DELHI UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

[illegible] 62.1

Date of release for loan

70206

22 MAR 1954

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of one anna will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

13 JUL 1975

23 DEC 1967

THE LETTERS OF
DAVID HUME

DAVID HUME

Medallion by James Tassie

THE LETTERS OF DAVID HUME

Edited by

J. Y. T. GREIG

Volume I

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1932

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW
LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

It is impossible to acknowledge all the obligations I have incurred in connexion with this book, but I wish to thank in particular: the Royal Society of Edinburgh, for allowing me free access to their collection of Hume MSS, and for generously making a grant towards the expenses of publication; the Research Endowment Fund Committee of Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the University of Durham, for making a similar grant, the Royal Economic Society, and especially Mr J. M Keynes and Professor W. R. Scott, for entering into an agreement with the Clarendon Press that greatly facilitated publication, M A Barbeau (Professor of English in the University of Caen), Messrs Birrell and Garnett (London), M André Bovet (Conservateur, Bibliothèque publique de Neuchâtel), the Brick Row Book Shop (New York City), Mr R N. Carew Hunt, the Librarian of Columbia University, Dr. W K. Dickson, Dr Walther Eckstein, the Librarian of the University of Edinburgh, M Giraud-Mangin (Conservateur, Bibliothèque municipale de Caen), Mrs J E Hodgson, Miss E Paige Hall and the Historical Society of Maine, Messrs Hope, Todd and Kirk, W.S (Edinburgh), and the Trustees of the Estate of Sir David Dalrymple, Bart, Mr Ross Hume of Ninewells, the Curator of MSS and the Director of Research at the Henry E Huntington Library (San Marino, California), Mr J M. Keynes, Mr W S Lewis of Farmington, Conn, Mr. T. F. Madigan (New York City), Messrs Maggs Bros. (London), the Rt Hon the Earl of Minto, Miss B G. Mure, the late Sir John Murray, the Comtesse de Naurois, Captain F. L Pleadwell, U S Navy, Messrs. James Tregaskis & Son (London), Mr. Moses Tyson and the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and Mrs H M. Williamson, for photostats or transcripts of Hume autographs in their possession; Mr Francis Bickley, Col. John Buchan, M P, Dr G H Bushnell, Mr. J R. Cahill, Dr R. W Chapman, Mr L.-J. Courtois, Messrs Dundas & Wilson, W.S (Edinburgh), on behalf of Mrs Buchanan-Baillie-Hamilton, Messrs. Elkin Mathews (London), the Rev. Alfred McKeachie, Professor F A. Pottle, Professor F. M Powicke, Professor W L Renwick, Professor Norman Kemp Smith, Dr. Paget Toynbee, and the Librarian of the War Office, London, for information and assistance generously given; Miss Mary G. Campbell, Miss Dorothy

G. Clark, Miss E. M L Cruickshank, Mrs I. M. Thomson and Mrs. John Thompson, for assistance in reading the proofs; and above all, Dr F Bradshaw, the Librarian of Armstrong College, Dr. H. W. Meikle, the Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, Professor Rudolf Metz of Heidelberg, and Professor D Nichol Smith of Oxford, for their unfailing help and encouragement

J Y T. G.

ARMSTRONG COLLEGE,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,
December 1931

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	Pages
INTRODUCTION	xxi–xxxi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxxii
'MY OWN LIFE', by DAVID HUME	1–7
LETTERS 1–296	9–532

VOLUME II

LETTERS 297–544	1–338
APPENDIXES	
A Enclosure to Letter 69	340
B. Hume's Early French Translators	343
C Miscellaneous Letters to Hume	347
D Letters from George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal of Scotland, to Hume	364
E Letters from Mme la Comtesse de Boufflers to Hume	366
F Hume's Quarrel in Paris with the Hon Alexander Murray	375
G. Letters from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Hume	382
H Miscellaneous Letters of Jean-Jacques Rousseau	402
J Hume as British Chargé d'Affaires in Paris	404
K Letters to Hume about his Quarrel with Rousseau	407
L Extracts from Letters about Hume's Death	449
M The Publication of the 'Dialogues concerning Natural Religion' and of Hume's 'My own Life'	453
INDEX OF PERSONS	455
INDEX OF BOOKS AND SUBJECTS	486

LIST OF PLATES

VOLUME I

DAVID HUME Medallion of James Tassie . *Frontispiece*

GEORGE KEITH, 10th Earl Marischal of Scotland . *To face p.* 370
From the anonymous portrait in the Bibliothèque publique de Neuchâtel

ENGLISH DRAFT of Hume's Letter (No 294) to Rousseau Autograph in possession of Mr Ross Hume of Ninewells *To face p.* 526

VOLUME II

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU . *Frontispiece*
From the painting by Allan Ramsay in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh

JEAN LE ROND D'ALEMBERT *To face p.* 80
From an engraving by Watelet after a drawing by Cochin

LIST OF LETTERS

Letters hitherto unpublished marked *
Letters hitherto unpublished in England or America marked †
Letters hitherto incompletely published marked **

No.	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page* Vol i
		1727	
1	4 July 1727	Michael Ramsay	9
		1732	
2†	Mar 1732	Michael Ramsay	11
		1734	
3	[Mar or Apr 1734]	[George Cheyne]	12
4	12 Sept 1734	Michael Ramsay	19
5*	12 Sept. 1734	James Birch	22
		1737	
6	2 Dec. 1737	Henry Home of Kames	23
		1738	
7	4 Mar 1738	Henry Home of Kames	25
		1739	
8	13 Feb 1739	Henry Home of Kames	26
9**	22 Feb [1739]	Michael Ramsay	27
10†	6 Apr 1739	Pierre Desmaizeaux	29
11	1 June 1739	Henry Home of Kames	30
12	1 July 1739	,, ,, ,,	31
13	17 Sept 1739	Francis Hutcheson	32
14*	12 Nov 1739	George Carre	35
		1740	
15**	4 Mar. 1740	Francis Hutcheson	36
16	16 Mar 1740	,, ,,	38
		1742	
17	13 June 1742	Henry Home of Kames	40
18	14 Nov [1742]	William Mure of Caldwell	43
		1743	
19	10 Jan 1743	Francis Hutcheson	45
20	26 Jan [1743]	William Mure of Caldwell	48
21	30 June [1743]	,, ,, ,,	50
22	10 Sept [1743]	,, ,, ,,	52
23	11 Dec [1743]	Alexander Home	54
		1744	
24	4 Aug 1744	William Mure of Caldwell	55

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1745	
25	25 Apr 1745	Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam	59
26	18 June 1745	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	60
27	19 Sept 1745	,, ,, ,,	62
28	22 Oct 1745	,, ,, ,,	64
29	31 Oct [1745]	,, ,, ,,	64
30	25 Nov 1745	,, ,, ,,	67
31	[26 Nov 1745]	Capt Philip Vincent	69
32	26 Nov [1745]	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	70
33	27 Nov 1745	,, ,, ,,	73
		1746	
34	23 Jan [1746]	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	79
35	[Autumn–Spring 1745–6]	,, ,, ,,	79
36	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	80
37	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	80
38	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	81
39	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	81
40	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	82
41	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	82
42	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	82
43	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	83
44	,, ,,	Capt Philip Vincent	83
45	,, ,,	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	84
46	29 Mar 1746	Lord Elibank	84
47	,, ,,	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	85
48	3 Apr 1746	Dowager Marchioness of Annandale	88
49	17 Apr 1746	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	89
50	23 May 1746	Alexander Home	90
51	6 June 1746	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	91
52	[May or June 1746]	Henry Home of Kames	94
53	4 Oct 1746 (with postscript of 17 Oct 1746)	John Home of Ninewells	94
		1747	
54	[Early 1747]	Henry Home of Kames	98
55*	[Spring 1747]	John Clephane	100
56	18 June 1747	,, ,,	101
57**	7 Aug. 1747	Col James Abercromby	102
58	2 Oct 1747	James Oswald of Dunnikier	106
59*	12 Nov. 1747	Col James Abercromby	107
60	[1747]	Henry Home of Kames	108
		1748	
61	29 Jan 1748	James Oswald of Dunnikier	108
62	9 Feb 1748	Henry Home of Kames	111
63*	13 Feb 1748	Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald	111
64**	3 Mar. to 16 June 1748 (Journal)	John Home of Ninewells	114

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1749	
65†	10 Apr 1749	President de Montesquieu	133
		1750	
66	18 Apr 1750	John Clephane	139
67	1 Nov 1750	James Oswald of Dunnikier	142
		1751	
68**	10 Feb 1751	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	145
69	[16 Feb 1751]	Col James Abercromby	146
69 A	16 Feb 1751	,, ,,	147
70	18 Feb 1751	John Clephane	148
71**	,, ,,	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	150
72**	10 March 1751	,, ,,	153
73	[Mar or Apr 1751]	,, ,,	158
74	19 Mar 1751	Mrs Dysart	158
75	22 June 1751	Michael Ramsay	161
		1752	
76	21 Jan. 1752	William Cullen	163
77	4 Feb 1752	John Clephane	164
78	24 Sept 1752	Adam Smith	167
		1753	
79	5 Jan. 1753	John Clephane	169
80	6 Mar 1753	,, ,,	171
81	15 Mar 1753	[James Balfour]	172
82*	3 May 1753	Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes	174
83*	10 May 1753	Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes	175
84*	26 May 1753	Adam Smith	176
85†	26 June 1753	President de Montesquieu	176
86	28 June 1753	James Oswald of Dunnikier	178
87	28 Oct 1753	John Clephane	180
88	8 Dec 1753	,, ,,	182
89*	[1753]	[Thomas Blacklock]	183
		1754	
90	25 Feb 1754	Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam	183
91	[Feb 1754]	[John Stewart]	185
92*	3 Apr 1754	Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes	188
93	1 Sept. 1754	John Clephane	189
94†	12 Sept 1754	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	191
95†	8 Oct 1754	John Wilkes	194
96	9 Oct [1754]	Mrs Dysart	195
97†	15 Oct 1754	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	196
97 A	,, ,,	,, ,,	199
98	,, ,,	Joseph Spence	200
99	18 Oct 1754	John Clephane	204
100†	16 Oct 1754	John Wilkes	205

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1754 (continued)	
101†	24 Oct 1754	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	206
102	[Oct 1754]	William Mure of Caldwell	209
103	20 Nov 1754	Robert Dundas of Arniston	210
104	17 Dec 1754	Adam Smith	212
105	„ „	Earl of Balcarres	213
106	[Dec 1754]	John Home	215
		1755	
107	9 Jan. 1755	Adam Smith	216
108**	12 Apr 1755	Andrew Millar	217
109	[Apr or May 1755]	Allan Ramsay	219
110*	3 May 1755	[William Strahan]	221
111	12 June 1755	Andrew Millar	222
112	[June 1755]	Allan Ramsay	224
113†	5 Nov 1755	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	225
114†	6 Nov 1755	[„ „]	228
		1756	
115	20 Jan 1756	Sir Harry Erskine of Alva	228
116	20 Apr 1756	John Clephane	229
117*	27 May 1756	Andrew Millar	232
118	22 Sept 1756	„ „	233
119*	23 Sept [1756]	[William Strahan]	233
120	30 Nov [1756]	William Strahan	234
121	4 Dec 1756	Andrew Millar	235
122	[1756]	John Clephane	237
		1757	
123	8 Jan 1757	Charles Binning	237
124*	11 Jan 1757	Andrew Millar	238
125*	18 Jan 1757	„ „	239
126	20 Jan 1757	„ „	239
127	1 Feb 1757	William Strahan	240
128	[Feb 1757]	William Mure of Caldwell	241
129	15 Feb 1757	William Strahan	244
129 A	„ „	„ „	245
130	[Feb or Mar 1757]	Adam Smith	245
131	18 Apr 1757	William Strahan	247
132**	20 May 1757	Andrew Millar	248
133*	25 May 1757	[William Strahan]	250
134	[June 1757]	William Strahan	252
135	2 July 1757	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	252
136†	21 July 1757	Andrew Millar	256
137†	22 July 1757	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	258
138	9 Aug 1757	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	261
139	3 Sept 1757	John Clephane	263
140**	„ „	Andrew Millar	264
141	„ „	William Strahan	267
142	29 Sept 1757	Capt James Edmonstoune	268
143	15 Oct 1757	William Strahan	269

No.	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1758	
144	4 Mar 1758	Henry Home, Lord Kames	270
145**	6 Apr 1758	Andrew Millar	272
146	12 Apr 1758	Alexander Home of Whitfield	274
147**	11 May 1758	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	277
148	8 June 1758	Adam Smith	279
149	12 June 1758	William Strahan	280
150**	20 June 1758	Andrew Millar	281
151	[July 1758]	William Strahan	283
152	2 Aug 1758	Horace Walpole	284
153	5 Aug 1758	William Strahan	286
154	[Oct 1758]	John Jardine	286
155	18 Nov 1758	William Robertson	287
		1759	
156	25 Jan 1759	William Robertson	290
157	[Feb 1759]	William Strahan	295
158*	6 Feb 1759	[Ronald Crawford]	295
159	8 Feb 1759	William Robertson	296
160	[Feb 1759]	,, ,,	297
161	20 [Feb.] 1759	,, ,,	298
162	[Feb or Mar 1759]	,, ,,	299
163	[Mar 1759]	,, ,,	300
164	12 Mar 1759	,, ,,	301
165	12 Apr 1759	Adam Smith	303
166	15 May [1759]	[William Rouet]	306
167	29 May 1759	William Robertson	307
168**	6 July [1759]	William Rouet	309
169	28 July 1759	Adam Smith	311
170	[Summer 1759]	William Robertson	314
171**	18 Dec 1759	Andrew Millar	316
172	[Late 1759 or early 1760]	[Lord Elibank]	318
		1760	
173**	22 Mar 1760	Andrew Millar	321
174*	27 Mar [1760]	,, ,,	325
175**	1 May 1760	Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto	325
176	16 Aug 1760	[Sir David Dalrymple]	328
177**	27 Oct 1760	Andrew Millar	331
178†	,, ,,	John Douglas	332
179	[Nov. or Dec 1760]	William Strahan	335
		1761	
180	1 Jan 1761	Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall	337
181	5 Jan 1761	,, ,, ,,	340
182	3 Feb 1761	Alexander Carlyle	341
183	9 Feb 1761	William Strahan	342
184	15 May 1761	Comtesse de Boufflers	343
185	29 June 1761	Adam Smith	345
186	2 Sept 1761	Comtesse de Boufflers	346
187	12 Dec 1761	Earl of Shelburne	347
188	[1761]	Hugh Blair	348

No.	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1762	
189	15 Mar 1762	Andrew Millar	351
190	[Mar. 1762]	William Strahan	353
191**	8 Apr 1762	Andrew Millar	354
192	10 May 1762	Benjamin Franklin	357
193**	17 May 1762	Andrew Millar	358
194	7 June 1762	George Campbell	360
195	1 July 1762	Comtesse de Boufflers	361
196†	2 July 1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	364
197	5 July 1762	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	366
198*	8 Nov 1762	David Mallet	368
199	22 Nov 1762	Andrew Millar	370
		1763	
200	22 Jan 1763	Comtesse de Boufflers	371
201	[25 Feb. 1763]	Thomas Reid	375
202**	10 Mar. 1763	Andrew Millar	377
203	12 Mar. 1763	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	379
204*	28 Mar. 1763	Adam Smith	381
205**	" "	Andrew Millar	381
206	3 Apr. 1763	James Oswald of Dunnikier	383
207*	7 Apr 1763	David Mallet	385
208	21 Apr 1763	Andrew Millar	386
209	3 July 1763	Comtesse de Boufflers	387
210	21 July 1763	Adam Smith	390
211	9 Aug 1763	" "	391
212**	1 Sept 1763	Baron Mure of Caldwell	392
213	13 Sept 1763	Adam Smith	394
214**	15 Sept 1763	Alexander Carlyle	397
215	19 Sept 1763	Hugh Blair	398
216	22 Sept 1763	Comtesse de Boufflers	402
217	6 Oct. 1763	Hugh Blair	403
218**	8 Oct 1763	Andrew Millar	405
219*	12 Oct 1763	Charles Jenkinson	405
220	14 Oct 1763	William Strahan	406
221	19 Oct 1763	Comtesse de Boufflers	406
222	28 Oct 1763	Adam Smith	407
223	9 Nov 1763	Adam Ferguson	410
224	23 Nov 1763	Alexander Wedderburn	414
225	1 Dec 1763	William Robertson	415
226	" "	Andrew Millar	418
227**	[Dec 1763]	Hugh Blair	418
		1764	
228	9 Jan 1764	Col James Edmonstoune	421
229	14 Mar. 1764	Richard Aldworth Neville	423
230**	18 Mar 1764	Andrew Millar	425
231	20 Mar 1764	William Strahan	426
232	27 Mar 1764	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	427
233	28 Mar. 1764	Baron Mure of Caldwell	430

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1764 (continued)	
234	1 Apr 1764	William Strahan	432
235	18 Apr 1764	,, ,,	432
236**	,, ,,	Andrew Millar	433
237**	26 Apr 1764	Hugh Blair	434
238	[Apr 1764]	Col James Edmonstoune	439
239	15 May 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	440
240**	23 May 1764	Andrew Millar	443
241†	15 June 1764	Jean-Bernard Le Blanc	445
242	22 June 1764	Baron Mure of Caldwell	446
243	6 July 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	448
244	14 July 1764	,, ,,	450
245†	23 July 1764	Earl of Hardwicke	453
246	29 July 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	455
247	[3–5 Aug 1764]	,, ,,	457
248†	8 Aug 1764	Earl of Hardwicke	459
249	18 Aug 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	461
250*	[Summer 1764]	[?]	463
251**	3 Sept 1764	Andrew Millar	465
252*	5 Sept 1764	[James Bindley]	467
253	22 Sept 1764	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	467
254	30 Sept. 1764	,, ,,	471
255	,, ,,	,, ,,	473
256	9 Oct 1764	,, ,,	474
257	12 Oct 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	474
258	31 Oct 1764	,, ,,	476
259	3 Nov 1764	Lord Elibank	477
260*	14 Nov. 1764	Andrew Millar	479
261**	17 Nov 1764	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	480
262	28 Nov 1764	Comtesse de Boufflers	483
263	10 Dec 1764	,, ,,	484
264†	16 Dec [1764]	Octavie de Guichard, Mme Belot	488
265†	22 Dec 1764	Earl of Hardwicke	489
266	28 Dec 1764	William Strahan	490
		1765	
267**	14 Jan 1765	Andrew Millar	491
268	26 Jan 1765	William Strahan	492
269	[Jan or Feb 1765]	Comtesse de Boufflers	493
270†	[Feb or Mar 1765]	Octavie de Guichard, Mme Belot	494
271	[5 Mar 1765]	Comtesse de Boufflers	495
272**	6 Apr 1765	Hugh Blair, and others	495
273	14 Apr 1765	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	499
274**	4 May 1765	Andrew Millar	501
275	12 May 1765	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	501
276	2 June 1765	James Oswald of Dunnikier	503
277	6 June 1765	William Strahan	504
278**	24 June 1765	John Home of Ninewells	505
279*	[25 June 1765]	President Hénault	507
280	1 July 1765	Marquise de Barbentane	507

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1765 (continued)	
281	3 July 1765	Gilbert Elliot of Minto	509
282	14 July 1765	John Home of Ninewells	510
283	19 July 1765	Marquise de Barbentane	512
284	20 July 1765	Hugh Blair	513
285**	4 Aug 1765	John Home of Ninewells	514
286	,, ,,	William Strahan	515
287**	23 Aug 1765	Hugh Blair	516
288	25 Aug 1765	Baron Mure of Caldwell	518
289	[Aug 1765]	John Home of Ninewells	519
290	5 Sept 1765	Adam Smith	520
291	15 Sept 1765	Lord George Lennox	522
292	22 Sept 1765	,, ,,	523
293	[Sept 1765]	Comtesse de Boufflers	525
294**	22 Oct 1765	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	525
295**	28 Dec 1765 (with post-script of 1 Jan 1766)	Hugh Blair	527
296*	[Dec 1765]	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	532
		1766	Vol II
297†	[2 Jan 1766]	Jean-Jacques de Luze	1
298**	19 Jan 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	1
299	[Jan 1766]	William Strahan	5
300**	[,, ,,]	Adam Smith	5
301**	2 Feb 1766	John Home of Ninewells	6
302**	[Feb 1766]	Comtesse de Boufflers	8
303**	11 Feb 1766	Hugh Blair	11
304	16 Feb 1766	Marquise de Barbentane	13
305†	[Feb 1766]	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	17
306†	[,, ,,]	,, ,,	17
307	27 Feb 1766	Earl of Hertford	18
308†	[Feb or Mar 1766]	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	23
309†	[2 Mar 1766]	[Richard Penneck]	24
310†	[10/17 Mar 1766]	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	25
311†	[17 Mar 1766]	,, ,,	26
312**	22 Mar 1766	John Home of Ninewells	26
313†	,, ,,	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	27
314	25 Mar 1766	Hugh Blair	28
315†	27 Mar 1766	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	32
316†	30 Mar 1766	,, ,,	33
317	3 Apr 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	34
318	5 Apr [1766]	The Hon Henry Seymour Conway	38
319	2 May 1766	[C G Lamoignon de Malesherbes]	38
320†	3 May 1766	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	40
321*	8 May 1766	[Earl of Hertford]	42
322	16 May 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	44
323†	17 May 1766	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	48
324†	26 May 1766	,, ,,	49
325†	27 May 1766	Richard Davenport	49
326**	5 June 1766	Hugh Blair	50

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1766 (continued)	
327†	19 June 1766	Richard Davenport	51
328	„ „	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	51
329†	[June 1766]	Richard Davenport	52
330†	21 June 1766	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	53
331†	26 June 1766	Richard Davenport	54
332†	„ „	„ „	55
333	„ „	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	55
334**	1 July 1766	Hugh Blair	57
335†	4 July 1766	Richard Davenport	58
336	15 July 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	59
337	„ „	Hugh Blair	63
338	[„ „]	William Strahan	64
339†	„ „	Richard Davenport	64
340†	22 July 1766	„ „	65
341	„ „	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	66
342†	25 July 1766	Octavie de Guichard, Mme de Meinières	68
343	[26 July 1766]	Horace Walpole	71
344	5 Aug 1766	Marquise du Deffand	72
345**	5 Aug 1766	Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot	74
346	12 Aug 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	77
347	„ „	Jean-Charles Trudaine de Montigny	80
348**	[Aug 1766]	Adam Smith	82
349†	29 Aug 1766	Marquise de Barbentane	84
350	2 Sept 1766	Richard Davenport	86
351**	[Sept 1766]	Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot	88
352*	1 Oct 1766	James Oswald of Dunnikier	95
353	[Oct 1766]	William Strahan	95
354†	21 Oct 1766	Andrew Millar	97
355	30 Oct 1766	Horace Walpole	98
356	4 Nov 1766	William Strahan	99
357	„ „	Horace Walpole	100
358	5 Nov 1766	Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard	101
359*	8 Nov 1766	Richard Davenport	104
360	„ „	Andrew Millar	105
361	[Nov 1766]	William Strahan	106
362	13 Nov 1766	„ „	107
363	20 Nov 1766	Horace Walpole	108
364	25 Nov 1766	William Strahan	112
365*	27 Nov 1766	Richard Davenport	112
366	2 Dec 1766	Comtesse de Boufflers	113
367*	[Dec. 1766]	Thomas Becket	115
		1767	
368	23 Jan 1767	Matthew Maty	117
369	2 Feb 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	118
370*	[24 Feb 1767]	Adam Ferguson	120
371	24 Feb 1767	Hugh Blair	121

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1767 (continued)	
372	[February 1767]	William Strahan	122
373	[" "]	" "	122
374	1 Mar 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	123
375	[8 Mar 1767]	William Strahan	124
376	[10 Mar 1767]	" "	124
377*	10 Mar. 1767	Adam Ferguson	125
378	[Mar. 1767]	William Strahan	127
379	13 Mar 1767	Marquise de Barbentane	128
380	17 Mar 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	128
381	19 Mar 1767	William Robertson	130
382*	[Spring 1767]	Earl of Eglintoun	132
383**	1 Apr 1767	Hugh Blair	133
384*	20 May 1767	" "	135
385**	[22 May 1767]	Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot	137
386	22 May 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	140
387**	27 May 1767	Hugh Blair	141
388	13 June 1767	Adam Smith	142
389**	18 June 1767	Hugh Blair	143
390	19 June 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	144
391†	1 July 1767	Richard Davenport	147
392	" "	Baron Mure of Caldwell	148
393	14 July 1767	Adam Smith	150
394**	17 July 1767	Andrew Millar	150
395	18 July 1767	Tobias Smollett	151
396	18 July 1767	Baron Mure of Caldwell	152
397	28 July 1767	John Home of Ninewells	153
398	[Summer 1767]	Baron Mure of Caldwell	155
399	["]	" " "	157
400	"	André Morellet	157
401	4 Aug 1767	Marquise de Barbentane	158
402	13 Aug 1767	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	160
403	10 Sept 1767	" " "	161
404*	19 Sept 1767	" " "	161
405**	6 Oct 1767	John Home of Ninewells	162
406*	[Oct 1767]	Adam Smith	163
407	8 Oct 1767	" "	164
408**	13 Oct 1767	John Home of Ninewells	166
409**	17 Oct 1767	Adam Smith	168
410*	" "	[Richard Davenport]	169
411**	19 Oct 1767	Andrew Millar	169
412	24 Oct 1767	Edward Gibbon	170
413	27 Nov 1767	Comtesse de Boufflers	171
414*	15 Dec 1767	Robert Wallace	173
		1768	
415	26 Apr 1768	Comtesse de Boufflers	174
416	24 May 1768	Marquise de Barbentane	177
417*	16 June 1768	Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot	179
418	5 July 1768	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	181
419*	8 July 1768	Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot	182

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1768 (continued)	
420	22 July 1768	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	184
421	21 Sept 1768	Tobias Smollett	185
422	18 Oct 1768	Baron Mure of Caldwell	187
423	23 Dec 1768	Comtesse de Boufflers	189
424	[1768]	Horace Walpole	193
425	[Dec 1768]	William Robertson	193
		1769	
426	10 Mar 1769	Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard	195
427	28 Mar 1769	Hugh Blair	196
428	,, ,,	William Robertson	198
429	30 Mar 1769	Baron Mure of Caldwell	199
430	5 May 1769	Comtesse de Boufflers	201
431	10 July 1769	André Morellet	203
432	20 Aug 1769	Adam Smith	206
433	16 Oct 1769	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	207
434	25 Oct 1769	William Strahan	209
435*	14 Nov 1769	[,, ,,]	211
		1770	
436	25 Jan 1770	William Strahan	212
437	5 Feb 1770	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	213
438**	6 Feb 1770	Adam Smith	214
439**	21 Feb 1770	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	215
440*	[Feb 1770]	Adam Smith	217
441	13 Mar 1770	William Strahan	217
442**	5 Apr 1770	Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto	219
443*	21 May 1770	John Crawford	222
444	22 May 1770	William Strahan	222
445	5 June 1770	,, ,,	225
446†	16 June 1770	John Douglas	226
447	21 June 1770	William Strahan	227
448†	5 July 1770	John Douglas	228
449	[Aug 1770]	William Strahan	230
450	10 Aug 1770	,, ,,	231
451	2 Oct 1770	Baron Mure of Caldwell	232
		1771	
452	5 Jan 1771	William Strahan	232
453	21 Jan 1771	,, ,,	233
454	11 Mar 1771	,, ,,	235
455	25 Mar 1771	,, ,,	238
456	25 June 1771	,, ,,	243
457	22 July 1771	,, ,,	246
458	19 Aug 1771	,, ,,	247
459	23 Aug 1771	,, ,,	249
460	4 Sept 1771	,, ,,	249
461	18 Sept 1771	,, ,,	250
462*	29 Oct [1771]	,, ,,	251
463	12 Nov 1771	,, ,,	251

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1772	
464	2 Jan. 1772	William Strahan	251
465	25 Jan 1772	,, ,,	252
466	,, ,,	Comtesse de Boufflers	254
467*	28 Jan. 1772	Adam Smith	256
468	7 Feb 1772	William Strahan	257
469	,, ,,	Benjamin Franklin	257
470	11 Feb 1772	William Strahan	258
471	22 Feb 1772	,, ,,	259
472	3 Mar 1772	,, ,,	260
473	5 Mar 1772	,, ,,	261
474	3 June 1772	,, ,,	261
475	,, ,,	Thomas Cadell	262
476**	27 June 1772	Adam Smith	262
477†	6 Aug 1772	William Strahan	264
478*	[Oct 1772]	Adam Smith	265
479**	23 Nov 1772	,, ,,	266
480	[1772]	Col Alexander Dow	267
		1773	
481	16 Jan 1773	William Strahan	267
482	30 Jan 1773	,, ,,	268
483*	4 Feb 1773	Andrew Stuart	270
484	10 Feb 1773	Sir John Pringle	272
485	[21 Feb 1773]	Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard	275
486	22 Feb 1773	William Strahan	276
487**	24 Feb 1773	Adam Smith	276
488	15 Mar 1773	William Strahan	277
489	20 Mar 1773	,, ,,	278
490	24 Mar 1773	,, ,,	279
491**	10 Apr. 1773	Adam Smith	280
492**	[Nov or Dec 1773]	John Crawford	282
		1774	
493	25 Jan 1774	William Strahan	283
494	28 Jan 1774	John Crawford	283
495**	13 Feb 1774	Adam Smith	285
496*	1 Mar 1774	William Strahan	286
497	[Mar 1774]	,, ,,	288
498	2 Apr 1774	,, ,,	289
499*	5 May 1774	Anthony Gregson	290
500	4 June 1774	John Home of Ninewells	290
		1775	
501	7 Jan 1775	Comtesse de Boufflers	291
502*	14 Feb 1775	[James or Thomas Coutts]	292
503	23 Mar 1775	Col James Edmonstoune	293
504*	5 Apr 1775	Messrs J and T Coutts	294
505	17 Apr 1775	Comtesse de Boufflers	294
506*	[Spring 1775]	[James or Thomas Coutts]	296

No	*Date*	*Addressee*	*Page*
		1775 (continued)	
507	30 Aug 1775	David Hume the Younger	297
508	20 Sept 1775	John Home	298
509	26 Oct 1775	William Strahan	299
510	27 Oct 1775	Baron Mure of Caldwell	302
511	13 Nov 1775	William Strahan	304
512	8 Dec 1775	David Hume the Younger	305
		1776	
513	8 Feb 1776	John Home	307
514	,, ,,	Adam Smith	308
515	1 Feb 1776	William Strahan	308
516	18 Mar 1776	Edward Gibbon	309
517	1 Apr 1776	Adam Smith	311
518	8 Apr 1776	William Strahan	313
519	12 Apr 1776	John Home	314
520	20 Apr 1776	William Strahan	315
521	2 May 1776	,, ,,	315
522	3 May 1776	Adam Smith	316
522 A	,, ,,	,, ,,	317
523	10 May 1776	William Strahan	318
524**	13 May 1776	Hugh Blair	319
525	8 June 1776	William Strahan	322
526*	10 June 1776	John Home of Ninewells	324
527	12 June 1776	William Strahan	325
528	15 June 1776	John Crawford	326
529	27 June [1776]	Hugh Blair	328
530*	9 July 1776	John Home	328
531	27 July 1776	William Strahan	329
532	30 July 1776	,, ,,	329
533	6 Aug 1776	John Home	330
534	12 Aug 1776	William Strahan	331
535	13 Aug 1776	John Home of Ninewells	332
536	,, ,,	Sir John Pringle	332
537	15 Aug 1776	David Hume the Younger	333
538	,, ,,	Adam Smith	334
539	20 Aug 1776	Comtesse de Boufflers	335
540**	23 Aug 1776	Adam Smith	335
		Undateable	
541*		Michael Ramsay	336
542*		[Thomas Bradshaw]	337
543*		[William Strahan]	338
544*		Adam Smith	338

548 Letters (including 4 *ostensible* letters), of which 60 have not hitherto been published, 50 have not hitherto been published in England or America, and 71 have not hitherto been published in full

Many of the previously published letters have appeared in journals, privately printed books, or in the Memoirs of other men

INTRODUCTION

DAVID HUME himself would probably have disapproved of this book. It troubled him to think that certain of his private letters might, by chance or through the indiscretion of his friends, 'fall into idle People's hands, and be honord with a Publication', and apparently, a little while before his death, he took the pains to call a few back from their recipients, and burned them. It is also plain that he intended his executors to burn all the private papers that he left behind in manuscript, except the two he named, the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* and *My own Life*, both of which he eagerly desired to have published But for one reason or another his executors omitted to fulfil his wish. The whole collection of his private papers was preserved

It consisted of a wide variety of letters written to him by his friends in Scotland, France, and England, together with some odds and ends of manuscripts and memoranda The letters he himself had written were, of course, missing, save a few drafts that he had kept

Some years afterwards his nephew, David Hume *secundus*, approached several of his uncle's friends, or their descendants, asking for as many letters written by his uncle as were still extant He had fair success, and was thus enabled to add to the papers left in his possession more than a hundred autographs of David Hume *primus* He destroyed a few, as too indiscreet In particular, one gathers that he blotted out almost every reference to his own mother, a woman that David Hume *primus* did not hold in much esteem But he left the bulk of these important autographs intact Better still, he bequeathed the whole collection to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and so ensured its preservation

It was on this collection that John Hill Burton based his *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* in 1846 and his *Letters of Eminent Persons addressed to David Hume* in 1849, and that the present editor in turn has based a life of Hume already published and this edition of his letters

The extant letters, whether from this source or others, reveal most sides of David Hume the man—his precocity of intellect, his independent spirit, his kindliness of heart, his love of fun, books, whist, good company, old claret, and rich and well-

cooked food, his pleasant vanities, the laziness that grew upon him after 1759, his readiness to think too highly of his friends and any books they happened to produce, his admiration for the French, his prejudice against the Churches, all 'enthusiasts', the Whigs, and Englishmen, his general but not unbroken equanimity of temper, and his fine common sense. He had little cause to fear the judgement that posterity, if shown his private correspondence, would be apt to pass upon his character.

