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AN EXPONENT OF SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE PHILOSOPHY IN REVOLUTIONARY SOUTH AMERICA: JOSÉ JOAQUÍN DE MORA

Iona Macintyre

Abstract:

Revolutionary movements in nineteenth-century South America saw the region's historic grounding in scholasticism confronted by the ideas of the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment. This article examines a subsequent development: Spanish liberal man of letters José Joaquín de Mora's attempt to implant Scottish common sense philosophy as the dominant school in the republics that were emerging from Spanish rule and gradually forming nationally as Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru. Furthering our knowledge of Scottish intellectual influence abroad, Mora's enterprise also illuminates two contentious issues of the period in Spanish America, namely how to cultivate young minds in a revolutionary context, and the place of European culture, in this case Scottish, in the immediate post-colonial period.

Key words: José Joaquín de Mora, Scottish Philosophy, Common Sense, Logic, Moral Philosophy, South America

Although the Spaniard José Joaquín de Mora (Cadiz, 1783-Madrid, 1864) is until now absent from Scottish history,¹ Spanish and South American historians have provided us with intermittent glimpses of his life in his various guises as a writer, educator, translator, legislator, and diplomat, highlighting his contribution to public debates and his commitment to setting up liberal public institutions. From his time in Europe, history has preserved both his part in a heated dispute about Romanticism and Spanish cultural identity that took place in the Spanish press between 1814 and 1820,² and his activities as an exile in London during Spanish absolutism, when he worked as a writer and translator with the publisher Rudolph Ackermann (1823-27).³ Across the Atlantic, historians have also recorded his time in South America (1827-38), where he worked as a journalist and in elite educational institutions in the cities of Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Lima, and La Paz, following the respective

¹ Research linking Scotland and South America during the nineteenth century has tended to focus on Scottish emigration and Scots in the region such as soldier Gregor MacGregor, naval officer Thomas Cochrane, and writer Florence Dixie. See for example M. Brown, 'Gregor MacGregor: Clansman, Conquistador and Coloniser on the Fringes of the British Empire' in D. Lambert and A. Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 32-57, D. Thomson, *Cochrane: The Story of Britannia's Sea Wolf* (London, 2001), and C. E. Martin, "'Shall I ever climb the Moors again?'" Lady Florence Dixie's *Across Patagonia* (1880)', *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 45, 1 (2012), pp. 57-63. Interdisciplinary work bringing relationships between Scotland and Uruguay, particularly in the nineteenth century, into focus is collected in L. Cordery, G. San Román and B. Vegh (eds), *Sentir el lugar: diálogos Uruguay-Escocia* (Montevideo, 2011).

² See C. Pitollet, *La querelle calderonienne de Johan Nikolas Böhl von Faber et José Joaquín de Mora* (Paris: 1909).

³ On the history of Spanish liberal exiles in London see V. Llorens, *Liberales y románticos: una emigración española en Inglaterra (1823-1834)* (Valencia, 1979), and D. Muñoz Sempere and G. Alonso García, *Londres y el liberalismo hispánico* (Madrid, 2011).

countries' independence from Spain.⁴ They have in addition described his part in drafting the highly controversial Chilean constitution of 1828⁵ and his role in disseminating Anglicised gender discourses in South America.⁶ Yet further to this Mora provides us with an example of the dissemination of Scottish philosophy in South America as the region transitioned away from the Spanish scholastic tradition.

Mora was a great believer in the improving qualities of British culture. One component of this belief, and the subject of this article, was his passion for Scottish thought, particularly philosophy, which he sought to implant in South America during the 1830s via his textbook, *Courses of Logic and Ethics following the Edinburgh School*.⁷ This was first published in Lima in 1832, with subsequent editions in La Paz (1834, 1844, and 1846), Sucre, Bolivia (1840), Bogota, Colombia (1840), and Madrid, Spain (1845). However, researchers have only briefly noted Mora's interest in the Scottish School of Common Sense, most recently in an article by Ibarz and León in 2009.⁸ Indeed, while the impact of this school of philosophy and, more generally, Scottish academic influence, on colleges in the United States and Continental Europe has been widely documented, almost nothing has been written on its trajectory in South America, a region more associated with the impact of the French *philosophes*, particularly Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau, on the independence movement.⁹ The first section of this article charts this history by examining Mora's burgeoning interest in Scottish letters. This is followed by an account of the publication of *Courses* and an analysis of its reception in South America. Hitherto categorising as simply following the Common Sense School, *Courses* is identified here for the first time as a translation of Dugald Stewart that, as this article shall argue, could not be disseminated widely in its day due to post-independence political unrest and was not ultimately destined to emerge as a dominant school in the Andean region, for reasons of revolutionary necessity. The final section explores the suggestive adaptations in Mora's text which engage with the

⁴ See M. L. Amunátegui, *Don José Joaquín de Mora: apuntes biográficos* (Santiago de Chile, 1888), L. Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú del ochocientos* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), E. Núñez, *José Joaquín de Mora* (Lima, 1966), L. Monguió, 'Don José Joaquín de Mora en Buenos Aires en 1827', *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 31, 1/4 (1965), pp. 303-328, and B. D. Trease, *José Joaquín de Mora: A Spaniard Abroad*. PhD University of Michigan, 1953.

⁵ See R. Piccirilli, 'En torno a José Joaquín de Mora y la constitución de 1828', *Revista de Historia de América*, 45 (1958), pp. 144-147.

