



IASS

volume 3

THE
ADAM SMITH
REVIEW

Edited by Vivienne Brown

The Adam Smith Review

Volume 3

Adam Smith's contribution to economics is well-recognized but in recent years scholars have been exploring anew the multidisciplinary nature of his works. *The Adam Smith Review* provides a unique forum for interdisciplinary debate on all aspects of Adam Smith's works, his place in history, and the significance of his writings for the modern world. It is aimed at facilitating debate between scholars working across the humanities and social sciences, thus emulating the transdisciplinary reach of the Enlightenment world which Smith helped to shape.

The third volume of the series contains contributions from a multidisciplinary range of specialists, including Anthony Brewer, Alexandra Hyard, Charles G. Leathers and J. Patrick Raines, F.P. Lock, D.D. Raphael, Pedro N. Teixeira, Gloria Vivenza, Jack Russell Weinstein, and Donald Winch, who discuss such themes as:

- the influence of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith
- interpreting 'the man of system' in the sixth edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*
- Adam Smith and education
- Adam Smith's economics.

Vivienne Brown is Professor of Intellectual History at The Open University, UK. She is the author of *Adam Smith's Discourse: Canonicity, Commerce and Conscience* (1994, Routledge) and numerous articles in a range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary journals. She is the founder/editor of *The Adam Smith Review* on behalf of the International Adam Smith Society.

The Adam Smith Review

Published in association with the International Adam Smith Society

Edited by Vivienne Brown

Faculty of Social Sciences, The Open University, UK

Book Reviews

Edited by Fonna Forman-Barzilai

Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego, USA

Editorial Board

Neil De Marchi (Department of Economics, Duke University, USA); Stephen Darwall (Department of Philosophy, University of Michigan, USA); Douglas Den Uyl (Liberty Fund, USA); John Dwyer (Faculty of Arts, York University, Canada); Samuel Fleischacker (Department of Philosophy, University of Illinois, Chicago, USA); Charles L. Griswold Jr (Department of Philosophy, Boston University, USA); Knud Haakonssen (Department of History, University of Sussex, UK); Hiroshi Mizuta (Japan Academy, Japan); John Mullan (Department of English, University College London, UK); Takashi Negishi (Japan Academy, Japan); James R. Otteson (Department of Philosophy, University of Alabama, USA); Nicholas Phillipson (Department of History, University of Edinburgh, UK); D.D. Raphael (Imperial College, London, UK); Emma Rothschild (King's College, Cambridge, UK); Ian Simpson Ross (University of British Columbia, Canada); Richard B. Sher (Department of History, New Jersey Institute of Technology/Rutgers University, USA); Andrew S. Skinner (University of Glasgow, UK); Kathryn Sutherland (St Anne's College, Oxford, UK); Keith Tribe (King's School, Worcester, UK); Gloria Vivenza (Dipartimento di Economia, Società, Istituzioni, University of Verona, Italy); Donald Winch (Graduate Research Centre in the Humanities, University of Sussex, UK).

Books available in this series

The Adam Smith Review (Volume 1)

Edited by Vivienne Brown

The Adam Smith Review (Volume 2)

Edited by Vivienne Brown

The Adam Smith Review (Volume 3)

Edited by Vivienne Brown

For latest information visit the web-site at: www.adamsmithreview.org

The Adam Smith Review

Volume 3

**Edited by
Vivienne Brown**

First published 2007
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.”

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2007 The International Adam Smith Society
(www.adamsmithsociety.net)

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-93529-2 Master e-book ISBN

ISSN 1743-5285

ISBN10: 0-415-44896-4 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-44896-3 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-93529-2 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-93529-3 (ebk)

Editorial

The Adam Smith Review is a multidisciplinary refereed annual review sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society. It provides a unique forum for vigorous debate and the highest standards of scholarship on all aspects of Adam Smith's works, his place in history and the significance of his writings for the modern world. *The Adam Smith Review* aims to facilitate interchange between scholars working within different disciplinary and theoretical perspectives, and to this end is open to all areas of research relating to Adam Smith. The *Review* also hopes to broaden the field of English-language debate on Smith by occasionally including translations of scholarly works at present available only in languages other than English.

The Adam Smith Review is intended as a resource for Adam Smith scholarship in the widest sense. The Editor welcomes comments and suggestions, including proposals for symposia or themed sections in the *Review*. The *Review* is also open to comments and debate relating to papers previously published in it.

For details of membership of the International Adam Smith Society and purchase of the *Review* on preferential terms for personal members of the Society, please contact the Membership Secretary, Aaron Garrett (garrettnecessary@gmail.com) or visit the *Review*'s website (www.adamsmithreview.org).