As we now regard him more as a philosopher than as an essayist and a historian, it is much to be regretted that so few letters dating from the years 1727–40 are extant We would willingly exchange a dozen written in the year 1766, when he thought, talked, and wrote of little but the foolish Jean-Jacques, for another like the four to Francis Hutcheson in 1739–43 or the two to Gilbert Elliot about the *Dialogues* in 1751 As for the vital years 1734–7, they are almost blank He was then in France, putting his *Treatise* into shape We know, however, next to nothing of his doings there, or of any stray thoughts that flitted through his mind but did not find expression in his published works.

We are better informed about the composition of the *History* in 1752–61 I would call attention in particular to the list of books he asked Andrew Millar to procure for him in 1760.[1] It is difficult to understand why Burton, a historian himself, should have failed to publish this illuminating list when he happened on it in the manuscripts For David Hume, unlike Robertson and Gibbon, has been commonly accused of scamping his researches for the *History*, and the charge is not without grounds But the list throws light upon the question. Doubtless it confirms Henry Mackenzie's gossip that Mr Hume disliked reading documents in manuscript, and preferred to trust, whenever possible, to printed sources for his facts. But it also shows that he was not quite content (as a few of his severer critics have maintained) with the books that happened to lie ready to his hand in Edinburgh libraries or on his own shelves

Three episodes in Hume's life require a brief comment—his residence with the mad Marquess of Annandale in 1745–6, his friendship with the Comtesse de Boufflers-Rouverel from 1761 onwards, and his quarrel with Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1766

[1] Letters 173 and 174.

George (1720–92), third and last Marquess of Annandale, became insane in December 1744. But the law did not recognize the fact till 1748. Meanwhile his affairs were nominally managed by his mother, the Dowager Marchioness, who chose to act mainly on the advice of her brother-in-law, Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, and her cousin, Captain Philip Vincent, of the Royal Navy.[1] Neither of these gentlemen was specially suitable for such a task. A regular companion for the unfortunate young lunatic was thought necessary; more than one was tried; and early in 1745 either the Marquess himself, who had taken a liking to the *Essays Moral and Political,* or his guardians acting on a stray suggestion from him, chose David Hume. The post was difficult and irksome at the best. It certainly exceeded the capacity of David Hume, still a provincial in his ways and still unpractised in affairs.

Troubles, when they began, became serious. At least, Hume thought so. He believed that Captain Vincent, a pure adventurer, was now manœuvring to gain full control of Lord Annandale's affairs in England, in order to enrich himself. This was very likely true. But David Hume lacked both sagacity and power to withstand the rogue effectively. His motives must be counted to his honour, but his methods showed want of skill. Nor could he look hopefully for help from other actors in this rather sordid drama. The Dowager Marchioness had married again, lived in Scotland with the children of her second marriage, and much preferred not to meddle with her eldest son's difficult affairs. Sir James Johnstone had no force of character and few brains, he was very busy as a landowner and an M.P.; 'and yet he seemed busier than he was'. The astute Vincent overreached him at all points.

A pretty tangle, to be sure. Hume emerged from it without glory.

The relations between David Hume and Marie-Charlotte-Hippolyte de Campet de Saujeon (1724–1800), Comtesse de Boufflers-Rouverel, are at once more interesting and more perplexing than his squabbles in the household of the mad Marquess. The extant letters do not tell the whole tale.

Hippolyte de Saujeon, Comtesse de Boufflers (for the 'Rouverel'

[1] William Murray (1705–93), afterwards Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, but then Solicitor-General, was also called into consultation now and then. But he did extremely little.

was generally omitted), must be distinguished both from the Duchesse de Boufflers, a member of the Luxembourg family, and from the Marquise de Boufflers, mother of the celebrated chevalier of that name. All contemporary records are agreed in describing her as singularly beautiful in youth and middle age. When David Hume met her first, in 1763, she was thirty-nine, looked thirty, and had all the freshness of complexion of a girl of twenty. She had then been married since the year 1745. But we hear nothing of her husband till he died, in 1764. In 1751, Louis-François de Bourbon (1717–76), Prince de Conti, had taken her as his principal mistress, and although this relationship had not endured many years, she still retained his friendship and still acted as his hostess in the Temple, his official residence in Paris, and at l'Isle Adam, his country house.

In addition to her beauty, she was noted for her wit, learning, literary judgement, and love of paradox. She read, wrote, and spoke English, and she led the Anglophiles in Paris. The public voice ascribed to her the authorship of two books, *De l'amitié* and *Des passions*. She denied this.[1] There is no doubt, however, that she wrote plays, which she kept in manuscript and showed to special friends.

'She is two women, the upper and the lower,' says Horace Walpole. 'I need not tell you that the lower is gallant, and still has pretensions. The upper is very sensible, too, and has a measured eloquence that is just and pleasing—but all is spoiled by an unrelaxing attention to applause. You would think she was always sitting for her picture to her biographer.'[2]

With this should be compared her own statement: 'Je veux rendre à la vertu par mes paroles ce que je lui ôte par mes actions'.[3]

It will be seen from Letter 1 in Appendix E that it was she who made the first approach in the friendship that grew up between her and David Hume. After corresponding intermittently for two and a half years, they met when Hume arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1763. Then ensued a relationship which is nearly as difficult to define as that between Horace Walpole and the old, blind and sharp-tongued Marquise du Deffand. That it passed the bounds of mere friendship is, I

[1] Unpublished autograph letter, 10 Sept. 1764, to Lord Bentinck, B.M. MSS. Egerton 1749.

[2] *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, VI. 407.

[3] Quoted by Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux Lundis*, 19 Jan. 1863.

think, beyond doubt Mme de Verdelin reported Hume 'amoureux fou de Mme de B '.[1] Be that true or false, there are signs that at one time Mme de Boufflers tried her best to make him fall in love with her The affair distracted, flattered, and at length frightened him; for it threatened what he cherished more than life itself—his independence Even when under her spell, he felt it irksome; while she, for her part, enjoyed playing, now the coquette, now the *femme savante*, now the great lady far above him in the social scale, now the forsaken mistress, and now the humble pupil of her 'maître de philosophie et de morale'.

By the summer of 1764 the situation had become difficult Hume was very near surrendering completely, changing his nationality, and settling down for life in France as the acknowledged 'friend' of his divine countess.[2] This must have been apparent to his real friends of long standing, when they met and talked with him Hence Gilbert Elliot's alarm in his letter of 15th September 1764 from Brussels And Hume's anxiety is given away by the quite unnecessary vehemence with which he answered

As it happened, a single unforeseen event changed the whole complexion of affairs M le Comte de Boufflers died His widow then forgot everything that she had said to David Hume, and grew obsessed with one ambition—to marry her former lover, the Prince de Conti This, it seems, helped to cure Hume of his infatuation, as it well might For she now shamelessly made use of him as go-between And by the time her hopes had nearly vanished—they never quite vanished till the Prince's death in 1776—Hume was safely out of reach of her uncommon fascination.

And he carefully remained out of reach. Though he had promised all his friends in Paris to return, as soon as he had settled Rousseau to his mind in England, he never did return; though he said that he disliked London and expressed contempt for the 'Barbarians' who dwelt in that town, he invented one excuse and then another for remaining in their midst His excuses carry no conviction For his unavowed reason was his fear of slipping once again under the spell of the divine countess

No one in his senses now believes Rousseau's accusations against Hume

[1] In a letter to Rousseau, quoted by Sainte-Beuve, loc cit

[2] Mme du Deffand referred to him as 'Grand Prêtre de l'Idole du Temple'.

Hume brought the Swiss philosopher to England to enable him to live at peace after the persecutions he had undergone in France and in his own country, he gave considerable time and care to settling him in a place where everything appeared to be exactly as he wanted it; he bore patiently with all his grumbles and suspicions till the settlement was finally effected; he contrived a pension for him from the King; and he treated him throughout with uncommon kindness and good humour If he committed any fault at all during the early months of 1766, it was the venial one of being too complacent and self-satisfied—the very attitude to be expected from the kindly, innocently vain soul that Hume was And then Rousseau turned on him, called him traitor, false friend, and other hard names, and accused him, along with d'Alembert and Horace Walpole, of having all the while intended to dishonour him

Under the shock of this absurd and cruel accusation, Hume behaved ill He denounced Jean-Jacques in violent terms Just as, before, he had shown himself ridiculously blind to Jean-Jacques's faults, despite the warnings he received not to trust the fellow on the smallest point, so, now, he showed himself completely blind in his antipathy Then he published, or at least permitted d'Alembert to publish, the *Exposé succinct de la contestation entre M Hume et M Rousseau* He has not lacked his meed of blame for this unnecessary cruelty—for that is what his critics have been apt to call it As a rule, however, they have missed the point Given what had gone before, d'Alembert was right the publication could not well be held back The thing for which no defence is possible is Hume's first letter to the Baron d'Holbach,[1] heaping abuse on Jean-Jacques, calling him 'the blackest and most atrocious villain that ever disgraced human nature', and indulging in all manner of extravagances unbefitting 'le bon David'.

For Rousseau cannot properly be held responsible for anything he did or said at this time He was nearly as insane as Hume's former charge, Lord Annandale However, there was no persuading Hume to see it till a year had passed He was blinded by his own wounded self-esteem

I have tried to make this edition as nearly definitive as possible With this aim, I have included every letter written

[1] Not extant

by Hume that I have traced,[1] and have given all but a few in full The few that are incomplete are

(*a*) Letters the extant autographs of which are incomplete

(*b*) Letters the autographs of which do not seem to be extant, and only parts of which have previously appeared in print

(*c*) Letters written at or about the same time to different correspondents and containing the same information in the same or similar words; in these cases I omit the passages that merely repeat what has been said before.

No omissions have been made for any other reason; and all omissions, whether voluntary or involuntary, are indicated in the footnotes.

Whenever the autograph has been available, I have strictly followed Hume's spelling and punctuation To guarantee accuracy in all cases would be foolish, I am only too well aware how easy it is to make an error in transcribing, and I have found and corrected such a host of errors in my own transcriptions that I know many must remain All I can say is, that I have aimed at an exact transcription

When the autograph has not been forthcoming, or a copy of it I could trust, I have given the best text I can, generally in modern spelling. The punctuation of such letters is, I do not doubt, often quite remote from Hume's

Hume, fortunately, wrote a clear hand. The same cannot be said of all his correspondents Mme de Boufflers, for example, sometimes wrote abominably, and I have often wondered how long it must have taken her long-suffering 'maître de philosophie' to decipher some of her epistles But in this, as in other matters, ease comes with practice, and though some of my readings of her hieroglyphics are conjectural, most of them, I think, are reasonable But I wish that she had shown a little more respect for accents

Previous, incomplete editions of Hume's letters have appeared as follows

1 *Private Correspondence of David Hume with several Distinguished Persons, between the years 1761 and 1766 Now first published from the originals.* London: Printed for Henry Colborn & Co , Public Library, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, 1820.

[1] Omitting, of course, his official dispatches while Chargé d'Affaires in Paris. These are to be found in the Public Record Office

The editor of this book is unknown It contains'

(*a*) 40 letters from Hume to Mme de Boufflers.
(*b*) 7 letters from Hume to Mme de Barbentane.
(*c*) 1 letter from Hume to Rousseau
(*d*) 1 letter from Hume to Malesherbes
(*e*) 1 letter from Hume to Turgot.
(*f*) 16 letters from Rousseau to various correspondents.
(*g*) 2 letters from Earl Marischal Keith to Mme de Boufflers.
(*h*) 1 letter from Mme de Boufflers to Hume
(*i*) 1 letter from Mme de Boufflers to Rousseau

A note at the end of the Introduction states that the originals may be consulted at the publishers'. This cannot have been strictly true even in 1820, and I doubt if the 'originals' were ever more than copies of the autographs The autographs of (*c*) and (*i*) are among the Rousseau MSS. in Neuchâtel; that of (*e*) is among the Turgot papers at the Château de Lantheuil; that of (*h*) is among the MSS , Royal Society of Edinburgh; and those of two of (*b*) are in the possession of Mr R N Carew Hunt, London. Where the remainder are, if they exist at all, I do not know [1]

We are thus wholly dependent on this publication for all Hume's letters to Mme de Boufflers, five of his letters to Mme de Barbentane, and his single letter to Malesherbes

I should judge the editor to have been fairly competent and careful. He was not good at proper names I have not departed from his text, save to correct obvious mistakes here and there, all trifling

II *Letters of David Hume, and Extracts from Letters referring to him* Edited by Thomas Murray, LL D , Author of *The Literary History of Galloway* Edinburgh· Published by Adam and Charles Black MDCCCXLI

This contains:

(*a*) 23 letters from Hume to Sir James Johnstone
(*b*) 2 letters from Hume to Capt. Philip Vincent.
(*c*) 1 letter from Hume to Lady Annandale
(*d*) 1 letter from Hume to Lord Elibank
(*e*) 2 letters from Sir James Johnstone to Hume
(*f*) 1 letter from Lady Annandale to Hume

[1] 42 of them, however, appear to have been at one time in possession of the late Alfred Morrison (*Cat. of Autograph Letters, etc* , II 315)

(*g*) 2 letters from Capt. Philip Vincent to Hume.
(*h*) Miscellaneous letters relating to Hume from Johnstone, Vincent, Elibank, and Henry Home of Kames.

The autographs of this collection were brought together by the Annandale Trustees as documents in the lawsuit that Hume was threatening to bring in the Court of Session in order to enforce his claim for the £75 that Vincent had declined to pay him; and they remained buried in an Edinburgh lawyer's office till Murray accidentally discovered them After their publication they were all, it seems, dispersed Some have turned up in America, some in London, one in Edinburgh I suspect that most of the remainder are in private collections, though I have failed to trace them

As an editor, Murray was pretty accurate except in spelling and punctuation, which he revised to suit his own tastes

III *Life and Correspondence of David Hume From the Papers bequeathed by his Nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and other original Sources* By John Hill Burton, Esq Advocate Edinburgh William Tait, 107, Prince's Street. MDCCCXLVI 2 vols.

This is the standard biography of Hume It contains 252 of his letters (or fragments of them), taken from

(*a*) The MSS , Royal Society of Edinburgh.
(*b*) The MSS. at Minto House
(*c*) The MSS at Cambusmore.
(*d*) The MSS at Kilravock Castle
(*e*) Other miscellaneous MSS. lent to Burton.
(*f*) *Private Correspondence of David Hume* (I above)
(*g*) Murray's *Letters of David Hume* (II above)
(*h*) A number of periodicals, like the *Literary Gazette*
(*i*) Books like Tytler's *Henry Home, Lord Kames*, Mackenzie's *John Home*, and Dugald Stewart's *William Robertson*

In addition, Burton printed a number of extracts from the letters addressed to Hume and contained among the MSS , R S E , but reserved the bulk of these for his *Letters of Eminent Persons addressed to David Hume.*

Leaving the latter book out of account for the moment, we may say that Burton's main purpose was to write a good biography of Hume, which he certainly accomplished He therefore, very properly, made no attempt to print all the

letters he had access to, nor did he give more of any letter than was needed for the point he happened to be making But his methods were unpardonably careless—one might almost say, dishonest His errors of transcription (which are gross and frequent) are not the usual errors due to human frailty; they show unmistakably that he took no pains in checking copies with originals, and that he altered Hume's spelling, punctuation, sometimes even phrasing, to suit his own notions or his own caprices

As for his *Letters of Eminent Persons to David Hume*, it is past speaking of in this respect.

All this is the more unfortunate for later editors, because Burton's versions are the only ones that we possess for several of the best letters Hume wrote The MSS. at Cambusmore, for instance, which contained Hume's letters to his friend, James Edmonstoune, are believed to have been accidentally destroyed by fire about the year 1870, and many, and perhaps all, of his delightful letters to John Clephane, which were lent to Burton by the Roses of Kilravock, have been scattered since.

IV *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan*, now first edited with Notes, Index, &c by G Birkbeck Hill, D.C L Pembroke College, Oxford. at the Clarendon Press, 1888

This contains

(*a*) 83 letters from Hume to Strahan.
(*b*) 1 letter from Hume to Thomas Cadell
(*c*) 4 letters from Strahan to Hume.
(*d*) 1 letter from Strahan to Adam Smith
(*e*) 3 letters from Adam Smith to Strahan
(*f*) 4 letters from John Home of Ninewells to Strahan
(*g*) 1 letter from David Hume the Younger to Strahan
(*h*) 2 letters from James Hutton to Strahan.
(*i*) Extracts from various letters from Hume (in the Notes).

The autographs of the letters under (*a*) and (*b*) came into the market in 1887, and were purchased by the late Earl of Rosebery, who placed them at Birkbeck Hill's disposal. They are believed to be now at Barnbougle Castle, in possession of the present Earl of Rosebery, but I have not been granted access to them I have therefore been obliged to take Hill's text.

Fortunately, Hill was both a learned and a careful scholar,

and his text may be accepted as authentic—or as nearly so But he was somewhat prejudiced against Hume, and he buried Hume's letters under an enormous weight of footnotes

V 'Unveröffentlichte Briefe David Humes,' edited by Rudolf Metz in *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3, Leipzig, 1929

This contains

(*a*) 18 letters from Hume to various correspondents, from autographs in the British Museum
(*b*) 4 letters from Hume, from the MSS., R S E

It is enriched with many apt and useful notes

The principal sources from which the letters in the present edition have been taken are as follows

Autographs

MSS , Royal Society of Edinburgh	144
MSS , British Museum	31
MSS , Minto House	27
MSS , Bibliothèque publique de Neuchâtel	21
MSS , J Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City	8
MSS., National Library of Scotland	7
MSS in possession of William Mure, Esq , London	7
MSS in possession of Mrs Reginald Mure, Oxford	4

Printed Sources

Letters of David Hume to William Strahan, ed by Birkbeck Hill	83
Private Correspondence of David Hume (1820)	46
Letters of David Hume, ed by T Murray	20
Life and Correspondence of David Hume, by J. H Burton	18
Life of William Robertson, by Dugald Stewart	15
Life of Henry Home, Lord Kames, by A F Tytler	10
Memorials of James Oswald	6

The remainder have been derived, in ones and twos, from a great variety of sources, manuscript and printed.

The provenance of each letter is indicated in the footnotes.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B M = British Museum.

Burton = *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, by John Hill Burton, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1846.

Caldwell Papers = *Papers of the Family of Mure of Caldwell*, 2 vols. (Vol. II in 2 parts), Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854

Courtois = *Le séjour de Jean-Jacques Rousseau en Angleterre*, by L.-J. Courtois, Geneva, 1911

Eminent Persons = *Letters of Eminent Persons to David Hume*, ed by John Hill Burton, Edinburgh, 1849

Hill = *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan*, ed by G Birkbeck Hill, Oxford, 1888

MSS, R S E = Hume MSS in the possession of the Royal Society of Edinburgh

Murray = *Letters from David Hume, and Extracts from Letters referring to him*, ed by Thomas Murray, Edinburgh, 1841

Oswald = *Memorials of the Public Life and Character of the Rt Hon James Oswald of Dunnikier*, Edinburgh, 1825

Priv Corr = *Private Correspondence of David Hume with several Distinguished Persons, between the years 1761 and 1776*, London, 1820

Ritchie = *An Account of the Life and Writings of David Hume, Esq*, by Thomas Edward Ritchie, London, 1807

Smellie = *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, M D.; Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume, Esq; and Adam Smith, LL D*, by William Smellie, Edinburgh, 1800

Streckeisen-Moultou = *J-J Rousseau, ses amis et ses ennemis*, by M. G. Streckeisen-Moultou, 2 tomes, Paris, 1865

Tytler = *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Hon Henry Home, Lord Kames*, by Alexander Fraser Tytler, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1814

*MY OWN LIFE

18 of April 1776

IT is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without Vanity· Therefore I shall be short It may be thought an Instance of Vanity, that I pretend at all to write my Life· But this Narrative shall contain little more than the History of my Writings, as indeed, almost all my Life has been spent in literary Pursuits and Occupations The first Success of most of my writings was not such as to be an Object of Vanity

I was born the 26 of April 1711, O S at Edinburgh I was of a good Family both by Father and Mother My Father's Family is a Branch of the Earl of Home's or Hume's, and my Ancestors had been Proprietors of the Estate, which my Brother possesses, for several Generations My Mother was Daughter of Sir David Falconar, President of the College of Justice The Title of Lord Halkerton came by Succession to her Brother

My Family, however, was not rich; and being myself a younger Brother, my Patrimony, according to the Mode of my Country, was of course very slender. My Father, who passed for a man of Parts, dyed, when I was an Infant, leaving me, with an elder Brother and a Sister under the care of our Mother, a woman of singular Merit, who, though young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to the rearing and educating of her Children I passed through the ordinary Course of Education with Success, and was seized very early with a passion for Literature which has been the ruling Passion of my Life, and the great Source of my Enjoyments. My studious Disposition, my Sobriety, and my Industry gave my Family a Notion that the Law was a proper Profession for me: But I found an unsurmountable Aversion to every thing but the pursuits of Philosophy and general Learning; and while they fancyed I was poring over Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the Authors which I was secretly devouring

My very slender Fortune, however, being unsuitable to this plan of Life, and my Health being a little broken by my ardent Application, I was tempted or rather forced to make a very feeble Trial for entering into a more active Scene of Life In 1734, I went to Bristol with some Recommendations to eminent Merchants; but in a few Months found that Scene totally

*MS, R S E

unsuitable to me I went over to France, with a View of prosecuting my Studies in a Country Retreat; and I there [? then] laid that Plan of Life, which I have steddily and successfully pursued· I resolved to make a very rigid Frugality supply my Deficiency of Fortune, to maintain unimpaired my Independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the Improvement of my Talents in Literature.

During my Retreat in France, first at Reims, but chiefly at La fleche in Anjou, I composed my *Treatise of human Nature* After passing three Years very agreeably in that Countrey, I came over to London in 1737 In the End of 1738, I published my Treatise; and immediatly went down to my Mother and my Brother, who lived at his Countrey house and was employing himself, very judiciously and successfully, in the Improvement of his Fortune.

Never literary Attempt was more unfortunate than my Treatise of human Nature It fell *dead-born from the Press*; without reaching such distinction as even to excite a Murmur among the Zealots But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine Temper, I very soon recovered the Blow, and prosecuted with great Ardour my Studies in the Country In 1742, I printed at Edinburgh the first part of my Essays The work was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former Disappointment I continued with my Mother and Brother in the Countrey; and in that time, recovered the Knowlege of the Greek Language, which I had too much neglected in my early Youth

In 1745, I received a Letter from the Marquess of Annandale, inviting me to come and live with him in England: I found also, that the Friends and Family of that young Nobleman, were desirous of putting him under my Care and Direction. For the State of his Mind and Health required it. I lived with him a Twelvemonth My Appointments during that time made a considerable Accession to my small Fortune I then received an Invitation from General S^t^clair to attend him as Secretary to his Expedition, which was at first meant against Canada, but ended in an Incursion on the Coast of France· Next Year, to wit 1747, I received an Invitation from the General to attend him in the same Station in his military Embassy to the Courts of Vienna and Turin. I there wore the Uniform of an Officer; and was introduced at these courts as Aide-de-camp to the General, along with Sir Harry Erskine and Cap^t^ Grant, now General Grant. These two Years were almost the only Inter-

ruptions which my Studies have received in the Course of my Life: I passed them agreeably and in good Company: And my Appointments, with my Frugality, had made me reach a Fortune, which I called independent, though most of my Friends were inclined to smile when I said so In short I was now Master of near a thousand Pound

I had always entertained a Notion, that my want of Success, in publishing the Treatise of human Nature, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter; and that I had been guilty of a very usual Indiscretion, in going to the Press too early I therefore cast the first part of that work anew in the Enquiry concerning human Understanding, which was published while I was at Turin But this piece was at first but little more successful than the Treatise of human Nature. On my return from Italy, I had the Mortification to find all England in a Ferment on account of Dr. Middletons Free Enquiry; while my Performance was entirely overlooked and neglected. A new Edition, which had been published at London of my Essays, moral and political, met not with a much better reception.

Such is the force of natural Temper, that these disappointments made little or no Impression on me I went down in 1749 and lived two Years with my Brother at his Country house. For my Mother was now dead I there composed the second Part of my Essays, which I called Political Discourses; and also my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which is another part of my Treatise, that I cast anew Mean-while, my Bookseller, A Millar, informed me, that my former Publications (all but the unfortunate Treatise) were beginning to be the Subject of Conversation, that the Sale of them was gradually encreasing, and that new Editions were demanded Answers, by Reverends and Right Reverends, came out two or three in a Year. And I found by Dr Warburtons Railing that the Books were beginning to be esteemed in good Company However, I had fixed a Resolution, which I inflexibly maintained, never to reply to any body; and not being very irascible in my Temper, I have easily kept myself clear of all literary Squabbles These Symptoms of a rising Reputation gave me Encouragement as I was ever more disposed to see the favourable than unfavourable Side of things; a turn of Mind, which it is more happy to possess than be born to an Estate of ten thousand a Year.

In 1751, I removed from the Countrey to the Town, the true Scene for a man of Letters In 1752, were published at Edin-

burgh, where I then lived, my Political Discourses, the only work of mine, that was successful on the first Publication It was well received abroad and at home In the same Year was published at London my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which, in my own opinion (who ought not to judge on that subject) is of all my writings, historical, philosopical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the World

In 1752, the Faculty of Advocates chose me their Librarian, an Office from which I received little or no Emolument, but which gave me the Command of a large Library. I then formed the Plan of writing the History of England; but being frightened with the Notion of continuing a Narrative, through a Period of 1700 years, I commenced with the Accession of the House of Stuart; an Epoch, when, I thought, the Misrepresentations of Faction began chiefly to take place I was, I own, sanguine in my Expectations of the Success of this work I thought, that, I was the only Historian, that had at once neglected present Power, Interest, and Authority, and the Cry of popular Prejudices; and as the Subject was suited to every Capacity, I expected proportional Applause· But miserable was my Disappointment I was assailed by one Cry of Reproach, Disapprobation, and even Detestation English, Scotch, and Irish, Whig and Tory, Churchman and Sectary, Free-thinker and Religionist; Patriot and Courtier united in their Rage against the Man, who had presumed to shed a generous Tear for the Fate of Charles I, and the Earl of Strafford And after the first Ebullitions of this Fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the Book seemed to sink into Oblivion. Mr Millar told me, that in a twelvemonth he sold only forty five Copies of it. I scarcely indeed heard of one Man in the three Kingdoms, considerable for Rank or Letters, that cou'd endure the Book. I must only except the Primate of England, Dr Herring, and the Primate of Ireland, Dr Stone; which seem two odd Exceptions These dignifyed Prelates separately sent me Messages not to be discouraged.

I was, however, I confess, discouraged; and had not the War been at that time breaking out between France and England, I had certainly retired to some provincial Town of the former Kingdom, have changed my Name, and never more have returned to my native Country. But as this Scheme was not now practicable, and the subsequent Volume was considerably advanced, I resolved to pick up Courage and to persevere.

In this Interval I published at London, my natural History of Religion along with some other small Pieces· Its public Entry was rather obscure, except only that Dr Hurd wrote a Pamphlet against it, with all the illiberal Petulance, Arrogance, and Scurrility, which distinguishes the Warburtonian School This Pamphlet gave me some Consolation for the otherwise indifferent Reception of my Performance.

In 1756, two Years after the fall of the first Volume, was published the second Volume of my History, containing the Period from the Death of Charles I, till the Revolution. This Performance happened to give less Displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate Brother.

But though I had been taught by Experience, that the Whig Party were in possession of bestowing all places, both in the State and in Literature, I was so little inclined to yield to their senseless Clamour, that in above a hundred Alterations, which farther Study, Reading, or Reflection engaged me to make in the Reigns of the two first Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the Tory Side It is ridiculous to consider the English Constitution before that Period as a regular Plan of Liberty

In 1759 I published my History of the House of Tudor The Clamour against this Performance was almost equal to that against the History of the two first Stuarts The Reign of Elizabeth was particularly obnoxious But I was now callous against the Impressions of public Folly, and continued very peacably and contentedly in my Retreat at Edinburgh, to finish in two Volumes the more early part of the English History; which I gave to the public in 1761 with tolerable, and but tolerable Success.

But notwithstanding this Variety of Winds and Seasons, to which my Writings had been exposed, they had still been making such Advances, that the Copy Money, given me by the Booksellers, much exceeded any thing formerly known in England I was become not only independant, but opulent. I retired to my native Country of Scotland, determined never more to set my Foot out of it, and retaining the Satisfaction of never having preferred a Request to one great Man or even making Advances of Friendship to any of them. As I was now turned of fifty, I thought of passing all the rest of my Life in this philosophical manner; when I received in 1763 an Invitation

from Lord Hertford, with whom I was not in the least acquainted, to attend him on his Embassy to Paris, with a near Prospect of being appointed Secretary to the Embassy, and in the mean while, of performing the functions of that office. This Offer, however inviting, I at first declined, both because I was reluctant to begin Connexions with the Great, and because I was afraid that the Civilities and gay Company of Paris woud prove disagreeable to a Person of my Age and Humour. But on his Lordship's repeating the Invitation, I accepted of it. I have every reason, both of Pleasure and Interest, to think myself happy in my Connexions with that Nobleman, as well as afterwards, with his Brother, General Conway.

Those who have not seen the strange Effect of Modes will never imagine the Reception I met with at Paris, from Men and Women of all Ranks and Stations. The more I recoiled from their excessive Civilities, the more I was loaded with them.[1] There is, however, a real Satisfaction in living at Paris from the great Number of sensible, knowing, and polite Company with which the City abounds above all places in the Universe. I thought once of settling there for Life.

I was appointed Secretary to the Embassy, and in Summer 1765, Lord Hertford left me being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I was *chargé d'affaires*, till the Arrival of the Duke of Richmond towards the End of the Year. In the beginning of 1766, I left Paris and next summer, went to Edinburgh, with the same view as formerly of burying myself in a philosophical Retreat. I returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money and a much larger Income by means of Lord Hertford's Friendship, than I left it, and I was desirous of trying what Superfluity coud produce, as I had formerly made an Experiment of a Competency. But in 1767, I received from Mr Conway an invitation to be Under-Secretary, and this Invitation both the Character of the Person, and my Connexions with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769, very opulent (for I possessed a Revenue of 1000 pounds a year) healthy, and though somewhat stricken in Years, with the Prospect of enjoying long my Ease and of seeing the Encrease of my Reputation.

[1] Hume then wrote, but afterwards struck out. 'Dr Sterne told me, that he saw I was [two words illegible] *Town* in the same manner that he himself had been in London. But he added, that his Vogue lasted only one Winter.'

In spring 1775, I was struck with a Disorder in my Bowels, which at first gave me no Alarm, but has since, as I apprehend it, become mortal and incurable I now reckon upon a speedy Dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my Disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great Decline of my Person, never suffered a Moments Abatement of my Spirits Insomuch, that were I to name the Period of my Life which I shoud most choose to pass over again I might be tempted to point to this later Period I possess the same Ardor as ever in Study, and the same Gaiety in Company. I consider besides, that a Man of sixty five, by dying, cuts off only a few Years of Infirmities. And though I see many Symptoms of my literary Reputation's breaking out at last with additional Lustre, I know, that I had but few Years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from Life than I am at present.

To conclude historically with my own Character—I am, or rather was (for that is the Style, I must now use in speaking of myself, which emboldens me the more to speak my Sentiments) I was, I say, a man of mild Dispositions, of Command of Temper, of an open, social, and cheerful Humour, capable of Attachment, but little susceptible of Enmity,[1] and of great Moderation in all my Passions Even my Love of literary Fame, my ruling Passion, never soured my humour, notwithstanding my frequent Disappointments My Company was not unacceptable to the young and careless, as well as to the Studious and literary And as I took a particular Pleasure in the Company of modest women, I had no Reason to be displeased with the Reception I met with from them. In a word, though most men any wise eminent, have found reason to complain of Calumny, I never was touched, or even attacked by her baleful Tooth. And though I wantonly exposed myself to the Rage of both civil and religious Factions, they seemed to be disarmed in my behalf of their wonted Fury. My Friends never had occasion to vindicate any one Circumstance of my Character and Conduct: Not but that the Zealots, we may well suppose, wou'd have been glad to invent and propagate any Story to my Disadvantage, but they coud never find any which, they thought, woud wear the Face of Probability I cannot say, there is no Vanity in making this funeral Oration of myself; but I hope it is not a misplac'd one; and this is a Matter of Fact which is easily cleard and ascertained.

[1] The words 'capable Enmity' were an afterthought, added in the margin

1 *To* MICHAEL RAMSAY [1]

July 4. 1727.

