

## Adam Smith's Marginalia

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Adam Smith was a collector of books. After Smith's death, David Douglas (1769-1819), Smith's cousin, inherited the books. After his death, Douglas' daughters, Mrs. Cunningham and Mrs. Bannerman inherited the books. Hiroshi Mizuta supposed that the Bannerman's portion went to the Edinburgh University, and consisted of about 1,000 titles, 2,000 books. The Cunningham's portion was dispersed. Queen's University and The University of Tokyo (Mizuta 1989). Further, Adam Smith's catalogue (Mizuta 2000) indicated 371 titles (unlocated items) and 31 titles (unidentified items: By Mrs. Yuki Moriwaki's research).

Smith's books have many marginalia. Michelle A. Schwarze initiated her research on Smith's marginalia, and Craig Smith and Nicholas Phillipson deepens their research on it. Especially, Craig Smith have been researching it extensively (Smith 2017). Just by change, we, the team of Adam Smith's Library at Tokyo, have been researching marginalia.

Further, marginalia writings have been researched recently. Bridel mentioned Walras' marginalia on Pareto's book (Bridel 1992). Jean-Pierre Potier has also researched Jean-Baptiste Say's marginalia (Potier, forthcoming). Further, Jackson researched marginalia as how readers interpreted a text (Jackson 2001).

The University of Tokyo holds 315 of Smith's books, 43 of which contain marginalia. Phillipson, Nohara and Smith (forthcoming) argues the general characteristics of the marginalia. In this essay, I focus on an example of Smith's marginalia to elucidate how the marginalia was written.

Smith's books contain several kinds of marginalia. Of Smith's marginalia on the Tokyo portion, the writing takes the form of marks (x-mark and strike-through), lines, writings in and around text, and writings on blank pages. The writing appears to have been written by several hands. Thus, we have to ascertain whether all, some or none of the handwriting is Smith's. However, at least, some marginalia, including in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* might be in Smith's handwriting. Further, the handwriting in *Leviathan* can be seen in other books (e.g., David Hume's *History of England*, vol.1 (ASL 838); Euclid, *The elements of Euclid* (ASL 585)). Only in the first few pages of texts, there exist handwriting except for lines and marks. These writings show the similar handwriting, so must have been written by the same person. However, for the moment, we cannot ascertain who wrote it. However, the detailed analysis of *Leviathan* can be revealing.

## **I. Leviathan's annotation.**

Smith's version of Hobbes' *Leviathan* contains annotations. I refer to the annotator on *Leviathan* as "the author." The mark [ ] is the part the author added or changed. As Phillipson, Nohara, and Smith (forthcoming) will argue, the marginalia has five characteristics.

### **1. The addition of omitted words.**

In English, sometimes, some words are omitted because it is not necessary to repeat them, or the reader is assumed to know what they are. The author added words that Hobbes had omitted.

### **2. The replacement of a pronoun with a proper noun.**

The author replaced a pronoun with a proper noun.

### **3. The replacement of people with "I"**

The author deleted the words indicating people in general, and the third-person and replaced them with the first-person singular.

### **4. The change in wording**

The author sometimes changed words.

### **5. Summary**

In addition, the author summarizes the text.

Therefore, these marginalia suggests that the author did not intend to improve Hobbes' writing style. Rather, the author seemed intent on clarifying Hobbes' meaning.

## **II. Suggestions**

The author seems to have some intellectual ideas that are compatible with Smith's (although we cannot ascertain whether the marginalia was Smith's or not).

The author seems to be have been a nominalist. Nominalist thought general words as derived from proper words. The author here replaced general words with specific, proper ones. He wrote, "The cause of [my] Sense, is the Externall Body, or Object, which [external body] presseth the organ proper to each Sense, either immediately, as in the [my] Tast and Touch; or mediately, as in [my] Seeing, Hearing, and Smelling" (2). He did not like the general words such as "sense" and "Tast(e) and Touch" in general. These are derived from "my" feeling, not the feeling of everyone. Thus, he added "my." He also wrote, "let

one man [me] read another [man] by his actions never so perfectly" (2). He did not like collective nouns indicating people in general. Instead, he equated these words with "I."