Contents

<i>Editorial</i>	v
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	x

Commemorating 30 years of The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith

Editor's introduction	1
Interview with D.D. Raphael	2

Articles **13**

Foxwell, Rae and Adam Smith DONALD WINCH	15
Adam Smith and 'the man of system': Interpreting <i>The Theory of Moral Sentiments</i> , VI.ii.2.12–18 F.P. LOCK	37

Symposium: Adam Smith and Education **49**

GUEST EDITOR: JACK RUSSELL WEINSTEIN	
Introduction: Adam Smith's philosophy of education JACK RUSSELL WEINSTEIN	51
Adam Smith and French ideas on education ALEXANDRA HYARD	75
Adam Smith as a teacher on classical subjects GLORIA VIVENZA	96

viii *Contents*

Adam Smith's (weak) case for free incomes for university faculty and student-consumer sovereignty	119
--	-----

CHARLES G. LEATHERS AND J. PATRICK RAINES

Dr Smith and the moderns: Adam Smith and the development of human capital theory	139
---	-----

PEDRO N. TEIXEIRA

Perspectives on recent developments in Adam Smith scholarship	159
--	------------

Let us now praise famous men: Assessments of Adam Smith's economics	161
--	-----

ANTHONY BREWER

Book reviews	187
---------------------	------------

Alexander Broadie (ed.), <i>The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment</i>	188
---	-----

Reviewed by STEPHEN DARWALL

Jerry Evensky, <i>Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy: A Historical and Contemporary Perspective on Markets, Law, Ethics, and Culture</i>	194
---	-----

Reviewed by SAMUEL FLEISCHACKER

Response by JERRY EVENSKY

Pierre Force, <i>Self-Interest Before Adam Smith: A Genealogy of Economic Science</i>	203
---	-----

Reviewed by ERIC SCHLIESSER

Response by PIERRE FORCE

Gavin Kennedy, <i>Adam Smith's Lost Legacy</i>	215
--	-----

Reviewed by EDWARD J. HARPAM

Response by GAVIN KENNEDY

Alessandro Roncaglia, <i>The Wealth of Ideas: A History of Economic Thought</i>	230
---	-----

Reviewed by ANTHONY BREWER

Response by ALESSANDRO RONCAGLIA

Paul Seabright, <i>The Company of Strangers: A Natural History of Economic Life</i>	239
---	-----

Reviewed by RYAN NICHOLS

Response by PAUL SEABRIGHT

Tatsuya Sakamoto and Hideo Tanaka (eds), <i>The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment</i>	246
Reviewed by IAIN MCLEAN	
<i>Notes for contributors</i>	252
<i>Books for review</i>	252

Notes on contributors

Anthony Brewer is Professor of the History of Economics at the University of Bristol. He is the author of *Richard Cantillon: Pioneer of Economic Theory* (1992) and of other books and articles on the history of economics.

Stephen Darwall is John Dewey Collegiate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan. He has written widely on ethical theory and the history of ethics. His books include *Impartial Reason* (1983), *The British Moralists and the Internal 'Ought'* (1995), *Philosophical Ethics* (1997) and *Welfare and Rational Care* (2002). His most recent book is *The Second-Person Standpoint: Morality, Respect, and Accountability* (2006).

Jerry Evensky is Professor of Economics at Syracuse University. He has published widely on Adam Smith and the history of economics. He is a joint author of *Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Law and Economics* (1994) and author of *Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy* (2005).

Samuel Fleischacker is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Illinois, Chicago. He specializes in moral and political philosophy, and the history of moral and political philosophy. His books include *The Ethics of Culture* (1994), *A Third Concept of Liberty* (1999), *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations* (2004) and *A Short History of Distributive Justice* (2004).

Pierre Force is Professor of French and History at Columbia University and specializes in early modern intellectual history. In addition to *Self-Interest before Adam Smith* (2003), he has written books on Molière (1994) and Pascal (1989). He is now writing a book on conceptions of novelty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Edward J. Harpham is Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean of Undergraduate Education at the University of Texas at Dallas. He also is Director of the Collegium V Honors Program. Harpham is the author and editor of several books in political theory and American politics. He has published articles on Adam Smith that have appeared in *American*

Political Science Review, *History of Political Thought*, and *History of Economic Thought*. He is currently working on a series of articles that focus upon the role that Smith's theory of the emotions and passions play in his moral, economic and political thought.

Alexandra Hyard is Doctor of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. She is the author of a thesis on Dugald Stewart's Whiggism and of some articles on the relationship between French and Scottish political economy in the eighteenth century.

Gavin Kennedy is Professor Emeritus at Heriot-Watt University, UK, and author of *The Economist Essential Negotiator* (2004) and *Adam Smith's Lost Legacy* (2005).