⁶ Rather than preserving Hispanic traditions of femininity, Mora advocated British-inspired modes of behaviour for girls and women in Spanish America. See I. Macintyre, 'Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana', in *Women and Print Culture in Post-Independence Buenos Aires*, (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 113-138, and 'Corinne in the Andes: European Advice for Women in 1820s Argentina and Chile' in M. Brown and G. Paquette (eds) *Connections after Colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2013), pp. 179-190.

⁷ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Book titles will be translated into English while passing references to Spanish-language periodical publications will remain untranslated.

⁸ V. Ibarz and R. León, 'José Joaquín de Mora (1783-1864): un introductor de la escuela escocesa del sentido común en el Perú, Bolivia y España', *Revista de Historia de la Psicología*, 30, 2-3 (2009), pp. 145-152.

⁹ See for example H. J. Wiarda, *The Soul of Latin America: The Cultural and Political Tradition* (New Haven CT, 2003).

American (taken here in a continental sense) social context but only in an extremely limited ethnocentric way.

Mora was born into bourgeois society in the Andalusian port city of Cadiz and took part in the city's intellectual scene as a young man. His lifelong friend, fellow writer and educator Antonio Alcalá Galiano (1789-1865), reminisces in his memoirs about their time together as members of the city's literary society, the Academy of Belles Lettres. Alcalá Galiano's recollections provide us with evidence of an early encounter with the Scottish Enlightenment. Members of the society read *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* by Hugh Blair (1718-1800) which were based on Blair's teaching of literature at the University of Edinburgh, and were first published in London in 1783, before going on to achieve best-seller status on the continent.¹⁰ Blair was very prominent in the intellectual scene in Scotland, which was admired by liberal circles in Spain, and was one of the founding members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783. As we shall see, this desire to foment cultural learning and knowledge was shared by Mora.

In terms of his formal education, Mora studied law, before going on to teach logic at the University of Granada's College of San Miguel in 1806. The university had undergone some modernisation, with the effect that philosophy was considered a separate academic discipline from Christian theology and thus open to fresh ideas from outside Spain.¹¹ However, the Peninsular War (1807-14) interrupted this period, ravaging Spain, and paralysing university life. Following the French invasion of Spain in 1808, Mora enlisted, only to be interned in France in 1809, where he saw out the rest of the conflict. There he married his French wife Françoise Delaunay (1791-1887), who would also work in education in South America. Mora returned to Spain with his wife in 1814 and took up work as a lawyer. After Rafael Riego's successful mutiny of the Spanish army in 1820, Mora enjoyed the heady three years of liberal government in Spain (1820-23) working as a newspaper editor in Madrid until the return of absolute monarchy under King Ferdinand VII, which forced him to leave for London as part of an exodus of liberal intellectuals and public servants.¹² As we shall see, this would certainly not be the last time his immediate fate was sealed by liberal defeat and changes in political rule.

Mora's arrival in London in 1823 followed Spain's imperial demise in Spanish America and thus he was able to find work as a writer and translator with the German publisher Rudolph Ackerman (1764-

¹⁰ A. Alcalá Galiano, *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano* (Madrid, 1886), p. 87. Blair's book was first published in Madrid in 1798 as *Lecciones sobre la Retórica y las Bellas Letras*. It was translated into Spanish by José Luis Munárriz, the secretary of Madrid's literary society, the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts.

¹¹ Trease, *José Joaquín de Mora*, p. 2.

¹² The history of Spanish liberal exiles in London during the 1820s is told expertly by Llorens in his classic *Liberales y románticos*. Llorens undertook the in-depth study after reading British Hispanist Edgar Allison Peers' article 'The Literary Activities of the Spanish Emigrados in England (1814-1834)', *MLR*, XIX (1924), pp. 315-324 and pp. 334-358. Muñoz Sempere and Alonso García's edited volume, *Londres y el liberalismo hispánico* presents new work on the subject. The latter has three chapters dedicated to Mora's activities in London.

1834), who began a brisk trade producing books and periodical publications in Spanish for export across the Atlantic.¹³ Reformist leaders in Spanish America felt that reading materials were urgently required to transform the dire state of intellectual life left by Spanish colonial obscurantism and compounded by the years of conflict since the outbreak of the wars of independence in 1810. Mora was in favour of Spanish American independence and this constituted his first activity in service of the republics. During his time in London, Mora also made the acquaintance of Spanish Americans such as Venezuelan Andrés Bello (1781-1865) and Ecuadorian Vicente Rocafuerte (1783-1847), who were in the city representing their new governments. These relationships were to pave the way for his sojourn in South America.

Evidence of the impact of Scottish intellectual culture on Mora and his Hispanic contemporaries during the London years is not particularly strong. One point of contact is Mora's 1825 Spanish translation of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* sold by the Ackermann offices in both London and Mexico City and followed by his translation of *The Talisman* the year after.¹⁴ In his translator's note to the latter, Mora recommends the novel to Spanish American readers involved with reform projects, describing it as enjoyable, informative, and based on noble, intelligent and loyal characters 'whose existence is not merely reduced to passion', with this latter comment perhaps intended as a reprimand to the stereotypical fiery Latin temperament, tacitly commending the Anglophone world's stiff upper lip.¹⁵ Mora's translation of *The Talisman* would go on to be reprinted in Paris (1837) and Barcelona (1838).¹⁶

It was from England that Mora and his wife and children would set sail for Argentina in 1827 at the behest of Bernardino Rivadavia (1780-1845), the minister of the government of the province of Buenos Aires who had met Mora during a trip to London in 1824.¹⁷ This marked the beginning of Mora's time in South America, where he would find employment, primarily in teaching and journalism, with the governments of Rivadavia in Argentina, Francisco Antonio Pinto (1785-1858) in Chile, Agustín Gamarra (1785-1841) in Peru, and Andrés Santa Cruz (1792-1865) in Bolivia, all of whom had plans for educational reform. In each of these contexts Mora would be a prominent public figure and would quickly come to feel the animosity of vying political groups. The first half of the nineteenth century was a turbulent period in South American history, marked by a large number of factional wars,

¹³ For detailed information on the publication of Spanish-language reading material for export see E. Roldán Vera's *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective* (Aldershot, 2003).

