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# 1

## ‘sufficient proofs of his fitness’

### Introduction

Adam Smith became a man for his times, and what times they were: two rebellions, one at home and one abroad; two wars with France and, at his death in 1790, the opening exchanges in a violent revolution against the absolutist French King Louis XVI. In this turbulent context, *Wealth of Nations*, the iconic book of his name, analysed the slow and gradual revival of commercial society from the 15th century and its significance.

In 1707, Scotland’s independent parliament dissolved itself and thenceforth sent its MPs into a parliamentary union with England; both countries had shared the same monarch since 1604. ‘England’ was promoted as the collective name for the four countries, which in 1801 made up the island group of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. This was the Unionist backdrop to the road to his professorship and fame.

### Adam Smith, senior

Smith’s father, Adam Smith (1679–1723), a lawyer, served the Unionist cause prominently between 1705 and 1707, when the majority of Scotch MPs voted to form a union with the English parliament, amidst what is often described as not so subtle bribery, not a little intrigue and a not very judicious measure of skulduggery (‘Bought and Sold For English Gold’ is how one side of the debate expresses it). A more balanced account of this period is less clear-cut about the bribery, but it remains a deeply controversial event three hundred years later, with neither side willing to let go of their historical stereotypes of each other’s perfidy.<sup>1</sup>

Smith senior served the unionist cause as private secretary to Hugh Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, the Secretary of State for Scotland. After the

Treaty of Union was passed in January 1707, Smith benefited to a limited extent from Lord Loudoun's and the 2nd Duke of Argyll's sparse patronage, though he died in the relatively disappointing post of the Comptroller of Customs for Kirkcaldy in January 1723, a few months before his son, also named Adam Smith, was born.<sup>2</sup>

The Treaty of Union heralded occasional stormy periods in Scottish civil politics, with ever-present fears, and in 1715 and 1745 the reality, of armed 'Jacobite' (from the Latin name *Jacobus* for James) subversion on behalf of the deposed Stuart monarch James VII of Scotland, James III of England, in exile on the Continent. Scotland suffered economic depression following the Darien Company's mercantile-inspired colonial folly in 1698 (partly sabotaged by English intrigue, but doomed before it began by the ineptitude of its promoters).<sup>3</sup> The union of parliaments did not resolve Scotland's economic problems quickly, to which were added the economic after-effects of the removal of government and its administration, and much of the social elite, their families and their 'idle' retainers, from Edinburgh to London (WN336).

The major incursion of a Jacobite 'army' into England in 1745 was described by Smith as an attack by 'four or 5 thousand naked unarmed Highlanders', who 'took possession of the improved parts of this country without any opposition from the unwarlike inhabitants' and 'alarmed the whole nation' (LJ540–1). The defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden rounded off a divisive period of Scottish politics, after which, in August 1746, Adam Smith left Oxford (never to return) for Kirkcaldy to look for a career, against the intentions of his mother and guardians, who had encouraged him to become an ordained minister in the Episcopalian affiliate of the Church of England.

Among his father's sources of patronage were the Argyll brothers (the 2nd and 3rd Dukes), who were dominant influences in Scottish public appointments in the first half of the 18th century.<sup>4</sup> Smith's son benefited greatly from the patronage of the 3rd Duke of Argyll when he sought professorial employment after graduating from Oxford University.

Adam Smith's father, a native of Aberdeen stock, married twice. In 1709, his first wife, Lillias ('Lillie') Drummond, gave birth to a son, Hugh Smith. She died before 1718.<sup>5</sup> In 1720, Smith senior married Margaret Douglas (1694–1784), the fifth daughter of Robert Douglas of Strathenny, a prominent landowner in Fife. Several of her relatives had farming interests in the county, some of whom also had military connections.<sup>6</sup> Smith senior held the office of Clerk of Court Martial and Councils of War in Scotland and, notably, was particularly active during 1714–16 when serving the 2nd Duke of Argyll, commander-in-chief of all

armed forces in 'North Britain', in his campaign against the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.<sup>7</sup>

Adam Smith senior died (of what is not recorded) and was buried on 9 January 1723, and his son, the world-famous Adam Smith, was baptised on 5 June (his exact birth date is unknown).<sup>8</sup> As a result of his father's frugality and his canny lending, he left his widow sufficient income and property to bring up his two sons frugally, both sickly children, in a will he drew up on 13 November 1722<sup>9</sup> (did he know he was dying?).<sup>10</sup> When Hugh died, Adam inherited their father's estate.