D. M.

I receivd all the Books you writ of & your Milton among the rest, when I saw it I perceivd there was a difference betwixt preaching & practizing; You accuse me of niceness & yet practize it most egregiously your self, What was the Necessity of sending your Milton w^ch^ I knew you were so fond of? Why! I lent yours & cant get it But would you not in the same manner have lent your own? Yes. Then Why this Ceremony & Goodbreeding? I write all this to show you how easily any Action may be brought to bear the Countenance of a Fault; you may justify your self very well by saying it was kindness & I am satisfy'd w^t^ it & thank you for it. So in the same manner I may justify my self from your Reproofs. You say That I would not send in my papers because they were not polishd nor brought to any form, w^ch^ you say is Nicety. But was it not reasonable? Would you have me send in my loose, uncorrect thoughts? Were such worth the transcribing? All the progress that I made is but drawing the Outlines, in loose bits of Paper, here a hint of a passion, there a Phenomenon in the mind accounted for, in another the alteration of these accounts, sometimes a remark upon an Author I have been reading, And none of them worth to any Body & I believe scarce to my self. The only design I had of mentioning any of them at all was to see what you would have said of your own, whether they were of the same kind & if you would send any & I have got my End for you have given a most satisfactory reason for not communicating them, by promising they shall be told viva voce; a much better way indeed & in w^ch^ I promise my self much satisfaction; for the free Conversation of a friend is what I would preferr to any Entertainment; just now I am entirely confind to my self & Library for Diversion, since we parted

. . ea sola voluptas
Solamenq; mali [2]

* MS., R S E., *Lit Gazette*, 1821, p 762 (extracts only), Burton, 1 12 ff. The earliest of Hume's extant letters, written from his home at Ninewells, at the age of sixteen

[1] A school or college friend of Hume's Hardly anything is known of him Only two of his letters to Hume are extant among the MSS., R.S E

[2] Virgil, *Aen* iii 660

& indeed to me they are not a small one, for I take no more of them than I please, for I hate task-reading, & I diversify them at my Pleasure; sometimes a Philosopher, sometimes a Poet; w^ch^ change is not unpleasant nor disservicable neither, for what will more surely engrave upon my mind a Tusculan Dispute of Cicero's de ægritudine lenienda than an Eclogue or Georgick of Virgils; the Philosophers Wiseman, & the Poets husbandman agree in peace of mind, in a Liberty & Independancy on Fortune, & Contempt of Riches, Power & Glory Every thing is placid & quiet in both, nothing perturbd or disorderd

> At secura quies & nescia fallere vita
> Speluncae, vivicꝫ laci, at frigida Tempe
> Mugitusqꝫ boum mollesqꝫ sub arbore somnos
> Non absint—[1]

These Lines will in my Opinion come nothing short of the Instruction of the finest Sentence in Cicero. And is more to me; as Virgils Life is more the Subject of my Ambition, being what I can apprehend to be more w^t^in my power For the perfectly Wise man that outbraves Fortune is surely greater than the Husbandman who slips by her, And indeed this pastoral & Saturnian happyness I have in a great measure come at, just now, I live like a King pretty much by my self,[2] Neither full of Action of Action[3] nor perturbation, Molles somnos This State however I can forsee is not to be rely'd on; My peace of Mind is no sufficiently confirmd by Philosophy to w^t^stand the Blows of Fortune, This Greatness & Elevation of Soul is to be found only in Study & contemplation, this can alone teach us to look down upon upon[3] humane Accidents You must allow [me] to talk thus like a Philosopher, tis a Subject I think much on & could talk all day long off, B[ut][4] I know I must not trouble you Wherefore I wisely practice my Rules, w^ch^ prescribe to check our Appetite, And for a Mortification[3] shall descend from these Superior Regions to low & ordinary Life,

[1] A misquotation for

> At secura quies, et nescia fallere vita,
> Dives opum variarum at latis otia fundis,
> Speluncae, vivique lacus, at frigida Tempe,
> Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni
> Non absunt
>
> Virgil, *Georg* II 467 ff

[2] Hume had apparently by this time left the University of Edinburgh.

[3] *Sic* in MS.

[4] A piece torn off the MS

& so far as to tell you. That John[1] has bought a horse he thinks it neither cheap nor dear, it cost 6 Guineas but will be sold cheaper agst winter, w^{ch} he is not resolv'd on as yet; it has no fault but bogles a little; It is tolerably well favord And paces naturally Mamma[2] bids me tell you y^{t} Sir John Home is not going to Town, but he saw Eccles in the Countrey who says he will do nothing in y^{t} Affair for he is only taking off old Adjudications; So it is needless to let him see the papers; She desires you would trouble yourself to enquire about the Earle's Affairs & Advise us what to do in this Affair If it were not breaking the formal Rule of Connexions I have prescribed my self in this Letter; & it did not seem unnatural to raise my self from so low Affairs as Horses and papers to so high & elevate things as Books & Study I would tell you y^{t} I read some of Longinus already & I am mightily delighted w^{t} him; I think he does really answer the Character of being the great Sublime he describes, he delivers his precepts w^{t} such force as if he were enchanted w^{t} the Subject, And is himself an Author that may be be[4] cited for an Example to his own Rules by any who shall be so adventurous [?] as to write upon his Subject.

* 2. *To* Michael Ramsay

My Dear Mich.

I was very much surprizd & very sorry to hear from you, that we must not expect you soon. I wonder you make any stop about a horse, since we could send in for you, & as to your Letters from Jamey[3] you would get them so much the sooner by Berwick. I hope there is no misfortune befallen him, that you need be so much upon the Guard Our Folks goes[4] into Town agst the first of Aprile, I wish you could come out then, with a return of their horses, if your own be not right, & not wait for their coming out again, w^{ch} will be a fortnight after I am in pretty good Health Just now & I think in better health these two months than for two Years before [5] I am afraid we

* MS, R S E, *Englische Studien*, Bd 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England Written almost certainly from Ninewells.

[1] John Home of Ninewells (1709–86), David's elder brother He grew up to be a slow, cautious, but enlightened laird

[2] Catherine Falconer (1683–1749), third daughter of Sir David Falconer of Newton, m (Jan 1708) Joseph Home of Ninewells, advocate. Practically nothing else is known about her.

[3] I do not know who this was [4] *Sic* in MS

[5] For the state of Hume's health during these years see Letter 3 below

shall never get a good long settled meeting together, till we must part, & then we must wait till Fortune join us. I thank you for your trouble about Baile [1] I hope it is a Book you will yourself find Diversion & Improvement in

March Monday 1732
M^r^ Mich. Ramsay. To the Care of M^rs^ Butler at her Lodgings in Hackerstons Wind Edin^r^

* 3 *To* [Dr George Cheyne][2]

[March or April 1734][3]

Sir

Not being acquainted with this hand-writing, you will probably look to the bottom to find the Subscription, & not finding any, will certainly wonder at this strange method of addressing to you I must here in the beginning beg you to excuse it, & to perswade you to read what follows with some Attention, must tell you, that this gives you an Opportunity to do a very good-natur'd Action, which I believe is the most powerful Argument I can use. I need not tell you, that I am your Countryman, a Scotchman, for without any such tye, I dare rely upon your Humanity, even to a perfect Stranger, such as I am The Favour I beg of you is your Advice, & the reason why I address myself in particular to you need not be told As one must be a skilful Physician, a man of Letters, of Wit, of Good Sense, & of great Humanity, to give me a satisfying Answer, I wish Fame had pointed out to me more Persons, in whom these Qualities are united, in order to have kept me some time in Suspense. This I say in the Sincerity of my Heart, & without any Intention of making a Complement. For tho' it may seem necessary, that in the beginning of so unusual a Letter, I shou'd say some fine things, to bespeak your good Opinion, & remove any prejudices you may conceive at it, yet such an Endeavor to be witty, woud but ill suit with the

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 30 ff A draft letter, perhaps never dispatched

[1] Almost certainly Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, a book of which Hume made considerable use

[2] This was Burton's conjecture, and is a very likely one George Cheyne (1671–1743), born in Aberdeenshire, a friend and disciple of the celebrated Dr Archibald Pitcairne, settled in London, *c.* 1700; F R S , March 1701–2, author of *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion*, and of *The English Malady*.

[3] Hume left Ninewells in the end of February 1734

present Condition of my Mind; which, I must confess, is not without Anxiety concerning the Judgement you will form of me. Trusting however to your Candor & Generosity, I shall, without further Preface, proceed to open up to you the present Condition of my Health, & to do that the more effectually shall give you a kind of History of my Life, after which you will easily learn, why I keep my Name a Secret.

You must know then that from my earliest Infancy, I found alwise a strong Inclination to Books & Letters As our College Education in Scotland, extending little further than the Languages, ends commonly when we are about 14 or 15 Years of Age, I was after that left to my own Choice in my Reading, & found it encline me almost equally to Books of Reasoning & Philosophy, & to Poetry & the polite Authors. (Every one, who is acquainted either with the Philosophers or Critics, knows that there is nothing yet establisht in either of these two Sciences, & that they contain little more than endless Disputes, even in the most fundamental Articles Upon Examination of these, I found a certain Boldness of Temper, growing in me, which was not enclin'd to submit to any Authority in these Subjects, but led me to seek out some new Medium, by which Truth might be establisht After much Study, & Reflection on this, at last, when I was about 18 Years of Age, there seem'd to be open'd up to me a new Scene of Thought, which transported me beyond Measure, & made me, with an Ardor natural to young men, throw up every other Pleasure or Business to apply entirely to it The Law, which was the Business I design'd to follow, appear'd nauseous to me, & I cou'd think of no other way of pushing my Fortune in the World, but that of a Scholar & Philosopher I was infinitely happy in this Course of Life for some Months; till at last, about the beginning of Sept^{r} 1729, all my Ardor seem'd in a moment to be extinguisht, & I cou'd no longer raise my Mind to that pitch, which formerly gave me such excessive Pleasure I felt no Uneasyness or Want of Spirits, when I laid aside my Book, & therefore never imagind there was any bodily Distemper in the Case, but that my Coldness proceeded from a Laziness of Temper, which must be overcome by redoubling my Application. In this Condition I remain'd for nine Months, very uneasy to myself, as you may well imagine, but without growing any worse, which was a Miracle

There was another particular, which contributed more than

any thing, to waste my Spirits & bring on me this Distemper, which was, that having read many Books of Morality, such as Cicero, Seneca & Plutarch, & being smit with their beautiful Representations of Virtue & Philosophy, I undertook the Improvement of my Temper & Will, along with my Reason & Understanding I was continually fortifying myself with Reflections against Death, & Poverty, & Shame, & Pain, & all the other Calamities of Life These no doubt are exceeding useful, when join'd with an active Life, because the Occasion being presented along with the Reflection, works it into the Soul, & makes it take a deep Impression, but in Solitude they serve to little other Purpose, than to waste the Spirits, the Force of the Mind meeting with no Resistance, but wasting itself in the Air, like our Arm when it misses its Aim This however I did not learn but by Experience, & till I had already ruin'd my Health, tho' I was not sensible of it

Some Scurvy Spots broke out on my Fingers, the first Winter I fell ill, about which I consulted a very knowing Physician, who gave me some Medicines, that remov'd these Symptoms, & at the same time gave me a Warning against the Vapors, which, tho I was laboring under at that time, I fancy'd myself so far remov'd from, & indeed from any other Disease, except a slight Scurvy, that I despis'd his Warning At last about Aprile 1730, when I was 19 Years of Age, a Symptom, which I had notic'd a little from the beginning, encreas'd considerably, so that tho' it was no Uneasyness, the Novelty of it made me ask Advice It was what they call a Ptyalism or Watryness in the mouth. Upon my mentioning it to my Physician, he laught at me, & told me I was now a Brother, for that I had fairly got the Disease of the Learned. Of this he found great Difficulty to perswade me, finding in myself nothing of that lowness of Spirit, which those, who labor under that Distemper so much complain of However upon his Advice, I went under a Course of Bitters, & Anti-hysteric Pills Drunk an English Pint of Claret Wine every Day, & rode 8 or 10 Scotch Miles. This I continu'd for about 7 Months after

Tho I was sorry to find myself engag'd with so tedious a Distemper yet the Knowledge of it, set me very much at ease, by satisfying me that my former Coldness, proceeded not from any Defect of Temper or Genius, but from a Disease, to which any one may be subject. I now began to take some Indulgence to myself, studied moderately, & only when I found my Spirits

at their highest Pitch, leaving off before I was weary, & trifling away the rest of my Time in the best manner I could. In this way, I liv'd with Satisfaction enough, and on my return to Town next Winter found my Spirits very much recruited, so that, tho they sunk under me in the higher Flights of Genius, yet I was able to make considerable Progress in my former Designs I was very regular in my Diet & way of Life from the beginning, & all that Winter, made it a constant Rule to ride twice or thrice a week, & walk every day. For these Reasons, I expected when I return'd to the Countrey, & cou'd renew my Exercise with less Interruption, that I wou'd perfectly recover. But in this I was much mistaken For next Summer, about May 1731 there grew upon [me] a very ravenous Appetite, & as quick a Digestion, which I at first took for a good Symptom, & was very much surpriz'd to find it bring back a Palpitation of Heart, which I had felt very little of before. This Appetite, however, had an Effect very unusual, which was to nourish me extremely, so that in 6 weeks time I past from the one extreme to the other, & being before tall, lean, & raw-bon'd became on a sudden, the most sturdy, robust, healthful-like Fellow you have seen, with a ruddy Complexion & a chearful Countenance. In excuse for my Riding, & care of my Health, I alwise said, that I was afraid of a Consumption; which was readily believ'd from my Looks, but now every Body congratulate me upon my thorow Recovery This unnatural Appetite wore off by degrees, but left me as a Legacy, the same Palpitation of the heart in a small degree, & a good deal of Wind in my Stomach, which comes away easily, & without any bad Goût, as is ordinary However, these Symptoms are little or no Uneasyness to me I eat well, I sleep well Have no lowness of Spirits, at least never more than what one of the best Health may feel, from too full a meal, from sitting too near a Fire, & even that degree I feel very seldom, & never almost in the Morning or Forenoon. Those who live in the same Family with me, & see me at all times, cannot observe the least Alteration in my Humor, & rather think me a better Companion than I was before, as choosing to pass more of my time with them. This gave me such Hopes, that I scarce ever must a days riding, except in the Winter-time, & last Summer undertook a very laborious task, which was to travel 8 Miles every Morning & as many in the Forenoon, to & from a mineral Well of some Reputation. I renew'd the Bitters & Anti-hysteric

Pills twice, along with Anti-scorbutic Juices last Spring, but without any considerable Effect, except abating the Symptoms for a little time.

Thus I have given you a full account of the Condition of my Body, & without staying to ask Pardon, as I ought to do, for so tedious a Story, shall explain to you how my Mind stood all this time, which on every Occasion, especially in this Distemper, have a very near Connexion together Having now Time & Leizure to cool my inflam'd Imaginations, I began to consider seriously, how I shou'd proceed in my Philosophical Enquiries I found that the moral Philosophy transmitted to us by Antiquity, labor'd under the same Inconvenience that has been found in their natural Philosophy, of being entirely Hypothetical, & depending more upon Invention than Experience. Every one consulted his Fancy in erecting Schemes of Virtue & of Happiness, without regarding human Nature, upon which every moral Conclusion must depend. This therefore I resolved to make my principal Study, & the Source from which I wou'd derive every Truth in Criticism as well as Morality. I believe 'tis a certain Fact that most of the Philosophers who have gone before us, have been overthrown by the Greatness of their Genius, & that little more is requir'd to make a man succeed in this Study than to throw off all Prejudices either for his own Opinions or for this of others. At least this is all I have to depend on for the Truth of my Reasonings, which I have multiply'd to such a degree, that within these three Years, I find I have scribled many a Quire of Paper, in which there is nothing contain'd but my own Inventions This with the Reading most of the celebrated Books in Latin, French & English, & acquiring the Italian, you may think a sufficient Business for one in perfect Health, & so it wou'd, had it been done to any Purpose· But my Disease was a cruel Incumbrance on me I found that I was not able to follow out any Train of Thought, by one continued Stretch of View, but by repeated Interruptions, & by refreshing my Eye from Time to Time upon other Objects Yet with this Inconvenience I have collected the rude Materials for many Volumes; but in reducing these to Words, when one must bring the Idea he comprehended in gross, nearer to him, so as to contemplate its minutest Parts, & keep it steddily in his Eye, so as to copy these Parts in Order, this I found impracticable for me, nor were my Spirits equal to so severe an Employment Here lay

my greatest Calamity I had no Hopes of delivering my Opinions with such Elegance & Neatness, as to draw to me the Attention of the World, & I wou'd rather live & dye in Obscurity than produce them maim'd & imperfect.

Such a miserable Disappointment I scarce ever remember to have heard of The small Distance betwixt me & perfect Health makes me the more uneasy in my present Situation Tis a Weakness rather than a Lowness of Spirits which troubles me, & there seems to be as great a Difference betwixt my Distemper & common Vapors, as betwixt Vapors & Madness

I have notic'd in the Writings of the French Mysticks, & in those of our Fanatics here, that, when they give a History of the Situation of their Souls, they mention a Coldness & Desertion of the Spirit, which frequently returns, & some of them, at the beginning, have been tormented with it many Years. As this kind of Devotion depends entirely on the Force of Passion, & consequently of the Animal Spirits, I have often thought that their Case & mine were pretty parralel, & that their rapturous Admirations might discompose the Fabric of the Nerves & Brain, as much as profound Reflections, & that warmth or Enthusiasm which is inseperable from them.

However this may be, I have not come out of the Cloud so well as they commonly tell us they have done, or rather began to despair of ever recovering To keep myself from being Melancholy on so dismal a Prospect, my only Security was in peevish Reflections on the Vanity of the World & of all humane Glory; which, however just Sentiments they may be esteem'd, I have found can never be sincere, except in those who are possest of them. Being sensible that all my Philosophy wou'd never make me contented in my present Situation, I began to rouze up myself, & being encourag'd by Instances of Recovery from worse degrees of this Distemper, as well as by the Assurances of my Physicians, I began to think of something more effectual, than I had hitherto try'd I found, that as there are two things very bad for this Distemper, Study & Idleness, so there are two things very good, Business & Diversion, & that my whole Time was spent betwixt the bad, with little or no Share of the Good. For this reason I resolved to seek out a more active Life, & tho' I cou'd not quit my Pretensions in Learning, but with my last Breath, to lay them aside for some time, in order the more effectually to resume them

Upon Examination I found my Choice confin'd to two kinds of Life, that of a travelling Governor & that of a Merchant The first, besides that it is in some respects an idle Life, was, I found, unfit for me; & that because from a sedentary & retir'd way of living, from a bashful Temper, & from a narrow Fortune, I had been little accustom'd to general Companies, & had not Confidence & Knowledge enough of the World to push my Fortune or be serviceable in that way I therefore fixt my Choice upon a Merchant, & having got Recommendation to a considerable Trader in Bristol, I am just now hastening thither, with a Resolution to forget myself, & every thing that is past, to engage myself, as far as is possible, in that Course of Life, & to toss about the World, from the one Pole to the other, till I leave this Distemper behind me.

As I am come to London in my way to Bristol, I have resolved, if possible, to get your Advice, tho' I shou'd take this absurd Method of procuring it. All the Physicians, I have consulted, tho' very able, cou'd never enter into my Distemper, because not being Persons of great Learning beyond their own Profession, they were unacquainted with these Motions of the Mind Your Fame pointed you out as the properest Person to resolve my Doubts, & I was determin'd to have some bodies Opinion, which I cou'd rest upon in all the Varieties of Fears & Hopes, incident to so lingering a Distemper I hope I have been particular enough in describing the Symptoms to allow you to form a Judgement, or rather perhaps have been too particular But you know 'tis a Symptom of this Distemper to delight in complaining & talking of itself

The Questions I wou'd humbly propose to you are: Whether among all these Scholars, you have been acquainted with, you have ever known any affected in this manner? Whether I can ever hope for a Recovery? Whether I must long wait for it? Whether my Recovery will ever be perfect, & my Spirits regain their former Spring & Vigor, so as to endure the Fatigue of deep & abstruse thinking? Whether I have taken a right way to recover? I believe all proper Medicines have been us'd, & therefore I need mention nothing of them

4. *To* MICHAEL RAMSAY

Rheims.[1] Sep[t]. 12 1734 N S

My Dear Michael

I suppose you have receiv'd two Letters from me dated at Paris, in one of which was enclos'd a Letter to My Lord Stairs.[2] I am now arriv'd at Rheims, which is to be the place of my Abode for some considerable time, & where I hope both to spend my Time happily for the present, & lay up a Stock for the future It is a large Town, containing about 40.000 Inhabitants, & has in it about 30 familes that keep Coaches; tho by the Appearance of the Houses you wou'd not think there was one I was recommended to two of the best Families in Town, & particularly to a man, who, they say, is one of the most learned in France[3] He is just now in the Countrey, so that I have not yet seen him, tho', if I had seen him, it wou'd be some time before I cou'd contract a Friendship with him, not being yet sufficient Master of the Language to support a Conversation, which is a great Vexation to me, but which I hope, in a short time, to get over As I have little more than this to say about Business, I shall use the Freedom to entertain you with any idle Thoughts, that come into my Head, hoping at least you will excuse them, if not be pleas'd with them, because they come from an absent Friend

When I parted from Paris, the Chevalier Ramsay[4] gave me a[5] his Advice to observe carefully & imitate as much as possible, the manners of the French For (says he) tho' the English,

* MS , R S E , Burton, i 51 ff

[1] Hume left Bristol for France in the summer of 1734, going first to Paris, then to Rheims, then to La Flèche

[2] Probably Gen (afterwards Field-Marshal) the 2nd Earl of Stair (1673–1747), who had been Minister Plenipotentiary (1715–19) and then Ambassador (1719–20) in Paris There is no further record of Hume's having had any connexion with him

[3] Burton conjectured that this was the Abbé Noel-Antoine Pluche (1688–1761), author of *Le spectacle de la Nature*, and sometime Professor at the Univ of Rheims But the Abbé had left Rheims before Hume went to France I have no alternative conjecture

[4] Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), known in France as the Chevalier Ramsay, a native of Ayrshire, disciple of Fénelon, whose *Life* he wrote in 1723; a convert to the Roman Catholic Church, author of *Les voyages de Cyrus*, 1727, sometime tutor to Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his brother Henry From a letter of his in Laing MSS , II 330 f , it appears that he held but a poor opinion of Hume as a philosopher

[5] *Sic* in MS

perhaps, have more of the real Politeness of the Heart, yet the French certainly have a better way of expressing it This gave me occasion to reflect upon the Matter, & in my humble Opinion, it is just the Contrary, viz that the French have more real Politeness & the English the better Method of expressing it By real Politeness I mean Softness of Temper, & a sincere Inclination to oblige & be serviceable, which is very conspicuous in this Nation, not only among the high but low, insomuch that the Porters & Coachmen here are civil, & that not only to Gentlemen but likewise among themselves, so that I have not yet seen one Quarrel in France, tho' they are every where to be met with in England. By the Expressions of Politeness, I mean these outward Deferences & Ceremonies, which Custom has invented, to supply the Defect of real Politeness or Kindness, that is unavoidable towards Strangers & indifferent Persons even in men of the best Dispositions of the World These Ceremonies ought to be so contriv'd, as that, tho they do not deceive, nor pass for sincere, yet still they please by their Appearance, & lead the Mind by its own Consent & Knowledge, into an agreeable Delusion One may err by running into either of the two Extremes, that of making them too like Truth or too remote from it; tho we may observe, that the first is scarce possible, because whenever any Expression or Action becomes customary it can deceive no body Thus when the Quakers, say Your Friend, they are as easily understood, as another, that says your humble Servant The French err in the contrary Extreme, that of making their Civilities too remote from Truth, which is a Fault, tho they are not design'd to be believ'd; just as it is a Transgression of Rules in a Dramatic Poet to mix any Improbabilities with his Fable, tho' 'tis certain that in the representation, the Scenes, Lights, Company & a thousand other Circumstances, make it impossible he can ever deceive.

Another Fault I find in the French Manners, is that like their Cloaths, & Furniture, they are too glaring An English fine Gentleman distinguishes himself from the rest of the World, by the whole Tenour of his Conversation, more than by any particular part of it; so that tho' you are sensible he excells, you are at a loss to tell in what, & have no remarkable Civilities & Complements to pitch on as a proof of his Politeness These he so smooths over that they pass for the common Actions of Life, & never put you to trouble of returning thanks for them The English Politeness is alwise greatest, where it appears least

After all it must be confest, that the little Niceties of the French Behaviour, tho' troublesome & impertinent, yet serve to polish the ordinary Kind of People & prevent Rudeness & Brutality. For in the same manner, as Soldiers are found to become more couragious in learning to hold their Musquets within half an Inch of a place appointed; & your Devotees feel their Devotion encrease by the Observance of trivial Superstitions, as Sprinkling, Kneeling, Crossing &c, so men insensibly soften towards each other in the Practice of these Ceremonies The Mind pleases itself by the Progress it makes in such Trifles, & while it is so supported makes an easy Transition to something more material And I verily believe, that tis for this reason you scarce ever meet with a Clown, or an ill bred man in France

You may perhaps wonder that I who have stay'd so short time in France & who have confest that I am not Master of their Language, shou'd decide so positively of their manners: but you'll please to observe that 'tis with Nations as with particular Man, where one Trifle frequently serves more to discover the Character, than a whole Train of considerable Actions Thus when I compare our English Phraze of humble Servant, which likewise we ommit upon the least Intimacy, with the French one of the Honour of being your most humble Servant, which they never forget, this, compar'd with other Circumstances lets me clearly see the different Humours of the Nations This Phraze of the Honour of doing or saying such a thing to you goes so far, that my Washing Woman to day told me, that she hopt she shou'd have the Honour of serving me, while I stay'd at Rheims, & what is still more absurd it is us'd by People to those who are very much their Inferiours

Before I conclude my Letter I must tell you, that I hope you will excuse my Rudeness, if I use the Freedom to desire of you, that the next time you do me the Honour of writing to me, you'll be so good as to sit down a day before the post go away; for I cannot help being afraid that in your Haste you have ommitted several things, which otherwise I wou'd have had the Honour & Satisfaction of hearing from you. When you are so good as to condescend to write Please to direct so

A Monsieur

Monsieur David Hume Gentilhomme Ecossois chez Monsieur Mesier au Peroquet verd proche la porte au feron Rheims.

* 5 *To* James Birch[1]

Dear Sir, Rheims, Septr 12, 1734 N S

I remember when I came from Bristol you desir'd me to inform you of my Travels in France, & particularly of the Place in which I settled, because you had yourself a design of coming thither, for Study & Diversion If I had met with any thing very curious before this, I wou'd have been sure to inform you of it; but as every thing has happen'd in the ordinary Course of Nature; that the Sun has set & risen again, & that I have gone to Bed, & risen a little after him, with other particulars of the same kind, which are common to Travellers with others, I thought I cou'd spare you the trouble of reading a Letter, which cou'd contain nothing more valuable But now since I am settled at Rheims in Champaign, which I think wou'd be a place to your Mind, I shall now give you a Description of it, & an Account of my Adventures, since I parted from you

Rheims is a very famous & antient Town & University, situated about 34 Leagues from Paris, which makes an easy days Journey by Post It is a large Town, containing as they say about 40,000 people; but its Buildings are not very beautiful; which proceeds from this, that the People of Fashion choose to build their Houses off the Streets, & by that means they are conceal'd There are about 30 Families that keep Coaches, tho' as they tell me there is not one of 500£ a year in the whole Town They are a polite Sociable People, & what is of considerable Advantage to a Stranger, are easily made acquainted with For having got Letters of Recommendation to two of the best Families in Town, I am every Day in some of their Houses, they make Parties of Diversion to show me more Company, & if I cou'd but speak their Language perfectly I wou'd immediately be acquainted with the whole Town But that is a Difficulty, which will soon be got over; so that when you come, I shall have the Satisfaction of showing you the best Company in Town

These Letters I got from the Chevalier Ramsay, who receiv'd me when I was in Paris with all imaginable Kindness I have another Letter from him, which I have not yet deliver'd because the Gentleman is not at present in Town, tho' he will return in a few days He is a man of considerable Note, & as the Chevalier told me, one of the most learned in France I promise

* MS in possession of Mr J M Keynes, hitherto unpublished

[1] Nothing more is known of James Birch than appears from this letter

myself abundance of Pleasure from his Conversation. I must likewise add, that he has a fine Library, so that we shall have all Advantages for Study

As I know you understand French, I shall copy what the famous Fontaine says of Rheims.

Il n'est Citè que je prefere a Rheims·
c'est l'ornement & l'honneur de la France:
Car sans compter & l'Ampoule & les bons vins,
Charmans objets y sont en abondance
Par ce point-la je n'entends quant a moi
Tours ni porteaux, mais gentiles Galoises;
Ayant trouvè telle de nos Remoises
Friande assez pour la bouche d'un Roi[1]

This I know will be a great Encouragement to you I hope you'll b[e so good][2] as to give me a Letter in any Case, but if you have any thoughts of coming I shall write you an exact account of the Method of Travelling to Paris & shall meet you there

I remain dear Jemmy
Your most affectionate Friend & humble Servt
DAVID HUME

Will Yonge[3] will give you my Direction I forgot to mention that I think we cannot live under 80£ a year,[4] & that may do Make my Complements to Mr Peach,[5] and all Friends

Mr James Birch at the Old Market Bristol pr Londres & Paris

* 6 *To* HENRY HOME[6]

London,[7] December 2 1737.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I am not able to satisfy your curiosity, by giving you some general notion of the plan[8] upon which I proceed But

* Tytler, 1 118 ff , Burton, 1 62 ff

[1] La Fontaine, *Contes*, 3rd Part, III *Les Rémois*, lines 1–8

[2] A piece torn off the MS

[3] Possibly, but not probably, Sir William Yonge, M P for Honiton, and some time Secretary-at-War

[4] Hume's own income at this time was probably about £40 a year

[5] I do not know who this was.

[6] Henry Home (1696–1782), admitted advocate, 1723; raised to the Bench as Lord Kames, 1752, author of *Dictionary of Decisions of the Court of Session* (1741), *Essays on Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751), *Elements of Criticism* (1762), and *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), one of the most virile, lively, and important figures in eighteenth-century Scotland, a great patron of literature, philosophy, and music.

[7] Hume returned from France in August 1737

[8] That is, the plan of the *Treatise of Human Nature*

my opinions are so new, and even some terms I am obliged to make use of, that I could not propose, by any abridgement, to give my system an air of likelihood, or so much as make it intelligible 'Tis a thing I have in vain attempted already, at a gentleman's request in this place, who thought it would help him to comprehend and judge of my notions, if he saw them all at once before him. I have had a greater desire of communicating to you the plan of the whole, that I believe it will not appear in public before the beginning of next winter For, besides that it would be difficult to have it printed before the rising of the Parliament, I must confess, I am not ill pleased with a little delay, that it may appear with as few imperfections as possible. I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers, and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, where I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wisht The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please, than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France. But here I must tell you one of my foibles I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my *philosophical discoveries*, but cannot overcome a certain shamefacedness I have to appear among you at my years, without having yet a settlement, or so much as attempted any How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world, as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side, as on the other

Having a frankt letter, I was resolved to make use of it, and accordingly inclose some *Reasonings concerning Miracles*,[1] which I once thought of publishing with the rest, but which I am afraid will give too much offence, even as the world is disposed at present. There is something in the turn of thought, and a good deal in the turn of expression, which will not perhaps appear so proper, for want of knowing the context: but the force of the argument you'll be judge of, as it stands Tell me your thoughts of it. Is not the style too diffuse? though, as that was a popular argument, I have spread it out much more than the other parts of the work I beg of you to show it to nobody, except to Mr Hamilton,[2] if he pleases; and let me know

[1] A first draft of the Essay *Of Miracles* (see letter below).

[2] Probably William Hamilton of Bangour (1704–54), Jacobite and poet,

at your leisure that you have received it, read it, and burnt it. Your thoughts and mine agree with respect to Dr Butler,[1] and I would be glad to be introduced to him. I am at present castrating my work, that is, cutting off its nobler parts, that is, endeavouring it shall give as little offence as possible, before which, I could not pretend to put it into the Doctor's hands. This is a piece of cowardice, for which I blame myself, though I believe none of my friends will blame me But I was resolved not to be an enthusiast in philosophy, while I was blaming other enthusiasms If ever I indulge myself in any, 'twill be when I tell that I am, Dear Sir, yours,

DAVID HUME

* 7 *To* HENRY HOME

London, March 4, 1737/8.

Sir,

I shall not trouble you with any formal compliments or thanks, which would be but an ill return for the kindness you have done me in writing in my behalf, to one you are so little acquainted with as Dr Bulter, and I am afraid, stretching the truth in favour of a friend I have called upon the Doctor, with a design of delivering him your letter, but find he is at present in the country I am a little anxious to have the Doctor's opinion My own I dare not trust to; both because it concerns myself, and because it is so variable, that I know not how to fix it. Sometimes it elevates me above the clouds; at other times, it depresses me with doubts and fears, so that whatever be my success, I cannot be entirely disappointed. Somebody has told me that you might perhaps be in London this spring. I should esteem this a very lucky event, and notwithstanding all the pleasures of the town, I would certainly engage you to pass some philosophical evenings with me, and either correct my judgment, where you differ from me, or confirm it where we agree I believe I have some need of the one, as well as the other, and though the propensity to diffidence be an error on

* Tytler, i 126 ff, Burton, i 64 f

author of *The Braes of Yarrow* Henry Home, an ex-Jacobite, was on friendly terms with him

[1] Joseph Butler (1692–1752), Bp of Bristol, 1738, Dean of St Paul's, 1740; Bp of Durham, 1750, author of *Sermons* (1726), *Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed* (1736) Henry Home, though he had never met him, had corresponded with him on philosophical themes

the better side, yet 'tis an error, and dangerous, as well as disagreeable I am, Dear Sir, yours,

DAVID HUME.

