

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE, MORALS AND SELF AS A BACKGROUND TO THE LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY COMPILED AND COMMENTED BY BIRGITT FLOHR

I. INTRODUCTION. There is not much doubt that philosophy in the eighteenth century had an immense influence on the culture of its time. For example, the widely read journal *The Spectator*, edited by Addison and Steele, intended to bring philosophy out of the libraries into the coffee houses, to make philosophy part of the general cultural discourse. This might indicate that a proper understanding of the literature of this era depends on a proper knowledge of the philosophical discussions which constituted part of the intellectual and cultural life. However, the interaction between philosophy and literature is by no means a simple and direct one. Duke Maskell in his essay ‘Locke and Sterne, or Can Philosophy Influence Literature?’, *Essays in Criticism*²³ (1973), 22-40, points out that, although there are certainly congruencies between philosophy and literature, they are not of the kind that permit us to discover ‘in’ a novel or poem the philosophical ideas it is ‘based on’ or ‘influenced by’. For him, literature is not a translation of philosophy into another medium. Therefore, this survey attempts to draw a picture of the full complexity of the interrelation of philosophy and literature, as seen by various researchers in this field. For this it is first of all important to identify the important philosophical texts in the eighteenth century, and to collect interpretations and criticism of them by scholars of philosophy. Hence, the first part of the following bibliography is devoted to this task. As Maskell notes, “Locke in Sterne is not Locke in Locke”, and in order to search for connections we have to know both parties – philosophy and literature – on their own terms. The second part will then survey the literature dealing with such connections. Contrary to Maskell’s criticism, many of these works characterise this connection as one of an influence of philosophy on literature.

This survey concentrates on the philosophy of knowledge, morals and self. Of course, modern philosophical scholarship points out that there was no strict division between these philosophical disciplines and those of politics, aesthetics, economics etc. in the eighteenth century. However, for the purpose of this survey the scope had to be restricted so as to be manageable in the space permitted. On the other hand, the limitation receives some motivation from the eighteenth century itself: Most philosophers in this era started out from moral questions. But most of the philosophers were soon forced to deal with problems of perception and epistemology first, in order to establish some certainty of knowledge on which decisions could be based. This problem occurs because of and is created by an increasing secularisation

of philosophy. In this context, concepts of the self became more and more important as the link which creates a moral person out of the knowledge in the mind.

II. INFLUENTIAL PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Where possible, modern and easy accessible editions have been listed, otherwise I chose editions available in the British Library.

BEATTIE, JAMES (1735-1803)

Works of James Beattie. London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1996. (Contains Beattie's influential and often reprinted *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* from 1770.)

BERKELEY, GEORGE (1685-1753)

Ayers, M.R., ed. *Philosophical Works, including the Works on Vision*, Everyman's University Library. London: Dent, 1975, revised and enlarged 1980. (Selection including Berkeley's important *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* from 1710 and *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* from 1713.)

BOLINGBROKE, HENRY ST JOHN, VISCOUNT (1678-1751)

Mallet, David, ed. *The philosophical works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke*. 5 vols. London: David Mallet, 1754-77. (Contains also works which appeared after Bolingbroke's death, such as *Reflections concerning Innate Moral Principles* from 1752. There also exists a 7 vols edition, 1754-98, in the British Library, the two additional volumes containing letters and correspondence, edited by Gilbert Parke.)

BUTLER, JOSEPH (1692-1752)

Bernard, J.H., ed. *The Works of Bishop Butler*. 2 vols, English Theological Library. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. (With his *Fifteen Sermons* from 1726 and *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* from 1736.)

HARTLEY, DAVID (1705-1757)

Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations. 2 vols. London: [n.p.], 1749. (There exists a facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Theodore L. Huguelet. Gainesvill, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1966.)

HUME, DAVID (1711-1776)

Selby-Bigge, L.A., ed. *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd edn revised by P.H. Nidditch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Selby-Bigge, L.A., ed. *Enquiries concerning the Human Understanding and concerning the Principles of Morals*, 3rd edn revised by P.H. Nidditch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

HUTCHESON, FRANCIS (1694-1746)

An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue. London: [n.p.], 1725. (Reprographic reprint as part of the series *Collected works of Francis Hutcheson*, vol. 1, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971.)

An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations of the Moral Sense. London: [n.p.], 1728. (Reprographic reprint as part of the series *Collected works of Francis Hutcheson*, vol. 2, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971.)