¹⁴ Eugenio Ochoa, *Apuntes para una bibliografía de escritores españoles contemporáneos: en prosa y verso* (Paris: Imprenta Nueva, 1840), p. 513.

¹⁵ J.J. de Mora, *El talisman: cuento del tiempo de las cruzadas* (London and Mexico City, 1826), v-xii (p. xi).

¹⁶ Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú*, p. 227.

¹⁷ Mora would once again reside in London between 1838 and 1843 serving as ambassador for the short lived political union of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. Thereafter he returned to Spain and sealed his place in the intellectual establishment becoming a member of the Spanish Royal Academy in 1848. He would take over the running of the Colegio San Felipe in his hometown of Cadiz. In 1853 he was appointed Consul-General in the United Kingdom.

caudillismo, military campaigns against indigenous groups, and occasional royalist uprisings. This climate of instability was compounded by the foundation and collapse of different territorial organisations. When independence was consolidated across South America, the dominant Creole classes¹⁸ were bitterly divided, both into liberal and conservative factions, and residents of capital cities and rural areas.¹⁹

Let us now look briefly at the general picture of education for the governing classes in South America at the time of Mora's arrival, two decades after the outbreak of the wars of independence. During Spanish colonial rule formal education was largely the responsibility of the Roman Catholic Church. Male children of elite groups generally received private tuition before going on, where possible, to continue their studies in the metropolis. Otherwise, this high status few attended colleges and universities in South America, where learning was focused on theology, studied in the mode of Spanish scholasticism.²⁰ It was this tradition of Christian philosophy that revolutionary thinkers sought to supplant, with the leaders who employed Mora keen to counter the colonial legacy and impact of conflict, expanding the reach of education, despite the fact that provision would nonetheless remain highly uneven. Governments were required to act quickly to establish educational systems, teacher training, curricula and textbooks to remedy what they regarded as Spanish ignorance, and to shape the political future by developing moral character, a process perceived as necessary for a successful revolution against Spain. These were ambitious goals given the political instability of the post-independence period. Education remained largely confined to dominant cities, with many sectors of society left without access to formal schooling, including racial exclusions and precluding other subordinate groups. It was in this context of educational reform that Mora founded secondary schools for boys in all the countries in which he lived. The extant names of his pupils indicate that they belonged to the families of the highest status of the political classes, which, on the whole, came from the wealthy sectors of the Creole class.²¹

¹⁸ Creole meaning the American-born populace who could claim as much European descent as possible, who took over from the Spanish-born colonial elite. The Venezuelan hero of independence, Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) called Creoles, of which he himself was an example, 'neither Indian nor European, but a race halfway between the legitimate owners of this land and the Spanish usurpers' in his *Jamaica Letter* of 1815. See D. Bushnell (ed), *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar* trans. by Frederick H. Fornoff (Oxford and New York, 2003), pp. 12-30 (p. 18).

¹⁹ My description of the political situation in South America does of course elide regional differences. For a more nuanced analysis see P. Bakewell, *A History of Latin America* (Malden, MA, Oxford and Victoria, 2004).

²⁰ For bibliographic material on philosophical treatises and teaching materials during Spanish colonial rule and a discussion of Spanish American scholasticism see W. B. Redmond, *Bibliography of the Philosophy in the Iberian Colonies of America* (The Hague, 1972). See also S. Nuccetelli 'Iberian Scholasticism and its Critics: From Colonial Rule to Independence' in her *Latin American Thought: Philosophical Problems and Arguments* (Boulder, CO, 2002) on how the school was disseminated in Spanish America after it was obsolete in most of Europe, pp. 137-178. A nuanced history of scholasticism across Latin America is provided by O. R. Martí, 'Breaking with the Past: Philosophy and its History in Latin America' in A. Salles and E. Millán-Zaibert (eds), *The Role of History in Latin American History: Contemporary Perspectives* (Albany, 2005), pp. 78-86.

²¹ Mora's pupils tended to be the children of the political classes. For example, In Santiago de Chile José Victorino Lastarria (1817-1888), who would become a writer and politician, was Mora's pupil at the Liceo de Chile, Trease, *José Joaquín de Mora*, p. 182. Andrés Santa Cruz's nephews studied with

By the time Mora arrived in Buenos Aires in 1827, there had been many new developments in education. Scottish pastor James Thomson had visited the city in 1818 to promote the Joseph Lancaster teaching method, designed to be wide reaching in numeric and social terms through the use of class monitors, before moving on to Chile and Peru.²² Juan Crisóstomo Lafinur published his philosophy course, designed for use as a textbook at the Unión del Sud College and which was also adopted in neighbouring Chile the following year. Notably, the University of Buenos Aires was founded in 1821. Despite being forced to leave the city after just ten months following the downfall of the Rivadavia government, Mora worked prolifically in education and journalism during his time there,²³ together with his wife, who founded the Colegio Argentino school for girls. During his time in Argentina Mora left a trail that testified to his interest in Scottish thought, exemplified by an article in his newspaper *La Crónica Política y Literaria de Buenos Aires* in which he discusses *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792) by Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), a major influence on the textbook he would publish five years later in Lima, Peru.²⁴