I lodge at present in the Rainbow Coffeehouse, Lancaster Court.[1]

* 8. *To* HENRY HOME

London, Feb 13, 1739.

Sir,

I thought to have wrote this from a place nearer you than London, but have been detained here by contrary winds, which have kept all Berwick ships from sailing 'Tis now a fortnight since my book[2] was published; and besides many other considerations, I thought it would contribute very much to my tranquillity, and might spare me many mortifications, to be in the country, while the success of the work was doubtful I am afraid 'twill remain so very long Those who are accustomed to reflect on such abstract subjects, are commonly full of prejudices, and those who are unprejudiced are unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings My principles are also so remote from all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that were they to take place, they would produce almost a total alteration in philosophy and you know, revolutions of this kind are not easily brought about I am young enough to see what will become of the matter, but am apprehensive lest the chief reward I shall have for some time will be the pleasure of studying on such important subjects, and the approbation of a few judges Among the rest, you may believe I aspire to your approbation; and next to that, to your free censure and criticism I shall present you with a copy as soon as I come to Scotland; and hope your curiosity, as well as friendship, will make you take the pains of perusing it

If you know any body that is a judge, you would do me a sensible pleasure in engaging him to a serious perusal of the

* Tytler, 1. 128 ff , Burton, 1. 105 ff

[1] This was the regular meeting-place of an important group of French Protestant refugees Pierre Desmaizeaux (see Letter 10 below) was one of the last of the group

[2] A | Treatise | of | Human Nature | being | An Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning | into | Moral Subjects | Printed for John Noon, at the *White-Hart*, near | *Mercer's-Chapel*, in Cheapside | MDCCXXXIX | Book I | Of the | Understanding . Book II | Of the | Passions | [2 v , 8vo.]

book. 'Tis so rare to meet with one that will take pains on a book, that does not come recommended by some great name or authority, that I must confess, I am as fond of meeting with such a one, as if I were sure of his approbation I am, however, so doubtful in that particular, that I have endeavoured all I could to conceal my name; though I believe I have not been so cautious in this respect as I ought to have been

I have sent the Bishop of Bristol[1] a copy, but could not wait on him with your letter after he had arrived at that dignity: At least I thought it would be to no purpose after I begun the printing You'll excuse the frailty of an author in writing so long a letter about nothing but his own performances. Authors have this privilege in common with lovers, and founded on the same reason, that they are both besotted with a blind fondness of their object I have been upon my guard against this frailty, but perhaps this has rather turned to my prejudice· The reflection on our caution is apt to give us a more implicit confidence afterwards, when we come to form a judgment I am, Dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

DAVID HUME

*9 *To* MICHAEL RAMSAY

Feby 22 [1739]

Dear Michael

This is the fourth Letter I have wrote you, since you left London The failing of the former will make me more concise in this I shall only repeat what I told you at large, that as far as I can judge you stand very well with all my L Marchmont's[2] Family, & may depend upon their Friendship as much as ever I expect every hour to have a Call from a Ship to go to Scotland, but shall endeavour to meet with some of the Family before I go, in order to consult with them about your Affairs, & consider whether your Absence will not be a prejudice to you You shall hear of it in the Postscript. In the mean time I must declare it as my Opinion, that nothing can be done effectually without your presence; tho' I think this

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 107 (incomplete)

[1] Bp Butler

[2] Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont (1675–1740), British Ambassador to Denmark, 1715, First British Ambassador at Conference of Cambrai, 1722–5, Privy Councillor, 1726 He was strenuous in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, who accordingly deprived him of all his offices in 1733

can be no reason for your leaving Mr Home,[1] since the Difference will only be of a few Months.

As to myself, no Alteration has happen'd in my Fortune, nor have I taken the least Step towards it I hope things will be riper next Winter, & I wou'd not aim at any thing till I cou'd judge of my Success in my grand Undertaking, & see upon what footing I shall stand in the World. I am afraid, however, that I shall not have any great Success of a sudden. Such Performances make their way very heavily at first, when they are not recommended by any great Name or Authority

I do not despair but some of my former Letters may yet reach you, for which reason I shall repeat nothing, but what I must always repeat to you; that I am with the greatest Sincerity Your affectionate Friend

D. H

I have had a Conversation with Mr Hume[2] since I wrote this. He is entirely of my Opinion, that nothing can be done till you be on the place For shou'd a Living fall in the Gift of the Dutchess of Marlborough[3] or any other of your Friends, & Patrons, 'twou'd have but an ill Air to say, that the Gentleman was in the South of France, & that he shoud be inform'd of the Matter Besides you know, how necessary a Man's Presence is to quicken his Friends, to make them unite their Interests, & to save them the Trouble of contriving & thinking about his Affairs. Many a one may endeavour to serve you, when you point out the Service you desire of them, who wou'd not take the [?Pains] of finding it out themselves.

I saw My Lord Polwarth,[4] but he was with some great Folks, who carry'd him away, & did not give me an opportunity of speaking to him I think it were proper you shou'd

[1] Apparently a younger brother of William, 8th Earl of Home (died 1761), possibly Alexander Home, 9th Earl (died 1786) The 8th Earl of Home was a soldier, a staunch Whig, a supporter of Walpole, and accordingly at variance with the Marchmont family

[2] Alexander Hume-Campbell (1708–60), son of Alexander, 2nd Earl of Marchmont, and younger twin brother of Hugh, 3rd Earl (see note 4 below) He was M P. for Berwickshire, 1734–60, and like his father and his brother a strenuous opponent of Walpole

[3] Sarah Jennings, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744) She was on very friendly terms with both Alexander, 2nd Earl, and Hugh, 3rd Earl, of Marchmont. The latter was one of her executors

[4] Hugh, Lord Polwarth, afterwards 3rd Earl of Marchmont (1708–94); at this time M.P for Berwick-on-Tweed.

write to my Lord to inform [him][1] that you have left the Commissions of Wine in a Friend's hand w[hom] you wou'd write to, if his Ldp woud please to inform you. For [to] desire him to write himself to a Person he does not know, I do [not] think so proper

My kind Service to Mr Home, & let him know how great Joy his R[ecovery] has given me & all his Friends here. A propos My Lord Home is at [?] of a petition to the Parliament agst My Lord Marchmont about th[e Sherriff] Court My Lord spoke to me with great Resentment of it, but upon [my] mentioning something of our Friend he said there was all the Diff[erence] in the World betwixt the two Brothers, & that Mr Home seem'd to be [the finest] Boy in the World By this you may see, that so far from involving you in these Quarrels, they even distinguish betwixt the two Brothers [I have] inform'd you of other particulars in former Letters

Monsieur Ramsay chez Messieurs Warren Compagnie a Marseilles
Pr Paris

* 10 *To* Pierre Desmaizeaux[2]

Sir

Whenever you see my Name, you'll readily imagine the Subject of my Letter. A young Author can scarce forbear speaking of his Performances to all the World· But when he meets with one, that is a good Judge, & whose Instruction & Advice he depends on, there ought some Indulgence to be given him You were so good as to promise me, that, if you cou'd find Leizure from your other Occupations, you woud look over my System of Philosophy, & at the same time ask the Opinion of such of your Acquaintaince as you thought proper Judges Have you found it sufficiently intelligible? Does it appear true to you? Do the Style & Language seem tolerable? These three Questions comprehend every thing, & I beg of you to answer them

* B M MSS 4284 (Bibl. Birch), *Englische Studien*, B 63, Heft 3 (1929); hitherto unpublished in England

[1] MS mutilated

[2] Pierre Desmaizeaux (1673?–1745), a French Protestant refugee in London, and a voluminous writer in both French and English, friend of Pierre Bayle, whose works he edited and whose life he wrote, came to England at end of the seventeenth century, employed (and rewarded) by Addison and Halifax, the Whig ministers, friend of the Deist, Anthony Collins, F R S , 1720 See Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, and MS volumes of Desmaizeaux's correspondence in B.M

with the utmost Freedom & Sincerity I know 'tis a Custom to flatter Poets on their Performances, but I hope Philosophers may be exempted. And the more so, that their Cases are by no means alike. When we do not approve of any thing in a Poet, we commonly can give no Reason for our Dislike, but our particular Taste; which not being convincing we think it better to conceal our Sentiments altogether But every Error in Philosophy can be distinctly markt, & prov'd to be such; & this is a Favour I flatter myself you'll indulge me in with regard to the Performance I put into your Hands I am, indeed, afraid, that it wou'd be too great a Trouble for you to mark all the Errors you have observ'd I shall only insist on being informd of the most material of them, & you may assure yourself will consider it as a singular Favour I am with great Esteem Sir

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Please direct to me at Ninewells near Berwick upon Tweed

Aprile 6 1739.
M[r] Des Maizeaux at Chaugnion's[1] Bookseller in the Strand London

* 11 *To* HENRY HOME

Ninewells, June 1, 1739

Dear Sir,

You see I am better than my word, having sent you two papers[2] instead of one I have hints for two or three more, which I shall execute at my leisure I am not much in the humour of such compositions at present, having received news from London of the success of my Philosophy, which is but indifferent, if I may judge by the sale of the book, and if I may believe my bookseller [3] I am now out of humour with myself; but doubt not, in a little time, to be only out of humour with the world, like other unsuccessful authors. After all, I am sensible of my folly, in entertaining any discontent, much more

* Tytler, 1 132 ff, Burton, 1 108

[1] This must have been a branch of the Dutch firm of that name Desmaizeaux was constantly employed as a hack writer for the Dutch booksellers.

[2] Hume had begun writing the detached essays which were soon to be published as *Essays Moral and Political*

[3] No new edition of the *Treatise* appeared in England till 1817

despair, upon this account, since I could not expect any better from such abstract reasoning, nor indeed did I promise myself much better. My fondness for what I imagined new discoveries, made me overlook all common rules of prudence, and having enjoyed the usual satisfaction of projectors, 'tis but just I should meet with their disappointments However, as 'tis observed with such sort of people, one project generally succeeds another, I doubt not, but in a day or two I shall be as easy as ever, in hopes that truth will prevail at last over the indifference and opposition of the world.

You see I might at present subscribe myself your most *humble* servant with great propriety but notwithstanding, shall presume to call myself your most affectionate friend as well as humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

* 12 *To* HENRY HOME

Ninewells, Sunday, July 1, 1739

My dear Sir,

I hope you always esteem yourself more obliged to me when I send you papers I do not approve of, than when I send you those I think more tolerable, since there may be a share of vanity in the latter case, which can have no part in the former. I have a strong suspicion against the present packet One of the papers will be found very cold, and the other be esteemed somewhat sophistical However, I communicate them to you; because I may possibly be mistaken I remember Boileau enumerating the advantages which may be met with in consulting a judicious friend, concerning a man's performances, says, among other things,

> Lui seul éclaircira vos doutes ridicules,
> De votre esprit tremblant levera les scrupules [1]

I thank you for your manuscript, which I have scarce had time to look into, being very late at Red-braes Castle[2] last night, and being obliged to dispatch away this in the morning ——I have committed some mistakes in former papers by trusting to my memory. I have met with the story of Diogenes in Cicero told

* Tytler, 1 134 f.

[1] Boileau, *L'art poétique*, IV ll 75 f

[2] The country seat of the Marchmont family, near Polwarth, some eight miles west of Ninewells Hugh, 3rd Earl, built the present Marchmont House in place of it, and nearly on the same site

in a better way. I suppose, that instead of the Hydrogenes, I should have said the Androgynes[1] of Plato. I suppose our friends have been lazy the last vacation, that I have not heard of them I am yours sincerely,

DAVID HUME.

* 13 *To* FRANCIS HUTCHESON[2]

Sir

I am much oblig'd to you for your Reflections on my Papers.[3] I have perus'd them with Care, & find they will be of use to me You have mistaken my Meaning in some Passages, which upon Examination I have found to proceed from some Ambiguity or Defect in my Expression

What affected me most in your Remarks is your observing, that there wants a certain Warmth in the Cause of Virtue, which, you think, all good Men wou'd relish, & cou'd not displease amidst abstract Enquirys[4] I must own, this has not happen'd by Chance, but is the Effect of a Reasoning either good or bad There are different ways of examining the Mind as well as the Body One may consider it either as an Anatomist or as a Painter, either to discover its most secret Springs & Principles or to describe the Grace & Beauty of its Actions I imagine it impossible to conjoin these two Views Where you pull off the Skin, & display all the minute Parts, there appears something trivial, even in the noblest Attitudes & most vigorous Actions: Nor can you ever render the Object graceful or

* MS , R S E ; Burton, 1. 112 ff

[1] Cf the speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium* The story appears in Hume's essay *Of Love and Marriage* (1741), which was cut out of all editions after 1760

[2] Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), son of an Ulster Presbyterian minister, student at Glasgow, 1711–17, head master of a Dissenting school in Dublin, 1720?–29, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1730–46, author of *Inquiry into the Originals of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725), *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions* (1728), and *Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria* . . (1742), a disciple of Shaftesbury and the teacher of Adam Smith How Hume first came into touch with him is not known

[3] The MS of the still unpublished Book III (*Of Morals*) of the *Treatise*

[4] It was such 'warmth in the cause of virtue' in Hutcheson's own oral teaching that enkindled the hearts of his students Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, who attended his lectures, says of him. 'As his elocution was good, and his voice and manner pleasing, he raised the attention of his hearers at all times, and when the subject led him to explain and enforce the moral virtues and duties, he displayed a fervent and persuasive eloquence which was irresistible' (Carlyle, *Autobiog* 70)

engaging but by cloathing the Parts again with Skin & Flesh, & presenting only their bare Outside. An Anatomist, however, can give very good Advice to a Painter or Statuary: And in like manner, I am perswaded, that a Metaphysician may be very helpful to a Moralist; tho' I cannot easily conceive these two Characters united in the same Work. Any warm Sentiment of Morals, I am afraid, wou'd have the Air of Declamation amidst abstract Reasonings, & wou'd be esteem'd contrary to good Taste And tho' I am much more ambitious of being esteem'd a Friend to Virtue, than a Writer of Taste; yet I must always carry the latter in my Eye, otherwise I must despair of ever being servicable to Virtue I hope these Reasons will satisfy you, tho at the same time, I intend to make a new Tryal, if it be possible to make the Moralist & Metaphysician agree a little better

I cannot agree to your Sense of *Natural*[1] Tis founded on final Causes, which is a Consideration, that appears to me pretty uncertain & unphilosophical For pray, what is the End of Man? Is he created for Happiness or for Virtue? For this Life or for the next? For himself or for his Maker? Your Definition of *Natural* depends upon solving these Questions, which are endless, & quite wide of my Purpose I have never call'd Justice unnatural, but only artificial *Atque ipsa utilitas justi prope mater & aequi*[2] Says one of the best Moralists of Antiquity. *Grotius*[3] & *Puffendorf*,[4] to be consistent, must assert the same.

Whether natural Abilitys be Virtues is a Dispute of Words.[5] I think I follow the common Use of Language *Virtus* signify'd chiefly Courage among the *Romans*. I was just now reading this Character of Alexander the 6th in Guicciardin In Alessandro Sesto fu solertia & sagacita singulare· consiglio eccellente, efficacia a persuadere maravigliosa, & a tutte le facende gravi,

[1] The passage in the MS criticized by Hutcheson was probably that appearing afterwards as Pt I, Sect II of the *Treatise*, Bk III For Hume's subsequent re-statement of his views cf *Enquiry concerning Morals*, Appendix III

[2] Horace, I, *Sat* III, l 98

[3] Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the Dutch jurist, philosopher, and statesman, author of *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625), &c

[4] Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94), the German jurist and philosopher, author of *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1672) Both Grotius and Pufendorf were regular texts in the teaching of Moral and Political Philosophy in the Scottish universities

[5] Cf. *Treatise*, Bk III, Pt III, Sect I.

sollicitudine & destrezza incredible Ma erano queste virtù avanzate di grande intervallo da vitii &c.[1] Were Benevolence the only Virtue no Characters cou'd be mixt, but wou'd depend entirely on their Degrees of Benevolence. Upon the whole, I desire to take my Catalogue of Virtues from *Cicero's Offices*, not from the *Whole Duty of Man*[2] I had, indeed, the former Book in my Eye in all my Reasonings

I have many other Reflections to communicate to you, but it wou'd be troublesome I shall therefore conclude with telling you, that I intend to follow your Advice in altering most of those Passages you have remarkt as defective in Point of Prudence, tho' I must own, I think you a little too delicate Except a Man be in Orders, or be immediatly concern'd in the Instruction of Youth, I do not think his Character depends upon his philosophical Speculations, as the World is now model'd; & a little Liberty seems requisite to bring into the public Notice a Book that is calculated for so few Readers. I hope you will allow me the Freedom of consulting you when I am in any Difficulty; & believe me to be

Dear Sir

Your most oblig'd humble Servant

Ninewells near Berwick DAVID HUME
Septr. 17 1739

P S

I cannot forbear recommending another thing to your Consideration Actions are not virtuous nor vicious, but only so far as they are proofs of certain Qualitys or durable Principles in the Mind. This is a Point I shou'd have establish'd more expressly than I have done[3] Now I desire you to consider, if there be any Quality, that is virtuous, without having a Tendency either to the public Good or to the Good of the Person, who possesses it. If there be none without these Tendencys, we may conclude, that their Merit is derivd from Sympathy I desire you wou'd only consider the Tendencys of Qualitys,

[1] 'Perchè in Alessandro sesto (così volle essere chiamato il nuovo pontefice) fu solerzia e sagacità singolare, consiglio eccellente, efficacia a persuadere maravigliosa, e a tutte le faccende gravi sollecitudine e destrezza incredibile, ma erano queste virtù avanzate di grande intervallo da' vizii .' *La Storia d'Italia* di Francesco Guicciardini, Libro Primo, ii (vol i. 8, in standard edition in 4 vols , Firenze, 1919)

[2] *The Whole Duty of Man*, first published 1659, and often reprinted It has been ascribed to many authors, including three archbishops

[3] It is expressly stated in *Treatise*, Bk III, Pt III, Sect. I

not their actual Operation, which depends on Chance. *Brutus* riveted the Chains of *Rome* faster by his Opposition; but the natural Tendency of his noble Dispositions, his public Spirit & Magnanimity, was to establish her Liberty

You are a great Admirer of *Cicero*, as well as I am Please to review the 4th Book, *de finibus bonorum & malorum*; where you find him prove against the *Stoics*, that if there be no other Goods but Virtue, tis impossible there can be any Virtue; because the Mind woud then want all Motives to begin its Actions upon: And tis on the Goodness or Badness of the Motives that the Virtue of the Action depends. This proves, that to every virtuous Action there must be a Motive or impelling Passion distinct from the Virtue, & that Virtue can never be the sole Motive to any Action [1] You do not assent to this, tho' I think there is no Proposition more certain or important I must own my Proofs were not distinct enough, & must be alterd You see with what Reluctance I part with you; tho' I believe it is time I shoud ask your Pardon for so much trouble

Mr Francis Hutcheson Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow.

* 14 *To* George Carre of Nisbet[2]

Dear Sir

'Tis natural for a Man, that has not been much accustom'd to sollicit for Favours, to be a little shy in that particular, especially if there is requir'd in the Person to whom he applys himself, not only a Good-Will to him, but a good Opinion of him, in order to the granting his Request Yet this is my present Case. I am inform'd, that your Cousins, my Lord Haddington[3] & Mr Baillie,[4] are going abroad, & want a Governour I have an Intention of offering my Service, & know no Person

* MS , R S E , hitherto unpublished

[1] *Treatise*, Bk III, Pt II, Sect. I, and especially p 479 (Clarendon Press edit)

[2] George Carre (d 1766), an advocate, and afterwards Lord Nisbet, a judge of the Court of Session, a Berwickshire man and a near neighbour of the Homes of Ninewells

[3] Thomas, 7th Earl of Haddington (? 1720–94), succeeded to title, 1735 His guardians during his minority were his grandparents, George Baillie (d 1738), a son of the famous Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, and Lady Grizel Baillie (1665–1746), the famous daughter of Patrick Hume, 1st Earl of Marchmont, and authoress of the song 'And werena my heart licht, I wad dee'

[4] The Earl's younger brother

so proper to apply to as yourself; & the more so, that I hope, if you do not think the Matter feasible or proper, you will be so free as to tell me so If you approve of the Project, you both know the proper Persons to apply to, & will be able to give me your Advice in that Respect. There are many inviting Circumstances, with regard to these young Gentlemen, which have engag'd me to make this Step They have a very good Character; I have the Honour to be their Relation[1] (which gives a Governour a better Air in attending his Pupils) And I have at present some Leizure to bestow As I was uncertain whether they might not be provided,[2] & wou'd not willingly be nam'd in the Affair, if it do not succeed, I desire it may be conducted with all possible Secrecy I have enclos'd this to Harry Home, as not knowing your Direction He will confer with you about the Matter; & to your Friendship & Discretion, I commit myself I am

Dear Sir
Your most affectionate humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Ninewells Novr 12 1739
Mr George Carre of Nisbet Advocate.

* 15. *To* FRANCIS HUTCHESON

Dear Sir

You will find, that the Good-Nature & friendly Disposition, which I have experienc'd in you, is like to occasion you more Trouble, & tis very happy, that the same Good-Nature, which occasions the Trouble, will incline you to excuse it

Since I saw you, I have been very busy in correcting & finishing that Discourse concerning Morals, which you perus'd; & I flatter myself, that the Alterations I have made have improv'd it very much both in point of Prudence & Philosophy. I shall set out for London in three Weeks or a Month with an Intention of publishing it The Bookseller, who printed the first two

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 116 (incomplete)

[1] Hume was always proud to reckon himself 'a cadet of Home' (the Earldom) and to call cousins with the Marchmont family But, in fact, the intermarriages of the various Homes and Humes were so many and so complicated that nearly every Home and Hume could call cousins with every other

[2] Lord Haddington was at Oxford, 1738–40 In 1740 he and his brother went abroad under the care of the Rev. John Williamson, an English clergyman *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington* (2 vols , 1889), 1 272

Volumes,[1] is very willing to engage for this, & he tells me that the Sale of the first Volumes, tho' not very quick, yet it improves. I have no Acquaintaince among these Folks, & very little Skill in making Bargains There are two Favours, therefore, I must ask of you, viz to tell me what Copy-Money[2] I may reasonably expect for one Edition of a thousand of this Volume, which will make a four Shillings Book, And, if you know any honest Man in this Trade, to send me a Letter of Recommendation to him that I may have the Choice of more than one Man to bargain with Tis with Reluctance I ask this last Favour, tho' I know your Authority will go a great Way to make the Matter easy for me. I am sensible, that the point is a little delicate Perhaps you may not care to recommend even to a Bookseller a Book that may give Offence to religious People: Perhaps you may not think it calculated for public Sale I assure you, therefore, that I shall not take in the least amiss, if you refuse me I shall only say with regard to the first Article, that the Book is pretty much alter'd since you saw it, & tho' the Clergy be always Enemys to Innovations in Philosophy, yet I do not think they will find any great Matter of Offence in this Volume On the contrary I shall be disappointed, if Impartial Judges be not much pleas'd with the Soundness of my Morals I have sent you the *Conclusion*, as I have alter'd it, that you may see I desire to keep on good Terms even with the strictest & most rigid You need not return this Copy, unless you point out any Passage, which you think it proper for me to alter.

My Bookseller has sent to Mr Smith[3] a Copy of my Book, which I hope he has receiv'd, as well as your Letter I have not yet heard what he has done with the Abstract[4] Perhaps you have I have got it printed in London; but not in *the Works of*

[1] John Noon Hume's agreement (the counterpart of which still exists among the MSS , R S E) provided for a first edition (1,000 copies) of Books I and II only

[2] For the first two books he received £50 and twelve bound copies

[3] Probably Adam Smith (1723–90), author of *The Wealth of Nations*, then a senior student at Glasgow

[4] It was Hutcheson's practice to set his students to make abstracts of new philosophical works as they appeared It would seem that in 1739 he set Smith to work at the *Treatise*, Books I and II, and that the abstract which Smith made pleased Hutcheson so well that he sent it on to Hume, and pleased Hume so well that he had it printed in London and sent Smith a presentation copy of the book I have not been able to trace the printed abstract

the Learned;[1] there having been an Article with regard to my Book, somewhat abusive, printed in that Work, before I sent up the Abstract I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Ninewells near Berwick.
March 4 1740
Mr Hutcheson Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow.

* 16 *To* FRANCIS HUTCHESON

Dear Sir

I must trouble you to write that Letter you was so kind as to offer to Longman the Bookseller.[2] I concluded somewhat of a hasty Bargain with my Bookseller from Indolence & an Aversion to Bargaining, as also because I was told that few or no Bookseller[3] wou'd engage for one Edition with a new Author. I was also determin'd to keep my Name a Secret for some time tho I find I have fail'd in that Point I sold one Edition of these two Volumes for fifty Guineas & also engag'd myself heedlessly in a Clause, which may prove troublesome, viz, that upon printing a second Edition I shall take all the Copys remaining upon hand at the Bookseller's Price at the time Tis in order to have some Check upon my Bookseller, that I wou'd willingly engage with another, & I doubt not but your Recommendation wou'd be very servicable to me, even tho you be not personally acquainted with him

I wait with some Impatience for a second Edition principally on Account of Alterations I intend to make in my Performance This is an Advantage, that we Authors possess since the Invention of Printing & renders the *Nonum prematur in annum* not so necessary to us as to the Antients Without it I shoud have been guilty of a very great Temerity to publish at my Years so many Noveltys in so delicate a Part of Philosophy And at any

* MS, R S E, Burton, 1 117 ff

[1] *The History of the Works of the Learned*, a pioneer in periodical reviewing The 'somewhat abusive' notice that Hume refers to appeared in Nov and Dec 1739 Though often sarcastic, it was more discriminating than his words would suggest

[2] The *Treatise*, Book III, was in fact published by Thomas Longman, at the Ship in Paternoster-Row, in 1740 Thomas Longman was the founder of the famous publishing house He was in business at the Ship and Black Swan, 1724–55

[3] *Sic* in MS

Rate I am afraid, that I must plead as my Excuse that very Circumstance of Youth, which may be urg'd against me. I assure you, that without running any of the heights of Scepticism, I am apt, in a cool hour, to suspect, in general, that most of my Reasonings will be more useful by furnishing Hints & exciting People's Curiosity than as containing any Principles that will augment the Stock of Knowledge that must pass to future Ages I wish I cou'd discover more fully the particulars wherein I have fail'd I admire so much the Candour I have observd in Mr Locke,[1] Yourself, & a very few more, that I woud be extremely ambitious of imitating it, by frankly confessing my Errors. If I do not imitate it, it must proceed neither from my being free from Errors, nor from want of Inclination; but from my real unaffected Ignorance I shall consider more carefully all the Particulars you mention to me, tho' with regard to *abstract Ideas*,[2] tis with Difficulty I can entertain a Doubt on that head, notwithstanding your Authority Our Conversation together[3] has furnish'd me a hint, with which I shall augment the 2d Edition Tis this. The Word, *simple Idea*, is an abstract Term comprehending different Individuals that are similar. Yet the point of their Similarity from the very Nature of such Ideas is not distinct nor separable from the rest Is not this a Proof, among many others, that there may be a similarity without any possible Separation even in thought?

I must consult you in a Point of Prudence. I have concluded a Reasoning with these two Sentences *When you pronounce any Action or Character to be vicious, you mean nothing but that from the particular Constitution of your Nature you have a Feeling or Sentiment of Blame from the Contemplation of it Vice & Virtue, therefore, may be compar'd to Sounds, Colours, Heat & Cold, which, according to modern Philosophy, are not Qualitys in Objects but Perceptions in the Mind And this Discovery in Morals, like that other in Physicks, is to be regarded as a mighty Advancement of the speculative Sciences, tho' like that too, it has little or no Influence on Practice* [4] Is not this laid a little

[1] John Locke (1632–1704), author of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690)

[2] See *Treatise*, Bk I, Pt I, Sect VII And cf *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, Sect II, and Sect XII, Pt. II, especially Note.

[3] Hume had probably been to the West Country on a visit and met Hutcheson there

[4] See *Treatise*, Bk III, Pt I, Sect. I, last par but one, where the passage occurs with only two trifling alterations, viz the omission of the word *particular* and the substitution of the word *considerable* for *mighty*

[too stro]ng? I desire your Opinion of it, tho I cannot entirely promise to conform myself to it. I wish from my Heart, I coud avoid concluding, that since Morality, according to your Opinion as well as mine, is determin'd merely by Sentiment, it regards only human Nature & human Life This has been often urg'd against you,[2] & the Consequences are very momentous. If you make any Alterations on your Performances, I can assure you, there are many who desire you woud more fully consider this Point; if you think that the Truth lyes on the popular Side. Otherwise common Prudence, your Character, & Situation forbid you touch upon it If Morality were determind by Reason, that is the same to all rational Beings But nothing but Experience can assure us, that the Sentiments are the same What Experience have we with regard to superior Beings? How can we ascribe to them any Sentiments at all? They have implanted those Sentiments in us for the Conduct of Life like our bodily Sensations, which they possess not themselves I expect no Answer to these Difficultys in the Compass of a Letter Tis enough if you have patience to read so long a Letter as this. I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Edin[r] March 16 1740

Please to direct to me as usual

Mr Francis Hutcheson Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow

* 17. *To* HENRY HOME

June 13 1742

Dear Sir,

I agree with you, that Cicero's reasonings in his *Orations* are often very loose, and what we should think to be wandering from the point; insomuch, that now-a-days a lawyer, who should give himself such liberties, would be in danger of meeting with a reprimand from the Judge, or at least of being admonished on the point in question. His Orations against Verres, however, are an exception, though that plunderer was so

* Tytler, 1 138 ff, Burton, 1 143 f and 232 (incomplete).

[1] MS torn

[2] In 1737 the Glasgow Presbytery prosecuted Hutcheson for teaching heresy, viz (1) That the standard of moral goodness was the promotion of the happiness of others, and (11) That we could have a knowledge of good and evil without and prior to a knowledge of God. (Rae, *Life of Smith*, 12 f)

impudent and open in his robberies, that there is the less merit in his conviction and condemnation However, these orations have all a very great merit The Oration for Milo is commonly esteemed Cicero's masterpiece, and indeed is, in many respects, very beautiful; but there are some points in the reasoning of it that surprise me The true story of the death of Clodius, as we learn from the Roman Historians, was this. It was only a casual rencontre betwixt Milo and him, and the squabble was begun by their servants, as they passed each other on the road. Many of Clodius's servants were killed, the rest dispersed, and himself wounded, and obliged to hide himself in some neighbouring shops; from whence he was dragged out by Milo's orders, and killed in the street. These circumstances must have been largely insisted on by the prosecutors, and must have been proved too, since they have been received as truth by all antiquity But not a word of them in Cicero, whose oration only labours to prove two points, that Milo did not way-lay Clodius, and that Clodius was a bad citizen, and it was meritorious to kill him If you read his Oration, you'll agree with me, I believe, that he has scarce spoke any thing to the question, as it would now be conceived by a court of judicature

The Orations for Marcellus and Ligarius, as also that for Archias, are very fine, and chiefly because the subjects do not require or admit of close reasoning 'Tis worth your while to read the conclusion of the Oration for Plancius, where I think the passions are very well touch'd There are many noble passages in the Oration for Muraena, though 'tis certain that the prosecutors (who, however, were Servius, Sulpicius and Cato), must either have said nothing to the purpose, or Cicero has said nothing There is some of that oration lost

'Twould be a pleasure to you to read and compare the two first Philippics, that you may judge of the manners of those times, compared to modern manners When Cicero spoke the first Philippic, Antony and he had not broke all measures with each other, but there were still some remains of a very great intimacy and friendship betwixt them and besides, Cicero lived in close correspondence with all the rest of Caesar's captains; Dolabella had been his son-in-law; Hirtius and Pansa were his pupils, Trebatius was entirely his creature. For this reason, prudence laid him under great restraints at that time in his declamations against Antony, there is great elegance and delicacy in them, and many of the thoughts are very fine,

particularly where he mentions his meeting Brutus, who had been obliged to leave Rome *I was ashamed*, says he, *that I durst return to Rome after Brutus had left it, and that I could be in safety where he could not.* In short, the whole oration is of such a strain, that the Duke of Argyle might have spoke it in the House of Peers against my Lord Orford, and decency would not allow the greatest enemies to go farther. But this oration is not much admired by the ancients The *Divine Philippic*, as Juvenal calls it, is the second, where he gives a full loose to his scurrility, and without having any point to gain by it, except vilifying his antagonist, and without supporting any fact by witnesses (for there was no trial or accusation), he rakes into all the filth of Antony's character, reproaches him with drunkenness and vomiting, and cowardice, and every sort of debauchery and villany There is great genius and wit in many passages of this oration; but I think the whole turn of it would not now be generally admired.