## Margaret Douglas Smith

As a widow and single mother, Margaret Douglas lived near her family of established landowning farmers and she had the emotional and advisory support of a circle of powerful local dignitaries, whom her prudent husband had arranged to act as his unborn son's guardians. Their backgrounds indicate the patronage available to baby Adam if he survived (child mortality at the time was horrendous). His father, in addition to the provision he made for his 13-year-old son and heir, Hugh Smith, also made provision for 'any child or children of my present marriage'. Among his guardians were James Oswald, former Kirkcaldy MP in both the Scottish and the UK parliaments, and five members of his parents' families.<sup>11</sup>

By all accounts Margaret Smith was an overly indulgent and loving mother of her sickly son (EPS269). And she forged deep bonds with him that lasted for 61 of his 67 years until she died in his house in Edinburgh in 1784. Some of Smith's personal experiences came out in literary form years after his sickly childhood when he wrote a passage in *Moral Sentiments* about a (his?) mother's love for her infant:

What are the pangs of a mother, when she hears the moanings of her infant that during the agony of disease cannot express what it feels? In the idea of what she suffers, she joins, to its real helplessness, her own consciousness of that helplessness, and her own terrors for the unknown consequences of its disorder; and out of all these, forms, for her own sorrow the most complete image of misery and distress. The infant, however, feels only the uneasiness of the present instant, which can never be great. (TMS12)<sup>12</sup>

Margaret Douglas was intensely religious, leading commentators, incorrectly I believe, to conclude from the absence of Adam Smith's direct

disavowal of the scriptures in his books that he was a believer in 'revealed truth', or at least a 'Deist' of some kind.<sup>13</sup> Throughout his adult life the ever-present threat from religious zealots kept him, and many others, from expressing overt opposition to the prevailing religious dogmas. David Hume was bolder and paid the price of being refused academic jobs by both Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. But even Hume never went so far as to state his irreligious views in an extreme manner and many Scottish Church Ministers remained his life-long friends despite knowing his views on Christianity, tempered by also knowing of his gentle and honest personality.

### **Adam Smith's education**

Two factors assisted Smith's education: his prodigious study habits, first at Kirkcaldy Burgh School and then at Glasgow College and Oxford University,<sup>14</sup> and second, the influence of his sponsors. His mother took the advice of his guardians and sent him to Glasgow College (University), foregoing sending him to Aberdeen, where his father's family lived (unfortunately 'tainted' with Jacobite sympathies), or to St Andrews (only 20 miles from Kirkcaldy) or to Edinburgh, across the Firth of Forth. Hanoverian Glasgow had the advantage of potential life-long patronage for Adam from his father's service for Lord Loudoun (a former Glasgow College student). The College recognised young Adam, aged 14, as the 'son of the late Adam Smith at Kikcaldie'.<sup>15</sup> Glasgow University was, and remained, in a thoroughly pro-Hanoverian town, politically close to the Argyll 'interest'.

At 14 years old in 1737, then a normal age for entering university, Adam Smith matriculated at the College. He studied at Glasgow for 3 years until he was 17 and was much taken with 'the never to be forgotten' Professor Francis Hutcheson. He also studied mathematics under Professor Robert Simson, who had restored modern interest in Greek geometry.<sup>16</sup> Smith maintained a lifetime interest in maths, notably through Professor Matthew Stewart at the University of Edinburgh, formerly a fellow student at Glasgow.

He displayed continuing studiousness prompting his professors to nominate him for a much coveted Snell Exhibition,<sup>17</sup> worth £40 a year at Balliol College in the University of Oxford. Two conditions of the Snell Exhibition, one minor and the other major, were that the candidate should have studied for three years at the College 'without taking any Degree from Here or elsewhere',<sup>18</sup> which should dispose of claims<sup>19</sup> that he had an MA from Glasgow (his MA was from Oxford); and that

the candidate made a 'solemn promise' (supported by a £500 bond)<sup>20</sup> to be ordained into the Church of England on graduation and become a Minister in the Episcopalian Church in Scotland.