Charles G. Leathers is Professor of Economics at the University of Alabama, and **J. Patrick Raines** is Dean of the College of Business and Professor of Economics at Belmont University, Nashville, Tennessee. They have published on Adam Smith's views on religious instruction (e.g. in *History of Political Economy*) and his views on university education in *The Economic Institutions of Higher Education: Economic Theories of University Behaviour* (2003).

F.P. Lock is Professor of English at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. He is the author of *Edmund Burke* (2 vols, 1998–2006). His other publications include 'An unpublished Letter from Adam Smith to Sir John Macpherson', *Scottish Historical Review*, 2006.

Iain McLean is Professor of Politics and Director, Public Policy Unit, Oxford University. Recent work includes *Adam Smith: Radical and Egalitarian* (2006), *Applying the Dismal Science: When Economists Give Advice to Governments*, ed. with Colin Jennings (2006), and *State of the Union: Unionism and the Alternatives in the United Kingdom since 1707*, with Alistair McMillan (2005).

Ryan Nichols is an Assistant Professor at Cal State Fullerton with research interests in Early Modern philosophy and especially in the Scottish Enlightenment. He is the author of *Thomas Reid's Theory of Perception* (2007).

D.D. Raphael is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Imperial College, London. He was much involved in the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith and is joint editor of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1976). His latest book, *The Impartial Spectator* (2007), is a study of Adam Smith's moral philosophy.

Alessandro Roncaglia is Professor of Political Economy at Rome University and has published widely in the history of economic thought. His publications include *Sraffa and the Theory of Prices* (1978), *Piero Sraffa: His Life, Thought and Cultural Heritage* (2000), *Il mito della mano invisibile* (2005) and *The Wealth of Ideas: A History of Economic Thought* (2005).

Eric Schliesser is an Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Leiden University and a research associate in History and Methodology of Economics, University of Amsterdam. He is co-editor (with Leon Montes) of *New Voices on Adam Smith* (2006) and has published in *Hume Studies*, *Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *Philosophy of Social Sciences* and *Journal for Scottish Philosophy*.

Paul Seabright is Professor of Economics at the University of Toulouse-1 in France. He taught previously at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. As well as writing *The Company of Strangers* (2004) he has published in the fields of industrial organization, development and transition economics, political theory and the theory of organizations.

Pedro N. Teixeira is Assistant Professor at the Department of Economics (University of Porto) and researcher at CIPES and CEMPRE. His research interests are on the economics of higher education and history of economic thought, particularly the development of human capital theory. Recent publications include two edited volumes, *Markets in Higher Education Policy* (2004) and *Cost-Sharing and Access in Higher Education* (2006); and his book *Jacob Mincer – A Founding Father of Modern Labour Economics* (2007).

Gloria Vivenza is Professor of History of Economic Thought at the University of Verona, Italy. Her main interest is the influence of Greek and Latin classics on modern economic thought. She is the author of *Adam Smith and the Classics* (2001) and many articles on the classical heritage in Adam Smith's thought, and she is also working on the modern interpretation of Cicero's thought.

Jack Russell Weinstein is an Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of North Dakota. He is the author of two books: *On Adam Smith* (2001) and *On Alasdair MacIntyre* (2003). Both are volumes in the Wadsworth Philosophers Series.

Donald Winch is Research Professor at the Centre for Intellectual History at the University of Sussex. His writings on Adam Smith include *Adam Smith's Politics* (1978) and *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750–1834* (1996). He also wrote the entry on Adam Smith for the new Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004).

Commemorating 30 years of The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith

Editor's introduction

The year 1976 saw the publication the first two volumes of The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, 1976–87, Oxford at the Clarendon Press: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, edited by D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie; and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, edited by R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner, Textual Editor, W.B. Todd. The Glasgow Edition provides the only scholarly variorum edition of Smith's works and correspondence.

It is an honour for *The Adam Smith Review* to mark this moment with (written) interviews with Professor Raphael and Professor Skinner. The interview with D.D. Raphael appears below. The interview with Andrew Skinner will be published in volume 4.

Questions:

1. The period since 1976 when *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* was published in the Glasgow Edition has seen a considerable increase in interest in Adam Smith. Did you have any thoughts at the time that this was likely to happen? Were there signs then of an increasing interest in Smith?
2. To what extent do you think that the Glasgow Edition itself contributed to this increased interest – or was it largely the result of other factors?
3. The editorial Introduction to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* has been influential for Adam Smith scholarship. Were there any particular difficulties you experienced in editing *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*? Or controversial issues to be weighed in writing the Introduction?
4. Looking back with the benefit of hindsight and further scholarship on Smith, would you now want to make any changes or revisions to your editorial Introduction.
5. What do you see as the most interesting lines of research on Smith during the last 30 years?
6. Has your own thinking on Adam Smith changed during this period?