I thank Mrs Home[1] for her intelligence, and have much employ'd my brain to find out the person she means It could not be the widow for she toasts always the Duke of Argyle[2] or Lord Stair,[3] and never would name a young man whom she may reasonably enough suppose to be in love with her I shall therefore flatter myself it was Miss Dalrymple[4] It is now Exchequer term She is among the few *very fine ladies* of Mrs Home's acquaintance, whom I have the happiness of knowing. In short, many circumstances, besides my earnest wishes, concur to make me believe it was she who did me that honour I will persevere in that opinion, unless you think it proper to disabuse me, for fear of my being too much puft up with vanity by such a conceit

I am obliged to you for Vaugelas[5] and the pamphlets I fancy I have been misinformed with regard to Kincaid[6] The

[1] Henry Home married, in 1741, Agatha, daughter of James Drummond of Blair Drummond She succeeded to the estate in 1766, and was thereafter known as Mrs Home-Drummond

[2] John, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1678–1743)

[3] See Note 2 to Letter 4 above

[4] Dalrymple was the family name of the Earl of Stair, and a name, besides, very common among legal families in Scotland Who this Miss Dalrymple was, it is impossible to say, but see Letter 23 below

[5] Claude Favre, Sieur de Vaugelas, Baron de Péroges (1595–1650), author of *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647), shares with Malherbe the credit of having purified French diction

[6] Alexander Kincaid (died 1777), bookseller near the Cross in Edinburgh,

Essays are all sold in London, as I am informed by two letters from English gentlemen of my acquaintance There is a demand for them; and, as one of them tells me, Innys,[1] the great bookseller in Paul's Churchyard, wonders there is not a new edition,[2] for that he cannot find copies for his customers I am also told that Dr Butler has every where recommended them; so that I hope they will have some success They may prove like dung with marl, and bring forward the rest of my Philosophy, which is of a more durable, though of a harder and more stubborn nature. You see I can talk to you in your own style. Adieu Yours, &c.

DAVID HUME.

* 18 *To* WILLIAM MURE OF CALDWELL[3]

I am surpriz'd you shou'd find Fault with my Letter[4] For my Part I esteem it the best I ever wrote There is neither Barbarism, Solecism, Œquivoque, Redundancy, nor Transgression of one single Rule of Grammar or Rhetoric thro the Whole The Words were chosen with an exact Propriety to the Sense, & the Sense was full of masculine Strength & Energy In short it comes up fully to the Duke of Buckingham's Description of fine Writing. *Exact Propriety of Words & Thought* Thus is more than what can be said of most Compositions. But I shall not be redundant in the Praise of Brevity, tho much might be said on that Subject To conclude all, I shall venture to affirm, that my last Letter will be equal in Bulk to all the Orations you shall deliver during the two first Sessions of Parliament For

* MS , R S E , *Literary Gazette*, 1821, p 636, Burton, I 158 ff , *Caldwell Papers*, II I 38 ff

who published both volumes of Hume's *Essays*, the first in 1741, the second in 1742 Either alone or in partnership with A Donaldson, he was associated with Andrew Millar in several later editions of the *Essays* He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1776, and died while in office.

[1] William Innys, bookseller, took over the Prince's Arms, St Paul's Churchyard, in 1711, and was later joined by John Innys. They published many of Newton's works

[2] Kincaid had hurried out a second edition of vol I in 1742 The second edition of vol II did not appear till 1748, when it was undertaken by Kincaid and Millar jointly It was then called the third edition, because it contained also the essays of vol I

[3] William Mure (1718–76) of Caldwell on the borders of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, described by Hume as his 'oldest and best friend'; M P , Renfrewshire, 1742–61, Baron of the Scottish Exchequer, 1761–76, m (1752) Catherine Graham, who called cousins with Hume

[4] Probably lost

let all the Letters of my Epistle be regularly divided, they will be found equivalent to a dozen of *No*'s & as Many *Ay*'s. There will be found a *No* for the Triennial Bill, for the Pension Bill, for the Bill about regulating Elections, for the Bill of Pains & Penalties against L. Orford &c There will also be found an *Ay* for the Standing Army, for Votes of Credit, for the Approbation of Treaties &c As to the last *No* I mention'd with regard to Lord Orford, I beg it of you as a particular Favour For having publish'd to all Britain my Sentiments on that Affair,[1] it will be thought by all Britain, that I have no Influence on you, if your Sentiments be not conformable to mine Besides, as you are my Disciple in Religion & Morals,[2] why shou'd you not be so in Politics? I entreat you to get the Bill about Witches repeal'd,[3] & to move for some new Bill to secure the Christian Religion, by burning Deists, Socinians, Moralists, & Hutchinsonians[4]

I shall be in Town about Christmas, where if I find not Lord Glasgow,[5] I shall come down early in the Spring to the Borders of the Atlantic Ocean, & rejoice the Tritons & Seagods with the Prospect of Kelburn[6] in a Blaze. For I find, that is the only way to unnestle his Lordship. But I intend to use the Freedom to write to himself on this Subject, if you will tell me how to direct to him In the mean time do you make use of all your Eloquence & Argument to that Purpose.

Make my humble Compliments to the Ladies,[7] & tell them I shou'd endeavour to satisfy them, if they wou'd name the

[1] The reference is to Hume's essay *A Character of Sir Robert Walpole*, which had just appeared in *Essays Moral and Political*, vol II In subsequent editions up to and including that of 1768, it was degraded to the position of a footnote to the essay *That Politics may be reduced to a Science* Thereafter Hume cut it out altogether

[2] This is plainly ironical None of the Mures approved of Hume's views on religion

[3] The law making witchcraft a capital offence was repealed in 1736 The more bigoted Presbyterians in Scotland, and especially those of the Secession, long regarded this repeal as a sign of the deplorable infidelity of the times Hence Hume's ironical suggestion to Mure

[4] Followers of John Hutchinson (1674–1737), who taught that Hebrew should be read without points, and so made it possible to give the Bible all sorts of fanciful and symbolical meanings The sect had a temporary vogue in Oxford about the time of this letter

[5] John, 3rd Earl of Glasgow (1714–75), an intimate friend of the Mures

[6] Kelburne House, Lord Glasgow's family seat, between Fairlie and Largs, in Ayrshire

[7] Mure's mother and sisters

Subject of the Essay they desire. For my Part I know not a better Subject than themselves; if it were not, that being accus'd of being unintelligible in some of my Writings, I shou'd be extremely in Danger of falling into that Fault, when I shou'd treat of a Subject so little to be understood as Women I wou'd, therefore, rather have them assign me, the Deiform Fund of the Soul, the passive Unions of Nothing with Nothing, or any other of those mystical Points, which I wou'd endeavour to clear up, & render perspicuous to the meanest Readers

Allow not Miss Dunlop[1] to forget, that she has a humble Servant, who has the Misfortune to be divided from her by the whole Breadth of this Island I know she never forgets her Friends; but as I dare not pretend to that Relation upon so short an Acquaintance, I must be beholden to your good Offices for preserving me in her Memory, because I suspect mightily that she is apt to forget & overlook those who can aspire no higher than the Relation I first mention'd.

This I think is enough in all Conscience I see you are tir'd with my long Letter, & begin to yawn What! can nothing satisfy you, & must you grumble at every thing I hope this is a good Prognostic of your being a Patriot.[2]

Nov[r] 14 [1742][3]

To William Mure of Caldwell Esq at Caldwell To the Care of the Postmaster of Beith by Edinburgh

* 19. *To* Francis Hutcheson

Dear Sir

I receiv'd your very agreeable Present,[4] for which I esteem myself much oblig'd to you I think it needless to express to you my Esteem of the Performance, because both the Solidity of your Judgement, & the general Approbation your Writings meet with, instruct you sufficiently what Opinion you ought to

* MS., R S E , Burton, i. 146 ff

[1] Miss Elizabeth Dunlop, first cousin to Mure She became the second wife of the Hon Patrick Boyle, Lord Glasgow's brother Agnes Mure (died 1758), William Mure's sister, was the first Mrs Boyle

[2] The 'Patriots' were the younger politicians grouped round William Pitt who joined with older men like Carteret, John Duke of Argyll, Hervey, &c , in overthrowing Sir Robert Walpole

[3] It was in December of this year that Mure was first elected M P for Renfrewshire

[4] A copy of Hutcheson's *Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria*, just published at Glasgow

form of them Tho your Good Nature might prompt you to encourage me by some Praises, the same Reason has not place with me, however Justice might require them of me Will not this prove, that Justice & Good-nature are not the same? I am surpriz'd you shou'd have been so diffident about your Latin I have not wrote any in that Language these many Years, & cannot pretend to judge of particular Words & Phrazes But the Turn of the whole seems to me very pure, & even easy & elegant.

I have subjoind a few Reflections which occurd to me in reading over the Book By these I pretend only to show you, how much I thought myself oblig'd to you for the Pains you took with me in a like Case, & how willing I am to be grateful P 9. L ult & quae seq.[1] These Instincts you mention seem not always to be violent & impetuous, more than Self love or Benevolence There is a calm Ambition, a calm Anger or Hatred, which tho' calm, may likewise be very strong, & have the absolute Command over the Mind. The more absolute they are, we find them to be commonly the calmer As these Instincts may be calm, without being weak, so Self-love may likewise become impetuous & disturb'd, especially where any great Pain or Pleasure approaches. P 21. L 11[2] In opposition to this, I shall cite a fine Writer, not for the sake of his Authority, but for the Fact, which you may have observ'd Les hommes comptent presque pour rien toutes les vertus de cœur, & idolatrent les talens du corps & de l'esprit celui qui dit froidement de soi, & sans croire blesser la modestie, qu'il est bon, qu'il est constant, fidele, sincere, equitable, reconoissant, n'ose dire qu'il est vif, qu'il a les dents belles ou la peau douce; cela est trop fort. Le Bruyere,[3] I fancy however this Author

[1] The reference is to Sects VI and VII of Bk I, Ch I. In the corresponding English version, which is hardly a translation, but rather a re-writing of the book in English, Sect VI is entitled 'The two calm determinations of will, Self-love and Benevolence', and Sect VII, 'Turbulent Passions, selfish and benevolent' The general drift of the argument may be gathered from Hume's criticism

[2] The passage criticized reads 'Diximus ex virtutis comprobatione ardentiorem efflorescere amorem, in eos qui virtute videntur praediti Quumque in omnes suas vires, affectiones, sensus, vota, appetitiones, reflectere possit mens, eaque contempläri, ille ipse decori et honesti sensus acrior, ardentior, virtutis appetitio, et honestiorum omnium amor et caritas, omnino comprobabitur, neque ulla animi affectio magis, quam optimi cujusque dilectiones et caritates'.

[3] La Bruyère, *Les caractères*, 'De l'homme', 84 (Edit, *Grands Ecriv de la Fr.*, II 39)

stretches the Matter too far. It seems arrogant to pretend to Genius or Magnanimity, which are the most shining Qualities a man can possess It seems foppish & frivolous to pretend to bodily Accomplishments. The Qualities of the heart, lye in a medium & are neither so shining as the one, nor so little valu'd as the other. I suppose the Reason why Goodnature is not more valu'd is its Commonness, which has a vast Effect on all our Sentiments Cruelty & Hardness of Heart is the most detested of all Vices I always thought you limited too much your Ideas of Virtue, & I find, I have this Opinion in common with several that have a very high Esteem for your Philosophy P 30 L. antepen· & quae seq [1] You seem here to embrace Dr Butler's Opinion in his Sermons on human Nature; that our moral Sense has an Authority distinct from its Force and Durableness, & that because we always think it *ought* to prevail. But this is nothing but an Instinct or Principle, which approves of itself upon reflection, and that is common to all of them I am not sure that I have mistaken your Sense, since you do not prosecute this Thought. P 52 L. 1. I fancy you employ the Epithet *aerumnosam* more from Custom than your settled Opinion [2] P. 129 & quae seq [3] You sometimes, in my Opinion, ascribe the Original of Property & Justice to public Benevolence, & sometimes to private Benevolence towards the Possessors of the Goods, neither of which seem to me satisfactory. You know my Opinion on this head [4] It mortifies me much to see a Person, who possesses more Candour & Penetration than any almost I know, condemn Reasonings, of which I imagine I see so strongly the Evidence I was going to blot out this after having wrote it, but hope you will consider it only as a Piece of

[1] The beginning of Sect XVI, of Bk I, Ch I The general drift of the argument may be gathered from Hume's criticism

[2] The phrase used by Hutcheson is 'hanc vitam caducam et aerumnosam'

[3] Bk II, Ch VI, 'De Dominii acquirendi rationibus'.

[4] Hume's view of the origin of justice and property had already been stated very fully and very clearly in Book III of the *Treatise*, Pt II, Sect II It is shortly this Justice and property presuppose some form of society Men find by experience the advantages of living in society, and find also that these can only be enjoyed by respecting the possessions of others They therefore, by a tacit *convention*, which is not an explicit promise, agree to confer stability on the possession of external goods 'After this convention . is entered into there immediately arise the ideas of justice and injustice, as also those of *property*, *right*, and *obligation*. The latter are altogether unintelligible without first understanding the former' (*Treatise*, Clarendon Press edit, 490 f)

Folly, as indeed it is. P 244 L. 7 [1] You are so much afraid to derive any thing of Virtue from Artifice or human Conventions, that you have neglected what seems to me the most satisfactory Reason, viz lest near Relations, having so many Opportunities in their Youth, might debauch each other, if the least Encouragement or Hope was given to these Desires, or if they were not early represt by an artificial Horror, inspird against them [2] P. 263, L 14 [3] As the Phraze is true Latin, & very common, it seem'd not to need an Apology, as when Necessity obliges one to employ modern Words P. 266 L 18 & quae seq [4] You imply a Condemnation of Locke's Opinion, which being the receiv'd one, I cou'd have wisht the Condemnation had been more express

These are the most material things that occurd to me upon a Perusal of your Ethics I must own I am pleas'd to see such Philosophy & such instructive Morals to have once set their Foot in the Schools I hope they will next get into the World, & then into the Churches Nil desperandum Teucro duce & auspice Teucro

Edin[r] Jany 10 1743
To Mr Hutcheson Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow

* 20 *To* William Mure of Caldwell

I have wrote to Mr Oswald[5] by this Post, in order to promote an Intimacy & Friendship betwixt you I exhort you to persevere in your Intention of cultivating a Friendship with him You cannot possibly find a Man of more Worth, of a gentler

* MS , R S E , *Lit. Gazette*, 1821, p 635, *Caldwell Papers*, II, i 46 f

[1] A discussion of 'Matrimonii impedimenta'

[2] Cf Hume's *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, Sect IV

[3] Hutcheson had written. 'Quicquid est civile, id toto caelo, ut aiunt, distat a dominatione despotica'

[4] Bk III, Ch V, 'De Civitatum Structura'

[5] James Oswald of Dunnikier (1715–69), a fellow-townsman of Adam Smith from Kirkcaldy, admitted student of Lincoln's Inn, 1733, admitted advocate in Edinburgh, 1740, M P , Kirkcaldy Burghs, 1741–7 and 1754–68, and M P , Fifeshire, 1747–54, Scottish Commissioner of the Navy, 1744; Commissioner of Trade, 1751–9, Commissioner of the Treasury, 1759–63, Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 1763, retired from public life, 1768 Hume appears to have been first introduced to him by Henry Home of Kames He was an able administrator, a good speaker, and an enlightened economist, and both Hume and Adam Smith profited from discussions with him on economic and political subjects

Disposition or better Understanding. There are infinite Advantages attending an Intimacy with such Persons; among which this is not the least, as far as I can judge by my own Experience, that I always derive from it an additional Motive to preserve my Character for Honour & Integrity; because I know that nothing else can preserve their Friendship. Shou'd I give you an Exhortation of this kind, you might think me very impertinent, tho really you ought to ascribe it more to my Friendship than my Diffidence Tis impossible ever to think Ourselves secure enough, where our Concern is extremely great, and tho' I dare be confident of your good Conduct as of my own, yet you must also allow me to be diffident of it, as I shoud be of my own. When I consider your Disposition to Virtue, cultivated by Letters, together with your Moderation, I cannot doubt of your Steddiness. The Delicacy of the Times does not diminish this Assurance, but only dashes it with a few Fears, which rise in me without my Approbation & against my Judgement Let a strict Frugality be the Guardian of your Virtue, & preserve your Frugality, by a close Application to Business & Study Nothing woud so effectually throw you into the Lumber & Refuse of the House as your Departure from your Engagements at this time; as a contrary Behaviour will secure your own good Opinion, & that of all Mankind These Advantages are not too dearly purchas'd even by the Loss of Fortune, but it belongs to your Prudence & Frugality to procure them, without paying so dear a Purchase for them. I say no more; & hope you will ascribe what I have said, not to the Pedagogue or even to the Philosopher but to the Friend I make Profession of being such with regard to you, & desire you to consider me as such no longer, then I shall appear to be a Man of Honour Yours

D Hume.

Jany 26 [1743].

Mr Carre[1] either has wrote or is to write to L. Marchmont about you

To William Mure Esq Member of Parliament London

[1] Probably George Carre of Nisbet (see Letter 14 above).

* 21 *To* William Mure of Caldwell

I have read Mr Leechman's[1] Sermon[2] with a great deal of Pleasure, & think it a very good one, tho' I am sorry to find the Author to be a rank Atheist You know (or ought to know) that Plato says there are three kinds of Atheists The first who deny a Deity, the second who deny his Providence, the third who assert, that he is influenc'd by Prayers or Sacrifices. I find Mr Leechman is an Atheist of the last kind [3]

I think the Language very correct, tho' there occurd to me a few doubts as I went along, which I shall here mention, that if you or he think them well founded you may make Use of them I think myself very ill qualify'd to advise Mr Leechman, but as he was once pleas'd to desire my Sentiments, with regard to his Language, I am resolv'd not to lose the Honour of such a Pupil, tho the Subject be but a Trifle & tho I owe that Advantage more to his Modesty than my superior Skill . [4]

These are all the minute Faults I cou'd observe in the Sermon. Mr Leechman has a very clear and manly Expression, but in my humble Opinion he does not consult his Ear enough, nor aim at a Style that may be smooth & harmonious; which, next to Perspicuity is the chief Ornament of Style. Vide Cicero, Quinctilian, Longinus &c, &c. If this Sermon were not a popular Discourse, I shoud also think it might be made more concise

As to the Argument I coud wish Mr Leechman wou'd in the second Edition answer this Objection both to Devotion & Prayer, & indeed to every thing we commonly call Religion, except the Practice of Morality, & the Assent of the Understanding to the Proposition *that God exists*

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 162 ff (incomplete), *Caldwell Papers*, II, 1 50 ff

[1] William Leechman (1706–85), appointed tutor to William Mure, *c* 1727, ordained at Beith, 1736, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, 1743, Principal of Glasgow University, 1761, author of *Life of Hutcheson*, prefixed to latter's *Works*, 1755 He was a close friend of Hutcheson's, and shares with him much of the credit of having fostered a new and more enlightened spirit among the Scotish clergy in the West

[2] *Sermon on Prayer*, just published It went through several editions, and appears in the collected edition of Leechman's sermons, published, with a *Life*, by Wodrow, in 1789

[3] Actually, the Glasgow Presbytery detected heresy in this sermon, on the ground that Leechman did not stress sufficiently the merits of the intercession of Our Lord The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, however, did not uphold the accusation.

[4] Here follow the detailed corrections suggested by Hume They throw no light on Hume's own views of style

It must be acknowledg'd that Nature has given us a strong Passion of Admiration for whatever is excellent, & of Love & Gratitude for whatever is benevolent & beneficial, & that the Deity possesses these Attributes in the highest Perfection & yet I assert he is not the natural Object of any Passion or Affection. He is no Object either of the Senses or Imagination, & very little of the Understanding, without which it is impossible to excite any Affection A remote Ancestor, who has left us Estates & Honours, acquir'd with Virtue, is a great Benefactor, & yet 'tis impossible to bear him any Affection, because unknown to us, tho in general we know him to be a Man or a human Creature, which brings him vastly nearer our Comprehension than an invisible infinite Spirit A man, therefore, may have his Heart perfectly well disposd towards every proper & natural Object of Affection, Friends, Benefactors, Countrey, Children &c, & yet from this Circumstance of the Invisibility & Incomprehensibility of the Deity may feel no Affection towards him. And indeed I am afraid, that all Enthusiasts mightily deceive themselves Hope & Fear perhaps agitate their Breast when they think of the Deity Or they degrade him into a Resemblance with themselves, & by that means render him more comprehensible Or they exult with Vanity in esteeming themselves his peculiar Favourites Or at best they are actuated by a forc'd & strain'd Affection, which moves by Starts & Bounds, & with a very irregular disorderly Pace Such an Affection can not be requir'd of any Man as his Duty. Please to observe, that I not only exclude the turbulent Passions, but the calm Affections Neither of them can operate without the Assistance of the Senses, & Imagination, or at least a more compleat Knowledge of the Object than we have of the Deity In most Men this is the Case, & a natural Infirmity can never be a Crime But secondly were Devotion never so much admitted, Prayer must still be excluded First The Addressing of our virtuous Wishes & Desires to the Deity, since the Address has no Influence on him, is only a kind of rhetorical Figure, in order to render these Wishes more ardent & passionate This is Mr Leechman's Doctrine Now the Use of any figure of Speech can never be a Duty Secondly this Figure, like most Figures of Rhetoric, has an evident Impropriety in it For we can make use of no Expression or even Thought, in Prayers & Entreaties, which does not imply that these Prayers have an Influence Thirdly This Figure is very dangerous & leads directly & even unavoidably

to Impiety & Blasphemy. Tis a natural Infirmity of Men to imagine, that their Prayers have a direct Influence, & this Infirmity must be extremely foster'd & encouragd by the constant Use of Prayer. Thus all wise Men have excluded the Use of Images & Pictures in Prayer; tho they certainly enliven Devotion; because tis found by Experience, that with the vulgar these visible Representations draw too much towards them, & become the only Objects of Devotion —Excuse this Long Letter, make my Compliments to Mr Leechman & all Friends, & believe me to be Yours sincerely D H.

June 30 [1743]

I have frequently in Edinr enquir'd for the Dialogues on Devotion[1] publish'd at Glasgow some time ago; but coud not find them If you have a Copy send it me, & I shall restore it with the first Occasion It may be a means of my Conversion

* 22. *To* William Mure of Caldwell

Sept[r] 10 [1743]

I made a Pen, dipt it in Ink, & set myself down in a Posture of writing, before I had thought of any Subject, or made Provision of one single Thought, by which I might entertain you. I trusted to my better Genius, that he wou'd supply me in a Case of such urgent Necessity But having thrice scratcht my Head, & thrice bit my Nails, Nothing presented itself, & I threw away my Pen in great Indignation O! thou Instrument of Dulness, says I, doest thou desert me in my greatest Necessity; & being thyself so false a Friend, hast thou a secret Repugnance at expressing my Friendship to the faithful Mure, who knows thee too well ever to trust to thy Caprices, & who never takes thee in his Hand without Reluctance While I, miserable Wretch that I am, have put my chief Confidence in thee, & relinquishing the Sword, the Gown, the Cassock, & the Toilette, have trusted to thee alone for my Fortune & my Fame Begone! avaunt! Return to the Goose, from whence thou camest With her, thou wast of some Use, while thou conveyedst her thro the etherial Regions. And why, alas! when pluckt from her Wing, & put into

* MS , R S E , *Literary Gazette*, 1821, pp 635 f ; Burton, I. 153 ff ; *Caldwell Papers*, II, 1 30 f

[1] Possibly *A Dialogue on Devotion, after the Manner of Xenophon, in which the Reasonableness, Pleasure, and Advantages of it are consider'd* . [By Thomas Amory] No place of publication is given, and Halkett and Laing give the date as ? 1745.

my Hand, doest thou not recognize some Similitude betwixt it & thy native Soil, & render me the same Service, in aiding the Flights of my heavy Imagination

Thus accus'd, the Pen erected itself upon its Point, plac'd itself betwixt my Fingers, & my Thumb, & mov'd itself to & fro upon this Paper, to inform you of the Story, complain to you of my Injustice, & desire your good Offices to the reconciling such antient Friends. But not to speak Nonsence any longer (by which, however, I am glad I have already fill'd a Page of Paper) I arriv'd here[1] about three weeks ago· Am in good Health, & very deeply immerst in Books & Study Tell your Sister Miss Betty[2] (after having made her my Compliments) that I am as grave as she imagines a Philosopher shou'd be Laugh only once a fortnight Sigh tenderly once a Week· But look sullen every Moment In short, none of Ovid's Metamorphosis ever show'd so absolute a Change from a human Creature into a Beast, I mean from a Gallant into a Philosopher

I doubt not but you see my Lord Glasgow[3] very often; & therefore I shall suppose when I write to one, I pay my Respects to both. At least, I hope he will so far indulge my Laziness Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicisim[4]

Did you receive my Letter from Glasgow? I hope it did not displease you What are your Resolutions with regard to that Affair?

Remember me to your Sister Miss Nancy,[5] to Miss Dunlop,[6] & to Mr Leechman. Tell your Mother, or Sisters, or whoever is most concern'd about the Matter, that their Cousin John Steuart[7] is in England, & as tis believ'd, will return with a great Fortune.

[1] There is no indication of where 'here' was, but it was probably at Ninewells

[2] Elizabeth Mure (1714–95), whose *Some Remarks on the Change of Manners in my own Time, 1700–95* (*Caldwell Papers*, I) is one of the most valuable documents we possess on the social history of the eighteenth century in Scotland She was always a good friend of Hume's, though she was guilty of spreading the incredible tradition that he showed himself credulous about dreams, omens, &c

[3] See note 5 on p 44

[4] Horace, *Ars poet*, 11.

[5] See note 1 on p 45

[6] Ibid

[7] Probably John Stewart, son of Archibald Stewart of Allanbank, a wine merchant in Edinburgh and Lord Provost in the eventful year 1745 This family of Stewarts was related to the Steuarts of Coltness, and through them to the Mures of Caldwell. There are many references later in Hume's correspondence to Jack Stewart, and there are several letters from him to Hume among the MSS, R S E

I say not a Word of Mr Hutcheson [1] for fear you shou'd think I intend to run the whole Circle of my West countrey Acquaintaince, & to make you a Bearer of a great many formal Compliments But I remember you all very kindly, & desire to be remember'd by you, & to be spoke of sometimes—& to be wrote to.

To William Mure of Caldwell Esq at Caldwell
To the Care of the Postmaster of Beith By Edinburgh.

* 23 *To* Alexander Home [2]

Dear Sherriff

Are you lazy, or are you busy, or are you both, or have you forgot your Promise to write to me, or do you think nothing of breaking your Word, or have you frequently taken the Pen in hand to write, & then thrown it aside for want of News or want of Invention? If this last be your Case, I sympathize with you. For it has also been mine

I hear the Town at present is as dull as the Countrey, & that we rural Folks keep all the Money to Ourselves, as well as our Company I cannot say, that I am much guilty in the former way: And as to the other Blessing, viz my Company, I shall endeavour to make the Town some Amends, tho' latter than I at first intended, because of my Mother's bad State of Health, whom I am unwilling to leave for any time, in her present Condition

I was in Berwick lately a Night, & going to a Shop next Morning to buy Something, the Shopkeeper told me he had a Lodger of my Name, whom upon Enquiry I found to be your Uncle the Captain [3] He had tir'd it seems for want of Company,

* MS, R S E, *Lit Gazette*, 1821, p 711.

[1] Hutcheson seems, probably through his friendship with Leechman, to have been intimate with the Caldwell family and a regular visitor at their house On 23 Nov 1743 he wrote to Mure urging him to use his influence with the Duke of Montrose, then Chancellor of Glasgow University, to get Leechman appointed to the Divinity Chair (*Caldwell Papers*, II, i 53 f) I conjecture that it was at Caldwell that Hume first met Hutcheson

[2] Alexander Home of Eccles, an advocate, Solicitor-General for Scotland, in joint commission with Patrick Haldane, 1746–55, one of the Principal Clerks of Session, 1755–?, an early patron of John Home the dramatist. Considering the important public office that he held, very little is known about him He was either the father or the uncle of Francis Home, Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh

[3] I do not know who this was.

& having resolv'd to go to Edinburgh, he coud not find a Horse to hire, that cou'd carry him so far, so he took a sudden Resolution of going to Berwick Notwithstanding your Contempt of Homer & Xenophon, I find it is a good thing to like their Company. It makes other Company less necessary; & is a kind of Treasure against Old Age.

I hear your Cousin, Jenny Kinloch,[1] is marryd to the Provost And my Flame, Betty Dalrymple,[2] to the Laird of Udney [3] O Sherriff, why do not you think of propagating your Species in a lawful Way Must our noble Clan perish for want of Representatives?

Tell Jack Stuart,[4] if his Squinzies, & his crackt Skull will permit him to be in the Countrey this Vacation, that I desire him to bring along with him *Faction detected* &c[5] if he has it

Having now fairly turnd the Page, & made out a reasonable Letter from nothing (which, by the bye, are commonly the longest Letters) I think I may honestly bid you adieu.

Dec[r] 11 [1743][6]

If you do not know my Hand, my Name is David Hume.

To Mr Alexander Home Advocate at his Lodgings in the Foot of Corruber's Closs Edin[r]

* 24 *To* William Mure of Caldwell

Dear Will

I shall tell you how my Affair stands. Dr Pringle[7] has been absent two Years by Allowance, & about six Weeks ago wrote

* MS, R S E, Burton, 1 165 ff, *Caldwell Papers*, II, 1 63 ff

[1] Apparently one of the Kinlochs of Gilmerton, with whom it is known that Hume was on friendly terms (see Alex Carlyle, *Autobiog*, 205 and 277)

[2] See note 4 to Letter 17 above I conjecture that this was Elizabeth (1713–81), youngest daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton If so, Hume's information was incorrect, because she married William Duff of Crombie, Sheriff-Depute of Ayrshire An elder sister of hers married the Earl of Balcarres

[3] Alexander Udny of that ilk, admitted advocate, 1728, Commissioner of Excise for Scotland, 1749–87, m (1758) Margaret Duff

[4] See note 7 to preceding letter

[5] *Faction Detected, by the Evidence of Facts* [by John Perceval, 2nd Earl of Egmont], London, 1743 Another pamphlet of the same title was written many years later by Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, but cannot be the one referred to here

[6] This letter can be dated only by reference to *Faction Detected*, mentioned in the text

[7] John, afterwards Sir John, Pringle (1707–82), M.D. Leyden, 1730,

a Letter to the Provost,[1] in which he seem'd, in a manner, to have resign'd his Office, & desir'd the Council, if they thought the University any way a Sufferer by his Absence, to send him over a Resignation in form, which he wou'd sign, & then they might proceed to the Choice of a Successor.[2] Mr Couts upon receiving this, mention'd me to several of the Council, & desir'd me to mention myself as a Candidate to all my Friends, not with a View of soliciting or making Interest, but in order to get the Public Voice on my Side, that he might with the more Assurance employ his Interest in my Behalf. I accordingly did so, & being allow'd to make use of the Provost's Name, I found presently that I shou'd have the whole Council on my Side, & that indeed I shou'd have no Antagonist. But when the Provost produc'd the Doctor's Letter to the Council, he discover'd, that he had in secret wrote differently to some of his Friends, who still insisted that the Town shou'd give him Allowance to be absent another Year. The whole Council, however, except two or three exclaim'd against this Proposal, & it appear'd evidently, that if the Matter had been put to a Vote, there wou'd have been a Majority of ten to one against the Doctor. But Mr Couts, tho his Authority be quite absolute in the Town, yet makes it a Rule to govern them with the utmost Gentleness & Moderation, & this good Maxim he sometimes pushes even to an Extreme. For the sake of Unanimity, therefore, he agrees to an Expedient started by one of the Doctor's Friends, which he thought woud be a Compliment to the Doctor, & yet wou'd serve the same Purpose as the immediate Declaration of a Vacancy in the Office. This Expedient was to require either the Doctor's Resignation, or a Declaration upon Honour that, whether it were Peace or War or in any Event, he woud against Nov[r] 1745

Professor of Ethics and Pneumatic Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1734, granted leave of absence on appointment as physician to Lord Stair, G O C British Forces in Flanders, 1742, Physician-General to the Forces in Flanders, 1744, returned to England with the Duke of Cumberland, and was present at the Battle of Culloden, 1746, settled in London, 1748, P R S, 1772. In his later years he was recognized as one of the most eminent men of science in the country. Hume continued in friendship with him, and consulted him in his last illness.

[1] John Coutts (1699–1751), merchant and banker, father of James and Thomas Coutts, the founders of the famous London bank, Lord Provost, 1742–4. He married Jane Stewart of Allanbank, sister of Archibald Stewart, Lord Provost, 1745–6.

[2] This letter from Pringle is dated from Brussels, 20 June 1744, and was copied in full in the Minutes of the Town Council (vol. lxiv. 318 ff.).

return to his Office, & resign his Commission of Physician to the Army or any other Employment incompatible with his Attendance in this Place [1] This last Condition, Mr Couts thinks it impossible he will comply with. Because he has a Guinea a day at present as Physician to the Army, along with a good deal of Business, & half pay during Life And there seems at present to be small Chance for a Peace before the Term here assign'd I find, however, that some are of a contrary Opinion, & particularly, several of the Doctor's Friends say, that he will sign the Obligation abovemention'd We shall receive his Answer in a Fortnight, upon which my Success seems entirely to depend.[2]

In the mean time I have receiv'd another Offer, which I shall tell you as a Friend; but desire you may not mention to any Body. My Lord Garlees[3] receiv'd a Commission from Mr Murray of Broughton[4] to look out for a travelling Tutor to his Son, who is at present at Glasgow My Lord inclines to give me the Preference, but I coud not positively accept, 'till I had seen the End of this Affair, which is so near a Crisis Please to inform me of any Particulars, that you know with regard to the Young Man, his Family &c, that in Case the former Project fail, I may deliberate upon the other

The accusation of Heresy, Deism, Scepticism, Atheism &c &c &c was started against me, but never took, being bore down

[1] This letter, signed by Coutts as Lord Provost, was sent to Pringle on 20 July 1744 (ibid , 326 ff)

[2] On 15 Aug Pringle replied to the Lord Provost's letter He did not absolutely decline to sign the declaration asked for, but he protested against it, and made an alternative offer, namely If Peace was declared in the following winter, he would return to Edinburgh at once, if not, he would try to obtain leave of absence from the army for the winter months, in order to perform his professorial duties during the university session, on the understanding that he would be allowed to return to Flanders in the spring (ibid , 350 ff). The Town Council were far from satisfied with this answer, and the Lord Provost wrote again to Pringle, peremptorily demanding his resignation (ibid , 353 ff) Pringle again temporized, and the business dragged on till the following spring without a decision (*Minutes*, vol lxv 18 f , 23 f , 60, and 146).