LOCKE, JOHN (1632-1704)

Nidditch, P.H., ed. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979. (Established standard edition among scholars.)

MANDEVILLE, BERNARD (1670-1733)

Kaye, F.B., ed. *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. (Contains a full commentary covering critical, historical and explanatory issues.)

REID, THOMAS (1710-1796)

Lehrer, K., and R.E. Beanblossom, eds. *Thomas Reid's Inquiry and Essays*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1975. (Handy collection with a long and useful introduction by R.E. Beanblossom.)

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, THIRD EARL OF (1671-1713)

The Moralists: A Philosophical Rhapsody. London: John Wyat, 1709. (Published under the name Cooper.)

Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times. 3 vols. London: John Darby, 1711. (Shaftesbury's own collection of most of his earlier works, published under the acronym A.A.C.A.N.A.Æ.C.M.D.C.L.X.X.J. He wrote only one more text which was included in the second edition of the *Characteristicks*, 1714.)

SMITH, ADAM (1723-1790)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments. London: A. Miller, and Edinburgh: A. Kincaid & J. Bell, 1759.

III. SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION. I will concentrate here mostly on the main three philosophers of the eighteenth century, Locke, Berkeley and Hume. Some more general works on eighteenth-century philosophy will also be listed. The selection does not intend to be complete, but tries to give examples covering all the relevant perspectives.

GENERAL WORKS: A good starting point is chapter 3 in James Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1700-1789* (London and New York: Longman, 1986), which offers an overview

on the philosophy of the era. The chapter not only discusses the ‘big three’, but also mentions the main ideas of nowadays less known philosophers such as Butler, Hutcheson, Mandeville, etc. The book also contains a useful bibliography. A classic study is Sir Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* 2 vols, 3rd ed. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1902). Although its main motivation is the history of the deistical controversy, it has a very wide scope including the reflection of philosophical developments in imaginative literature and a thorough exposition of all philosophical tendencies of the period. Another classic work is Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1932). Ernst Cassirer, *The philosophy of the Enlightenment*, translated from the German by Fritz C.A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), is a further celebrated study tracing the ways in which empirical philosophies were generated by critical reflection on the problems created by cultural change. R.W. Harris, *Reason and Nature in the Eighteenth Century, 1714-1780* (London: Blandford Press, 1968), concentrates on the disintegration of the humanist tradition due to new science, empirical philosophy and a new spirit of individualism, studying its cultural consequences. T.A. Roberts, *The Concept of Benevolence: Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Moral Philosophy* (London: Macmillan, 1973), compares the different views on the important moral concept of benevolence held by various philosophers such as Hume, Hutcheson, and Butler. John W. Yolton, *Perception & Reality: A History from Descartes to Kant* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), is concerned with the gap between the outer reality and perception which widens in the eighteenth century and which is reflected in the so-called epistemic shift away from ontology to epistemology in the philosophical works of the time.

PHILOSOPHY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LITERARY CRITICISM: John J. Richetti, *Philosophical Writing: Locke, Berkeley, Hume* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), argues that the work of Locke, Berkeley and Hume is self-consciously concerned with its status as writing and searches for a suitable rhetorical mode. The stylistic features of their texts become an implicit stabilization of the subversive implications and potential subjectivity of their philosophy, while at the same time they are a source of instability and a personalising force within the text. Robert Ginsberg, ed., *The Philosopher as Writer* (Cranbury, NJ, and London: Associated University Presses, 1987), examines dialogue, letters, writings in verse, essays, autobiographies etc. as literary forms of philosophy and argues that the Enlightenment self-consciously explored literary structures in order to find a newness of expression and an appropriate style for empirical thinking. Jules David Law, *The Rhetoric of Empiricism: Language and Perception from Locke to I.A. Richards* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), takes the interesting point of view that in Locke, and subsequently in Berkeley, Burke, etc. empiricism is a complex dialectic of visual and linguistic references, and of literal and figurative significations.

JOHN LOCKE: A good starting point is *The Cambridge Companion to Locke*, edited by Vere Chappell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), providing a systematic survey of Locke’s philosophy and taking into account recent research.