Vivienne Brown, Editor
December 2006

Interview with D.D. Raphael

The Theory of Moral Sentiments: The Glasgow Edition 1976

D.D. Raphael

In 1976 the Clarendon Press published the first two constituents of The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith. They were *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. These were the two books that Smith himself saw published in his lifetime; and 1976 was, of course, the bicentenary of the publication of the first edition of the *Wealth of Nations*. The Glasgow Edition of Smith's writings was intended to commemorate that bicentenary, but the original plan was not to begin the series in 1976: it was to complete the project in that year. Discussions began in 1961, and a plan that was drawn up in 1965 envisaged publication of the first volumes, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Lectures on Justice*, in 1968–9, to be followed by *Lectures on Rhetoric* in 1971–2, *Correspondence* some time between 1972 and 1976, and finally *Wealth of Nations* and *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* in 1976. The sequence would have corresponded, more or less, with the sequence in which Smith wrote these works (though the individual pieces in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* were written at various times). As we all know, 'The best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley', and the only feature of the early plan that held good was the most important one, the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1976 (yet with quite different editors from those named in 1965).

I was the main editor of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and the Editor of *The Adam Smith Review* has asked me to reflect on some questions that she has put to me about our publication of that work. When we began, I was Professor of Political and Social Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, but I had previously spent 10 years in the Department of Moral Philosophy as a Lecturer and then a Senior Lecturer. My teaching in that capacity included part of the history of moral philosophy, and I gave special attention to the British Moralists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Adam Smith was one of those British Moralists, but he was not, in my eyes then, at or near the top of the tree. I had studied the British Moralists for my D.Phil. at Oxford, and, having been taught and influenced there by the deontologists

Professor H.A. Prichard, Sir David Ross and E.F. Carritt, I had given pride of place to Richard Price, whose theory of ethics was remarkably similar to that of Ross, and who also strikingly anticipated G.E. Moore's famous argument for the indefinability of basic ethical terms. But I soon came to see David Hume as the most important of the British Moralists of the eighteenth century. At the present time I would rate Adam Smith's moral philosophy higher than Hume's, but I reached that opinion only after having spent many years thinking about the *Moral Sentiments* and thereby coming to appreciate the depth of Smith's insight.

Vivienne Brown, in her first question, notes that there has been a considerable increase of interest in Adam Smith since 1976 and she asks whether I (or, I suppose, the Glasgow editors generally) had any thoughts at the time that this was likely to happen, and whether there were any signs then of increasing interest. The answer to both parts of the question is yes. We were not the only people keen to revive thought about the work of Adam Smith at the bicentenary of the *Wealth of Nations*. Towards the end of 1961 Alec Macfie, the Emeritus Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy at Glasgow, received a letter from a former student, Laurence Hunter (later Sir Laurence Hunter, Professor of Applied Economics at Glasgow University), pursuing post-graduate work at the University of Chicago. Laurence Hunter said that Professor G.J. Stigler had inquired whether the University of Glasgow had any plan to produce an edition of the Collected Works of Adam Smith, since otherwise one of his colleagues at Chicago would wish to do so. A little later one of our prospective editors, Ronald Meek, learned from Lord Robbins of the London School of Economics that Professor Stigler had written to him some months earlier to ask whether he knew of any British project for the publication of a Collected Works of Adam Smith. Stigler had added that, if there were no British project, he hoped that his colleague Aaron Director would undertake the task. Lord Robbins also said that another American, William Letwin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was engaged on an edition of the *Moral Sentiments* and a biography of Smith. Soon afterwards we heard that there was a tentative plan at the University of Edinburgh to produce an edition of Smith's Collected Works.¹

Initially, the thought of the Glasgow committee on the subject was that we should celebrate the bicentenary rather differently. First, there should be a book of critical essays on Smith's work, with contributions from an international field of Smith scholars. Second, there should be an annotated edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* since there had never been such a thing in English: the only annotated edition that had been made was a German translation by Walther Eckstein in 1926. And third, there might be a reissue of W.R. Scott's book *Adam Smith as Student and Professor*, a new edition of Smith's *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* and perhaps a reissue of John Rae's *Life of Adam Smith* with a new introduction.