[3] Alexander Stewart (*c* 1694–1773), styled Lord Garlies till he succeeded to the Earldom of Galloway, 1746 He married a sister of George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal of Scotland (see later letters, *passim*), and as Hume considered himself related, through the Falconers, his mother's family, to the Keiths, he probably called cousins with Lord Garlies too

[4] Murray of Broughton in Dumfriesshire, sometime M P for Wigtonshire He is to be distinguished from Murray of Broughton in Peeblesshire, the infamous Secretary to Prince Charles Edward.

by the contrary Authority of all the good Company in Town But what surprizd me extremely was to find that this Accusation was supported by the pretended Authority of Mr Hutcheson & even Mr Leechman, who, tis said, agreed that I was a very unfit Person for such an Office. This appears to me absolutely incredible,[1] especially with regard to the latter Gentleman For as to Mr Hutcheson, all my Friends think, that he has been rendering me bad Offices to the utmost of his Power And I know, that Mr Couts, to whom I said rashly, that I thought I coud depend upon Mr Hutcheson's Friendship & Recommendation, I say, Mr Couts now speaks of that Professor rather as my Enemy than as my Friend. What can be the Meaning of this Conduct in that celebrated & benevolent Moralist, I cannot imagine. I shall be glad to find, for the Honour of Philosophy, that I am mistaken, & indeed, I hope so too. And beg of you to enquire a little into the Matter, but very cautiously, lest I make him my open & profess'd Enemy, which I woud willingly avoid Here then it behoves you to be very discreet.

Tis probable Mr Murray of Broughton may consult Mr Hutcheson & the other Professors of Glasgow, before he fix absolutely on a Tutor for his Son We shall then see whether he really entertains a bad Opinion of my Orthodoxy, or is only unwilling that I should be Professor of Ethics in Edinburgh; lest that Town being in the Neighbourhood of Glasgow, shou'd spread its Contagion all around it, & even infect the Students of the latter University.

I have past a Week with Mr Oswald[2] at Kirkaldie He makes his Compliments to you He has shown me the whole Oeconomy of the Navy, the Source of the Navy Debt, with many other Branches of public Business He seems to have a great Genius for these Affairs, & I fancy will go far in that way, if he perseveres.

I find with pleasure, but without Surprize, that you have acted like a true Friend in your Letter to Archy Stuart [3]

[1] But cf Hume's own statement in Letter 13 above 'Except a man be in orders, or be immediately concerned in the instruction of youth, I do not think his character depends upon his philosophical speculations . '

[2] James Oswald of Dunnikier (see note 5 to Letter 20 above) had been making a special study of naval administration, and persistently making himself a nuisance to the Government by his speeches on that subject in the House of Commons To shut his mouth, they appointed him Scottish Commissioner of the Navy in 1744, and in 1751 offered him the Controllership of the Navy The latter post he declined.

[3] See note on p 56.

I go out of Town to morrow Please to direct to me at Ninewells near Berwick. My Compliments to all your Family

Edin^{r}. Augst. 4.

1744

* 25 *To* MATTHEW SHARPE OF HODDAM[1]

My Dear Sir

I am inform'd, that such a popular Clamour has been raisd against me in Edinburgh, on account of Scepticism, Heterodoxy & other hard Names, which confound the ignorant, that my Friends find some Difficulty, in working out the Point of my Professorship, which once appear'd so easy [2] Did I need a Testimonial for my Orthodoxy I shoud certainly appeal to you For you know that I always imitated Job's Friends, & defended the Cause of Providence when [you][3] attackt it, on account of the Headachs you felt after a Deba[uch] [3] But as a more particular Explication of that particular seems superfluous I shall only apply to you, for a Renewal of your good Offices with your Nephew Lord Tinwal,[4] whose Interest with Yetts[5] & Allan[6] may

* *Edin Ann Register*, II (1809), pt II, pp 552 f, Burton, I 178 ff (with facsimile inset) I have not been able to trace the autograph, which Burton says was lent to him by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the famous Scottish antiquary, grand-nephew of the Matthew Sharpe to whom the letter is addressed

[1] Matthew Sharpe (1693–1769) was out in 'The Fifteen', and escaped to France, returned to Scotland on succeeding to the estate of Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, and died unmarried

[2] Pringle resigned his Chair in the Univ of Edin in a letter dated from London, 19 March 1745 On 3 April the Town Council appointed Francis Hutcheson (whom they called *George* Hutcheson) as his successor, they at the same time recommended their Praeses 'to convene the reverend ministers [of the City] for their avisamentum, and to report' Hutcheson declined to leave Glasgow Other names (not specified in the Council Minutes) were then suggested to the 'reverend ministers' for their further avisamentum. On 5 June William Cleghorn, Pringle's deputy during his absence, was appointed (*Town Council Minutes*, lxv 146, 152 f, 157 f, 188).

[3] From the facsimile as printed by Burton it would seem that a small part of the autograph had been torn off in breaking the seal.

[4] Charles Erskine of Alva (1680–1763), Prof of the Law of Nature and Nations, Edinburgh, 1707, admitted advocate, 1711, M P, Dumfriesshire, 1722, Solicitor-General for Scotland, 1725, Lord Advocate, 1737, raised to the Bench as Lord Tinwald, 1744, Lord Justice Clerk, 1748–63 He was noted for his anti-Jacobitism, and nicknamed 'Sweet-lips' His first wife was a niece of Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam

[5] John Yetts, 3rd Bailie in Edinburgh in 1744

[6] Thomas Allan, 4th Bailie in Edinburgh in 1737, 1st Bailie, 1743, Dean of Guild, 1744.

be of Service to me. There is no Time to lose, so that I must beg you to be speedy in writing to him or speaking to him on that head. A word to the Wise Even that is not necessary to a Friend such as I have always esteemd & found you to be.

I live here very comfortably with the Marquess of Annandale, who I suppose you have heard, sent me a Letter of Invitation, along with a Bill of 100£ about two Months ago [1] Every thing is much better than I expected, from the Accounts I heard after I came to London For the Secrecy, with which I stole away from Edin[r], & which I thought necessary for preserving my Interest there, kept me entirely ignorant of his Situation My Lord never was in so good a Way [before] [2] He has a regular Family, honest Servants, & every thing is [m]anag'd genteely & with Oeconomy He has entrusted all his English Affairs to a mighty honest friendly Man, Capt Vincent, who is Cousin Germain to the Marchioness And as my Lord has now taken as strong a Turn to Solitude & Repose as he formerly had to Company & Agitation, tis to be hopd that his good Parts & excellent Dispositions may at last being accompanyd with more Health & Tranquillity, render him a Comfort to his Friends, if not an Ornament to his Countrey [3] As you live in the Neighbourhood of the Marchioness, it may give her a Pleasure to hear these particulars. I am Dear Sir

Your most affectionate humble Serv[t]
DAVID HUME

Welde-hall near St Albans
Aprile 25 1745
Mathew Sharpe of Hoddam Esq, near Dumfries North Britain

* 26 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Sir,

You wou'd certainly be a little surpriz'd and vext on receiving a printed copy of the Novel,[4] which was in hands when you left

* Murray, 16 ff

[1] Hume signed the receipt for this £100 on 8th Feb (*Annandale Fam. Book*, I cccxxxvi)

[2] From the fascimile as printed by Burton it would seem that a small part of the autograph had been torn off in breaking the seal.

[3] Actually, however, an Inquest from the Court of Chancery on 5 March 1748 declared Lord Annandale to have been a lunatic incapable of managing his own affairs since 12 Dec 1744

[4] Written by Lord Annandale. From what follows in the next paragraph it would appear that he had recently had an unhappy love-affair, and that he had reproduced the story in the novel

London. If I did not explain the mystery to you, I believe I told you, that I hopt that affair was entirely over, by my employing Lord Marchmont and Lord Bolingbroke's[1] authority against publishing that Novel, tho' you will readily suppose that neither of these two noble Lords ever perus'd it This machine operated for six weeks; but the vanity of the author return'd with redoubled force, fortify'd by suspicions, and encreas'd by the delay 'Pardie,' dit il, 'je crois que ces messieurs veulent être les seules[2] Seigneurs d'Angleterre qui eussent de l'esprit Mais je leur montrerai ce que le petit A—— peut faire aussi.' In short, we were oblig'd to print off thirty copies, to make him believe that we had printed a thousand, and that they were to be disperst all over the kingdom

My Lady Marchioness will also receive a copy, and I am afraid it may give her a good deal of uneasiness, by reason of the story alluded to in the novel, and which she may imagine my Lord is resolv'd to bring to execution Be so good, therefore, as to inform her, that I hope this affair is all over. I discover'd, about a fortnight ago, that one of the papers sent to that damsel had been sent back by her under cover to his rival, Mr. M'—, and that she had plainly, by that step, sacrific'd him to her other lover. This was real matter of fact, and I had the good fortune to convince him of it, so that his pride seems to have got the better of his passion, and he never talks of her at present

A few weeks ago, Mr Vincent told me, that it was his desire that my Lord, with the consent of all his friends, shou'd do such a deed in my favours, as you was so kind as to mention to me when in London,[3] and that, if my affair in Edinburgh should fail, he was resolv'd to use his endeavours to persuade them all to be of the same opinion My answer was, that I likt his proposal so well, and found my Lord so easy to live with, that I wou'd endeavour to disengage myself from my friends in Edinburgh, and continue my present situation Accordingly I wrote to Mr Stewart,[4] who very frankly and kindly allow'd me my liberty of choice, but, unluckily, before my friends in Edinburgh

[1] Henry St John, Lord Bolingbroke (1678–1751), the Tory statesman, friend of Pope and Swift

[2] *Sic* in Murray's text

[3] On 22 June Vincent wrote to Johnstone, saying that Hume was settling down very well with Lord Annandale, and that he (Vincent) thought it would be proper to provide for him with an annuity of £100 a year, but that the Solicitor-General objected to this proposal (Murray, 12 f)

[4] Archibald Stewart, now Lord Provost

could be inform'd of my resolutions, the matter was brought to an issue, and by the cabals of the Principal,[1] the bigotry of the clergy, and the credulity of the mob, we lost it Mr Vincent, however, has wrote to Lady Annandale, who has given her consent, only hinting a little scruple with regard to the danger of my Lord's tiring of me, or I of him, and, as the settlement was to be during life, this wou'd be so much lost to the family He answer'd her by saying, that the first danger was not to be regarded, because we were resolv'd not to comply with these momentary gusts of humour; and as to the second, that proper precaution cou'd easily be taken, by the advice of the Solicitor-General. I hope this will give entire satisfaction, but, if any difficulties remain, I shall flatter myself in your friendship and authority, to remove them

Mr Hope[2] exprest a great desire to Mr Vincent, of seeing my Lord at this place, accordingly, he din'd here in his way to Scotland, and found my Lord in very good health, as indeed he has been for two months; the country air and exercise operating beyond expectation We live extremely well together, without the smallest interruption of good will and friendship, and he has done me the honour of composing some French verses in my praise I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

DAVID HUME.

Weldehall, June 18, 1745

*27 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Dear Sir,

You shou'd have heard oftener from me this summer, if Mr V had not told me frequently that he had written, or was going to write, to you; and as nothing remarkable has past amongst us, I left it to him to inform you of the common course of our affairs He wrote you lately a very long letter, which he read to

* Murray, 19 ff

[1] William Wishart (died 1752), son of a former Principal He had been for a time a Dissenting minister in London, and was appointed Principal in 1737 It is a good indication of the transitional state of feeling in the Kirk about this time that, although Hume and others regarded William Wishart as belonging to the Popular (i e Evangelical) party, the Edinburgh Presbytery prosecuted him in 1737 for not preaching the doctrine of original sin in its full rigour and for showing undue charity to heathens and lapsed Christians

[2] Some member of the Hopetoun family When Lord Annandale died in 1792, his Scottish estates passed to his grand-nephew, John, 3rd Earl of Hopetoun.

me, and from which I know not if you was able to collect the true state of our case, or if it will be necessary for me, in a few words, to tell you freely what judgement shou'd be form'd of it I shall endeavour to give you my opinion, which I am certain would be yours, were you to pass a day amongst us I am sorry, therefore, to inform you, that nothing now remains but to take care of your friend's[1] person, in the most decent and convenient manner, and, with regard to his fortune, to be attentive that the great superplus, which will remain, after providing for these purposes, shou'd be employ'd by my Lady and your nephews, as the true proprietors, for their honour and advantage No delicacy or nicety of management is now requisite to the execution of this scheme. The most simple word or command from my Lady or you is sufficient That will carry an authority with it which nothing can resist

I shall be impatient till I can have one evening's free and open conversation with you on all these points, and hope you will favour us with your company in your way South I hope it will be soon The present unhappy troubles[2] may render you uncertain; if so, I shall write you more at large, with regard to a circumstance of management pretty material,[3] which indeed cou'd be better discust if you were present, and for that reason, I do not now enter upon it

Mr Vincent, in his last, made you a proposal for my advantage, which I beg'd him not to do I must now beg you to answer him in general terms of esteem for me (if I am so happy as to deserve these sentiments from you), but to delay all such schemes for farther consideration I desire no greater advantages than those I reap at present for my attendance on your friend I shall only be ambitious of enjoying them with honour, and the good opinion of you and my Lady Marchioness.

[1] Lord Annandale It would appear that just about this time his condition became decidedly worse, and that simultaneously the troubles began between Hume and Vincent

[2] The Rebellion of the Forty-Five Johnstone's daughter Margaret (1724–57) had eloped with, and married, David, Lord Ogilvy (1725–1803), eldest son of the Earl of Airlie Lord Ogilvy joined the Young Pretender in Edinburgh on 3 Oct 1745 He escaped abroad after Culloden, but Lady Ogilvy was taken prisoner, and lodged for some time in Edinburgh Castle She eventually escaped, too, and joined her husband in France

[3] Apparently the first serious disagreement between Hume and Vincent Vincent had declared that Lord Annandale and Hume must remain for the winter in their present quarters, and Hume had objected, for reasons that appear in later letters

I wish earnestly I cou'd join another more agreeable task to this I have undertaken,—the inspection of your nephews'[1] education, where the little I know of books or the world, being sown on a proper soil, might give me the satisfaction of seeing some effects of my care and attention.

Please favour me with a letter as soon as consists with your convenience; and direct to me at Weldehall, to the care of W. Thompson, at the Chequer at Colney, Barnet Bag There is no need of any precaution with regard to your friend, and your letter will come more readily to hand this way than any other. I am, Dear Sir, with great regard, your much oblig'd humble servant, DAVID HUME

Weldehall, September 19, 1745

* 28 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Weldehall, 22 Oct. 1745.

God forgive you, Dear Sir, God forgive you, for neither coming to us, nor writing to us. The unaccountable, and, I may say, the inhuman treatment we meet with here, throws your friend into rage and fury, and me into the greatest melancholy My only comfort is when I think of your arrival, but still I know not when I can propose to myself that satisfaction I flatter myself you have receiv'd two short letters I wrote within this month; though the uncertainty of the post gives me apprehension I must again entreat you to favour me with a short line, to let me know the time you can propose to be with us; for, if it be near, I shall wait with patience and with pleasure, if distant, I shall write you at length, that you and my Lady Marchioness may judge of our circumstances and situation I am, Dear Sir, Yours, with great sincerity, D H

† 29 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Dear Sir,

I shou'd make many apologies for these frequent letters, which I write to you. I hope you will not altogether ascribe it to the great impatience I have of seeing you, and hearing from you, but to the necessity of our affairs The present trouble is

* Murray, 22, Burton, i 183 f

† Murray, 22 ff, Burton, i 182 f (incomplete)

[1] The children of the Dowager Marchioness by her second husband, Col John Johnstone, Sir James's brother

occasion'd by a letter wrote to my Lady by Mr V., about ten days ago, and which has since come to my knowledge As I am in some measure ignorant both of its contents and of its consequences, I thought it proper to give you some sort of key to our present transactions, in such an imperfect manner as can be contain'd in the compass of a letter, and one which I am so uncertain will ever come to hand.

I must begin by complaining of you for having yokt me here with a man of the Captain's character, without giving me the least hint concerning it, if it was known to you, as indeed it is no secret to the world You seemed satisfy'd with his conduct, and even prais'd him to me; which I am fully persuaded was the effect of your caution, not your conviction. However, I, who was altogether a stranger, enter'd into the family with so gross a prepossession I found a man, who took an infinite deal of pains for another, with the utmost professions both of disinterestedness and friendship to him and me; and I readily concluded that such a one must be either one of the best, or one of the worst of men I can easily excuse myself for having judg'd at first on the favourable side; and must confess that, when light first began to break in upon me, I resisted it as I would a temptation of the Devil I thought it, however, proper to keep my eyes open for farther observation, till the strangest and most palpable facts, which I shall inform you of at meeting, put the matter out of all doubt to me.

There is nothing he wou'd be fonder of than to sow dissension betwixt my Lady and you, whom he hates and fears He flatters, and caresses, and praises, and hates me also, and would be glad to chase me away, as doing me the honour, and, I hope, the justice of thinking me a person very unfit for his purposes As he wants all manner of pretext from my conduct and behaviour, he has broken his word, and contriv'd a way of life for me which it is impossible for me or any other man ever to endure. Be not surpriz'd at this, nor imagine there is any contradiction betwixt what I here say and his seeming desire of attaching me by the offer he made me last summer I shall explain that matter on a more proper occasion Those, who work continually upon such dark intricate designs, must observe a conduct which, to persons at a distance, who have not the proper clue, must appear a continu'd scene of contradiction

The long and strange letter he wrote to you in August last, and which he enclos'd to my Lady, was, in most of its articles,

contriv'd for nothing but to deter her from ever meddling in her son's affairs Now, he writes her in a great hurry to entreat her to come up, and to tell her that, without her presence, every thing must go to confusion He imagines (and, I hope, justly) that you are to be here soon He knows I will open my breast to you, and that all his artifices and insinuations will have no effect with you He endeavour'd to deter me from speaking to you, by saying, very imprudently, that he desir'd you to meddle as little in my Lord's affairs as possible Having found all this in vain, he now plays another engine

That my Lady's presence wou'd be very agreeable, and very useful to us all, is most evident, but why the alarm shou'd be given so hot, is altogether inconceivable For what is the mighty matter of dispute? Only about hiring a few carts to remove the family to another house, in order to quit this; which, for very good reasons, is infinitely disagreeable to your friend, very dangerous, will be uninhabitable for cold during the winter season, and costs 3 to 400 pound a year at least to the family, more than is requisite. He has been so imprudent as to confess in his letter to you that the plan I propose is the best, were he to begin He feels the force and evidence of my reasons. He knows I will appeal to you, and that he will be confounded. Upon this account, he chooses to raise a turmoil and confusion, in order to throw us all into disorder. His secret reasons for this conduct, the very dark ones, are no secrets to me, and shall be none to you, whenever I shall have the pleasure of seeing you

I hope my Lady is no ways prepossest in his favour, or at least has her ears open to conviction. He talks (but I don't believe him at present in any thing), as if there were a great friendship betwixt them As to you, great care has been taken to inculcate on me, and almost every body else in the family, that you have nothing to do here; but as he is hated here, as well as every where else, I answer for all their obedience; and he shall be the boldest man in England, who will contradict whatever you and my Lady shall think proper to order. I conjoin your authorities, because they ought never to be thought of apart, and cannot be separated without the greatest disorder and confusion.

I am sorry our affairs here shou'd add new anxieties to those with which you must be opprest, both on public and private accounts, during this miserable war. I intended to have delay'd mentioning these matters till your arrival; but as that appears very uncertain, and the letter I mention'd might give false

alarms, I thought it requisite to give you some notion of the matter You'll easily see that the point I urge can be of no consequence, on the one hand, to Mr V , if his intentions were fair, tho', on the other, it may be of very great to your friend and his family A fine reason, indeed, for obliging my Lady to take a journey of 300 miles, in a hurry, and in the midst of winter, in order to hinder you from removing us from this house to one ten or twelve miles distant

I wish you wou'd bring this letter South with you, that, if you will allow it, I may show it to him For I shall never make underhand insinuations to the prejudice of any man's character. Nothing would prevent my showing it at present, but my uncertainty with regard to your's and my Lady's sentiments He knows in general my opinion of matters; but as he still perseveres in his fawning compliments and civilities, I allow him; tho', I must confess, with a little sullenness and indignation, which I cannot, and care not, to dissemble

If you have no thoughts of being in London soon, I shall write you very fully of the whole matter, and shall show my letter to him, that he may either write or not write in opposition to it, as he shall see proper. I fancy that either way you will be equally convinc'd of what I have here told you I am, Dear Sir, with great regard, your most obedient humble Servant,

DAVID HUME.

Oct 31 [1745]

* 30. *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Sir,

Your friend continues still in good health He made to Mr Vincent the same proposal about living altogether alone without any friend or companion He told me so, very politely; adding that he had no exceptions to me, but only that solitude suited him better I doubt not but this project will be greedily embrac'd by Mr V., as being really the drift of all his measures [1]

* Murray, 26 f

[1] On 7 Nov Vincent wrote to the Dowager Marchioness 'I will venture to say I have the knack of parrying and managing him [Lord A], but that Mr Hume, who is so extraordinarily well paid, only for his company, and lodged and lives that, if it was at his own expense, he could not do it for £200 a year, should be gloomy and inconsolable for want of society, and show, for this good while past, little or no sign of content or gratitude to

I suspect it has been instill'd very lately into your friend; for we never heard of it till within these eight days I still continue in the same resolution of weathering out all the difficulties and discouragements as long as possible, and as long as you can desire me, and I fancy this project will not be urg'd farther, if you oppose it, both because of its unreasonableness, and because it is the taking off the mask too soon If I continue, you can easily operate a thorough reconciliation betwixt Mr Vincent and me (that is, a thorough seeming one), and it is strange he should affect any coldness, when the only thing he can accuse me of is the having an eye to you and the family, or to any thing beyond himself He said, when he was here, that we shall live in this house till the lease was out, in spite of all opposition So much is he a basha, and so little will he communicate or reason with any body.

If he says anything of me worth telling me (beyond the pretended ingratitude and rebellion), I shall expect you to inform me

It is utterly impossible for your friend to live in this house without a companion; because he must, in that case, pass the whole day alone, in a remote corner of a large house, which you easily see is very unsafe and improper; so that Mr V 's obstinacy with regard to the house entangles him a little.

I hope you have heard good news from your family I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

DAVID HUME.

Weldehall, Nov. 25, 1745

me for all I have done, and the best intentions to serve him, and principally promoted his being in this station, and repeatedly offered to come out frequently during the winter and stay two or three days at a time, whilst he should be in town . Mr Hume is a scholar, and I believe an honest man, but one of his best friends at Edinburgh at first wrote me, he had conversed more with books than the world, or any of the elegant part of it, chiefly owing to the narrowness of his fortune He does not in this case seem to know his own interest, though I have long perceived it is what he mostly has a peculiar eye to Hereafter I shall consider him no more than if I had never known him Our friend in reality does not desire he should stay with him I don't see his policy in offering to oppose my pleasure, and think it very wrong in him to mention his appealing to Sir James Johnstone I dare say your Ladyship thinks as I do, that it is unbecoming for me to be in a subservient state in such a case to any body I certainly desire that Sir James and I should be in good correspondence, and I believe he is satisfied of that, but this man taking it into his head to thwart my methods, and all to gratify his own desire of being near town in the winter forsooth. .

* 31 *To* Captain Philip Vincent[1]

[Weldehall, November 26, 1745.]

I remember I have frequently told you, that this way of Life was so melancholy & unsociable, that I did not think it would be possible for me to continue in it longer than one year; but that as things sometimes turn'd out differently from what one expected, & that a Man often reconcil'd himself by Habit to what at first he thought was intolerable, I always added that I should make a Tryal this Winter, & should tell you my Determination early in the Spring I said the same to Sir James Johnstone My Lord told me, that he desired to live altogether alone, without any Friend or Companion which was the sole Reason of his opening his Mind in that manner to you there And I had Panaiotty [2] inform you & Sir James of all this, because I thought it fair that everything should be told, on the one side as well as the other. You see, therefore, I have never given up my Attendance on L A, but only talkt of what might probably happen And I confess, that the Professions of Esteem & Friendship I met with on all Sides, as well as the Steps I was engag'd to take, in consequence of these, seem'd to require I should be left to take my own time in leaving him That is, provided I did nothing afterwards to forfeit his or his Friends good Opinion of me

With regard to him, I believe you are sensible that I have always liv'd with him and continue so to do, in a more equal way of Complaisance & good Humour than cou'd well have been expected Some little Disgusts & Humours could not be prevented, & never were propos'd to be of any Consequence

As to his Friends, & you, in particular, tho' I have been once of a different Opinion from you, I always manag'd the Argument with Decency & good Manners, as far as I remember, & as you acknowledged to me very lately If any contrary expressions have escapt me, which I do not remember, they were the Effects of Melancholy & Chagrin, for which I am sorry,

* Draft MS in the possession of Captain F L Pleadwell, U S Navy, Murray, 28 ff

[1] This letter is in answer to one dated 27 (probably a mistake for 25) Nov, from Vincent to Hume Vincent is, as usual, very wordy, but says in effect. 'As Lord Annandale no longer wishes you to stay, you had better go at once I shall pay you up to the end of the year'

[2] Lord Annandale's valet

& which I am willing to acknowledge I conclude, that it is not improbable, but I may, of myself, come to the Determination you point at, with regard to the time of my Stay here; but that I have not yet done it, And that in all Cases I desire to stay or go, in the same or a greater Degree of Friendship & Regard with you & all my Lord's Friends, than what we first met with The momentary Effects of Passion I can forgive in others & acknowledge in myself, and the keeping of Rancour on these Accounts, without Explanations or mutual Forgiveness, is a Conduct I shall never observe myself, or expect from your good Sense & candour

As this Frankness is worthy of honest Men, I hope you will approve of my applying to Sir James Johnstone on this Occasion & my desiring the Interposal of his good Offices in order to effect it

I am Sir
etc

P.S

My Lord, so far from having a Quarrel with me, said this evening that he wished one could form a Plan, by which we might go together to some foreign Country, change our Names, & remain absolutely conceal'd & unknown. You see then, that his Proposals proceed only from his excessive Love of Solitude

* 32 *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir

I was somewhat surprizd to receive the enclos'd from Mr Vincent to day I wrote him an Answer of which the enclos'd is a Copy, & I beg of you to read them both before you read any more of this Letter, that you may know our Situation.

As this Measure is taken, without communicating it to you, tho you be in Town, it shows the same Spirit & Intentions, which I have explain'd to you How far you will think it proper to oppose them, now in the Beginning, or what Measures you will take for that Purpose, I am not a proper Person to determine You see he wants to put it upon me, that I leave your Friend, which is false, as I explain'd the Matter to him & to you Indeed he has no other Pretext, & therefore, if he be opposd in this Point, he must have Recourse to his absolute

* MS. in Nat Lib Scot, 98(28), Murray, 27 and 30 ff

Will & Pleasure. And his sole Motive is, that I lookt beyond him, & thought other Persons ought also to be consulted concerning your Friend's Situation.

If you cannot prevail as to the making up of this Breach entirely (which I must consider as altogether affected on his Side) I woud humbly desire you to make him this Proposal: That I shall stay out the Year & the next Quarter, & as about the time when that shall terminate, he will be thinking of coming out here, your Friend may continue without any Companion all Summer, & against next Winter you or he, or rather indeed he may look out for one By this means, there will be a considerable Saving to your Friend All Eclat or Rupture will be prevented And some time gain'd to look for better *Incidents* & *Opportunities*

I doubt not but you will also think so small a Request due, in some measure, to me, who depended upon your goodwill & Friendship, & who am sacrifizd for no other Reason but that I had a Regard to you

You may add as an additional Reason, that by the Terms of our Contract, if I leave your Friend, by the second of Jany, I am entitled to my whole Years Sallary[1] For tho' it was always far from my Intention to take any such Advantages, & I shall faithfully compleat the time, yet it is in my Power, & my Behaviour in this particular merits some Consideration

I was told by Panaiotty, my Lords Valet, that he had a Commission to you & Mr Vincent, chiefly with regard to the Retrenchment of his Family, and by the bye with regard to me, that he desird to live alone, without any Friend or Companion Mr V. told him, (when he desird to know your Lodgings, in order to deliver you his Commission also) that that was not necessary, & that he himself wou'd answer it.

With regard to me, he answers very neatly & clearly. With regard to the other point, he will not move a Step. Your Friend repeated to me to day, that he had a great Regard &

[1] In the course of a letter, dated 1 Sept 1745, to Hume, Vincent says 'Another condition was, that, if you should, on your part, choose to leave the Marquis any time in the first or subsequent years, you should be free to do it, and that the Marquis should be bound to pay you your salary for the time you had attended him, and also the salary for that quarter in which you should leave him, in the same manner as if that quarter should be fully expired' (Murray, 10 f) This was the clause in the agreement on which the dispute arose later

Friendship for me, & that nothing induc'd him to make such Proposals but his Desire of an absolute Solitude

In Compliance with your Desire, I have put it absolutely upon Mr V to tell me, that there is no farther Occasion for my Service. This Step, I see he is unwilling to take, & still more unwilling to declare the Reason

I hope you will allow me when I shall see you, to put into your hands the Paper I read you, that all Friends may see the Point, in which we differd, as the other Paper with these Letters will show the manner in which this Difference has been conducted

You see, by the enclosd Copy of my Letter, what Compliances I have made to this Man, in order to soften Matters I shall surely never go any farther, with one whom I have so bad an Opinion of, & I hope you will never desire me

I wou'd desire to know the Result of your Conference, as well as your own Opinion, as soon as convenient by the Bearer, if possible Both because he is to be here next week, & I wou'd know upon what Footing to speak to him, & because I shall take my Measures according to the Issue you have fixt

One Advantage of adding a new Quarter to my Years Attendance is that you may have an Opportunity of knowing my Lady's Opinion & of informing her yourself of all Matters, which will not at present be proper to write by the Post.

I must desire you, from my Knowledge of the Man's Character, to beware of all ambiguous & equivocal Answers You may tell him positively that I have not given up Attendance on your Friend, & ask him whether he intends to turn me off & for what Reason.

I assure you, he talks at present, in a much higher Style than he did, before you came hither· But perhaps a little Firmness may make him abate of his Arrogances

As I heard you were to have a Conference with him to morrow, I dispatcht a Servant with these Letters, that you might be instructed in all particulars I have orderd him to wait for your Answer, if you thought proper I am Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Wednesday.
Nov^{r} 26. 1745.

* 33 *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

I had not time nor Leizure yesterday to write to you all the Reflections, which this last extraordinary Incident might occasion, and therefore use the Freedom to give you this fresh Trouble

I must own it was with excessive Reluctance I wrote so softening & obliging a Letter to this man, but as I knew, that such a method of proceeding was conformable to your Intentions, I thought it my Duty to comply However I easily saw 'twou'd all be in vain, & wou'd only fortify him in his Arrogance, Do you think, that the absolute Possession of so ample a Fortune, to which this is the first requisite Step, is a Prize to be resign'd for a few fair Words or flattering Professions? He deals too much in that Bait himself ever to be caught with it by others.

I think this the last Opportunity that will ever offer of retrieving the Family, and yourself, (as far as you are connected with the Family) from falling into absolute Slavery to so odious a Master If in the beginning, and while he is watcht by jealous Eyes, he can attempt such things, what will he not do when he has fixt his Authority, & has no longer any Inspector over him? Tis lucky, therefore, that this, as it seems the last, is so good an Opportunity Nothing was ever so barefac'd as his Conduct To quarrel with me merely because I civilly supported a most reasonable Project· To threaten me with his Vengeance, if I open'd my Lips to you concerning your Friends Affair To execute that threat, without a Pretext and without consulting you These Steps give us such Advantages over him as must not be neglected

I hope you will not take it amiss, if I say, that your conduct with regard to your Friend & to those who have at different times been about him, has all along, been too gentle & cautious I had considerably shaken the Authority of this man (tho I had no Authority myself) merely by my Firmness and Resolution He now assumes more when he observes your Precautions

But as I do not believe, that tho your Firmness may daunt him, it will ever engage him to loose hold of so fine a prize,

* MS recently in possession of Brick Row Book Shop, New York City, Murray, 33 ff I have not seen the MS., and the copy sent to me was manifestly inaccurate in several minor details, I am therefore very dubious about the text here printed

it will be requisite to think of more effective remedies Happily, there is time enough both to contrive and to execute. For tho he makes me the offer of present payment (which I hope you observ'd) in order to engage me to leave you presently, he shall not get rid of me so easily

The only Difficulty, you know, is with regard to a third person,[1] who must be pleas'd and satisfy'd; and unhappily all intercourse with her is cut off at present [2] But as we may hope it will soon be open'd it will be proper for you, in my humble Opinion, to write to her strongly in my Favour, and at the same time, defy him to say anything to the contrary You may, if you please, ask of her only a Reprieve till you can see her, and then you may lay before her all I told you, and whatever more this winter shall produce, as I doubt not but it will produce several Incidents to our purpose. For tis improbable such a man can be a month without betraying himself

If our intercourse with her shou'd still continue to be interrupted, you may tell him plainly that he has no Authority to take such Steps of himself, and that you are resolv'd I shall remain til my Lady be satisfy'd When you have fortify'd me with this Declaration, he shall be a very bold man who will offer to gainsay it

I doubt not but you are convinc'd that nothing will ever be gain'd by yielding to so much Arrogance I might, I believe, by compliance have remain'd as long as I pleas'd, because he cou'd entertain no Jealousy of me But he knows that your title to Authority is so much better than his own, that he will never think himself fully secur'd till you are entirely remov'd For this reason, he does not pretend to act in conjunction with you, nor will admit you to any Share of his Councils; but has from the very beginning, even before he had any Occasion to find you of a different Opinion from him, erected Altar against Altar, or rather attempted to erect a Throne over your Footstool.