One of the most distinguished experts on Locke is undoubtedly John W. Yolton. His *Locke: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985) links Locke's thoughts on man and person, self as consciousness, mind, ideas, and knowledge together, viewing Locke as initiator of cognitive psychology. He also emphasises the similarities in Locke's approach to epistemological and moral questions. A more classic work is Yolton's *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956). Here he examines the reception of Locke's theory of knowledge in the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century. Yolton argues that Locke's epistemological doctrines had a disturbing effect upon the traditional moral and religious beliefs of his day and constituted the foundation of the important intellectual shifts, e.g. movement of a simple direct form of realism to a complex representative position. In yet another work, *Locke and the Compass of Human Understanding: A Selective Commentary on the 'Essay'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) Yolton holds that the rationalism of the definition of knowledge in book 4 of the *Essay* is inconsistent with the empiricism of the programme for the derivation of ideas in book 2. A resolution is only achieved in the wider context of the last chapter of the *Essay* with its threefold classification of the science which is meant to include "all that can fall within the compass of human understanding". Another work exclusively devoted to Locke's *Essay* is E.J. Lowe, *Locke on Human Understanding* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995). This study differs from other recent accounts by defending certain still unfashionable Lockean views, e.g. on perception, action, and language. One historically interesting account is Edward Tagart's *Locke's Writings and Philosophy Historically Considered* (New York: Garland, 1984, reprint of the 1855 edition) arguing that Locke's work did not contribute to the scepticism of Hume. A detailed examination of Locke's theory of personal identity is offered in Udo Thiel, *Lockes Theorie der personalen Identität* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1983). The last chapter of this work claims that Locke's theory was central to the discussion of identity in the eighteenth century and gives a comprehensive and clear account of this discussion including many less known authors. Finally, a seminal and rigorous reworking of the *Essay* from the perspective of deconstructivist literary criticism is Paul de Man's 'The Epistemology of Metaphor' *The Critical Inquiry* 5 (1978) 13-30, reducing Locke to a "machine of language".

GEORGE BERKELEY: Two of the classic milestones are A.A. Luce *Berkeley and Malebranche: A Study in the Origins of Berkeley's Thought* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) and G.J. Warnock *Berkeley* (London: Penguin Books, 1953). The latter work interprets Berkeley mainly in his relation and reaction to Locke. T.E. Jessop *George Berkeley* (London: Longman's Green, 1959) is an unreserved laudatio on Berkeley's philosophical system. A more modern account on Berkeley acknowledging recent research is David Berman *George Berkeley: Idealism and the Man* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). It looks at all writings of Berkeley, working through them chronologically, taking into account Berkeley's life and Irish context. The focus lies on Berkeley as "homo religious", but the book contains also some information, in particular on writings of Berkeley's contemporaries, which is not easily accessible elsewhere. Berkeley is perhaps more controversially interpreted than most other of the empiricists. An example for this is Berkeley's *Theory*

of Vision. In *Berkley's Theory of Vision: A Critical Examination of Bishop Berkeley's 'Essay towards a New Theory of Vision'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), D.M. Armstrong defends the position that this work is of philosophical importance, fighting against the view that it is mere psychology and hence may be neglected. A few years later, one can already find a much stronger position in Arthur David Ritchie *George Berkeley, a Reappraisal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967). He attempts a consistent view of the sum of Berkeley's work, a novelty at that time, and argues that it is best achieved by taking *Theory of Vision* as the nucleus to which the other works of Berkeley are subordinate. This interpretation of Berkeley in the light of his *Theory of Vision* emphasises Berkeley's realism. Jonathan Dancy *Berkeley: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987) takes the opposite view of interpreting Berkeley's philosophy as idealism, best understood if his claim is taken seriously that realism derives from a mistaken use of abstraction. Berkeley's thoughts on perception are interpreted as subordinate to this claim. Two accounts on Berkeley in his historical setting are Harry McFarland Bracken *The Early Reception of Berkeley's Immaterialism, 1710-1733* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1965) and Gavin Ardley *Berkeley's Renovation of Philosophy* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968). The former argues that, contrary to generally accepted opinion, Berkeley has not been ignored by his contemporaries, and comments on extent, role and character of the collected evidence of early discussions before Andrew Baxter's criticism from 1733. The latter understands Berkeley as a pioneer reformer, and gives a detailed exposition of the character of the intellectual dogmas against which Berkeley and other contemporaries rebelled in various ways.