On the question of a Collected Works there was at first some doubt. Macfie felt that Edwin Cannan's editions of the *Wealth of Nations* and the *Lectures*

on Justice could hardly be bettered by entirely new versions; but even so, the possibility of a Collected Works was left open. My own reaction was to urge that we *should* do a Collected Works. I dare say I was not the only one, but this is what I wrote to Professor D.J. Robertson in a letter of 19 October 1961 in response to a request for comments on the message from Laurence Hunter:

I rather feel that we should take much more seriously the suggestion of publishing a Collected Works. I see the force of Macfie's view that Cannan can hardly be improved upon, but Cannan's material could usefully have some additions made to it. My general feeling is that, if we do not produce a Collected Works, someone else will. It would be altogether appropriate to have a uniform edition for 1976, and if so it should come from Glasgow University.

The case was elaborated in a detailed memorandum written a few days later by Ronald Meek. A formal Bicentenary Committee was set up and one of its first decisions was a recommendation to the University Court that Glasgow should produce a Collected Works.

I should say here that Ronald Meek, at the time a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Economy and the secretary of the Bicentenary Committee, soon became the leading spirit of the whole enterprise (as did Andrew Skinner when he was secretary of the committee in later days). At the start Meek was nominated to be one of the editors of the *Wealth of Nations*, but he moved over to the *Lectures on Jurisprudence* when we acquired a newly discovered set of student notes of those lectures. It is worth recording a couple of dates to show that you never can tell how things will turn out.

Ronald Meek's detailed memorandum to the members of what became the Bicentenary Committee included the statement: 'There are two arguments which might be put forward against this proposal [to produce a Collected Works] – first, that it is very unlikely that any new manuscript material, etc., will be discovered . . .'. That was written on 31 October 1961. On the very next day, 1 November 1961, *The Scotsman* newspaper carried the first half of a long article (concluded on 2 November) by Dr John M. Lothian, Reader in English at the University of Aberdeen, announcing that he had purchased in 1958, at a sale of books from a manor house, two sets of bound manuscripts that turned out to be student reports of Adam Smith's lectures on Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* and on Jurisprudence.

The text of the lectures on Rhetoric was something quite new. It was known from biographical sources that Smith had lectured on this topic both at Edinburgh and at Glasgow, but no text had previously come to light.

A text of the lectures on Jurisprudence had been acquired in 1895 by Edwin Cannan from a Scottish advocate and was published in 1896 under the title *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms*. It is a condensed version, a summary, of the lectures, not a verbatim report. It carries the date 1766,

referring to the compilation of the document, not to the delivery of the lectures, which appear to have been given in the academic session 1763–4. It seems to be the work of a professional copyist and we are told that reports of this character were available for sale in Smith's day. Smith himself is said to have objected to the taking of notes by the students attending his lectures, presumably because he feared distortion; and so a record of his lectures is likely to have been the result of memory. The report dated 1766 must be a fair copy of a summary made earlier and may have been ordered by someone interested to have a record of the tuition of the inspiring professor who had by that time left Glasgow.

The Lothian version of Smith's lectures on Jurisprudence is much fuller. This report, and likewise the report of the lectures on Rhetoric, are more like verbatim accounts and were almost certainly written by a student (with some help from a second student in added revisions). The notes must have been written up after each lecture, for at the end of one lecture in the Rhetoric the scribe writes 'Not a word more can I remember'. Each lecture is given a precise date, both sets of notes referring to the academic session 1762–3. The Jurisprudence notes cover much the same ground as the Cannan version but with some difference in the order of topics, and the latter part, on economics, is unfinished, perhaps because we lack a final volume of the set.

I do not know why Lothian announced his discovery three years after the event, but I suppose it was because he had been working on the Rhetoric lectures with a view to publication. In *The Scotsman* article he gives a substantial indication of the subject-matter of the Rhetoric lectures, and the full report, with editorial comment by Lothian, was published in 1963. Lothian had no plan to do the same for the lectures on Jurisprudence. Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* came within his own field of study; Jurisprudence did not.

Lothian's announcement obviously required some rethinking at Glasgow. A Collected Works that did not include virtually verbatim reports of Smith's lectures on Rhetoric and Jurisprudence would seem sadly deficient. The Glasgow committee tried, unsuccessfully, to get Lothian to join them. He was unwilling to transfer his proposed edition of the Rhetoric to the Glasgow Collected Works. He preferred his own plan of solo publication to the alternative of being merely one part of a larger enterprise. After protracted negotiations, however, he agreed to sell his manuscripts to Glasgow, with an undertaking by Glasgow that their edition of the Rhetoric lectures would be delayed for some years in order to allow Lothian's edition a fair run without competition.

The length of the negotiations meant that the Glasgow programme of an early publication of the Jurisprudence lectures had to be delayed. Editing the student manuscript version discovered by Lothian was a lengthy business: the writing is not at all clear and it was often hard to determine what words were intended. Ronald Meek bore the main brunt of this task, as well as supplying explanatory notes on the economic matter. Peter Stein provided notes on the legal matter, and I did the same for the social and political matter.