Let us pause here to examine the reception of Scottish common sense philosophy in Argentina by one of the most prominent intellectual figures of the century. The writer Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), educated at the Colegio Nacional secondary school in Buenos Aires and the University of Cordoba (founded in 1614) in Argentina, Alberdi regarded Stewart as a leading light in nineteenth century European philosophy. However, as the following passage from 1842 makes clear, he was ultimately more attracted to French philosophy, which he saw as more social and political, geared more towards the issues of liberty, sovereignty, equality, all of which were required to overcome the challenges facing South America:

Let us approach Germany and Scotland directly as little as possible: nothing is less appropriate to initiate the immature intelligence of South America in the problems of philosophy than the spirit and the forms of thinking from the north of Europe.²⁵

These remarks are indicative of an all-too-common feature of discussions on education in post-independence Spanish America related to the relationship between philosophical debates and major political developments such as independence. Alberdi did not believe Scottish philosophy was suitable for South American faculties and temperament. Taken alongside the fact that Spanish

him in Chile. In Lima, Manuel Orbegoso, whose father José Luis de Orbegoso became president of Peru in 1833, attended the Ateneo del Perú, and Andrés Gamarra, son of President Agustín Gamarra, was taught by Françoise Mora. See Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú*, p. 125.

²² See J. Thomson, *Letters on the Moral and Religious State of South America written during a Residence of nearly Seven Years in Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru and Colombia* (London, 1827).

²³ For further information on Mora's activities in Buenos Aires see Monguió, 'Don José Joaquín de Mora en Buenos Aires en 1827' and Macintyre, 'Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana', pp. 113-138.

²⁴ *La Crónica Política y Literaria de Buenos Aires*, num. 28, 15 May 1827.

²⁵ J. B. Alberdi, *Ideas para un curso de filosofía contemporánea* (Mexico City, 1978), p. 7.

speakers were linguistically better equipped to read French than English, there is nothing surprising about Alberdi's greater interest in French thinkers.²⁶ Indeed, he explicitly states that '[t]he most important consequences from Scottish [...] are found reformulated in French philosophy', presumably referring to Victor Cousin, Théodore Jouffroy (1796-1842) and Pierre Paul Royer-Collard (1763-1845), all inheritors in some sense of the common sense tradition.²⁷

From Buenos Aires, Mora went on to Santiago de Chile, arriving in 1828 and remaining there for three years. The University of San Felipe in Santiago was Chile's first university, founded in 1758, which became the University of Chile in 1835. Chile's independence had been sealed with the Battle of Maipú in 1818. Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842), an independence fighter of Irish descent, was Supreme Director and he worked to establish the Instituto Nacional, a teacher training institution. There had also been interest in implementing the Lancaster method in Chile.²⁸ Mora continued his work in journalism and education, founding the newspaper *El Mercurio Chileno* in 1828 and establishing the Liceo de Chile, a boarding school for secondary students, which opened the following year. In the school prospectus, published in 1828, Mora highlights how the programme of study would serve as a good basis for careers in the military and in commerce.²⁹ During his time in Chile, Mora also published the textbook *Course of Law at the Liceo de Chile* (1830), imparting teachings from Adam Smith (1723-1790) and Scottish economist John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864).

Mora's work in Chile was not solely confined to the sphere of education: in 1828 he was entrusted with drafting a new constitution under Francisco Antonio Pinto. Yet once again, his political alliances were to prove his downfall. Domingo de Alcalá, a Venezuelan travelling in Chile that year, noted Mora's propensity to become embroiled in local political rivalries in a letter to his cousin:

This gentleman is currently the blue-eyed boy around here, given special treatment by everyone, especially the government [...]. Mr Mora undoubtedly makes himself useful wherever he goes, he writes with quite a bit of judgement and a liberal bent in newspapers on subjects of general interest but, if by mistake, he were to get embroiled in private matters and party politics he would, as in Buenos Aires, fall victim to the first popular rebellion. I expect he will have learnt his lesson and that he will abstain from dipping his plume in the bile of the political parties.³⁰

Alcalá's expectation of a change in Mora's *modus operandi*, however, proved unfounded: Mora had not resolved to avoid being caught up in the unfolding drama. As always, his path was formed by political relationships, factions and changeovers. It was a pattern common to his time in Argentina,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁸ See F. Soto Roa, *Historia de la educación chilena* (Santiago de Chile, 2000).

²⁹ Mora, *Plan de estudios con algunos pormenores sobre su ejecución y sobre la disciplina de establecimiento* (Santiago de Chile, 1828), p. 2.

³⁰ D. de Alcalá cited in R. Donoso, 'Bello en el Senado', in E. González Rojas (ed) *Andrés Bello, 1865-1965; homenaje de la Facultad de Filosofía y Educación de la Universidad de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1966), pp. 95-176, p. 116.

Chile and Peru, all of which he was forced to leave by the political elimination of his patrons by the opposition.