Smith's experiences at Oxford were unhappy ones. The teaching regime consisted of twice-daily prayers and twice-weekly lectures (Corr1) by tutors indifferent to the quality of what they purveyed. Thirty years after he left Oxford, Smith lamented that 'the publick professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching', showing his lifelong lingering, undiminished, and angry contempt of the Balliol faculty (WM761). Hints in Smith's correspondence about what happened to him at Oxford suggest a medical condition bordering on a form of depression (hypochondria) arising not from his indolence, but from over-studying and insufficient exercise, an affliction that David Hume, a fellow sufferer in his youth, called the 'disease of the learned'. The two future friends shared a common experience (both were fatherless and were brought up by widowed, single mothers).<sup>21</sup>

But Smith's problems were not just his 'depression'; he experienced serious life-changing stresses. His cousin William Smith, one of his guardians and steward to the Duke of Argyll, who had worked with Smith senior during the post-1707 events, visited young Adam to assist him to settle in at Balliol. He also had access to the Duke's nearby Adderbury House and took Smith there for a summer break in 1741, and possibly on other occasions, thus keeping up Smith's loose connection with the Argyll interest (Corr2).

The other major sources of stress were of an intellectual nature: from his studies of natural philosophy his religious convictions appear to have been under siege and possibly he shed his faith. By 1744, and coinciding with bouts of illness, he faced a practical challenge to his career intentions for, having met the bachelor-degree requirement, he had to move on to the syllabus for ordination into the English Church. Somewhere in this period, his philosophical studies conflicted with his religious obligations. A number of his letters from this period were 'lost' in the 19th century which might otherwise have cast further light on what happened to him.<sup>22</sup> What little we know we must deduce from the outcome.

An unconfirmed anecdote claims that he clashed with his tutors who, visiting his college rooms, found a copy of a book by David Hume and confiscated it as 'unsuitable' reading matter.<sup>23</sup> If true, it supports the idea that Smith's disenchantment with Oxford was more than mere home sickness. There is also the question of where and when he began writing what he described as an 'intended juvenile work' (Corr168), titled *The Principles which lead and direct Philosophical Enquiries, illustrated by the*

*History of Astronomy* and published posthumously in 1795 (EPS1795). Smith was used to writing long essays as a student at Glasgow,<sup>24</sup> so his commencing a long essay titled 'History of Astronomy' in Oxford is not implausible. In it he sets out his version of the method of philosophical enquiries, with hints of a drift towards the fringes of religious scepticism.

External events also combined to drive him to break his 'solemn promise' to the Snell Exhibition. Balliol College, much like Oxford University, was home to a fair amount of Tory Jacobite romanticism, a belief in the 'divine rights' of kings and a disdain for the Hanoverian usurpers. 'Scotch' students from Glasgow, a known pro-Hanoverian and pro-Unionist town, felt unwelcome in this setting.<sup>25</sup>

The 1745 Jacobite rising led by some of the Highland clans marched to its dénouement at Culloden on 16 April 1746, and its bloody aftermath of a heady mixture of battlefield cruelty, robbery and rapine. The servants in a frightened state resorted to vindictive capital punishment of captured rebels. Three Lords were beheaded and 116 other rebels were treated to the usual awesome recipe of hanging, drawing and quartering, plus many instances of transportation, death in prison, the 'disappearance' of over 3400 men, and of untold numbers of women raped by 'soldiers', and their children killed.<sup>26</sup>

## After Oxford

In August 1746, Smith left Oxford (never to return) to visit his mother for the first time since he had left Glasgow six years earlier. Coincidentally, Francis Hutcheson died on 8 August, leaving a vacancy in the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy. Young Smith more or less had made the fateful decision not to continue his studies at Balliol and 18 months later he resigned 'all right & title' to the Snell Exhibition.<sup>27</sup> His resignation was made easier by the judgment of the English courts that the £500 bond was not enforceable; of the ten Snell Exhibitioners who commenced before Smith, six took orders in the Church, and of those who commenced with him only one did.<sup>28</sup>

Smith did not find 'the ecclesiastical profession suitable to his taste' and 'chose to consult, in this instance, his own inclination, in preference to the wishes of his friends; and abandoning at once all the schemes which their prudence had formed for him, he resolved to return to his own country, and to limit his ambition to the uncertain prospect of obtaining, in time, some one of those moderate preferments, to which literary attainments lead in Scotland'. Thus Dugald Stewart summed up Smith's bold decision to leave Oxford (EPS272).