I also collated anew the manuscript of Cannan's version, since Cannan's reproduction was not altogether accurate; but this was not a difficult job, though it did require time and care.

The original plan, as I have said, was to begin publication with the *Moral Sentiments* and the *Jurisprudence* together. The *Jurisprudence* now had to wait quite a long time, and I was obliged to delay the *Moral Sentiments* because I left Glasgow for Reading in 1970 and then moved from Reading to London in 1973, so that I was preoccupied with house moves and new programmes of teaching. Consequently we decided to publish the *Moral Sentiments* at the same time as the *Wealth of Nations*; and of course 1976 was the obvious year for that.

So much for Vivienne Brown's first question about the expectation of interest in Adam Smith. Second, she asks to what extent the Glasgow Edition itself contributed to the increased interest. I think it contributed greatly. As I have said, scholars at Chicago were contemplating an edition if Glasgow were not planning one; so their plan, or that of Edinburgh, would have supplied the same sort of interest. If there had not been a new edition of Smith's works, the interest of the bicentenary would have had a much more modest character.

Third, Vivienne Brown turns specifically to the editorial Introduction to the *Moral Sentiments*, which she says has been influential for subsequent scholarship. She asks whether I met any particular difficulties in the editing, or had to weigh any controversial issues in the Introduction.

The only real difficulty in the editing concerned the difference between the early version of the first five editions and the version of the sixth edition published a few weeks before Smith's death. The sixth edition contains an entire additional Part on the character of virtue, but there was no difficulty in accommodating and explaining that. There were, however, changes in the position and extent of some topics; showing the details in the textual notes was quite tricky. One such topic was Smith's account of the Stoics. Another was part of his discussion of the sense of duty, affected, I believe, by Smith's own position on religion and by his remembrance of his friend David Hume. I have written about these things, including the new Part on virtue, in a book, *The Impartial Spectator* (2007).

The difficulty in recording the changes introduced by the sixth edition would have been greater if we had accepted a proposal made by Professor W.B. Todd of the University of Texas at Austin. I should explain first how Todd came into the picture. When we thought about possible editors for the Collected Works, I suggested Ernest Mossner for the correspondence and the proposed biography. I did so because I was much impressed by Mossner's *Life of David Hume* and his edition, with Raymond Klibansky, of *New Letters of David Hume*. Mossner, a Professor of English and Philosophy at Austin, had told me that, for him, editing correspondence was worth doing only as a preliminary to writing a biography, and so I coupled the two in my suggestion. Our committee accordingly invited Mossner to do the two things. Mossner agreed, subject to having the assistance of Ian Ross, a former postgraduate

student of his, for editing the correspondence. We were quite happy about that, not least because Ross was engaged on a biography of Lord Kames, a close associate of Adam Smith. As things turned out, Mossner died before he had gone far with his biography, and Ross was invited to take Mossner's place for that.

I return to the initial invitation to Mossner. In addition to requesting the help of Ross for the correspondence, Mossner also spoke about the whole project to Bill Todd, a colleague in the English Department at Austin, and Todd took it upon himself to write to us about editing texts of the past.² Principles had been set out by Sir Walter Greg in a classic paper of 1950, 'The rationale of copy-text', in *Studies in Bibliography*, and had been followed up by Fredson Bowers (1963). Todd took their views to imply that we should produce an 'eclectic' text of Adam Smith's two books, using the first edition as the copy-text and then modifying it in the light of the later editions, but distinguishing between 'substantives' and 'accidentals' in the acceptance of changes. Substantives are words that convey meaning, while accidentals are such things as marks of punctuation, particularities of spelling, use of capital or lower-case letters and of roman or italic type. Changes of substantives in a later edition can usually be taken to be the work of the author, while changes of accidentals are often likely to be the work of the printer and so should not be accepted without question. The resulting text would therefore not be quite the same as that of any preceding edition.

Todd offered to do the necessary textual work and produce an eclectic text of Adam Smith's two published books. His offer was accepted for the *Wealth of Nations* and he duly produced his eclectic text. This was before Andrew Skinner was asked to take the place of the primary prospective editor of the *Wealth of Nations*, and so he had no opportunity to determine the character of the text. Andrew may say something about that in his contribution to our present symposium.