Mora's involvement in radical reforms proved too much for the Chilean conservatives. The constitution of 1828 abolished the Spanish colonial institution of the *mayorazgo*, the rules of inheritance based on male primogeniture, a reform which O'Higgins, as Supreme Director of Chile, had unsuccessfully attempted in 1818 during the early days of Chilean independence. Part of the revolutionary tradition of the United States and France, this bold step towards equality between sons, if not daughters, aimed to reduce the concentrated privilege of the aristocracy in Chile.³¹ However, such democratic restructuring was unacceptable to Chile's conservative element and, following their seizure of power after the Battle of Lircay in 1830, the incoming Chilean Minister of the Interior, Diego Portales (1793-1837), expelled Mora from the country in 1831.³²

Andrés Bello, Mora's acquaintance from London, would fair rather better in Chilean intellectual life. Bello had studied philosophy at the University of Caracas in his native Venezuela, mainly in the traditional scholastic mode with one notable exception: he took a course in philosophy for lay people (in the sense of secular).³³ Bello lived in London between 1810 and 1829 and, as an educator, writer and diplomat, earned a living by similar means to Mora. There he made the acquaintance of James Mill.³⁴ Bello would go on to become the most prominent intellectual figure in Chile, his adopted nation to which he arrived in 1829. He was employed to run the Colegio de Santiago, announcing the study of Adam Smith in the prospectus,³⁵ and founded the University of Chile in 1848. It was not until the 1840s, after Mora's departure from South America, that Bello would begin to write on philosophy in the Chilean press. These pieces were edited posthumously in Santiago as *Philosophy of Understanding* (1881) and show that, like Mora, he was heavily influenced by Scottish philosophy, with myriad references to Reid, Stewart, and the latter's student Thomas Brown.³⁶

On his ejection from Chile, Mora travelled north to Peru, arriving in Lima, a new cultural context, the same year. Despite Peru having gained its independence from Spain in the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824, loyalty to Spain remained strong in Lima, a stronghold of royalists and Spain's former centre of

³¹ A defence of the Constitution published in Santiago in 1828 and attributed to Mora cites the Edinburgh School of Law, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and *Edinburgh Review* as all setting out arguments against primogeniture, *Respuesta a la memoria sobre los mayorazgos de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1828), pp. 19, 22, and 23.

³² Donoso, 'Bello en el Senado', pp. 95-176. For a detailed picture of Mora's engagement with Chilean public life see G. Iglesias Rogers, 'José Joaquín de Mora in Chile: From Neo-Europe to the 'Beocia Americana'', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 36, 3 (2017), pp. 326-339.

³³ J. D. García Bacca, 'Introducción general a las obras filosóficas de Andrés Bello' in *Obras completas de Andrés Bello*, vol. III, (Caracas, 1951), pp. xv-lxxx (p. xviii).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

³⁵ R. A. Pérez Lisicic, 'Los inicios de la enseñanza del Derecho Constitucional en el Chile decimonónico: el Liceo de Chile y el Colegio de Santiago (1828-1831)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 68, 1, enero-junio, pp. 141-162, 2011, p. 155.

³⁶ For more on Bello and Scottish philosophy see S. R. Sutherland 'Andrés Bello: The Influence of Scottish Philosophy' in J. Lynch (ed), *Andrés Bello: The London Years* (Richmond, 1982), pp. 99-118.

command in South America. Its first university, San Marcos founded in 1551, was also the first in the Americas. Mora immediately began work establishing and raising funds for a day school for boys, the Ateneo del Perú, although it did not receive sufficient support to open.³⁷ Instead, he took up employment tutoring law, turning his attention to his textbook *Courses of Logic and Ethics following the Edinburgh School*, published in Lima the year after his arrival and the focus of this article. *Courses* imparts Scottish common sense philosophy as founded by Thomas Reid (1710-1796), author of *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* of 1764, and continued by Stewart.³⁸

We can imagine the general appeal of Scottish philosophy to Mora and why he might have regarded it as so suitable for the new republics: its empirical approach following Locke and Berkeley who were inspired by the discoveries of Galileo, Kepler and Newton in the physical sciences; its lack of religious dogma as contrasted with Spanish scholasticism and an education system run by the Roman Catholic Church; its practicality; its tradition of employing a straightforward prose style; and its genesis in a nation with a wide-reaching educational system. Early on in the text Mora cites David Hume's (1711-76) words from *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748):

And though a philosopher may live remote from business, the genius of philosophy, if carefully cultivated by several, must gradually diffuse itself throughout the whole society, and bestow a similar correctness on every art and calling.³⁹

The work of Reid and Stewart shares this aspiration to universal betterment and their rejection of any preoccupation with the idea of innate individual genius and their focus instead on human potential and improvement would also have been very attractive to Mora.⁴⁰

The foreword to *Courses* is extremely flattering to intellectual circles in both Scotland and Peru, the former for producing the illustrious branch of common sense philosophy, the latter for accepting Mora following his wrongful expulsion from Chile and for producing minds enlightened enough to endorse the publication of his textbook:

³⁷ Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú*, pp. 122-123.

³⁸ Although it is difficult to cleanly demarcate the common sense movement, as James Fieser has shown, ideas on human reason following Reid continued to inspire and provoke during the nineteenth century in Scotland and also, particularly, North America, see J. Fieser, *A Bibliography of Scottish Common Sense Philosophy* (Bristol, 2000). For example, the lectures of Stewart's student Thomas Brown (1778-1820) were published the year of his death and were widely read and popular and William Hamilton (1788-1856) would publish his notes on Reid in 1846, see G. Graham, *Scottish Philosophy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015). Hamilton's sparring partner, French philosopher Victor Cousin (1792-1867) had published his own book on Scottish philosophy in 1819.

³⁹ This quotation is from Hume, rather than a back translation of Mora's Spanish translation. D. Hume, 'Of the different Species of Philosophy' in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/9662/9662-h/9662-h.htm>, accessed 18 Sept. 2015.

⁴⁰ See for example D. Stewart, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy for the Use of Students in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1801), p. 64.

This small compendium, of one of the deepest scientific systems ever produced by human understanding, owes its publication to the enlightened generosity of the nation in whose bosom this fortunate editor was given refuge.