Fortunately, his family friends offered ideas of how he should advance his career, to which, in due course, his father's reputation provided the added critical support of the Argyll interest. Among other attributes, Smith arrived home with an English accent in place of the Scottish burr and its many solecisms, and an impressive education in the classics, modern literature, and natural (science) and moral philosophy.

Among his family friends was the son of his guardian, James Oswald, a former school friend a few years older than Adam, who had become an advocate and local MP, on his way to high office in the British government. Among Oswald's intimate friends was Henry Home of Kames (later, Lord Kames, a Scottish judge). Both men were early and lasting influences on young Adam. They conceived a plan to resolve the problem of his lack of a career. His search for, or more likely hope of, a tutorship of an aristocrat's son came to nought.<sup>29</sup>

Henry Home's plan had several elements to it. Smith would deliver a series of public lectures in Edinburgh on rhetoric and moral philosophy. He would compile his lecture material from his student notes and deliver them in his English accent, demonstrating to students from the local university and their parents how they should speak if they wanted careers in the 'New Britain'. They would also benefit from hearing a fresh approach to their subjects in English (lectures at that time were usually delivered in Latin) and local adults would also benefit from revision classes in the latest modish thinking on topics related to morality that were interesting in their own right. His sponsors – Henry Home, Oswald and, perhaps another close friend of the family, Robert Craige of Glendoik – provided the initial funds and made arrangements to commence his lectures in Edinburgh in 1748. Lecture series were popular with the Edinburgh public at the time and sufficient numbers attended Smith's lectures to provide him with an income of £100 a year (Corr24).

## **A professor is chosen**

Smith's Edinburgh lecture series was organised each winter from 1748 to 1751, in which he delivered lectures to what was described as a 'respectable auditory, chiefly composed of students in law and theology'.<sup>30</sup> News of the death of Professor John Loudoun, who held the Chair of Logic at Glasgow College and whom Smith knew from his student days, started a chain of events that brought Smith his professorship. Loudoun died on 1 November 1750. At the news, the usual excitement of the hunt for his replacement made potential candidates take soundings as to their chances. Somewhere in the polite pack, Adam Smith's name came

into contention. His senior advisors reconnoitred the field and discreetly tested the inclinations of those who could influence the formal decision.

For a professorship, a successful contender required strong 'interest', an 18th-century term to describe the men with influence who decided, informally, who was appointed to almost any office in British society, from the lowest through to a Minister of the Crown. In Scotland at the time, the Argyll family had the strongest interest and Adam Smith already had powerful, if largely emotional, connections through his father's legal services to the Duke of Argyll.

With the evidence of his successful Edinburgh lectures, Smith had grounds for believing he stood a good chance, particularly if his allies, including his cousin William Smith, who had served the 2nd Duke, could swing Archibald, the 3rd Duke, behind his candidacy.<sup>31</sup> He could rely on the support of his sponsors: Henry Home, a rising star in the Scottish judiciary; and James Oswald MP, rising in national politics towards a British Ministry. Earl Ilay, 3rd Duke of Argyll, was the younger brother of John, the 2nd Duke (who had died in 1743), and unusually for an English aristocrat, was educated at Glasgow University, not Oxford, and like his brother John, had considerable influence in Scottish affairs from delivering the votes of Scotch MPs and Lords to grateful ministries at Westminster. In return, governments left Scottish appointments to the discretion of the Argylls and, in so far as university appointments went, it is estimated that the two Dukes between them secured the appointment of 55 professors, 20 of them to chairs in Glasgow University between 1723 and 1761.<sup>32</sup>

The University decided on 19 December to elect a successor to Loudoun on 9 January 1751. No doubt the usual intense but subtle lobbying had continued since the vacancy was announced in November. By 27 December, George Muirhead and Adam Smith emerged as the front runners.