This attention to general words also implies his belief that that one cannot know someone else's mind. He repeatedly replaced general words with the first-person. Further, he added the first person possessive (my) to general words. He wrote, "the cause of [my] Sense" (2). The sense Hobbes referred to applied to all people. However, the author thought that the sense Hobbes referred was, actually Hobbes' own sense because he could not know the senses of others.

The author was also interested in clarity and precision. He did not like the use of pronouns because they can be ambiguous. Replacing pronouns with proper nouns can make sentences clearer.

### III. An example of marginalia

The following is an example of marginalia in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London: Printed for Andrew Crooks, 1651) held by Smith.

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To my most honor'd friend Mr Francis Godolphin of Godolphin.

Honor'd Sir,

Our most worthy Brother Mr Sidney Godolphin, when he lived, was pleas'd to think my studies something, and otherwise to oblige me, as you know, with reall testimonies of his good opinion, great [testimonies] in themselves, and the greater for the worthiness of his [S. Godolphin's] person. For [the reason that] there is not any vertue that disposeth a man, either to the service of God, or [disposeth a man] to the service of his Country; to Civill Society, or private Friendship, that did not manifestly appear in his [S. Godolphin's] conversation, not as [a thing] acquired by necessity, or affected [by him] upon occasion, but inhaerent [virtues], and shining in a generous constitution of his nature. Therefore [For that reason] in honour and gratitude to him, and with devotion to your selfe, I humbly Decicate unto you this my discourse of Common-wealth. I know not how [in what manner] the world will receive it, nor how [in what manner] it may reflect on those [men] that shall seem to favour it [this discourse]. For [the reason that] in a way beset with those [men] that contend, on one side for too great Liberty, and [those that contend] on the other side for too much Authority, 'tis [a] hard [thiing] to passe between the points of both unwounded. But yet [notwithstanding], me thinks, the endeavour to advance the Civill Power, should not be by the Civill Power condemned; nor private men, by reprehending it [such endeavour], declare they think that Power too great. Besides, I speak not of the men, but [I speak] [(in the Abstract)] of the Seat of Power, [(like to those simple [creatures] and unpartiall creatures in the Roman Capitol, that with their noyse defended those [men] within it, not because they were they, but [because

they were] there, [)] offending none, I think, but those [men] without, or such [men] within [(] if there be any such [)] as favour them. That [thing] which perhaps may most offend [men], are certain Texts of Holy Scripture, alledged by me to other purpose than ordinarily [such texts] they use to be [alledged] by others. But I have done it [alleged these so] with due submission, and also [(] in order to my subject [)] necessarily; for [the reason that] they are the Outworks of the Enemy, from whence they impugne the Civill Power. If [supposing that] notwithstanding this, you find my labour generally decayed, [by men] you may be pleased to excuse your selfe, and say I am a man that love my own opinions, and think all [things] true I say, that I honoured your Brother, and honour you, and have presum'd on that, to assume the Title [(] without your knowledge [)] of being, as i am,

SIR,

Paris. Aprill 15/25. 1651.

Your most humble, and most

THO. HOBBS.

The Introduction.