He told one of the servants here, that he said to you, that he was the nearest relation, and that he wou'd admit of no Interference in these Affairs I do not believe he was so impudent He only says such things behind your back at present. A month hence, he will say them to your face, if yielded to

He pretends to have great Deference to the Solicitor General,

[1] The Dowager Marchioness.

[2] By Prince Charles Edward and the Highland Host, who were now in Lancashire, marching south. They reached Manchester on 29 Nov

because he knows he has too much business to mind these Matters, or give a deligent Inspection to his Conduct May it not be proper to prepossess him in my Favour?

You have some reason to take amiss my asking so small a Boon as that of a Quarter's prolongation of my term of Banishment. But I dreaded, and still dread, your Gentleness & Caution

You may be assur'd that tis absolutely impossible for any body to live better with your Friend, than I have done all along & still continue to do Even our Usurper has remark'd it, with Surprize How happens it, says he, a little before his Departure hence, that you are never the Object of any of his Satyre and oblique Raillery, to which we are all so much expos'd? Your Friend made me remark last night (what indeed is pretty obvious) that he possesses his Faculties much more, and has a more easy Conversation with me than with any body else; after which he nam'd particularly V. & his Wife These Proposals, as he confesses, himself, come only from his excessive Love of Solitude, which ought to be comply'd with, to a reasonable degree. Tis with Horror he thinks of that Couple's coming out again to live with him Yet if their projects take place, they will never be absent from him

By the bye how does this Offer of paying me presently three hundred pounds agree with the Scarcity of Money, and Mr V.'s being oblig'd to advance of his own for the Maintenance of the Family? I hope you will examine that Fact

I shall conclude, with putting you in Mind, that the Papers, which were too easily granted this man in the Spring, only empower'd him to pay me (by Name) 300£ a year; but not to turn me off or conclude a Bargain with any body else So that none of his Contracts of this kind will be binding.

I shall not however conclude without telling you, that when I became absolutely certain of this man's Character, I was curious to know the Character he bore in the World; and for that purpose write to Mr Oswald [1] (with whom I live in great Intimacy) to desire him to inform himself of the Matter, which he was easily enabl'd to do, by his Connexions in the Navy He answer'd me, that he was universally regarded as a low, dirty, despicable Fellow, and particularly infamous for pimping his wife to another Peer. That is a Fact, I have also some reason to know; and tallies exactly with what I told you You may ask Oswald

[1] James Oswald of Dunnikier.

I must conclude at last, which I shall do, by asking your pardon for so long a Letter I am Sir

Your most oblig'd humble Servant

Nov 27 1745 DAVID HUME.

P S

When I put this Letter (or one to the same purpose) into Mr Vincent's hands, telling him, that, tho' I had wrote it I did not intend to send it at present, he told me, he was glad of that, because he desir'd you shou'd intermeddle as little as possible in these Affairs Adding, that he intended, by keeping my Lord's person and his English Affairs in his own hands, to free my Lady from all Slavery to you

Ever since no entreaties, no threatenings have been spar'd to make me keep silence to you To which my constant Answer was, that I thought not that consistent with my Duty I told him freely, that I wou'd lay all the foregoing reasons before you when you came to London, and hop't you wou'd prevail with him to alter his Opinion If not, we shou'd all write if you thought proper, to my Lady Marchioness, in order to have her Determination The endeavouring, then, to make me keep Silence to you, was also to keep my Lady in the Dark, about such material points, since I cou'd not have Access to let her know the Situation of our Affairs, by any other means.

He offer'd to let me leave your Friend in the beginning of Winter, if I pleas'd, provided I wou'd make no Opposition to his plan, that is, wou'd not inform you For I was not capable of making any other Opposition He added, that he wou'd allow me my Sallary for the whole year, and that he wou'd himself supply my place, leave his house in London, and live with your Friend Can all this pains be taken, merely for the difference betwixt one house and another?

An evening or two before his departure from Weldehall he offer'd me the continuance of the same Friendship, which had always subsisted betwixt us, if I wou'd promise not to open my Lips to you about this Matter.

The morning of his departure he burst out all of a sudden, when the Subject was not talk't of, into threatenings, and told me, that, if I ever enter'd upon this subject with you, I shou'd repent it He went out of the house presently, and these were almost his last words

I presume, if my whole Conduct and Behaviour, since I

attended your Friend, have been in other respects unexceptionable (which I hope Mr V. will allow), I shall never incur any Blame upon that account.

I never open'd my Lips, directly or indirectly, to your Friend upon this Topic, nor encourag'd his Humours and Fancies. He gave Mr Vincent his Word of Honour before me that till within a few days, he did not so much as know I was of the same Opinion with himself. I did then indeed, in order to pacify him, give him hopes that your good Sense and Compassion wou'd bring him some relief, by removing this Cause of Anxiety which is so prejudicial to his health and temper I have never since mention'd the Subject to him

This repeated Vehemence and my constant refusal to be silent to you, was the Cause of that alarming Letter to my Lady, where she was told that her Son was become altogether ungovernable, and that nothing but her presence here cou'd compose matters A very extraordinary reason to make a sickly Lady travel three hundred Miles in the Depth of Winter, and to throw such a useless Alarm into the Breast of a tender parent! Is it so great a Matter to remove a Family twelve or fourteen Miles?

You see by my letter what a Scheme is push'd, so expensive to the Family, so dangerous to your Friend, and so cruel both to him and to me, without the least Shadow of Reason, so far as I can judge You see also what Arts are employ'd to render this Scheme effectual, viz Entreaties and Threatenings and even Bribes offer'd to make me keep Silence, and huddle up all Matters in the dark It may now be proper to inform you what End is propos'd by all this, and what Interest engages Mr Vincent into so unaccountable a method of proceding

When the Design of continuing here began to break out by Chance and by Degrees (for a contrary Resolution seem'd to be taken in the beginning of Summer) I told him, that I was sorry for it, that that was a Course of Life, which I cou'd not approve of for your Friend, and to which, for my own part, I never cou'd be reconcil'd, that I wou'd endeavour to make out the year; but that I believ'd it wou'd be impossible for me to stay any longer He reply'd, that a man of my Sense & Judgement never took a Resolution but upon good Grounds, and that 'twas needless to endeavour to dissuade such People This was telling me, in his very civil way, that I was welcome to be gone, if I pleas'd.

This past in August As Winter was yet distant, and I saw

no present Remedy, I remain'd very quiet, and always talkt upon the Footing, as if I was to depart very soon & without making any Opposition. One day, I told him, that since he had alter'd his Scheme so considerably as to the place of our Abode, he ought also to alter it farther, and not place a Gentleman about your Friend, but one who cou'd eat & converse with the Servants & neighbouring Farmers, and by that means enjoy some Society, without which no human Creature cou'd live. He reply'd That is my Intention, if you prosecute your Resolution of leaving us

You see then what Dissimulation and Artifice is here employ'd with regard to the Family. For if such a Scheme was advisable, why not propose it directly? Why employ so many Fetches & Artifices to render it effectual?

What Cruelty with regard to your Friend, whom he keeps in Torment meanwhile, and exposes to the greatest Danger.

What Deceit, & I may say, Treachery with regard to me, whom he loaded with Professions of Friendship, and yet was undermining all the time

May I not safely say, that this Scheme is very improper? Your Friend has still remaining so much Spirit & Taste of every thing, especially of Books, as to require the Company of a man of Education.

This Situation exposes him to the Artifices of Sharpers, from which the Attendance of a common Servant will never sufficiently secure the Family.

Mr Vincent may be call'd to Sea in a day. What becomes of your Friend?

What I have said above consists of Facts, which I know The rest is only my own Conjecture. He always declares his Resolution of leaving this Countrey very soon, which he says is neither agreeable to his Health nor Humour I have heard him say to your Friend, that he may probably show him again those foreign Countries, of which he is so fond He drop'd a hint, in his Letter to you, as if travelling with a sure Hand (which I suppose is himself) wou'd not be improper for your Friend. May we not conjecture that this Scheme is an Addition to his other Projects?

I have put all this in writing, for greater Exactness, and permit you to make whatever use of it you think proper.

DAVID HUME

Sir James Johnstone Bart
Member of Parliament Charles Street *Westminster*

* 34. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

I leave it to Mr Fabri[1] to inform you of every thing that passd with regard to his Patient till the time of his Departure Mr Fabri found him very civil and in good Humour; but he was no sooner gone than your Friend say'd that every word Mr F had pronounced displeased him, particularly informing him that he had a hectic Fever, which I suppose was not say'd, but however, seem'd to frighten him very much. He made a very slight dinner yesterday, which he threw up, by his usual Practice, before we were aware, but which we shall guard strictly against for the future. He was very uneasy from low Spirits in reality, but as he say'd from great Pains, all that Evening

To-day his Physic wrought pretty well; he eat pretty well, kept all, but still complain'd However in the midst of his greatest Complaints Panaiotty desir'd him to rise and take a little Exercise, and in my sight, he try'd him with one of the rudest exercises in the Art of Fencing (which I remember had almost dislocated my whole Body when I try'd it) and yet he never complain'd

He had to-day several short Fits of high spirits mixt with his low ones This is not a history of the Weather, but of something as uncertain.

I am Sir Your most humble Servt,
D. Hume.

Thursday, 11 o'clock P M.
Jan 23 [1746]

† 35 *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

Tho' I had business which requir'd my being in town, I rather chose to send the chaise empty, in order to give Mr Vincent an opportunity of coming out along with you, that the subject of our dispute may be discusst before all parties I have told my Lord of your coming, and, at the same time,

* MS in possession of Captain F L Pleadwell, U S Navy, Morrison, *Catalogue of Autograph Letters*, II 315

† Murray, 33 This and Letters 36–45 are impossible to date more accurately than 'Autumn–Spring 1745–6'. I have arranged them in what seems to be the most probable order

[1] Apparently one of Lord Annandale's physicians; but I have not been able to discover anything about him

told him that we intended to reason the matter concerning which he is so earnest, and that we shou'd have more freedom if we were left together some time He easily understood my meaning, and will not be surpriz'd if he see you and Mr Vincent and I retire from him a little.

Mr Vincent and I have always talkt on this subject without an indecent, or even without a passionate expression, at least on my part; and as we have agreed to write down our reasons separately, this will keep us to more method and order. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

DAVID HUME.

Friday.

P.S My Lord is very well at present

* 36 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Sir

I did not leave London till this Morning, & on my Arrival here found Mr Vincent just departing, so that I had not time to write by his Servant. Your Friend is really distrest with a Colic, which the Physician (who was here yesterday) thinks to be a new Turn of his usual Distemper He is well in other Respects. But I fancy you will choose to delay your Visit till you hear of his perfect Recovery. If I find him quite well next Week, I shall send in the Chaise on Friday without waiting for new Orders; unless you countermand it before I am

Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Saturday

† 37 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Sir,

Your friend is, in a great measure, recover'd of his pain; but is still weak and low; so that it may be some days before he chooses to see company. If I find him well, I shall send in the chaise on Friday, unless you countermand it. I wrote you on Saturday last. This comes by a servant whom we have sent to town

Monday, 10 o'clock

* MS recently in possession of Mr Thomas F Madigan, New York City
Murray, 21 † Murray, 21 f

* 38. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

I did write you the very first occasion after I came out hither But I find my letters have great difficulty to reach you; for which reason I shall put this into the post-house myself, to prevent such practices as I suspect are us'd in this family. I have some reason also to think that spies are plac'd upon my most indifferent actions. I told you that I had had more conversation with one of the servants than was natural, and for what reason Perhaps this fellow had the same privilege granted him as other spies, to rail against his employer, in order to draw in an unguarded man to be still more unguarded. But such practices, if real (for I am not altogether certain), can only turn to the confusion of those who use them. Where there is no arbitrary power, innocence must be safe; and if there be arbitrary power in this family, 'tis long since I knew I cou'd not remain in it. What a scene is this for a man nourish'd in philosophy and polite letters to enter into, all of a sudden, and unprepar'd! But I can laugh, whatever happens, and the newness of such practices rather diverts me At first they caus'd indignation and hatred, and even (tho' I am asham'd to confess it) melancholy and sorrow

Your friend has recover'd his colic; but is fallen into a fit of very low spirits and vapours I wish this may not hold him long I know not whether you wou'd choose to come out, while he is in this condition You may command the chaise and horses at any time I am, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient humble Servant,

David Hume.

Saturday

† 39 *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

I am desir'd by my Lord to make his compliments to you, and to express his concern for your illness I hope it is now over in a great measure My Lord himself does not recover so well as cou'd be wisht. Your company wou'd always be agreeable here, but more so at present, as it wou'd be a mark of your total recovery. I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient Servant.

David Hume.

Tuesday, 11 o'clock.

* Murray, 46 f † Murray, 47

* 40 *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

Your friend is almost entirely recover'd, and is now well in every respect. You may command the horses and chaise any time you'll please to order them. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

David Hume

Friday evening

† 41. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

I have little more to say to you than that your friend continues still in good health and good humour. I informed you of his recovery by a letter dated on Tuesday last, which I sent in the common way, and which I find has not reacht you in the course of post. I shall put this into the post-house myself 'Tis remarkable, that four days is just the time requisite for a letter to go to town, to come back hither, and to return again to town If the same difference happen with regard to this letter and the last, it will amount to a demonstration. Good God!!! I only wish these letters had not been directed to you, for, as to their being seen, it is not, in my opinion, a farthing's matter

I believe I shall be in town on Monday or Tuesday, when I shall pay my respects to you I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

Da Hume

Saturday

‡ 42. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir,

You seem uneasy that all my letters have been open'd, and so am I too; but, as I think I have in all of them us'd the precaution to name no-body, and to date from no place, and even not to subscribe the letters, it can be of no consequence, and can only proceed from the universal practice of opening all letters at present; though none of mine ever came to me in that manner A clerk in the post-office opens a letter, runs it over, and, finding it concerns only private business, forwards it presently, and thinks no farther of the matter: so that, what one writes of that kind, seems to me as safe as what one says. However, as you appear to think otherwise, I shall be more cautious for the future The unexpected vexations I met with (which I

* Murray, 47. † Murray, 47 f ‡ Murray, 48 f

hope will now soon have an end, some way or other) made me glad, on every occurrence, to open my mind to you, and my great leizure gave me full opportunity This is my reason, or at least my excuse, for troubling you so frequently

Your friend still keeps his health and temper to admiration I am, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient humble Servant,

DA HUME

Wednesday

* 43 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Sir,

Your friend is far from being well; but it seems to be nothing but his usual disorder that has fallen into a low way, and fills him with a hundred imaginary complaints, and renders him peevish to the last degree. I am afraid this may last for some time It renders him very uneasy to himself, and to every body about him Whatever desire I may have to see you here, I suppose you will not think it proper to pay your visit at present. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

DAVID HUME

Saturday

† 44 *To* CAPTAIN PHILIP VINCENT

Sir,

I receiv'd your letter from my Lord, who says that you have all along utterly mistaken his meaning, and that he desires not I shou'd leave him, and other circumstances remain as before. On the contrary, he is so polite as to tell me, that my company is not disagreeable to him, and that, provided other circumstances be rang'd according to his desire, he shou'd be very willing I shou'd stay with him, or near him, and have the honour of seeing him frequently Much less does he desire, that I shou'd leave him, and another be sought in my place; since it is your declar'd intention, by what you wrote us both, some time ago, that he shou'd not be without a friend or companion He says, besides, that there was not a word of my name in the message he sent you, and from which you have taken occasion to write me this letter. I know not how to act amidst all these contrarieties and irresolutions I am, &c.

P.S I have shown this letter to my Lord, who says it is quite conformable to his intentions

* Murray, 46. † Murray, 38.

* 45. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Sir, Saturday

I receiv'd by my Lord a letter from Vincent, which he immediately burnt in a passion The purport of it was this; that he (Vincent) desir'd to see me as soon as possible; that my money was ready for me, and that my attendance on my Lord was no longer necessary, since he did not any longer desire it. I have sent the following answer [1]:—

Is not this very diverting? I wait your orders You see to what straits this honest gentleman is reduc'd to find a pretext But I fancy he must prevail at last, and I shall take care not to be a bone of contention betwixt you, unless you think that I am the most advantageous piece of ground on which you can resist him. I am, dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

David Hume.

I had a conversation here, which will divert you when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

P S Since I wrote the above, my Lord brought me a letter he had wrote to Vincent, wherein he tells him positively that he will be first fixt in a little house and a few servants, after which he will take his resolution with regard to me, and that, till this be done, he will not part with me. This was a very happy thought, and entirely his own 'Tis the proper means of reducing Vincent to a nonplus, and perhaps of making a compromise with him I am not now any way impatient or melancholy, but can laugh at all this.

† 46. *To* Lord Elibank [2]

My Lord

I have copy'd out half a dozen of Epigrams, which I hope will give you Entertainment The Thought in them is indeed

* Murray, 38 f

† MS. in J Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, Murray, 49 f.

[1] Letter 44 above.

[2] Patrick Murray (1702–78), 5th Lord Elibank, succeeded to Barony 1736; Lieut.-Col 1739, took part in expedition against Carthagena, 1740, shortly afterwards retired from the army in disgust at his own slow promotion, and for the rest of his life lived, now in Edinburgh, now in London, as a man of fashion, a patron of letters, a critic, a country gentleman, and a *bon vivant* In mid-century he, Kames, and Hume formed a triumvirate of taste in Edinburgh, from whose judgement there lay no appeal (Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 1 319). Sir James Johnstone had married his sister

little inferior to that in the celebrated Epigrams of Rousseau;[1] tho' the Versification be not so correct. What a Pity! I say this on account both of the Author & myself For I am afraid I must leave him. Vincent is resolv'd on the Matter; & has wrote me, that my Appointments are too large, & must be diminisht. This, you are sensible, is indirectly bidding me go away. The Matter must be determin'd by Lady Annandale, who does nothing without Sir James Johnstone's Advice; & I wish he may not comply with the Proposal from a false Notion of Frugality. However, I still entertain some Hopes, that, if your Lordship will be so kind as to represent to him, the Ungenteelness, & even Indignity of this way of Proceeding, as well as what I believe to be his own Interest in the Case, he may be prevail'd with to support me[2] We shall see an Issue of this Matter in a few Posts I am

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

Weldehall DAVID HUME.
March. 29 1746.

*47. *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Dear Sir,

I past all the day you left us with Mr Vincent, and he never mention'd a word of the proposal he made you I saw him twice since, and he was equally silent I was in hopes that the cold manner in which you receiv'd it had discourag'd him, but at last he has wrote me about it, tho' without mentioning any particular terms, but referring to a conversation we shall have next week I am determin'd to answer him as I told you, and afterwards to write, according to the sketch I show'd you, with the alterations you propos'd

Meanwhile, I own to you, that my heart rebells against this unworthy treatment, and nothing but the prospect of depending entirely on you, and being independent of him, cou'd make

* Murray, 50 ff

[1] Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (1670–1741), French poet, dramatist, and epigrammatist, notable for his violent quarrels with La Motte, Saurin, and Crébillon the elder.

[2] On 3 April Elibank sent this letter on to Johnstone, saying: 'I take the liberty to send you the enclosed from David Hume, and am persuaded you'll think it for your interest to comply with the request of it I own it is my opinion that Vincent's only wish in turning off Hume is, that he finds him an obstacle to selfish views of his own, to which even Lady Annandale may in time become a sacrifice This I say from my personal knowledge of the man' (Murray, 50)

me submit to it. I have fifty resolutions about it My loss, in ever hearkening to his treacherous professions, has been very great; but, as it is now irreparable, I must make the best of a bad bargain. I am proud to say that, as I am no plotter myself, I never suspect others to be such, till it be too late; and, having always liv'd independent, and in such a manner as that it never was any one's interest to profess false friendship to me, I am not sufficiently on my guard in this particular

I must beg of you, that, if you cannot prevail to have matters continue on the present footing (as you most approve of, and think most reasonable), you may propose at least, that the diminution be made only for the ensuing year, on account of the £100 remitted me before I came up. This will be less disagreeable and less disobliging, and will still leave the matter open for an ensuing year, when you may act as will then seem most suitable If these people come hither this summer, I shall be expos'd to all the same or greater insolencies and insults, and nothing will be able to save me from them so much as this mark of regard and attention I therefore repeat my request, that matters be put upon this footing if possible. You will then be better able to judge of the success of my endeavours, which are at present very promising. My way of living is more melancholy than ever was submitted to by any human creature, who ever had any hopes or pretensions to any thing better, and if to confinement, solitude, and bad company, be also added these marks of disregard, . . . I shall say nothing, but only that books, study, leisure, frugality, and independence, are a great deal better.

Whatever terms are propos'd to me, I must put you in mind of your promise, that this quarter at least, be left to me on the same terms as before, in case I shou'd refuse what are offer'd; for tho' I think with you that I am entitled to this small advantage, such a clause will prevent all chicane and dispute. I am sure you are too much my friend, and too reasonable, to advise me to accept of any other terms than what I mention'd A friend or two in London, to whom I communicated this matter, are even averse to the same, and think I affront myself by admitting of any alteration, so that my mind is extremely divided about the matter. You have seen what a task I must sometimes undergo, and not always without danger. If I have any pretensions to parts and learning, they are both requisite in my present situation, the one to keep in friendship with a person of your friend's taste; the other to support this

dismal solitude. My only crime has been too little dissimulation, and too strong an indignation at meeting with treachery and perfidiousness, where I did not expect it But I need not insist further on this matter with you, who are as sensible as myself of the reasonableness of what I say.

I am fully persuaded that, if my Lady were but inform'd of this one circumstance, that her son rejected this proposal with disdain, it wou'd be sufficient; but I shall not mention it in my letter, because, as you observ'd very well, it will have more force, when urg'd by a friend

Next to the saving me from this indignity, the greatest favour you can do me, is to bring the matter to a speedy issue I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

Weldehall, March 29, 1746. DAVID HUME

P S Your friend's illness has been much slighter than usual.

Vincent mentions Major Johnstone, who travel'd with my Lord, and had but £150 But that gentleman never was fixt with him, he only kept a general inspection over him, without neglecting his other affairs, and might be pleas'd to take a jaunt abroad, on condition his charges might be borne. Besides, he was never affronted in this manner; and you are sensible that a man who is to be a friend and comrade to L A ought to be a gentleman, and treated as such. He thinks so himself. If my conduct has been not only irreproachable but laudable (bating perhaps too great openness and want of design and suspicion), I ought not to be treated as criminal If it be not, I ought not to stay at all. Your friend cannot and will not see any company but one single person. On his conduct and discretion, must all the hopes you can have of his recovery depend 'Tis strange so considerable sums shou'd be lavisht on apothecaries and physicians, who perhaps do hurt, and a moderate sum be grudg'd to one that sacrifices all his time to him I say all this, not that I think it will escape you, but in order to vent my spleen and indignation I confess I have chang'd opinions, even since I began to write this letter, and you need not be surpris'd if you find me of a different opinion when matters come to a decision, to what I was when I converst with you. Sure I am, that, if you cannot prevail to make me receive better treatment, my connexion with the family will be very short, and give me occasion all my life to reflect on the mischiefs arising from too great trust and confidence

* 48. *To the* DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF ANNANDALE

Madam

I hope your Ladyship will excuse this trouble from a Person, who has not the honour of being personally known to you My Connexion with Lord Annandale has embolden'd me to use this Freedom

I had the Honour of a Letter from my Lord Marquess last Spring, inviting me to London, which I accordingly obey'd. He made me Proposals of living with him; & Mr Vincent, in Concert with Sir James Johnstone, mention'd at first the yearly Sallary of 300 Pound as an Allowance which they thought reasonable, because my Lord had always pay'd so much to all the other Gentlemen, that attended him, even when his way of living, in other Particulars, was much more expensive than at present. Since that, Mr Vincent thinks this Allowance too much, & proposes to reduce it from 300 to 150 Pounds My Answer was, That whatever your Ladyship & my Lord shou'd think my Attendance merited, that I wou'd very willingly accept of As he still insisted upon the Reasonableness of [his] Opinion, I have us'd the Freedom to apply to your Ladyship, to whose Sentiments every one, that has the Honour of being connected with the Family of Annandale owe so entire a Deference I shall not insist on any Circumstances in my own Favour Your Ladyships Penetration will easily be able to discover those, as well as what may be urg'd in favour of Mr Vincent's Opinion And your Determination shall be entirely submitted to by me.[1]

I am Madam
Your Ladyship's most obedient humble Servt
DAVID HUME.

Weldehall. Aprile 3
1746.

* MS recently in possession of Mrs J E Hodgson, London; Murray, 54

[1] On 15 April Lady Annandale replied: 'I received yours of ye 3d Aprile only last post, and wish it were in my power to give an answer to the satisfaction of all partys, but *it 's so delicate a point for me to determine*, where my dear son is concerned, and two such near relations and friends as Sir James Johnstone and my cousin Vincent, who, I am persuaded, has my dear son's health, happyness, and interest at heart in all shapes, and as they must be the best judges of what my dear son's affairs can admitt of (in times that neither rents nor joynters can be paid), so my dear son and they are the properest persons to determine, but I am as much oblig'd for the regard *you express for my sentiments as* I am for your willingness to submit to it' (Murray, 55)

* 49. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Dear Sir,

You'll be surpriz'd, perhaps, that I date my letters no longer from Weldehall; this happen'd from an accident, if our inconstancies and uncertainties can be call'd such

You may remember in what humour you saw your friend a day or two before you left us He became gay and good-humour'd afterwards, but more moderately than usual After that, he return'd to his former disposition. These revolutions, we have observ'd, are like the hot and cold fits of an ague; and, like them too, in proportion as the one is gentle, the other is violent. But the misfortune is, that this prejudice continu'd even after he seem'd, in other respects, entirely recover'd So that, having try'd all ways to bring him to good humour, by talking with him, absenting myself for some days, &c., I have at last been oblig'd yesterday to leave him He is determin'd, he says, to live altogether alone, and I fancy, indeed, it must come to that As far as I can judge, this caprice came from nobody, and no cause, except physical ones. The wonder only is, that it was so long a-coming

There was a most villainous trick endeavour'd to be play'd me by my old friend, who, after stating justly and fairly the sum due to me, in order to engage me to go away more easily, immediately afterwards pretended to have chang'd his opinion, and endeavour'd to defraud me of £75 But I got it under his hand (because I told him I wou'd not trust his word for a farthing), to stand to your award and Lady Annandale's There is no haste in the determination, so I shall write you more fully afterwards

I shall always retain a grateful regard and memory of your friendship. I have found in this whole affair that some men are honest and sincere, and others not so. A very slender discovery you'll say, but which, however, may be useful to me, by teaching me not to trust too much to professions and appearances. I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

David Hume

London, April 17, 1746.

If you favor me with any letters, please direct them under cover to Mr Oswald.

* Murray, 57 f, Burton, 1. 192 ff

* 50. *To* ALEXANDER HOME

Dear Sollicitor Portsmouth[1]. May 23 1746.

A Letter you have good Reason to expect from me before my Departure for America, but a long one, you cannot look for, if you consider that I knew not a Word of this Matter till Sunday last at Night, that we shall begin to embark from hence in two or three days, & that I had very ingeniously stript myself of every thing, by sending down my whole Baggage for Scotland on Sunday Morning. Such a Romantic Adventure, & such a Hurry, I have not heard of before The Office is very genteel, 10sh a day, Perquisites, & no Expences Remember me kindly to your Brothers Tell Frank[2] I ask him ten thousand Pardons. Let Mr Dysert[3] & Mrs Dysert[4] know of my *good Wishes Be assur'd yourself of my Friendship I cannot* leave Europe without giving you one Instance of it, & so much the greater that with regard to any other Person but you, it wou'd be a dangerous one. In short, I have been told, that the Zeal of Party has been apt sometimes to carry you too far in your Expressions, & that Fools are afraid of your Violence in your new Office. Seek the Praise, my dear Sandy, of Humanity & Moderation Tis the most durable, the most agreeable, & in the end the most profitable I am Dear Sandy Yours most sincerely

DAVID HUME

For God's sake, think *of Willy Hamilton*[5]

Write to me always under Cover to James Oswald Esq who will best know how to direct to me

To Mr Alexander Home Advocate his Majesty's Sollicitor for Scotland at Edinburgh by London

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 208 f.

[1] Very soon after leaving Lord Annandale's, Hume had been offered, and had accepted, the post of Secretary to his kinsman, Gen. the Hon James St Clair, on a military and naval expedition then fitting out for Canada

[2] Probably Francis Home, the physician

[3] Matthew Dysart (died 1773), ordained minister of Eccles, 1731. He was one of the friends of John Home the dramatist who attended the Edinburgh performance of *Douglas* in 1756, and were rebuked for it.

[4] Jean, d of David Hume of Eccles, m (1731) Matthew Dysart, died, 1789 Alexander Carlyle says she was a kinswoman of Hume, which is very likely

[5] Almost certainly William Hamilton of Bangour, the poet, now in trouble as a Jacobite.

*51. *To* Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall

Portsmouth, June 6, 1746

Dear Sir,

I have always sympathiz'd very cordially with you, whenever I met with any of the names, wherein you was interested, in any of the public papers; but I hope that one of the persons is now safe by his escape, and the other protected by her sex and innocence [1] We live not now in a time, when public crimes are suppos'd to cancel all private tyes, or when the duties of relation, even tho' executed beyond the usual bounds, will render the persons criminal I am willing, therefore, to flatter myself, that your anxiety must now be in a great measure over, and that a more happy conclusion of so calamitous an affair, cou'd not be expected, either for private individuals, or for the public. Some little time ago, we had here a conversation with regard to L—— and other persons in her condition, when General St Clair [2] say'd that he heard from some of the ministers, that the intentions of the menaces, or even of the intended prosecutions (if they went so far), were not to proceed to execution, but only to teach our country-women (many of whom had gone beyond all bounds), that their sex was no absolute protection to them, and that they were equally expos'd to the law with the other sex. However, I doubt not but your friend has no occasion for their clemency, whatever may be the case with the other ladies in the same situation, who had particularly valu'd themselves upon their activity and courage

As to the dispute I mention'd, you will easily comprehend it, when I inform you, that I enter'd with your friend on the 1st of Aprile, 1745, that on the 29th of March, 1746, I had a letter from V., offering me £150 pr. ann for the ensuing year, which I answer'd on the 3d of Aprile, as we had agreed; and that on

* Murray, 63 ff; Burton, 1 176 f (incomplete)

[1] See note 2 to Letter 27 above

[2] The Hon. James St Clair (died 1762), second son of the Earl of St Clair (or Sinclair), Colonel, 1722, 1723, took over estates of elder brother John, Master of Sinclair, who had been attainted for his share in the Rebellion of 'The Fifteen', held them in trust till John received a free pardon in 1726, and then returned them to him, Colonel of 1st Foot (the Royal Scots), 1737; Major-General, 1741, Lieut.-Gen and G.O C British Forces in Flanders, 1745, General, 1761, M P. 1722–62, sometimes for Dysart Burghs, sometimes for County of Sutherland, sometimes for County of Fife. He does not seem to have been a brilliant soldier, but possibly never had much luck

the 16th of Aprile, I was oblig'd to leave your friend Now, it was an article of our first agreement, that a quarter begun should be consider'd as altogether finisht, and this article was a part of Mr Young's agreement, and offer'd to Dr Pitcairn; and by these terms, any of us might have voluntarily left him the second day after the commencement of the quarter, even tho' he had desir'd our stay, whereas, I offer'd to stay out the quarter, and neither he nor V wou'd allow me, but positively threaten'd me with violence.

The only pretext for refusing the execution of these terms, is, that V sent me a letter before the conclusion of the last quarter, offering me new terms, and this, he says, dissolv'd the former agreement, and leaves me a claim of £35 only, instead of £75, which I demand upon the former agreement I desire that this affair may be consider'd with a view to justice or equity.