Smith's election was not plain sailing. There was some kind of kerfuffle among the professors over the appointment of Smith to the Chair of Logic, involving rounds of correspondence (now lost) between them and Principal Dr Neil Campbell (Corr334–6). One professor wrote to the Duke of Argyll, which annoyed the principal and Smith. His sympathetic informant William Cullen, Professor of Anatomy, advised Smith: 'I beg that for the sake of your quiet and health that you would not indulge in any anger of vexation till you are sure of your facts and which you cannot be with regard to our affairs till you are [present with us].'<sup>33</sup> This is an early hint of Smith's 'warm temperament' when dealing with people who annoyed or obstructed him (cf. EPS321).

In the event, the professors, three of whom knew Smith as a student, elected him unanimously, and Robert Simson, his former teacher of mathematics, sent him a letter dated 9 January 1751 inviting him to Glasgow 'as soon as his affairs can allow him, in order to be admitted' (Corr4), subject to his formal acceptance and his giving 'sufficient proofs of his fitness' by presenting a dissertation, *De Origine Idearum*, as a 'trial of his qualification', perhaps reflecting concerns about his unproven credentials among sceptics other than the support of those out to please the Duke.<sup>34</sup>

Interestingly, Smith, wasting no time, replied by letter on 10 January and presented himself at the University on 16 January, read his dissertation (presumably in Latin as was customary for professors at the time), took the requisite oaths, was admitted and, showing supreme confidence, promptly returned to Edinburgh on 'business', with a commitment to commence his teaching in the new session in October.<sup>35</sup> He must have had his dissertation ready, enabling his friends on the Senate to move with some haste to complete the process before academic opposition festered and gained momentum.

When he started teaching in October 1751, there were minor problems with the acceptance of his syllabus in place of the traditional logic syllabus taught by Professor Loudoun. John Millar, a student and later a friend and colleague, informed Dugald Stewart many years later of Smith's decision to depart 'widely from the plan that had been followed for years by his predecessors' because he found, disdainfully, the classical logic syllogisms an 'artificial method of reasoning' (EPS273-3).<sup>36</sup> Somewhat boldly, Smith retained bits of the old syllabus he thought worth learning and replaced the others with rhetoric, belles lettres and jurisprudence from his Edinburgh lectures. James Wodrow, Library Keeper in the College, sat in on Smith's lectures (he had been one of Frances Hutcheson's students) and commented critically to a friend:

Smith's reputation in his Rhetorical Lectures is sinking every day[.] As I am not a scholar of his I don't pretend to assign the cause. He begins next week to give lectures on Jurisprudencia which I design to attend. I hear he has thrown out some contemptuous Expressions of Mr Hutchison [sic]. Let the young man take care to guard his Censures by the Lines[,] Palisades and counterscarps of his science Rhetoric[.] For there are some of Mr H[utcheson]s scholars still about the Coll[ege] who perhaps will try to turn the mouths of the Cannon against himself [original spelling followed; punctuation added].<sup>37</sup>

These grumbles passed over, but may have lingered on to play a role in events four years later (1755) when persons, now unknown, accused Smith of plagiarism.<sup>38</sup>

Almost immediately, a fortuitous event unfolded. Shortly after Smith moved to Glasgow in time for the new session in October 1751 to commence teaching his truncated version of Professor Loudoun's logic course, the College was informed that Professor Thomas Craigie, holder of Professor Hutcheson's Chair of Moral Philosophy, had died in Lisbon on 27 November while on sick leave. The Senate had already made arrangements in September to cover Craigie's classes and Smith had agreed to deliver his lectures on Natural Jurisprudence and Politics. To dampen concerns that he might presume his temporary classes were a permanent occupation of Craigie's Chair of Moral Philosophy, he told William Cullen that he 'would endeavour to see [Loudoun] before he goes' to Lisbon, adding that 'I would pay great deference to [Loudoun's syllabus] in every thing, and would follow it implicitly... as I shall consider myself as standing in his place and representing him' (Corr4).

His temporary appointment to teach parts of the Moral Philosophy syllabus placed Smith in his element; he had an advantage over rival candidates, should any emerge, from his obvious superiority in his chosen field. He had attended the principal's meetings before he started teaching and had undertaken administrative chores, including his much appreciated work on the improvement to the back courts of two of the professors' houses sited within the university.<sup>39</sup> He also demonstrated mastery of his subjects.