Persuaded, as he is sincerely, of the benefits that this type of teaching will produce, and equally committed to seeing how much good it can successfully bestow upon Peru, he is delighted to show his gratitude to the distinguished people that have favoured this enterprise: not only for the benevolence with which they have contributed to it, but also for the impetus they have given to quality education. I hope that a considerable grade of perfection in education, founded on the principles of Scottish philosophy, is reached, and indeed the fulfilment of this hope cannot be doubted by anyone that has followed the history of civilisation in recent times, and much less by anyone that might have some notion of the men that produced this illustrious school.⁴¹

Here Mora shows his deference to the intellectual advancement of Scotland, with the implication that the success of high-quality education in Peru and the nation's development will be attributable more to the gifts of the Scottish school than to the country's inhabitants. His opening remarks are emblematic of a set of tacit assumptions based on the exceptionalism of European culture in human civilisation and the belittlement of South American learning.

According to Mora, the textbook would not confuse students and by this we can understand that he regarded it not as metaphysical or baroque but rather as scientific. Moreover, he emphasised that the course material it contained had been used at the prestigious University of Edinburgh.⁴² An advert in the newspaper *El Mercurio Peruano*, to which Mora was a contributor, announced that the Military College of Lima and colleges in Huánuco, Trujillo and Ica would all be using the textbook, whose subscription list included none other than the President of Peru, Agustín Gamarra, as well as other prominent politicians.⁴³ The following year Mora advertised a nine month course in Logic and Ethics which he would deliver using the textbook.⁴⁴

In terms of its specific content, the book was structured in two parts: the first dealing with logic and the second with ethics.⁴⁵ The principal aim set out in the introduction to the first part is to teach students

⁴¹ Mora, 'Advertencia' in *Courses*, (Lima, 1832), n.p.

⁴² Mora, 'Discurso preliminar' in *Courses*, n.p.

⁴³ Advert from *El Mercurio Peruano*, 28 December 1832, cited in Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú*, p. 141.

⁴⁴ Advert from *El Mercurio Peruano*, 5 February 1833 cited in Trease, *José Joaquín de Mora*, pp. 219-220.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that Mora's terminology is not in keeping with present day usages in philosophy. For example, 'Logic' here is really what is today designated as psychology and philosophy of mind, with its concern with, for example, ideas (going back to Locke), association (this introduced by Hume), memory, imagination, and judgement. Equally, 'Ethics' here is moral philosophy. Indeed Mora clarifies in a footnote in the foreword to part two that he has called it Ethics rather than Morals because in

who wish to become honourable men how to identify useful information in a vast sea of knowledge, and how to learn the art of reason in a style notable for the clarity of its language, in marked contrast to the scholastic approach of previous textbooks. Mora characterises the Scottish school as moderate and eschewing metaphysical questions, lauding it for their 'modesty of documents' and a tolerance for other opinions rarely seen in scientific discussions'. Mora also points out that there is no universal formula for advancing knowledge, noting that 'human knowledge is in a state of progress and improvement and it is impossible to find in any one system, in any one piece of writing, everything that has been discovered and found after the epoch in which the author wrote it'.⁴⁶ It is based on this rationale that he claims to have incorporated other philosophical ideas and some of his own into the work, indicating that common sense, which teaches that we can trust our perceptions, will be particularly useful to students of law. However, what we in fact find in the first section on Logic is actually a very close reproduction of Reid's ideas on the intellectual faculties as broken down by Stewart in *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* (1793), which was based on his lectures at the University of Edinburgh. The text concentrates on consciousness, perception, attention, conception, abstraction, association, memory, imagination, and reasoning. Furthermore, some of the examples come straight from Stewart, for instance that of a painter drawing on a combination of the operations of perception, memory, association, abstraction and taste.⁴⁷

While the first part of *Courses* is dedicated to the improvement of intellectual powers, the second is dedicated to moral powers and is based largely, as Mora acknowledges, on Stewart's *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*. It begins setting out Stewart's list of the main non-intellectual sources of human behaviour i.e. appetites, desires, affections, self-love, and the moral faculty (meaning a sense of virtue born of something other than self-interest). The lengthy discussion of the latter is cribbed from sections of *Outlines* and reproduces the references to Francis Hutcheson on the origin of moral ideas and David Hume on benevolence. The arguments that follow for the existence of God based on moral arguments would of course have caused consternation and disgust among some Peruvian readers but equally would have been a breath of fresh air to many within the revolutionary sectors. Mora's text ends on an encouraging note: 'The fulfilment of our duties is inseparably linked to true happiness, the moral perfection of the individual, and to the fate of society.'⁴⁸

In this article on a South American publishing context the question arises of how pertinent Mora's choice of philosophical method was to the specific societies in the places in which his text was published. In this respect, it does not allude in any way to the human diversity of the Andes (indigenous, mestizo, people of African and European descent, indigenous nobility, and a huge peasant class), nor does it mention the local social structures and patterns of life, the linguistic and

Spanish 'moral' is an adjective, not a noun, even though the influence of French was changing usage. *Courses*, Foreword to 'Ethics', n.p.

⁴⁶ Mora, 'Discurso preliminar' in *Courses*, n.p.

⁴⁷ Mora, *Courses*, p. 37 (and D. Stewart, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, p. 52).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 70.

the religious demography of the region, and its accumulated history.⁴⁹ There is also no indication of colonial continuities such as the brutal subjugation of indigenous groups⁵⁰ and forms of forced labour and African slavery. Such omissions suggest Mora's initial aim at least was to prepare young men from the Creole elite for urban professions.