DAVID HUME: Again, a good starting point is *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, edited by David Fate Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Through time, Hume has been interpreted as a sceptic who brought scepticism to its limits, and as a realist who is fundamentally constructive in proposing a new science of human nature. This book takes a more balanced view acknowledging both sides of Hume. However, Hume is also seen as a philosophical naturalist, e.g. in Berry Stroud *Hume* (London, New York: Routledge, 1977, 1981). Another useful introduction is A.J. Ayer *Hume* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). It is by now accepted opinion that Hume's motivation for his philosophical projects, in particular for his "experimental method of reasoning" is the question of morality. Early accounts for this are Norman Kemp Smith *The Philosophy of David Hume: A Critical Study of its Origins and Central Doctrines* (London: Macmillan, 1941), and Donald G.C. MacNabb *David Hume: His Theory of Knowledge and Morality* ([n.p.]: Hutchinson, 1951). As James Noxon *Hume's Philosophical Development: A Study of his methods* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) points out, moral philosophy of this period is an area of uncertainty. He argues that Hume first believed that experimental psychology would yield a theory of human nature from which solutions to the problems of epistemology, aesthetics, ethics, politics, etc. could be derived. Then, running into difficulties, Hume had to change tactics which according to Noxon accounts for the main differences between Hume's earlier and later works, i.e. between the *Treatise* and the *Enquiries*. The discrepancy between the *Treatise* and Hume's later writings was always puzzling. A classic discussion of this is Anthony H. Basson

David Hume (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1958, 1981) showing that ontology is discarded altogether in the later work. Hume's views on morality are discussed widely and controversially. Stanley Tweyman *Reason and Conduct in Hume and his predecessors* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974) holds that these views are to be understood through the application of Hume's experimental method, his theory of perceptions, and his analysis of reason. Tweyman concentrates on Samuel Clarke and William Wollaston as Hume's rationalist predecessors. David Broiles *The Moral Philosophy of David Hume* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969) attempts to establish that reason is much more important in Hume's arguments on the respective roles of reason and passions in moral decisions than he himself would like to admit. Arguing in a similar direction, Antony Flew *David Hume: Philosopher of Moral Science* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) states that almost all of Hume's conclusions are conditioned by an interlocking set of Cartesian assumptions. David Fate Norton *David Hume: Common-Sense Moralist, Sceptical Metaphysician* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) tries to resolve the contradiction's others see in Hume's work by distinguishing between speculative philosophy such as epistemology and metaphysics, and practical philosophy such as morals. Then, Hume appears as a speculative sceptic in the first realm, but as a moral realist in the second. As Norton argues, Hume himself was aware of this distinction, suggesting different standards of truth: moral truth is governed by sentiment, epistemological is not. Hume's dialogues have been dealt with by many literary critics. W.B. Carnchan, 'The Comic Plot of Hume's Dialogues', *Modern Philology* 85 (1988) 514-522, for example, argues that the dialogues enact a conclusion of Hume's philosophy: the surpassing of scepticism by ordinary experience – conversation and backgammon which enfold interludes of analysis and disputation. David Simpson 'Hume's Intimate Voices and the Method of Dialogue', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 21 (1979) 68-92, points out that dialogue provided Hume with a model of self-interrogation and self-division, the possibility to be both, determinate and indeterminate, and to involve the reader in the production of meaning.

IV. PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE. This section lists some works which are concerned with connections between philosophy and literature.

GENERAL: Frances Deutsch Louis *Swift's Anatomy of Misunderstanding: A Study of Swift's Epistemological Imagination in 'A Tale of a Tub' and 'Gulliver's Travels'* (London: George Prior Publishers, 1981) argues that Swift's texts expose assumptions about what things are knowable and how they can be known, and she examines his vision of understanding and misunderstanding. William Walker 'Pamela and Skepticism', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 16 (1992) 68-85, discusses scepticism as the central issue in Richardson's novel. Walker states that the story describes how an individual becomes sceptic concerning the possibility of knowing others and herself, and then overrides this scepticism. Michael Prince *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment: Theology, Aesthetics, and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) provides a history of philosophical dialogue in the British Enlightenment and demonstrates how unifying and diversifying conceptions of philosophical dialogue come into open conflict during the first half of the eigh-

teenth century. Prince argues that the novel and the aesthetic experience can be seen as responses to the failure of the dialogue to guarantee consensus in reason. In the very recent study *The Age of Reasons: Quixotism, Sentimentalism and Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998) Wendy Motooka takes the failure of reason further. Don Quixote is the parodic example of the eighteenth-century reason and its rational madness. By studying characters from eighteenth-century fictional literature, she collects evidence for quixotism, where the characters appear to be utterly insane while at the same time reproducing the conditions of universal rationality. These characters serve to rethink the supposed opposition between rationalism and sentimentalism.