Nature ( the Art whereby God hath made [this world] and governes the World ) is by the *Art* of man, as in many other things, so in this [thing] also imitated, that it [man's art] can make an Artificial Animal. For [the reason that] (it seeing the fact that) is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof [of a such motion] is in some principall part within; [for what reason] why may we [for what reason] not say, that all *Automata* (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheeles as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For [the reason that] what is the *Heart*, but a *Spring*; and the [my] *Nerves*, but so many *Strings*; and the [my] *joynts*, but so many *Wheeles*, giving motion to the [my] whole Body, such [motion] as was intended by the Artificer; [man's] *Art* goes yet further, imitating that Rationall [work] and most excellent worke of [God's art] nature, *Man*. For [the reason that] by [man's] Art is created that great LEVIATHAN called a COMMONWEALTH, or STATE, (in latine CIVITAS) which [state] is but an Artificiall Man; though [granting that it is] of greater stature and strength than the Naturall [man], for whose protection and defence it [such state] was intended; and in which [state] , the *Sovereignty* is an *Artificiall* Soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body; The *Magistrates*, and other offices of Judicature and Execution, artificial *Joynts*; *Reward* and *Punishment* (by which [reward and punishment] fastned to the seate of the Sovereignty, every joynt and member is moved to performe his duty) are the *Nerves*, that do the same in the Body Naturall; The *Wealth* and *Riches* of all the particular members, are the [civil state's] *Strength*; *Salus Populi* (the peoples safety) its *Business*; *Counsellors*, by whom all things needful for it [the sate] to know, are suggested unto it [the state], are the *Memory*; *Equity* and *Laws*, an artificiall *Reason* and *Will*; *Concord*, *Health*; *Sedition*, *Sickness*; and *Civill war*, *Death*. Lastly, the *Pacts* and *Covenants*; by which [Pacts and Covenants] the parts of this Body Politique were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that *Fiat*, or the *Let us make man*, pronounced by God in the Creation.

To describe the Nature of this Artificiall man [the civil state], I will consider

First, the *Matter* [of the civil state] thereof, and the *Artificer*, both which [matter n artificer] is *Man*.

Secondly, How [In what manner], and by what Covenants it [the civil state] is made; what (?) are the *Rights* and just *Power* or *Authority* of a *Sovereign*; and what it [thing] is a Christian Common-waelfth. Lastly, what [thing] is the *Kingdome of Darkness*.

Concerning the first [man- the matter, and artificer of a civil state], there is a saying much usurped of late, That *Wisedome* is acquired, not by [my] reading of *Books*, but [by my reading of] of *Men*. Consequently [for which reasons] (such acquirement of wisdom) whereunto, those persons, that for the most part can give no other proof of being wise [man], take great delight to shew what [things] they think they have read in men, by uncharitable censures of one another behind their backs. But (Yet) there is another saying not of late understood [by me] by which they (saying men) might learn truly to read one another, if (supposing that such men) they would take the pains; and that is, *Nosce teipsum, Read thy Self*: which (nosce teipsum) was not meant, as it (such saying) is now used, to countenance, either the barbarous state of men in power, towards their betters; But to reach us [me], that for the similitude of the thoughts [of one man] and Passions of one man, to the thoughts [of another man] and Passions of another [man], whosoever looketh into himself [myself] and considereth [consider] what he doth [I do], when he does [I do] *think, opine, reason, hope, feare, &C.*, and upon what grounds; he [I] shall thereby read and know, what are the thoughts and Passions of all other men, upon hte like occasions. I say the similitude of [my] *Passions*, which [passions] are the same in all men, *desire, feare, hope, &C*; [I say] not the similitude of the objects of the [my] *Passions*, which objects are the things *desired, feared, hoped, &C*: for the reason that objects] these the constitution individuall, and particular education do so vary, and they [such] are so easie to be kept from our [my] knowledge, (the effect of which is) that the characters of [my] man's heart, blotted and confounded as they (such characters) are; with dissembling, lying, counterfeiting, and erroneous doctrines, are legible onely to him that searcheth hearts. And though [granting that] by mens action wee [I] do discover their designe some times; yet to do it [to discover other men's designs], without comparing them (their actions) with our [my] own, and distinguishing all circumstances, by which (circumstances) the care may come to be altered, is [for me] to decypher without a key, and be for the most part deceived, [deceived] by too much trust, or [deceived] by too much dissidence; as he [I] tthat reads, is [am] himself [myself] a good [man] or evil man.

