе изучение помет Брюса помогает определить не только его научные интересы, но и применение им на практике сведений, почерпнутых из имеющейся у него литературы[1].

Если каталог части книжного собрания Брюса уже напечатан и дополнением к нему служит каталог, изданный совместно БАН (И.М. Лебедева) и Научной библиотекой Хельсинкского университета (Сирка Хаву), то книги Арескина и Питкарна еще ждут своего описания. Над книгами Арескина работает сотрудница НИОРК А.А. Романова, а библиотека Питкарна привлекла внимание зав. сектором редкой книги Г.Н. Питулько. Видимо, в скором времени можно будет увидеть и результаты их работы.

[1] См., например, расчеты оптических приборов в вывезенной Брюсом из Англии в 1699 г. книге: Leybourn W. Dialing plain, concave, convex... L., 1682. (Шифр: 5121.f./1911), выписки рецептов на форзацах и вклеенных листах в следующих изданиях: Fuller Th. Pharmacopoeia extemporanea. L., 1714. (Шифр: 11675.q./39252.R.); Quincy J. Parmacopoeia officinalis et extemporanea. L., 1726. (Шифр: 11679.q./39256.R.); Alleye J. A. New English Dispensatory in 4 Parts. L., 1733. (Шифр: 11680.q./39257.R.).

SCOTLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT
Conference Programme

The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities
Hope Park Square, Edinburgh

Friday, 1st September

6.00 p.m.	Reception at The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities
7.00 p.m.	Minibus to St. Cecilia's Hall
7.30 p.m.	Concert at St. Cecilia's
9.00 p.m.	Return to Institute by minibus and buffet supper

Saturday, 2nd September

9.30–10.30 a.m.	**Professor Andrew Skinner**: Adam Smith and his Modern Relevance **Professor Aleksandr Kamenskii**: Adam Smith and Catherine II
10.30	Coffee
11 a.m.–12 noon	**Professor Tatiana Artemieva**: Adam Ferguson's Philosophy in Russia

12.15–1.15 p.m.	**Dr. Elena Savelieva**: Scottish Books and Libraries in the Collections of the Academy of Sciences **Dr. Elinor Shaffer**: The Reception of British Authors in Europe
1.15 p.m.	Lunch
2.30–3.30 p.m.	**Professor Anthony Cross**: John Robison's Contribution to Scoto-Russian Cultural Relations **Dr. Michael Mikeshin**: Scottish-Russian Science and Technology Transfer
3.30 p.m.	Tea
4.00–5.00 p.m.	**Dr. Tatiana Chumakova**: Britain in the Russian Culture: Middle Ages **Professor John Cairns**: John Millar and Legal Education in Scotland
5.15–6.15 p.m.	**Professor Maria Scherbakova**: Ossian on the Russian Theatrical Scene **Professor Cairns Craig**: Sir Walter Scott
6.15 p.m.	Buffet Supper

Sunday, 3rd September

10 a.m.–12 noon	Planning Meeting
12.15 p.m.	Lunch

SCOTLAND AND RUSSIA
IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT
A Concert to inaugurate the International Project

Programme

St. Cecilia's Hall, Cowgate, Edinburgh
Friday 1 September 2000
at 7.30 p.m.
ADMISSION FREE

Anna Poole ***soprano***
Fiona Alexander ***violin***
Christopher Field ***violin***
Kevin McCrae ***cello***
John Kitchen ***harpsichord***
Georgy Mnatsakanian ***violin***
Anna Thompson ***fortepiano***

Anna Poole ***soprano***
Fiona Alexander, Christopher Field ***violins***
Kevin McCrae ***cello***
John Kitchen ***harpsichord***

Two *Airs for the Seasons* — James Oswald (1710-1769)

The Marvel of Peru
(i) Scocese (ii) Comic (iii) Musette

The Night-Shade
(i) Aria (ii) Sostenuto (iii) Hornpipe

Cello Sonata in E flat, Op. 4, no. 4 — Johann Schetky (1737-1824)
(i) Allegro (ii) Largo
(iii) Minuetto: Cantabile

Cantata. *Odo di mesti intorno* (1698) — Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1667-1755)

INTERVAL OF FIVE MINUTES

Georgy Mnatsakanian ***violin***
Anna Thompson ***fortepiano***

Grave from *Violin Concerto* — Jan Benda (1713-1752)

Sonata for violin and keyboard — Maximus Berezovsky (1740-1777)
(i) Allegro (ii) Grave (iii) Minuetto

Adagio from *Sonata for violin and continuo* — Ivan Khandoshkin (1747-1804)

Sonata for violin and keyboard — Frantisek Benda (1709-1786)
(i) Larghetto (ii) Allegro agitato
(iii) Tempo di minuetto, ma un poco allegro

After the concert, St. Cecilia's Hall (left to right):
Prof. Maria Scherbakova, Anna Thompson, Georgy Mnatsakanian, Prof. Peter Jones.