Alec Macfie and I were firmly against accepting Todd's proposal for the *Moral Sentiments*. The sixth edition of that work was very different from its predecessors, almost a new book. How could you start off with the order of topics in the first edition and then turn it (with enormous notes, presumably) into the order of topics in the sixth edition? We had taken the sixth edition as our copy-text and had used textual notes to record relevant differences in earlier editions. We had by this time reached a settled text and saw no reason to change it. I was glad to have confirmation of our action from my friend J.C. Maxwell, who had edited Sir Walter Greg's *Collected Papers*. He said that Greg's principle of treating the first edition of a work as the copy-text was meant to be used with discretion, and in the case of Smith's *Moral Sentiments* it was clearly right to take the sixth edition as the copy-text. As for attributing changes in accidentals to the printer, we know from some of Smith's letters to his publisher that he took a personal interest in punctuation as well as substance and wanted to check both in the proofs. I have given more details of this issue in the Introduction to the *Moral Sentiments*.

Turning now to controversial topics, there was just one, the so-called Adam Smith problem. This was an alleged inconsistency between the *Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations* on the motivation of human action. The earlier work, it was said, focused upon sympathy as the motive of moral action, while the famous later work took self-interest to be the motive of all human action. This hypothesis was pretty generally rejected by the time we were editing Smith's works, but I think I can claim to have decisively put it to rest by pointing out, in the Introduction to the *Moral Sentiments*, that the prominent role of sympathy in Smith's ethics is concerned with moral judgment, not moral motive. It was in any event a crude mistake to suppose that the *Wealth of Nations* assumed self-interested motivation for all human action; but the chief trouble was that the participants in the discussion had little understanding of Smith's philosophical work.

I can deal more briefly with Vivienne Brown's further questions, relating to scholarship and research on Adam Smith in the last 30 years. In the light of this, she asks, would I now want to make any changes in the editorial Introduction. Yes, on one feature, the influence of the ancient classics upon Smith. Macfie and I included some discussion of Stoic influence, largely confining ourselves to the evidence of the *Moral Sentiments* itself. Quite a lot has been written since then about the extent of Stoic influence upon Smith, and the risk of exaggerating it. I have been especially impressed by a book of Gloria Vivenza, which deals not only with Stoicism but with the classical world more generally. The original version of her book was in Italian, *Adam Smith e la cultura classica*, published in 1984. I was quite startled to find, at the beginning of that book, a passage from the *Moral Sentiments* compared with a passage from Cicero's *De Officiis*: they were virtually identical. Smith was not plagiarizing; he had an exceptionally good memory and he was unconsciously recalling a Ciceronian thought that had impressed him. I should have known that the British intelligentsia of the eighteenth century were especially keen on Cicero, but it did not occur to me when I was occupied with Smith's book. However, having profited much from Gloria Vivenza's book, and knowing that few Smith scholars of the present day in Britain and America read Italian, I was glad to suggest that it be translated into English. The translation, *Adam Smith and the Classics* (2001), in fact goes further than the original with a postscript commenting on recent discussions of her topic.

Vivienne Brown's next question is: what do I see as the most interesting lines of research on Smith during the last 30 years? I can speak only of work that deals with the *Moral Sentiments*.

I was interested in Vivienne Brown's own thoughts about the *Moral Sentiments* in her book, *Adam Smith's Discourse* (1994). Accepting Mikhail Bakhtin's distinction between monologic and dialogic discourse, she says that the *Moral Sentiments* is dialogic and the *Wealth of Nations* monologic. I can see the point, since Bakhtin ascribes the dialogic to serious novels and some writings on ethics, while the monologic is to be found in scientific writing. The dialogic uses a range of 'voices', expressing different outlooks;

the monologic expresses a single outlook, excluding opposing views. That seems fair enough, and it also seems reasonable to think of the *Moral Sentiments* as allowing for (if not itself expressing) different outlooks, while the *Wealth of Nations* goes firmly, in a scientific spirit, for a single outlook. But I am not so sure that one can distinguish the language of the two books in this way. Different views have been expressed in the past about the language of Smith's two books. John Rae (*Life of Adam Smith*, pp. 260–1) tells us that J.R. McCulloch thought that the *Wealth of Nations* was 'very diffuse' and the *Moral Sentiments* not at all so, while Rae himself saw more diffuse writing in the ethics book while the *Wealth of Nations* 'is for the most part packed tightly enough'. This is, to be sure, a different sort of distinction from that between monologic and dialogic discourse, but it prompts caution about theses based on the language of Smith's books. My caution is reinforced when I recall that T.D. Campbell wrote convincingly of Smith's aim in the *Moral Sentiments* as a *science* of morals. Campbell's book, *Adam Smith's Science of Morals* (1971), was based on a PhD. Thesis, which I supervised, but I was not alone in thinking well of it; the distinguished external examiner, Professor Dorothy Emmet, thought it an excellent piece of work.