Although Mora did not reframe the text (except in the forward) for the specifically South American context, there are, however, a number of brief references, from his own work we assume and certainly not taken from Stewart, to the wider and vaguer concept of the Americas. There are two fleeting mentions of Columbus: first, in a section in Lesson 22 on the imagination, where the text explains its role in great scientific discoveries, arguing that 'Columbus could not have discovered the new world if his imagination had not painted it for him beforehand',⁵¹ and second, in his discussion of deductive reasoning in Lesson 28, which is based around the Eurocentric phrase 'Columbus discovered America'.⁵² Similarly, in Lesson 36 on analogy Mora reflects on whether the tropical zone in America is similar to the land in the equivalent parts of Africa and Asia,⁵³ Lesson 41 on definitions uses the phrase 'America is a part of the world' as a concept,⁵⁴ and his discussion of syllogism in Lessons 43 and 44 is based around the concepts of reason and liberty, as shown by the following example that Mora uses to illustrate an invalid conclusion:

All Americans are free;
All Americans are men;
Therefore all men are free.⁵⁵

Mora's discussion also uses Spanish scholasticism as an example of poor argumentation, referring in a lengthy footnote to a work entitled *Philosophical Deceptions* by Juan de Najera, published in Seville in 1737, which Mora describes as having the 'most pompous panegyrics in scholasticism' and being full of untruths.⁵⁶ This portrayal of Spanish scholasticism as retrograde is no doubt part of a wider racialised critique (in which Spain features in the European imagination as dark and primitive) because his textbook also contains other examples of orientalism, most notably in his attitude to the Muslim world. Hence, Lesson 18 on Uses and Abuses of Association states that 'Mohamed buried a great part of the human species in the shadows of error and fanaticism when he associated the ideas of faith and violence'⁵⁷ and in the final lesson on causes of error, Mora uses Islam as an example of

⁴⁹ For indigenous intellectual life in the region see G. Ramos and Y. Yannakakis (eds), *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham and London, 2014).

⁵⁰ Some of these, such as the labour tax called the *mita*, had their origins in Inca rule. See Bakewell, *A History of Latin America*, p. 35.

⁵¹ *Courses*, p. 38.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

circular argument.⁵⁸ Similarly, when he writes of the desire for esteem in Lesson 7 in part two on ethics, Mora states that 'in cultured nations bravery is appreciated; Arabs celebrate bandits, Jews admire penitents who are most cruel to themselves, and Scythians applaud intrepid drinkers'.⁵⁹ This is, of course, a classic case of the inferior 'Other' pitted against modern, 'cultured' peoples. Mora singles out the Muslim world in particular as irrational and set up against what he regards as the natural superiority of the northern Europeans. In this respect, we see in Mora's additions to Stewart's writing an underlying sense of the perennial idea of white supremacy (or, in the case of the Andes, as white as possible). While he does not explicitly state the subordinate position of Americans (South or North), it is clear that Mora views his role in paternalistic terms and as helping them overcome their cultural imperfections.

Nevertheless, the enthusiastic reception of *Courses* in the Peruvian capital was such that it was republished in Bolivia the following year, when, with the end of Gamarra's first presidency in 1834, Mora moved on to the final part of his South American sojourn, taking up residence in the city of La Paz. Writing of his visit to the city in 1830, French writer Alcide D'Origny provides a description of the Bolivian capital at the time:

La Paz does not resemble in the slightest way any of the other American cities. All of the ones I had seen so far are more or less similar to our cities in Europe. In La Paz [...] not only is the mass of the population indigenous and speaks nothing but its primitive language, but national dress also dominates [...] if not picturesque, at least the most original.⁶⁰

The republic of Bolivia had been founded in 1825. Mora arrived in the country, during the presidency of Andrés Santa Cruz (1792-1865), who was mestizo and spoke some of the country's indigenous languages, having assumed office in 1829.⁶¹ Santa Cruz, who had first met Mora in Santiago de Chile, put Mora in charge of his government's education policy, partly on account of the success of *Courses*, which had already been imported to Bolivia and used in the College of Junín in Chuquisaca.⁶² Mora also became private secretary to Santa Cruz and was appointed Professor of Literature at the University of San Andrés in La Paz.⁶³ This institution had been founded in 1830 on the initiation of Santa Cruz, although the country's oldest university and its educational centre was the University of Chuquisaca, founded in 1624.⁶⁴ The following year Mora began teaching at the Colegio Normal teacher training college. In the face of all this activity and influence Mora's stay in the country

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 91.

⁵⁹ Ibid., part 2, p. 10.

⁶⁰ A. D'Origny, *Viaje a la América meridional* (Buenos Aires, 1945), p. 982, cited in English in J. Dunkerley (ed), *Studies in the Formation of the Nation State in Latin America* (London, 2002), p. 276.

⁶¹ N. Sobrevilla Perea, *The Caudillo of the Andes: Andrés de Santa Cruz* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 11.

⁶² Monguió, *Don José Joaquín de Mora y el Perú*, p. 145.

⁶³ Mora, *Discurso pronunciado en la Universidad Mayor de S. Andrés de la Paz de Ayacucho el 5 de diciembre de 1834* (La Paz, 1834).

⁶⁴ See R. A. Peyeros, *Historia de la educación en Bolivia: de la independencia a la revolución federal* (La Paz, 1952).

would, once again, be determined by political events. Santa Cruz's plan for a confederation of Bolivia and the two Peruvian states was decreed in Lima in October 1836 and led to war with Argentina and Chile, both of whom were concerned for their economic interests. So it was that in 1838, after just over a decade in South America, Mora travelled to London as consul in an attempt to persuade Britain to help secure peace. But he was not to return. The confederate forces were defeated at the Battle of Yungay in Peru in January 1839, forcing Santa Cruz into exile.