### **Did Smith block Hume?**

We have a curious letter extant from Smith to William Cullen (Corr6), with whom he exchanged highly sensitive information about events affecting the University. One such set of exchanges<sup>40</sup> is perceived by most authorities to be a discussion between Smith and Cullen about the suitability of David Hume for a potential vacancy for the Chair of Logic, at that time occupied by Smith. It could also be taken as a discussion about blocking David Hume's candidacy for the Chair of Moral Philosophy to clear the way for Adam Smith to be unchallenged by a serious rival. On the evidence available, it cannot be decided unambiguously, but it is worth considering, since events in 1776 also show Smith's behaviour towards Hume in a curious light, when he refused Hume's requests that he agree to publish his paper on religion when Hume died (Corr194-6, 161, 165-6, 168).

Smith wrote to Cullen on 'Tuesday November 1751'. If that letter had been sent prior to the news arriving in Glasgow that Craigie had died in Lisbon on 27 November, their discussion would most likely have been about the Chair of Moral Philosophy because there was no point discussing candidates for the Chair of Logic unless there was a vacancy for it, which could only happen if there was already a degree of confidence that Smith would take over Craigie's Chair and thus put the Chair of Logic into play. Craigie's illness had been discussed since September, and it was likely that David Hume was a potential candidate for the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the event of Craigie's death, making him a rival to Smith's ambitions. This puts a different slant on the oft-quoted letter expressing Smith's concerns about Hume's suitability:

I should prefer David Hume to any man for a colleague; but I am afraid the public would not be of my opinion; and the interest of the society<sup>41</sup> will oblige us to have some regard to the opinion of the public. (Corr5)

Smith damns Hume with 'faint praise' by applauding him as a potential colleague and simultaneously raising the unfortunate circumstance of the likely hostile reaction of the Church to his appointment, following the precedent of the Edinburgh Church ministers in 1745, who had voted 12–3 against Hume's appointment to Edinburgh's Chair of Moral Philosophy. If it was the Chair of Moral Philosophy, then Smith's warning of the public repercussions of appointing a man well known for his aberrant views on religion (some suspected him of atheism) suggests that Smith was concerned that Hume's possible candidacy would frustrate his own ambitions. After all, Hume had published his *Treatise* in 1739, while Smith had published nothing. His Edinburgh lectures were supportive but were not solid evidence.

In these circumstances, Smith colluded with Cullen, and perhaps others privately, to block the advance of someone destined later that year to become his close friend. The non-appointment was doubly disappointing for Hume, given his rejection by the University of Edinburgh on similar grounds of his non-acceptability among those who influenced the appointment of professors, including the new 3rd Duke of Argyll. These events occurred around the time (November 1751–early 1752) that Smith and Hume first became acquainted and before their famous 25-year friendship flowered.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, Smith's comments behind the scenes are indicative of his 'political' ruthlessness throughout his career.

The alliance formed to appoint Smith to his chair in 1750 was now put to work to secure for him the Chair of Moral Philosophy. Interestingly, compared to his speedy election to the Chair of Logic, his appointment to the Chair of Moral Philosophy took nearly twice as long. It took 77 days to appoint Smith in 1750–51; in 1751–52 it took 150 days.

Smith was active in securing the nomination. He attended the Duke of Argyll's formal reception of visitors or guests (or levee, as at a royal court), in November and took the opportunity of being introduced to him by Alexander Lind of Gorgie. Lind was an advocate, an amateur chemist and an associate of the Dukes in their Glasgow Delft Works (*Corr6n7*).<sup>43</sup> In the 18th century you did not walk up to a Duke and introduce yourself; you solicited an 'introduction' from persons with strong interest. Your sponsor had to have a high opinion of you and of your proclivity for displaying the appropriate degree of deference. In the event, Smith reports that the Duke seemed to have 'forgot', but while he says nothing of the subject of the Duke's forgetfulness, the incident reveals the fact that the main player in university appointments was already involved by November 1751 (*Corr6*).