LOCKE AND LITERATURE: A classical influential study is Kenneth MacLean *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1962). MacLean examines the influence of Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* on eighteenth-century literature and shows how the theories developed by Locke were criticized, adapted and popularized by literary texts. He reads eighteenth-century literature as a direct response to Locke. A similar influence of Locke on eighteenth-century is diagnosed by Ronald Paulson *Satire and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967) who argues that Locke's epistemology posed demands for new procedures for the satirists of the period. In a similar way, Austin Flanders *Structures of Experience: History, Society, and Personal Life in the Eighteenth-Century British Novel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984) regards the eighteenth-century novel as a response to Locke's articulation of empiricism, and Eve Taylor *Skepticism and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (London: Macmillan, 1987) sees Locke's empiricism as a key foundation and determinant of the scepticism at the heart of the eighteenth-century novel. Another kind of influence is proposed by Gabriele Bernhard Jackson 'From Essence to Accident: Locke and the Language of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century', *Criticism* 29 (1987) 27-66. She claims that Locke's work offered a new conception of the human subject which in turn had stylistic implications and affected the manner and the content of eighteenth-century poetry. The influence of Locke on Johnson is discussed in Claudia Johnson 'Samuel Johnson's Moral Psychology and Locke's 'Of Power'', *Studies in English Literature: 1500-1900* 24 (1984) 563-582, who notes that Locke's theory of moral psychology informed Johnson's thought as a moralist. She hopes to undermine the view of Locke as a threatening sceptic by the demonstration of Johnson's acceptance of Locke. A 'goldmine' for the literary critic looking for connections to Locke is the work of Laurence Sterne. Helen Moglen *The Philosophical Irony of Laurence Sterne* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975) states that Sterne's themes, his technique, perhaps even his motivation for writing *Tristram Shandy*, came from a reading of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. In her view, Sterne is mostly interested in the dilemma of a man trapped by the limitations of his perception, understanding, and environment, searching for the unconditioned absolute truth of pure reason. And it is this dilemma which Sterne diagnosed in Locke. Mark Loveridge *Laurence Sterne and the Argument about Design* (London: Macmillan, 1982) points to the ambiguity of Locke's presentation in *Tristram Shandy*. He notes that Locke appears to be referred to approvingly

in Volume II where this approval is qualified by a comparison between Locke and Toby, while Locke seems to be ridiculed in Volume III, although for opinions he did not hold himself. A recent evaluation of Locke can be found in William Walker *Locke, Literary Criticism and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) who offers a reinterpretation of Locke's *Essay*. By examining the principle figurative representations of mind in Locke's epistemological writing, he concludes that there is no single coherent empiricist representation of mind or self to be found in Locke, and that this coherence and consistency is provided by readings of the *Essay*. He rejects such works on Locke's influence on literature which are based on such a construction of coherence as "a crude perception of a central document of empiricism".

HUME AND LITERATURE: Sterne does not only prove to be an author influenced by Locke, but also by Hume. Frances Doherty 'Sterne and Hume: A Bicentenary Essay', *Essays and Studies* 22 (1969) 71-87, wants to qualify the proposition that Sterne was simply Locke's disciple. In her opinion, Sterne's sense of man's ignorance is much closer to Hume. Like Hume, Sterne demonstrates the limited place reason has in human action. The sense of bewilderment and riddle which is produced by Sterne's work is seen as related to Hume's attitude that our understanding is not the source of any certainty. Doherty admits that the scepticism of both men grew out of Locke, but she stresses that the end result in Sterne is not Lockean. A similar opinion is held by Arnold E. Davidson 'Locke, Hume, and Hobby Horses in *Tristram Shandy*', *International Fiction Review* 8 (1981) 17-21. He argues that Hume's thought more than Locke's pervades the novel, especially concerning Hume's concept of the association of ideas by habit and not by a rational process. This theory of non-rational association is implicit in *Tristram Shandy*. Connections between Johnson and Hume are seen by Donald T. Siebert, Jr 'Johnson and Hume on Miracles', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36 (1975) 543-547, and Adam Potkay 'The Spirit of Ending in Johnson and Hume', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 16 (1992) 153-166. The former wants to show that Johnson must have found much of Hume's *Enquiry* stimulating and useful, and traces Hume's influence in Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. The latter proposes that Johnson's *Rasselas* and Hume's essay *Of the Immortality of the Soul* do not only address the same philosophical questions, but also avoid making authoritative statements. Both texts are seen as dialogic and as entertaining a vision of contraries where the reader is supposed to draw his own conclusion. A connection between Hume and Fielding is examined in Sabine Nathan 'Hume's Auffassung von Moral und Fielding's *Amelia*', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 28 (1980) 219-225, where it is stated that Hume's theory of morality agrees with contents, conflicts, and character depiction in the novels of Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, and Goldsmith. In accordance with this opinion, Tom Keymer 'Smollett's Scotlands: Culture, Politics, and Nationhood in *Humphrey Clinker* and Defoe's *Tour*', *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995), calls *Humphrey Clinker* a sceptical novel which reflects the imperfect conditions of knowledge by pointing to the relativity of perception against a naive empiricism with its ambition of objectively documenting the world. Keymer relates this epistemological position to Hume's philosophy.