Mora's text was not without its outright opponents in Bolivia, a good example being priest and educator Juan Ignacio de Gorriti (1766-1842), who was originally from the north of Argentina. Gorriti was familiar with *Courses* but had little regard for it. During the colonial period, he had studied at the University of Chuquisaca in what was, at the time, Upper Peru and he was pro-independence in the wars of independence, serving as a chaplain in the Army of the North and working to help free Upper Peru from royalists. In 1831, he was exiled from Argentina to Bolivia for his opposition to the governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel de Rosas. There he found employment as rector of the Colegio de Junín in Sucre in 1841 and he remained in the country until his death in 1842. Gorriti made no attempt to hide his disdain for *Courses*, describing it as 'a little treatise which Mora calls Logic'⁶⁵ and noting that, while he approved of Mora's other textbooks, the modern move to teaching how humans form ideas, rather than concentrating on pure logic, was a huge mistake, perhaps seeing this nascent psychology as an unhelpful step away from establishing a religious and moral order.

Given his position as a Roman Catholic priest, it may be tempting to explain Gorriti's critique of Mora's textbook as indicative of anti-Protestant sentiment or resistance to teachings from Presbyterian Scotland. However, as evidenced by the following passage, despite his belief—anticipating in this respect Max Weber—that families in South America had a lot to learn from Protestant family attitudes to education, Gorriti did not regard Protestantism as a challenge to the traditional authority of the Roman Catholic doctrine in Spanish America:

We must simply confess our own confusion and remind ourselves to follow the example of Protestants who have, in this regard, ways that are better suited to reason and to the Gospels. Protestant family men dedicate specific time to the instruction of their children. On Sundays, the only day of rest they recognise, no distractions of any kind are permitted: after public worship all time is employed in studying scripture, explaining it to servants, and explaining to them the responsibilities of men, citizens and Christians. God willing such exemplary ways become widespread in Spanish America, which professes the holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion! How much education and custom will improve!⁶⁶

⁶⁵ J. I. Gorriti, *Papeles del Dr Juan Ignacio de Gorriti* (Jujuy, 1936), p. 340.

⁶⁶ J. I. Gorriti, in *25 de Mayo: testimonios, juicios, documentos* (Buenos Aires, 1968), (pp. 48-56), p. 55.

Like his fellow Argentinian Alberdi, Gorriti was also dismissive of the aptitude of Spanish Americans: '[w]e are so very backwards, nor could it be any other way, because we are nascent states, recently emerged from a degrading colonial government and we are busy firming up our institutions.'⁶⁷ He believed they had been kept in ignorance by Spanish oppressors and were therefore immature minds. While Alberdi and Gorriti's writings may reflect different perspectives, they nonetheless share a rejection of Scottish common sense philosophy. They also share a general belief in European exceptionalism with respect to Spanish American intellectual life, a complex of cultural inferiority that is, to some extent, perpetuated by Mora's text.⁶⁸

Looking over Mora's life, writings and manifold occupations we see several encounters and signs of deference to Scottish letters, starting with his reading of Blair as a young man in Cadiz, then contemplation of other icons of the Scottish Enlightenment, and culminating in the publication of *Courses* in Lima.⁶⁹ *Courses* presents the Scottish school as a means of reform in South America, albeit one reserved for the dominant classes. Although this article cannot conclude by stressing the enduring legacy of Mora's system of Scottish philosophy in South America – indeed post-independence unrest in South America did not allow many projects to come to fruition – his publication of *Courses* in Lima and the text's subsequent republication nevertheless shine a light on Scottish common sense philosophy around the world. Intellectuals in Spanish America were looking for antidotes to the Spanish colonial anti-intellectualism which had mired the region in ignorance. The construction of new societies demanded a careful look at educational theory, the teaching profession, teaching methods, and curricula, which went hand-in-hand with debates about suitability for the Spanish American youth and questions about traditions derived from Europe. Mora's provision of a text book based on the teachings of Reid and Stewart was valuable in that the Scottish philosophers believed in the underlying rational nature of humans and their potential for improvement. Nevertheless, his course continued to reflect European authority and canonise European thinkers and intellectual traditions, tacitly criticising the mental powers of the Spanish American populace. Scotland is idealised but never once do we see a reference to Spanish American philosophical erudition and sadly this was a conception of humanity that endured. A further departure from Reid and Stewart is the prejudice Mora shows against certain ethnic groups in some of the examples he provides for common sense theories. All this would be a continuing drama: later currents would react against neo-colonial European overrepresentation in philosophical thought and begin to prioritise the search for

⁶⁷ Gorriti, *Papeles*, p. 346.

⁶⁸ The next chapter of the story of philosophy in Spanish America is, however, the dominance of positivism between 1850 and 1910. See Salles and Millán-Zaibert, 'Introduction', *The Role of History in Latin American Philosophy*, pp. 1-18 (4).

⁶⁹ Mora remained an admirer of Scottish thought. His work based on McCulloch, *De la libertad del comercio*, was published in 1843 in Seville, his translation of George Campbell's (1719-1796) work on evidence was published in Lima in 1846. His *Ethics* was published in La Paz that same year and reprinted in 1848. The following year his *Course of Law at the Liceo de Chile* was re-printed there. His volume *Revista Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1848) includes James Mackintosh's (1765-1832) *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy* (1830).

autochthonous values, asking the question of whether a Spanish American philosophy could in fact exist.⁷⁰

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⁷⁰ The Peruvian political philosopher José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930) was a leading light in this movement. See, for example, Susana Nuccetelli 'Is "Latin American Thought" Philosophy?', *Metaphilosophy*, Vol. 34, No. 4, July 2003, pp. 524-536.

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