The mission was accomplished by 9 January 1752 when the Duke of Argyll made a decisive pronouncement that 'Mr David Hume cannot be recommended to a proffessorship [sic] there' [Glasgow].<sup>44</sup> James Wodrow, in a letter dated 21 January 1752, mentions that the clergy of Glasgow went as a body to Principal Neil Campbell to oppose Hume's appointment as a professor, without mentioning for which chair or who precisely had prompted their action.<sup>45</sup>

Still, the University took its time and it was not until 22 April that 'Adam Smith Professor of Logic in this University was elected unanimously to the Chair of Moral Philosophy' and he was formally admitted as professor on 29 April 1752.<sup>46</sup> The vacant Chair of Logic went to a 'Mr Clow', who was unknown and remains so.<sup>47</sup>

Adam Smith had arrived where he wanted to be by a mixture of intellectual ability, a well-managed interest campaign, the skilful demonstration of his teaching credentials and the right measure of judicious nursing of the men of influence in Scottish society, among them being those who had warmed towards his interests because of his father's loyal service to the Hanoverian cause.

Just short of his 29th birthday, the first phase of his life concluded and the most productive intellectual phase began. From then on, everything depended on what he did and not on what his father had done.

## Notes

1. Fry, M. 2006; Scott, P. H. 2007; Whatley, C. 2007; Watt, D. 2007.
2. Scott, W. R. 1937: 4–6.
3. Watt, D. 2007.
4. Whatley, C. 2007.
5. Scott, W. R. 1937: 18.
6. Ross, I. S. 1995: 2–3.
7. *Ibid.*: 129.
8. Bonar, J. [1894; 1932] 1966: 208.
9. Ross, I. S. 1995: 129–33.
10. Scott, W. R. 1937: 18; Note 1.
11. Scott, W. R. 1937: 134.
12. I am grateful to Nicholas Gruen for drawing my attention to this passage.
13. Cf. Denis, A. 2005: 1–32; Evensky, J. 2005.
14. Scott, W. R. 1937: 26; Ross, I. S. 1995: 18–22.
15. Scott, W. R. 1937: 137, 364.
16. *Ibid.*: 32.
17. Addison, W. L. 1901.
18. Ross, I. S. 1995: 68, quoting a Balliol College manuscript; Rae, J. [1895] 1965: 9.
19. Scott, W. R. 1937: 36, 137, 392; the 'MA' noted by Adam Smith's name when he was a professor is his Oxford degree, not a Glasgow degree.
20. Scott, W. R. 1937: 42.
21. Mossner, E. C. [1954] 1980: 60–80.
22. Scott, W. R. 1937: 40.
23. McCulloch, J. R. 1855 [1828].
24. Scott, W. R. 1937: 35–6.
25. *Ibid.*: 42–5.
26. Ross, I. S. 1995: 81, quoting Lenman, B. 1980: 271–5; Fry, M. 2006: 80–95.
27. Letter of resignation, 4 February 1749, Bodleian Library, in Scott, W. R. 1937: 137, 336.
28. Scott, W. R. 1937: 43; cf. Ross, I. S. 1995: 79.
29. Ross, I. S. 1995: 82.
30. *Ibid.*: 87, quoting Tytler, A. F. Lord Woodhouselee 1807: i.190.
31. Scott, W. R. 1937: 66.
32. Emerson, R. L. 1995: 21–39.
33. Cf. Ross, I. S. 1995: 110.
34. Scott, W. R. 1937: 138.
35. Rae, J. 1895: 42–3; Ross, I. S. 1995: 109.
36. Ross, I. S. 1995: 110.
37. *Ibid.*: 111, quoting from MS 24.157, 14, 16, Dr Williams' Lib.
38. Smith, A. '1755 Paper'; cf. Kennedy, G. 2005. Appendix: 241.
39. Scott, W. R. 1937: 66, 140; Ross, I. S. 1995: 145–51.
40. Rae, J. 1895: 45; Ross, I. S. 1995: 112–13.
41. 'Society' refers to scholars at the University and not to society in general.
42. Ross, I. S. 1995: 106, quoting Callander's notes in Raphael, D. D. and Sakamoto, T. 1990: 271–81.
43. Ross, I. S. 1995: 113.

44. *Ibid.*, quoting NLS Saltoun, Mss; in Mossner [1980]: 632, to Lord Milton, Duke of Argyll's political agent who reported it to the University.
45. Ross, I. S. 1995: 113 (note typo, '1751' for '1752', cf. 111 and 437; Dr William's Library, MS 24.157, Corr. S. Kenrick/J. Woodrow, 16 (21 January 1752).
46. Scott, W. R. 1937: 139–40.
47. Rae, J. 1895: 48.

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