But let one man [me] read another [man] by his actions never so perfectly, it serves him [me] onely with his [my] acquaintance, which [acquaintance's arts] are but few. He taht is to govern a whole Nation, must read in himself, not this [particular man], or that particular man; but [he must read in himself] Man-kind: which [thing] though it be [a] hard [thing] to do, [a] harder [thing] than to learn any Language, or Science; yet [notwithstanding], when I shall have set down my own reading orderly, and[,] perspicuously, the pains left another [man], will be onely to consider, if he also find not the same [thing] in himself [myself]. For this kind of Doctrine, admitteth no other Demonstration.

## Of Man, Chap. I. Of Sense.

Concerning the Thoughts of man, I will consider them first singly, and afterwards in *Trayne*, or dependence upon another. Singly, they [my thoughts] are every one a Representation [of some quality] or *Apparence*, of some quality, or other Accident of a body without us [me]; which is commonly called an object. Which object worketh on the [my] Eyes, Eares, and other parts of man's [my] body; and by diversity of working, produceth diversity of Apparences.

The Originall of them [my thoughts] all [of apparence], is that which [things] we call SENSE; (For there is no conception in a mans [my] mind, which [conception] hath not at first totally, or [at first] by parts, been begotten upon the [my] organs of Sense.) The rest [of my conceptions] are derived from that originall [sense].

To know the naturall cause of [my] Sense, is not [a] very necessary [thing] to the business now in hand; and I have else-where written of the same at large. Nevertheless to fill each part of my present method, I will briefly deliver the same in this place [that I have else where written].

The cause of [my] Sense, is the Externall Body, or Object, which [external body] presseth the organ proper to each Sense, either immediately, as in the [my] Tast and Touch; or mediately, as in [my] Seeing, Hearing, and Smelling: which pressure, by [means of] the mediation of Nerves, and other strings, and membrances of the body, continued inwards to the [my] Brain, and Heart, causeth there a resistance, or counter-pressure, or endeavour of the [my] heart, to deliver it self: which endeavour [after deliverance] because *Outward*, seemeth to be some matter without. And this *Seeming*, or *fancy*, is that [things] which men call Sense; and consisteth, as to the Eye, in a *Light*, or *Colour figured*; To the *Eare*, in a *Sound*; To the Nostrill, in an *Odour*; To the Tongue and Palat, in a *Savour*; And to the rest of the body, in *Heat*, *Cold*, *Hardness*, *Softness*, and such other qualities, as we discern by *Feeling*. All which qualities called *Sensible* [qualities]; are in the object that causeth them, but so many several motions of the matter, by [means of] which it [matter] presseth our [my] organs diversly...

## Chap. II. Of Imagination.

...and apply the same [imagination]...but an obscuring of it [the motion made in sense], in such manner

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The following is the handwritings at the margin of the text

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## The Introduction

(p. 1)

## 1. Nature- God's creature and governing art

2. Man's Art- in imitation of God's creating and artificial animal- the Civil State.

3. The Civil state likened to man's nature

(p. 2)

1. distribution into four general heads

2. Some showing their reading in men by uncharitable censures.

3. What nosce te ipsum (Read thy self) was intended to teach

4. Why this author speaks of the similitude of the passions but not of their objects

5. When my Reading in man may be but decyphering without a key

6. The governour of a whole nation must reat mankind in himself.

Of Man Chap. I Of Sense.

(p. 3)

1. Man's thoughts

consider them 1. Singly. 2. In Trayne, or dependence upon one another:

## IV. Conclusion

Many of Smith's books contain handwriting, or marginalia in several hands. Some seem to be written by the same hand because of the pattern of annotation and the writing style. These points describe the marginalia in Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Then, the marginalia shows that the author of the marginalia was attentive to the clarity of sentences.

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