BERKELEY AND LITERATURE: It seems that less has been written on connections between Berkeley and literature. One comprehensive account, though a bit dated, is Hans Joachim Örtel *George Berkley und die Englische Literatur* (Halle (Saale): Niemeyer, 1934) which studies Berkley's relation to the literature of his time and onwards. He distinguishes between literature of the Enlightenment and literature of early romanticism, claiming that Berkeley's later works, e.g. *Siris*, show elements of romanticism. He discusses the relation of Berkeley's works to many authors such as Steele, Addison, Pope, Swift which he sees as poets of the Enlightenment, and Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Shelley, and Byron on the romantic side. Further studies involving Berkeley can be found below.

OTHER PHILOSOPHERS: Chester Chapin, 'Samuel Johnson and the Scottish Common Sense School', *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 20 (1979) 50-64, points to the affinities between Johnson and Reid and Beattie, especially in their evaluation of Berkeley and Hume. They regarded both as extreme sceptics and their scepticism as a destructive error. Chapin also wants to draw attention to the fact that eighteenth-century empiricism after Locke took two divergent paths, one to immaterialism, and the other to the common sense school which claimed that sensation brings a conviction of the existence of the external world. Jonathan Lamb 'Language and Hartleian Associationism in *A Sentimental Journey*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 13 (1980) 285-312 wants to show how Hartley's *Observations on Man* rather than Locke's *Essay* provides a clue for following the evolution of keywords of Sterne's text into figurative language. Lance St John Butler 'Fielding and Shaftesbury Reconsidered: The Case of *Tom Jones*', in: *Henry Fielding: Justice Observed* ed. by K.G. Simpson (London and Totowa: Vision and Barnes & Noble, 1985) pp. 56-74, argues for an affinity between Fielding and Shaftesbury with respect to moral content and the aesthetic consequences arising from this for Fielding. Douglas Lane Patey 'Johnson's Refutation of Berkeley: Kicking the Stone Again', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47 (1986) 139-145 discusses Johnson's refutation of Berkeley's immaterialism by kicking a stone as influenced by Hartley's theory of the sense of "feeling", which claims that the sensations of touch deliver "the essential properties of matter" directly to the mind. According to Hartley, there could be no clearer demonstration of the material world than through "pressure and muscular contraction".

SELF AND LITERATURE: A new concept of self is one of the major contributions of eighteenth-century philosophy, which has strong congruencies in the culture and literature of this time. Frederick Garber *The Autonomy of the Self from Richardson to Huysmans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981) sketches the period as a dialectic struggle of the self between aloofness and association, the need to be ones self, and the need to be among others. Felicity A. Nussbaum *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) focuses on the convergence of three phenomena, the conceptualization of 'autobiography' as distinct from other forms of writing, the use of autobiography as a tool for the middle-class self, and the assertion of a female identity in public print. The approach to the self via autobiography is also examined by Patricia Meyer Spacks *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-*