To this reservation about Vivienne Brown's book I must add another. I think she is mistaken in saying that justice, for Smith, is a lower-order virtue, like prudence. I agree that prudence has a lower status but I have no doubt that justice, in Adam Smith's thought, goes along with beneficence and self-command as a cardinal virtue. One can say that self-command is in a unique position because it 'adds lustre' to all the other virtues, but justice is on a level with beneficence.

I was much stimulated by Charles L. Griswold's excellent book, *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment* (1999). He overstates a little his emphasis on the dramatic character of Smith's ethics, but his view is undoubtedly enlightening and original. I found some enlightenment also in James E. Alvey, *Adam Smith: Optimist or Pessimist* (2003), showing up an ambiguity in Smith's thought, though this book lacks clarity of expression. Finally I would include, with high praise, Samuel Fleischacker, *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: A Philosophical Companion* (2004). Like Griswold, Fleischacker overstates his case, in this instance a case for Smith's egalitarianism. I suppose that exaggeration is natural enough when you have reached a novel interpretation. Fleischacker's book, as its title implies, is mainly about the *Wealth of Nations*, and its thesis of Smith's egalitarianism is supported more by quotations from that work than from the *Moral Sentiments*. I therefore have some reservations about it, but I accept that Fleischacker has made a convincing case for radicalism in Smith's political thought, and I am not aware of that case having been made by any earlier interpreter. Fleischacker has followed it up in a more recent book, *A Short History of Distributive Justice* (2004), where he claims that Adam Smith was the first to bring the virtue of helping the needy under the category of justice.

I do not think this is strictly true, but it certainly is true that Smith highlights the virtue itself.

Vivienne Brown's last question to me is whether my own thinking on Adam Smith has changed during the period after 1976. It has, as I mentioned briefly above, in saying that I now think Smith's contribution to ethics is superior to Hume's. I have in mind the function of the impartial spectator as a genetic theory of conscience. My change of mind has not been directly due to anything I have read in the work of other Smith scholars; but in reading the books of other interpreters of Smith's ethics I often found myself saying: 'No, that is not quite right.' So I decided that I had better make clear to myself what I thought was right, and in writing an account of the *Moral Sentiments* I worked out what I take to be Smith's theory of conscience and found it compelling. I think there are weaknesses in other parts of Smith's ethics and I would not place him in the ranks of the really great moral philosophers – shall we say Plato and Aristotle, Spinoza and Kant? – but on the specific topic of conscience I think he beats them all.

Notes

- 1 Editor's note: Further details on the history of The Glasgow Edition are available in Raphael (2002).
- 2 Letter of 22 July 1965 from William B. Todd to D.D. Raphael, enclosing part of an article by Fredson Bowers (1963) on textual criticism. Todd elaborated his proposal in a memorandum of 14 March 1967 addressed to the Editorial Board.

Bibliography

- Alvey, J.E. (2003) *Adam Smith, Optimist or Pessimist: A New Problem Concerning the Teleological Basis of the Commercial Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bowers, F.T. (1963) 'Textual criticism', in *The Aims and Methods of Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, J. Thorpe (ed.), New York: Modern Language Association of America, pp. 23–42.
- Brown, V. (1994) *Adam Smith's Discourse: Canonicity, Commerce and Conscience*, London: Routledge.
- Campbell, T.D. (1971) *Adam Smith's Science of Morals*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- Fleischacker, S. (2004) *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: A Philosophical Companion*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (2004) *A Short History of Distributive Justice*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Greg, W.W. (1950) 'The rationale of copy-text', *Studies in Bibliography*, 3: 19–36.
- (1966) *Collected Papers*, J.C. Maxwell (ed.), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Griswold, C.L., Jr (1999) *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klibansky, R. and Mossner, E.C. (eds) (1954) *New Letters of David Hume*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mossner, E.C. (1980) *The Life of David Hume*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rae, J. (1895) *Life of Adam Smith*, New York: Macmillan.

- Raphael, D.D. (2002) 'The Glasgow Edition of the Collected Works of Adam Smith', in *A Critical Bibliography of Adam Smith*, K. Tribe (gen. ed.), H. Mizuta (adv. ed.), London: Pickering & Chatto, pp. 50–60.
- (2007) *The Impartial Spectator: Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Scott, W.R. (1937) *Adam Smith as Student and Professor*, Glasgow: Jackson.
- Smith, A. (1896) *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms*, E. Cannan (ed.), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (1904) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, E. Cannan (ed.), London: Methuen.
- (1926) *Theorie der ethischen Gefühle*, W. Eckstein (ed.), Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner.
- (1963) *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, J.M. Lothian (ed.), London: Nelson.
- Vivenza, G. (1984) *Adam Smith e la cultura classica*, Pisa, IPEN.
- (2001) *Adam Smith and the Classics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Articles