Century England (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976). Spacks points out that memoir and fiction raise the problem of the nature of the identity they assert just as much as eighteenth-century philosophy. She discusses Locke, Berkeley, and Hume in this context, and argues that it is Hume who makes selfhood problematic. In her opinion, the insubstantiality of the self pervaded eighteenth-century thought and determined the form and content of literature. The emergence of novel and autobiography as a genre mark a significant response to this problem. Stephen D. Cox *'The Stranger Within Thee', Concepts of the Self in Late-Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980) notes that the general problem of self-knowledge is crucial for eighteenth-century literature. According to Cox, nothing is more common in eighteenth-century literature and philosophy than the search for the true self, mainly influenced by Locke's work on the question of perception and of the mind's sensibility to what it perceives. This resulted in the assumption that the self can best be understood as an embodiment of its feelings, i.e. its perceptions and emotional responses to the world. This evaluation of Locke's importance is shared by Christopher Fox *Locke and the Scriblerians: Identity and Consciousness in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Contrary to Cox, Fox focuses on the early eighteenth-century controversy over personal identity, which was caused by Locke's theory of the self in consciousness which threatened the fixity of personal identity. Fox gives an account of contemporary reactions to Locke and examines how the problems brought up by Locke are reflected in early eighteenth-century literature, especially the works of the "Scriblerians". Adam Smith's contribution to the discussion about the self and the possibility of self-knowledge is examined in Harvey Mitchel, "The Mysterious Veil of Self-Delusion' in Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 20 (1987) 405-421. Mitchel focuses on Adam Smith's treatment of self-deception which he characterized as a fact of human nature and even accepted as a creative force in society. Gerald Izenberg *Impossible Individuality: Romanticism, Revolution, and the Origins of Modern Selfhood, 1787-1802* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992) explores the shift of self as singleness in the eighteenth century towards self as uniqueness in the nineteenth century.

THE LITERATURE OF SENSIBILITY AND PHILOSOPHY: A suitable introduction to the topic of sensibility is Jane Todd *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986). Chapter 2 on the historical background includes a section on philosophy which states that the most important philosophical figure for eighteenth-century ideas of sensibility is Locke with his ideas on psychology, his notion of the mind as a blank sheet, and his view of ideas originating in sensation. Shaftesbury is considered as the prime influence on sentimental philosophy of the moral sense school. Adam Smith is seen as the last one to follow the sentimental aim to link emotion and morality in a systematic way. John Mullan *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) concentrates on Hume, Richardson and Sterne. Their writings contain a sociability which is dependent upon the communication of passions and sentiments. Mullan argues that it is the discovery of such a sociability, which leads to the formation of the so-called 'sentimental' fashion of eighteenth-century fiction. Mullan of-

fers an interesting discussion of Hume's theory of this communication in his *Treatise* where the principle of sympathy allows passions to pass directly from one person to another, and comments on influential treatments of the themes of natural sociability and sympathy before and after Hume. He points out that the universality of social understanding which Hume's philosophy of human nature in his *Treatise* proposes is precisely what is questioned and typically rejected in the novel of sentiment. Frederick V. Bogel *Literature and Insubstantiality in Later Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984) views the mid-eighteenth century as a literary watershed caused by a shift from epistemological concerns to ontological ones. The first half of the century was concerned with human knowledge, the intelligibility of the world to an enquiring mind, while the second one explores the world's ability to be experienced by a perceiving sensibility. Robert Markley 'Sentimentality as Performance: Shaftesbury, and the Theatrics of Virtue', in: *The New Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown (New York and London: Methuen, 1987) pp. 210-230, provides a socio-political interpretation of the phenomenon of sensibility. According to his view, the genesis of sensibility is ideological, originating in the complex and uncertain relationships between aristocratic and bourgeois characterisations of virtue, power, social privilege, and moral worth. Shaftesbury's moral philosophy, although essentially aristocratic, contains elements which allowed its "generalization" towards the middle-class by writers interested in pressing their own claims to the social status of gentlemen. As a result, Shaftesbury is read throughout the eighteenth century as mediating and deconstructing the differences between the mercantile and upper classes, contrary to his own fundamentally conservative bias.

V. FURTHER READING. Of course, many important contributions had to be omitted. I would like to list just a few sources to find literature on the above topics, which can be found on the Internet, or on CD ROM. The catalogue of the British Library (<http://portico.bl.uk/>) and the MLA bibliography (available in many libraries on CD ROM) are excellent data bases to conduct extensive searches. The latter holds records on essays published in almost any journal devoted to the humanities, running back to 1969. There exists a fast growing number of interesting Web sites related to the humanities. A particular site called *The Voice of the Shuttle* (<http://humanities.ucsb.edu/>) makes an excellent starting point to surf the Web, since it maintains the perhaps most complete and up-to-date data base of links to Web resources in the humanities world wide.