With regard to the former, I say, that the first agreement could not be dissolv'd, but by the persons who made it, viz , the consent of your friend, and your and V 's approbation, all of whom are positively mention'd in the paper he wrote me Let him look unto the powers he receiv'd; he is only empower'd to pay me £300 a-year during my attendance, not to alter the terms, nor dissolve the agreement With regard to equity, I was offer'd to have the bargain made secure for two years, which wou'd have made my claim £225 more. I us'd not the precaution to draw this into writing; but is it reasonable, upon this account, to refuse me so much more moderate terms? Tho' £475 may seem an exorbitant sum for little more than 14 months, yet £100 was a voluntary present for my journey, which ought not to be consider'd, and my offer of staying 3 months longer, is the same as if I had stay'd; so that I really receive £475 for near 18 months attendance, which is pretty near the sum that your friend has always pay'd in such cases. Can it be suppos'd, that even this sum cou'd be worth engaging any man to leave his course of life, and throwing himself loose of other views and pursuits? I am sure it was not to my advantage, considering my situation at that time Justice and equity must be here the same; for can it be imagin'd that I am in a condition to make the M of A a present of £75 that of right belongs to me?

I receiv'd a sudden invitation from General St Clair, to go with him as secretary to this expedition, a few hours before I was setting out for Edinburgh, where I intended to have con-

vers'd with our friends, Mr Home[1] and Mr Ferguson,[2] in order to satisfy myself, whether I was partial in thinking my claim so undoubted as I imagine. I was therefore oblig'd to send the papers (viz., the first agreement, and V.'s promise to submit to your verdict, and that of L—y A—e) to Harry Home, whom I have made, by my letter, entirely master to act on my side as he thinks proper.[3] I was a little suspicious of the frugal turn of my L—y, as well as of the dependence which she must henceforth have upon V.; for which reason, I desir'd him to draw up the case as strong as the reasons will admit. He will alter whatever terms you will think improper in so delicate a situation.

I believe I told you, that I no way blam'd either V., or his emissaries, with regard to this last caprice. I never thought myself on better terms with your friend, and had a commission to go to London, in order to deliver a certain portrait. I came to him before I set out, and askt him, *S'il n'avoit rien d'autre chose à m'ordonner* He immediately flew into a passion, say'd I was mocking him, as if he treated me like a servant, and gave me orders or commands, wou'd admit of no explanation, and thenceforth wou'd neither eat, speak, nor converse with me. I never thought him capable of so steady a caprice; and as he is resolv'd to live alone, and his director is resolv'd to have no controul, I do not see how it is possible to be otherwise. I was told by V (what I am afraid is the case) that he (I mean your friend) is at present master of his current revenues, and that no man need account to any but himself for the disposal of them However, as long as he remains in Britain, his friends will always have some resource

I doubt not but you will be glad to hear, that I have not chang'd my situation for the worse The office is genteel. I have 10 sh a-day, besides perquisites, which may be considerable, and can be put to little expense, because I live with the General. The invitation I receiv'd, was as unexpected as that which your friend gave me.

I was sorry to leave London without having an opportunity

[1] Henry Home of Kames

[2] Probably James Ferguson, afterwards Lord Pitfour (died 1777), at this time one of the leading advocates at the Scottish Bar.

[3] On 9 June Henry Home wrote to Johnstone stating in good round terms that Hume was entitled to the £75, and urging Johnstone so to represent the matter to Lady Annandale (Murray, 68 ff).

of seeing your son,[1] and of testifying to him (as I shall to all the world) my sincere regard and gratitude to you. I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

DAVID HUME

P S The first fair wind carries us away, so that I cannot propose to have the pleasure of hearing from you.

* 52 *To* HENRY HOME

[Portsmouth, May or June, 1746]

. As to myself, my way of life is agreeable; and though it may not be so profitable, as I am told, yet so large an army as will be under the General's command in America, must certainly render my perquisites very considerable I have been asked whether I would incline to enter the Service? My answer was, That at my years I could not decently accept of a lower commission than a company The only prospect of working this point would be, to procure at first a company in an American regiment, by the choice of the Colonies. But this I build not on, nor indeed am I very fond of it.

I like exceedingly your method of explaining personal identity, as being more satisfactory than any thing that had ever occurred to me As to the idea of substance, I must own, that as it has no access to the mind by any of our senses or feelings, it has always appeared to me to be nothing but an imaginary centre of union amongst the different and variable qualities that are to be found in every piece of matter But I shall keep myself in suspense till I hear your opinion Adieu my dear friend. D H

† 53 *To* JOHN HOME OF NINEWELLS

Our first warlike Attempt has been unsuccessful, tho without any Loss or Dishonour The public Rumour must certainly

* Tytler, 1 172 ff; Burton, 1 209 (incomplete) It would seem that Tytler printed only an extract from the full letter

† MS., R S E., Burton, 1. 213 ff Hume afterwards wrote a detailed but unfinished account of this expedition, and left it among his papers It

[1] Johnstone had at least four sons, of whom two were afterwards intimate with Hume, viz William (1729–1805), an advocate (who afterwards took the name of Pulteney on marrying Frances Pulteney, the heiress of the Earl of Bath), and George (1730–87), a naval officer, who was generally known as 'Governor Johnstone' because he was appointed Governor of West Florida in 1763.

have inform'd you, that being detain'd in the Channel, till it was too late to go to America,[1] the Ministry, who were willing to make some Advantage of so considerable a sea and land Armament, sent us to seek Adventures on the Coast of France Tho' both the General [2] and Admiral [3] were totally unacquainted with every part of the Coast, without Pilots, Guides or Intelligence of any kind, & even without the common Maps of the Country; yet being assur'd there were no regular Troops near this whole Coast, they hop'd it was not impossible but something might be successfully undertaken. They bent their Course to Port l'Orient, a fine Town on the Coast of Britanny, the Seat of the French East India Trade, & which about 20 Years ago, was but a mean contemptible Village. The Force of this Town, the Strength of its Garrison, the Nature of the Coast & Country, they profest themselves entirely ignorant of, except from such hear-say Information as they had casually pickt up at Plimouth. However we made a happy Voyage of three days, landed in the Face of about 3000 arm'd Militia in the twentieth of September, march'd up next day to the Gates of l'Orient, and survey'd it

It lies at the bottom of a fine Bay two Leagues long, the Mouth of which is commanded by the Town & Cittadel of Port-Louis or Blavet, a Place of great Strength & situated on a Peninsula The Town of l'Orient itself has no great Strength, tho surrounded by a new wall of about 30 Foot high, fortify'd with half Moons, & guarded with some Cannon. They were in prodigious Alarm at so unexpected an Attack, by Numbers, which their Fears magnify'd, and immediatly offer'd to capitu-

is still among the MSS , R S E , and Burton printed it as Appendix A to vol. 1 of his *Life* The details as given in this letter do not always agree with the details as given in Hume's later MS or as given in other accounts compiled from more official sources (e g. in Fortescue's *Hist of the Brit Army*, II. 156). The general view is that St Clair behaved very feebly Hume, being his friend, and on his staff, did not think so, but probably Hume was not competent to judge

[1] The minister of State who muddled and delayed the preparations was (as might have been expected) the Duke of Newcastle, who was described by his contemporaries as a man who lost half an hour every morning and spent the day in searching for it

[2] St. Clair.

[3] Richard Lestock (? 1679–1746) He had just been tried by Court Martial for his action off Toulon, 1743–4, but had been acquitted. On his return from L'Orient he was ordered to strike his flag. He died in December of this year

late, tho' upon Terms, which wou'd have made their Conquest of no Significancy to us. They made some Advances, a few hours after, to abate of their Demands, but the General positively refus'd to accept of the Town on any other Condition than that of surrendring at Discretion He had very good Reason for this seeming Rigour & Haughtiness It has long been the Misfortune of English Armies to be very ill serv'd in Engineers, & surely there never was on any occasion such an Assemblage of ignorant Blockheads as those which at this time attended us. They positively affirm'd it was easily in their Power, by the Assistance of a Mortar & two twelve Pounders, in ten hours time, either to lay the Town & East India Magazine in Ashes, or make a Breach, by which the Forces might easily enter. This being laid before the General & Admiral, they concluded themselves already Masters of the Town, & needed grant no Terms They were besides afraid, that had they taken the Town upon Terms, & redeem'd it for a considerable Sum of Money, the good People of England, who love Mischief, wou'd not be satisfy'd; but wou'd still entertain a Suspicion, that the Success of his Majesty's Arms had been secretly sold by his Commanders Besides, nothing cou'd be a greater Blow to the French Trade than the Destruction of this Town, nor what cou'd imprint a stronger Terror of the English Naval Power, & more effectually reduce the French to a Necessity of guarding their Coast with regular Forces, which must produce a great Diversion from their ambitious Projects on the Frontiers But when the Engineers came to Execution, it was found they cou'd do nothing of what they had promis'd Not one of their Carkasses or red hot ball took Effect As the Town coud not be invested either by sea or land, they got a Garrison of irregulars & regulars, which was above double our Number, & play'd 35 Pieces of Cannon upon us, while we coud bring only four against them Excessive Rains fell, which brought Sickness amongst our Men, that had been stew'd in Transports during the whole Summer We were ten Miles from the Fleet, the Roads entirely spoilt; every thing was drawn by Men, the whole Horses in the Country being driven away So much Fatigue & Duty quite overcame our little Army; The Fleet anchor'd in a very unsafe place in Quimperlay Bay For these and other Reasons, it was unanimously determin'd to raise the Siege on the 27th of September, & to this Measure, there was not one contradictory Opinion either in the Fleet or Army We have

not lost above ten Men by the Enemy in the whole Expedition, & were not in the least molested either in our Retreat or Re-imbarkation We met with a violent Storm on the first of October, while we were yet very near the Coast; & have now got into Quiberon Bay South of Belle-isle, where we wait for a Re-inforcement of three Battallions from England There are five or six of our Transports amissing After our French Projects are over, which must be very soon because of the late Season, we sail to Cork & Kingsale.

While we lay at Ploemeur, a Village about a League from L'Orient, there happen'd in our Family one of the most tragical Stories ever I heard of, than which nothing ever gave me more Concern I know not if ever you heard of Major Forbes,[1] a Brother of Sir Arthur's He was, & was esteem'd a Man of the greatest Sense, Honour, Modesty, Mildness & Equality of Temper in the World His Learning was very great for a man of any Profession, but a Prodigy for a Soldier His Bravery had been try'd & was unquestion'd. He had exhausted himself with Fatigue & Hunger for two days; so that he was oblig'd to leave the Camp, & come to our Quarters, where I took the utmost Care of him, as there was a great Friendship betwixt us. He express'd vast Anxiety that he shou'd be oblig'd to leave his Duty, & Fear, least his Honour shoud suffer by it I endeavourd to quiet his Mind as much as possible, & thought I had left him tolerably compos'd at Night, but returning to his Room early next Morning, I found him with small Remains of Life, wallowing in his own Blood, with the Arteries of his Arm cut asunder. I immediatly sent for a Surgeon, got a Bandage ty'd to his Arm, & recoverd him entirely to his Senses & Understanding He liv'd above four & twenty hours after, & I had several Conversations with him Never a man exprest a more steady Contempt of Life nor more determind philosophical Principles, suitable to his Exit He beg'd of me to unloosen his Bandage & hasten his Death, as the last Act of Friendship I coud show him But alas! we live not in Greek or Roman times He told me, that he knew, he coud not live a few Days But if he did, as soon as he became his own Master, he wou'd take a more expeditious Method, which none of his Friends cou'd prevent I dye, says he, from a Jealousy of Honour, perhaps too delicate, and do you

[1] Probably Alexander Forbes, of 42nd Foot (the Black Watch); gazetted Captain, May 1745. The War Office records show him as 'dead' before 4 Oct. 1746.

think, if it were possible for me to live, I woud now consent to it, to be a Gazing-Stock to the foolish World. I am too far advanc'd to return And if Life was odious to me before, it must be doubly so at present He became delirious a few Hours before he dy'd He had wrote a short Letter to his Brother above ten hours before he cut his Arteries This we found on the Table

Quiberon Bay in Brittanny
Oct^{r}. 4 1746

P S The General has not sent off his Dispatches till to day; so that I have an Opportunity of saying a few Words more. Our Army disembark'd on the 4th of October, & took Possession of the Peninsula of Quiberon without Opposition We lay there without Molestation for eight days, tho the Enemy had form'd a powerful, at least a numerous Army of Militia on the Continent The Separation of so many of our Transports, & the Reinforcements not coming, determin'd us to re-imbark & return home, with some small hopes, that our Expedition has answerd the chief Part of its intended Purpose, by making a Diversion from the French Army in Flanders The French pretend to have gain'd a great Victory, but with what Truth we know not The Admiral landed some Sailors & took Possession of the two Islands of Houat & Hedic which were secur'd by small Forts The Governor of one of them, when he surrender'd his Fort, deliver'd up his Purse to the Sea Officer, & beg'd him to take care of it, & secure it from the Pillage of the Sailors The Officer took charge of it, & finding afterwards a proper Opportunity to examine it, found it contain'd the important Sum of ten Sous, which is less than sixpence of our Money

Oct^{r} 17th

* 54 *To* Henry Home

[1747][1]

Dear Sir,

I am ashamed of being so long in writing to you If I should plead laziness, you would say I am much alter'd if multiplicity of business, you would scarce believe me if forgetfulness of you and our friendship, I should tell a gross untruth I can therefore plead nothing but idleness, and a gay, pleasurable

* Tytler, 1 174 ff , Burton, 1 220 ff

[1] This letter was probably written from Cork, early in 1747

life, which steals away hour after hour, and day after day; and leaves no time for such occupations as one's sober reason may approve most of This is our case, while on shore; and even while on board, as far as one can have much enjoyment in that situation.

I wrote my brother from the coast of Brittany, giving him some account of our expedition, and of the causes of our disappointment I suppose he received it after you had left the country, but I doubt not he has informed you of it. We were very near a great success, the taking of L'Orient, perhaps Port Louis, which would have been a prodigious blow to France; and, having an open communication with the sea, might have made a great diversion of their forces, and done great service to the common cause I suppose you are become a great general, by the misfortune of the seat of war being so long in your neighbourhood I shall be able when we meet to give you the just cause of our failure Our expedition to North America is now at an end, we are recalled to England; the convoy is arrived, and we re-embark in a few days. I have an invitation to go over to Flanders with the General, and an offer of table, tent, horses, &c I must own I have a great curiosity to see a real campaign; but I am deterred by the view of the expense, and am afraid, that living in a camp, without any character, and without any thing to do, would appear ridiculous Had I any fortune which could give me a prospect of leisure, and opportunity to prosecute my *historical projects*,[1] nothing could be more useful to me, and I should pick up more military knowledge in one campaign, by living in the General's family, and being introduced frequently to the Duke's, than most officers could do after many years service But to what can all this serve? I am a philosopher, and so, I suppose, must continue

I am very uncertain of getting half-pay, from several strange and unexpected accidents, which it would be too tedious to mention, and if I get it not, shall neither be gainer nor loser by the expedition I believe, if I would have begun the world again, I might have returned an officer, gratis, and am certain, might have been made chaplain to a regiment gratis; but . . [2] I need say no more. I shall stay a little time in London, to see if any thing new will present itself If not, I shall return very cheerfully to books, leisure, and solitude, in the country An

[1] The phrase, italicized in Tytler, is particularly interesting, as indicating how early Hume formed the idea of writing history

[2] Tytler says the space is in the autograph

elegant table has not spoilt my relish for sobriety, nor gaiety for study; and frequent disappointments have taught me, that nothing need be despaired of, as well as that nothing can be depended on You give yourself violent airs of wisdom, you'll say, *Odi hominem ignava opera, philosophica sententia.* But you will not say so, when you see me again with my Xenophon or Polybius in my hand, which, however, I shall willingly throw aside to be cheerful with you, as usual My kind compliments to Mrs Home, who, I am sorry to hear, has not yet got entirely the better of her illness. I am, my dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

DAVID HUME

* 55 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE[1]

[Spring, 1747][2]

Dear Doctor

Come hither to morrow, being Friday the 8th Instant I say no more, because I dare not oppose my rustic Wit to your agreeable Urbanity I am Dear Doctor Yours while

DA HUME.

P S The Colonel [3] does not leave this till next week

To Dr Clephane at Mr Conyer's Apothecary in Bennett Street off St James Street London
Carriage payd [4]

* MS , Edin Univ Library, hitherto unpublished

[1] John Clephane (died 1758), perhaps the most engaging member of St Clair's expedition, and the one to whom Hume took the greatest liking He hailed from the North of Scotland and was related to the Roses of Kilravock, studied medicine at Paris and Leyden, was honoured with a letter of commendation from the great Boerhaave, acted for a time as travelling tutor to the younger brothers of the Duke of Rutland, made a romantic marriage with Lady Di Grey, served as military surgeon on various expeditions, and finally settled as a physician in Golden Square in London He was a scholarly man, of a kindly heart and a genial temper, and all his friends appear to have been particularly fond of him, and to have deeply regretted his premature death A pretty full account of him is contained in the *Kilravock Family Book*

[2] It is impossible to date this letter accurately I conjecture that it was written in London after Hume returned from Cork

[3] Probably Col James Abercromby (see note 5 on p. 102)

[4] The autograph is endorsed in pencil 'Clephane lodged at this place in the beginning of 1746—before "the secret expedition" under General St Clair', and a further note on the outside cover states that this endorsement was apparently made 'by the author of *Caledonia*' (George Chalmers, 1742–1825, the antiquary) But even if this information is correct, it does not prove that the letter was written in 1746 Clephane may easily have returned to his old lodgings after the expedition

* 56 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Dear Doctor,

All our projects have failed, and, I believe, for ever [1] The Secretary-at-War [2] persists in his scruples and delays, and Mr Robarts, Pelham's [3] Secretary, says our applications will not succeed. I suppose he speaks in this the sense of his master. Mentor [4] alone is positive we will infallibly succeed The General [5] goes off for Scotland to-morrow I set out next week, as fully convinced as Seneca of the vanity of the world, and of the insufficiency of riches to render us happy I wish you had a little more of the philosophy of that great man, and I a little more of his riches Perhaps you would rather choose my share, and will reproach me with both dividing and choosing But such a sentiment is the strongest proof in the world that you want a little more philosophy, and that the division I have assigned you would suit you best

The General made effort for us, and would have made a stronger could he have met with Lord Sandwich,[6] whom he called upon several times, and who is now gone to the country about elections. Your friend Mitchel [7] stands for Aberdeen-

* MS probably at Kilravock, *Kilravock Family Book*, 454 f

[1] Besides being Secretary to General St Clair, Hume had been appointed Judge-Advocate to the Forces under the General's command, his commission being dated 3 Aug 1746, on board H M S *Superb* (MS , R S E) On the strength of this commission he lodged a claim for half-pay when the Force was broken up

[2] Henry Fox (1705–74), afterwards Lord Holland He became Secretary-at-War in May 1746

[3] Henry Pelham (? 1695–1754), nominally Prime Minister at this time

[4] Probably one of the nicknames of Colonel Abercromby

[5] St Clair.

[6] John Montagu (1718–92), 4th Earl of Sandwich He was First Lord of the Admiralty at this time

[7] Andrew Mitchell (1708–71), son of an Edinburgh minister, a fellow-student with Hume in the Greek class at Edin. Univ , 1723 (Edin Univ Matriculation Book), settled in London, 1735, called to the English Bar, 1738, Under-Sec for Scotland, 1742–7, M P Aberdeenshire, 1747, and Elgin Burghs, 1755–61, appointed British Envoy to Frederick the Great, 1756, and Minister Plenipotentiary, 1759, K B , 1765 Carlyle calls him: 'An Aberdeen Scotchman creditable to his country, hard-headed, sagacious, sceptical of shows, but capable of recognizing substances withal and of standing loyal to them, stubbornly if needful whose Letters are among the perennially valuable Documents on Friedrich's History ' Hume always remained on friendly, though not very intimate, terms with him A cordial letter of his to Clephane is printed in *Kilravock Family Book*, p. 456

shire, and, I believe, will carry it I hope Col. Erskine [1] will also have a seat I am afraid for Oswald.[2]

I could have wrote you a fine elaborate letter, which you might have shown as from a wit of your acquaintance, but being afraid that this would deter you from answering, I thought it better to scribble in this careless manner. Pray how do you like your situation in Flanders? [3] Have you got any friends or confidents whom you can be free with *in seriis et in jocis,—amici omnium horarum*?

If Cope's dragoons be in Flanders, pray inquire out the surgeon, Frank Home,[4] and make my compliments to him, and tell him that I recommend him to pay his court to you, and to acquire your friendship You may say that I think it will be very well worth his while, even though it should cost him some pains both to acquire and to keep it You may add, that the last is, in my opinion, the most difficult point Seriously speaking, Frank Home is a very pretty young fellow, and well worth your acquaintance So pray make him the first advances, in case his modesty should render him backward

Yours,
DAVID HUME

London, June 18, 1747
To Doctor John Clephane, of the British Hospital at Osterhout, Holland

* 57 *To* COLONEL ABERCROMBY [5]

Dear Col[1]

I have many Subjects to congratulate you upon The Honour you acquir'd at Sandberg, your Safety, & your Success in your

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 222 f (incomplete)

[1] Colonel Sir Harry Erskine of Alva (died 1765), 5th Bart , appointed to command a company in Royal Scots, 1743, acted as D Q M G under General St Clair and was wounded during L'Orient expedition, M P Ayr Burghs, 1749, and Anstruther, 1754–65, had his name removed from the Army List in 1756 for opposing the employment of Hessian and Hanoverian troops, was afterwards reinstated and rose to be Lieut -Gen.; succeeded his uncle, General St Clair, as Colonel of the Royal Scots, 1762 He is credited (but perhaps wrongly) with the authorship of the song, *The Garb of Old Gaul*

[2] James Oswald had been M P for Kirkcaldy Burghs since 1741, in 1747 he was elected for Fifeshire

[3] See address at end of letter

[4] Francis Home (1719–1813), son or nephew of Alexander Home of Eccles, and afterwards first Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh

[5] James Abercromby of Glassauch (1706–81), Ensign, 17th Foot, 1725,

Elections. You are equally eminent in the Arts of Peace & War. The Cabinet is no less a Scene of Glory to you than the Field. You are a Hero even in your Sports & Amusements; and discover a superior Genius in Whist as well as in a State Intrigue or in a Battle

I suppose you begin to suspect by this Preamble, that I am going to ask some Favour of you. And really, that is the Case Not that I think it necessary to coax you, in order to engage you to do a good natur'd Action, but still a little cajoling will not be amiss And therefore I hope, that having given you your just Praises as a Soldier a Statesman, & a Whist-player, you will not grudge to give me your Advice with regard to the Management of our Affair of half-pay.

You have been inform'd, I suppose, that the Secretary at War, tho he never has positively refus'd us, yet discovers no good Intentions towards us; & the least we can suspect, is, that he will delay us as long as possible, & if he be oblig'd at last to lay the Matter before the Treasury, will endeavour to give it such a Turn as to disappoint us On the Treasury it must at last depend, & therefore it seems requisite alone to make Interest with the Commissioners of that Board, particularly Mr Pelham. The Question is, when & how to apply to him

You have heard, no doubt, that Lord Marchmont [1] & his Brother [2] have deign'd to take the Court into Favour; & this is an Event, on which I ought to congratulate you among your other Pieces of good Fortune, as being a clear Proof, that the last remaining Dregs of Walpolian Corruption are now entirely purg'd away from amongst you However this may be, Mr Hume-Campbell has offerd very kindly, without my asking it, to use his Interest with Mr Pelham in order to procure us Justice with regard to our half-pay, & I believe his Interest, at present, is not contemptible. And as this is an Affair of Justice, more than Favour, I have some Trust also in his Method of Reasoning & enforcing the proper Arguments. But as Lord

Captain, 1st Foot, 1736, Lieut.-Col., 1st Foot, 1742, Adj.-Gen and Commissary of Musters (with rank of Colonel of Foot) during expedition to L'Orient, rose to the rank of General, 1772, had an undistinguished career commanding the British troops in Canada, and lost the Battle of Ticonderoga, 1758, M P Banffshire, 1741 and 1747, and Clackmannan and Kinross, 1761, held the sinecures of Deputy-Governor of Stirling Castle from before 1749 till death, and of King's Painter for Scotland His nickname appears to have been 'Suncey', and I conjecture that he was also known as Mentor

[1] Hugh, 3rd Earl of Marchmont [2] Alexander Hume-Campbell.

Sandwich & Lord Anson[1] had undertaken to employ their good Offices to the same Purpose, I am at a Loss whether to desire Mr Hume [-Campbell] to break the Matter with the first convenient Opportunity, or delay it till these noble Lords shall all be in Town, & shall receive a proper Remembrancer from their Friends. On the one hand, Delays are dangerous, & in a little time, we shall seem to be reviving some obsolete Claim On the other hand, it seems better to unite all our Forces at once, & make one bold Push for Success, rather than come in a scatter'd manner, & be baffled one after another[2]

If your opinion incline to the latter Method, it will be proper for us to have some Concert, and the best way of contriving the Matter seems to be this That there be some one Person, as Mackenzie or Jemmy Abercromby, if he be in London, who shall receive all the Letters from Dr Clephane, Myself &c and having observ'd the Time, when all the Persons, to whom they are address'd, are in Town, shall then get them all deliver'd, & spring all the Mines at once It will be of great Advantage, if this Affair be manag'd by your Advice & Direction And therefore, I must desire you to deliver your Sentiments fully to Mackenzie the first time you see him.

I can entirely depend upon Oswald's Assistance (who by the by, is now chosen for the County of Fife) He has great Influence on Greenville[3] & Lyttleton[4], & I believe some on Mr Pelham The General may also be put in Mind; & I hope Tom Wilson,[5] in default of Colonel Erskine, will be a Spur to his Vigilance. And since I am recapitulating all our Stock of Friends, I must also make mention of Colonel Abercromby as a general Patron of the Distresst & Misfortunate

[1] Admiral George, Lord Anson (1697–1762)

[2] In pursuance of this plan, Abercromby in November of this year presented a Petition and Memorial to the Secretary-at-War on behalf of all five claimants for half-pay, viz Henry Hutcheson, Commissary of Stores, James Abercromby, Commissary of Musters, David Hume, Judge-Advocate, John McKenzie, Surgeon-General, and John Adair, Master-Surgeon to the Hospital Hutcheson's claim was for 10*s* a day, that of the others, for 5*s* Abercromby at the same time sent a copy of the Petition to Lord Anson, soliciting his help (B M MSS 15955, *Anson Corr*) It would appear that sooner or later the claims of all but Hume were allowed

[3] George Grenville (1712–70) had been appointed to the Treasury Board in June of this year

[4] *Sic* in MS and always in Hume's letters Sir George, afterwards Lord, Lyttelton (1709–73) had been appointed to the Treasury Board in 1744

[5] Apparently Secretary or A D C to General St Clair

I wou'd come up to London, if I thought I cou'd be of any Service, or if I thought the Affair on such a Footing as to give us any great Probability of Success

I hope you recover well of your Wound; & I beg of you to inform me I shoud be glad to know what became of Forster, [1] & whether Bob Horne [2] got the Majority.

I write to you upon the Supposition of your being at London, because Dr Clephane wrote me some time ago, that you was just setting out for it If that be the Case, please make my most humble Compliments to Mrs Abercromby; If the Colonel be still detain'd abroad by any Accident, I must beg it of you, Mrs Abercromby, to take these Compliments to yourself, & to keep this Letter till the Colonel comes over. For it is not worth while to pay Postage for it I suppose, Madam, that Lady Abercromby [3] informd you of our happy Voyage together, & save Arrival in Newcastle. Your young Cousin [4] was a little noisy & obstreperous. Our Ship was dirty· Our Accomodation bad Our Company sick. There were four Spies, two Informers, & three Evidences who sail'd in the same Ship with us Yet notwithstanding all these Circumstances we were very well pleas'd with our Voyage, chiefly on Account of its Shortness, which indeed is almost the only agreeable Circumstance that can be in a Voyage I am Madam and Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Ninewells near Berwick
7th of August 1747

Is the Royal in Bergen-op-zoom? Have they lost any Officers? I hope Guidehanus [5] is safe? I hope Fraser [6] is converted?

[1] Probably William Forster, Lieut.-Col., 1st Foot, 1756–68
[2] It seems he did, for the regimental records of the 1st Foot mention a Major Dalrymple Horn in 1748
[3] Probably Helen Abercromby, who married (1739) her cousin, Sir Robert Abercromby of Tullibody (died 1787)
[4] I do not know who this was
[5] The nickname of James Edmonstoune of Newton, who later became one of Hume's greatest friends At this time he was a captain in the 1st Foot
[6] See note 2 on p 146

* 58 *To* James Oswald of Dunnikier

Dear Sir

I know not whether I ought to congratulate you upon the success of your elections where you prevailed so unexpectedly I think the present times are so calamitous, & our future prospect so dismal, that it is a misfortune to have any concern in public affairs, which one cannot redress & where it is difficult to arrive at a proper degree of insensibility or philosophy, as long as one is in the scene You know my sentiments were always a little gloomy on that head, & I am sorry to observe, that all accidents (besides the natural course of events) turn out against us. What a surprizing misfortune is this of Bergen-op-zoom[1] which is almost unparalleled in modern history I hear the Dutch troops, besides their common cowardice & ill discipline are seized with an universal panic This winter may perhaps decide the fate of Holland And then where are we? I shall not be much disappointed if this prove the last Parliament, worthy the name, we shall ever have in Britain I cannot therefore congratulate you upon your having a seat in it I can only congratulate you upon the universal joy and satisfaction it gave to every body, and this popularity I doubt not but you will endeavour to preserve as more valuable than any thing that politics can give you, especially in the present times I have some thoughts of taking advantage of this short interval of liberty that is indulged us and of printing the Philosophical Essays I left in your hands.[2] Our friend, Harry,[3] is against this, as indiscreet But in the first place, I think I am too deep engaged to think of a retreat In the second place, I see not what bad consequences follow, in the present age, from the character of an infidel, especially if a man's conduct be in other respects irreproachable What is your opinion?

You told me, that it would be requisite to give you a power to receive from the Navy Office that small sum for which I left a ticket with you. I have enclosed one which I hope will be

* MS , R S E (copy only), Oswald, 54 ff , Burton, 1 224 (incomplete)

[1] The French, under Lowendahl, took Bergen-op-Zoom by assault on 16 Sept 1747, and thereby gained control of nearly all Dutch Brabant

[2] The *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, now known as the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, a re-writing, with large omissions and some additions, of Book I of the *Treatise*.

[3] Henry Home of Kames

sufficient I should ask your pardon for the trouble but as it will be easy for you to desire some of your old friends about these offices to inform you when the ship is paid off, I have made the less scruple

I have no thoughts of being in London this winter, because Col Abercromby thinks it will not be requisite in order to solicit my half-pay The Colonel has small hopes of success in that matter You will see him sometimes in the House, where he will inform you of the obstacles that occur Hume-Campbell without my asking it offered to lend me his assistance, in surmounting these obstacles I thanked him, but desired him not to move, till the Colonel should inform me of the proper time & persons to whom he should apply The Colonel thinks it depends altogether on the Secretary at War, who seems to be inexorable

As you travel with Mrs Oswald I cannot desire you to go so far out of your way as to come to this place But if you would inform me of your motions I would wait on you with pleasure at Berwick Direct to me to the care of Mr William Stowe, Merchant. For by that means, I shall receive your letter presently Otherwise, it will be some days, & I miss you

You sent Sir James Johnstone a copy of Grotius, which he sent to me, desiring me to deliver it to you. But I had not an opportunity, & therefore left it to Fraser,[1] who will deliver it to you I am Dear Sir, Yours most sincerely

DAVID HUME.

Ninewells
Oct[r] 2d 1747

* 59 *To* COLONEL JAMES ABERCROMBY

Dear Colonel

You will receive by this Post a Letter I have wrote to Mr Hume-Campbell, which please read, & if you approve of it, deliver it when & where you think proper. You will see him every day in the House of Commons, where you may tell him the State of our Case, & instruct him in proper Topics & proper Persons, better than I can do at this Distance.

Please also to read the enclos'd to the Doctor,[2] & send it off,

* M S , R.S E , hitherto unpublished

[1] There is nothing to indicate which of many possible Frasers this was But see next letter, and No 69 below [2] Clephane.

if you think proper. I receiv'd only Jemmy Abercromby's [1] to-day, & have wrote to Oswald, & Charles Erskine,[2] & the Colonel [3] You may speak to Tom Wilson yourself, who will also be useful to us I wrote to him some time ago

I think this will do as well as my coming to London I am in a violent Hurry, going off to Edinburgh to morrow early: So excuse want of Accuracy which being all exhausted, in my elaborate Letter to Mr Hume[-Campbell], I am glad to relax myself a little with you My Compliments to Mrs Abercromby, & Mr Fraser, that is, if you converse with him; that is, if he be at all conversible I am Dear Col

Your most affectionate humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Ninewells Nov 12th 1747

P S I shall be here again in a few days.

* 60 *To* HENRY HOME

[1747]

You have never spoke to me of the *Essays on British Antiquities*,[4] and therefore I should not in decency speak of them to you. But as it would be more indecent to employ a long letter in talking entirely of myself, I shall only say, that I read them with great satisfaction, the reasonings are solid, the conjectures ingenious, and the whole instructive The style is also very good, correct and nervous, and very pure, only a very few Scotticisms, as *conform* for *conformable*, which I remarked. You do me the honour to borrow some principles from a certain book but I wish they be not esteemed too subtile and abstruse.

† 61 *To* JAMES OSWALD OF DUNNIKIER

I have little more to say to you than to bid you adieu before I leave this country I got an invitation from General St Clair,

* Tytler, 1 178 (extract only)

† MS , R S E (copy only), Oswald, 59 ff ; Burton, 1 236 ff

[1] There was a second James Abercromby in the 1st Foot at this time, a lieutenant Practically nothing is known of him

[2] Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald

[3] Sir Harry Erskine

[4] *Essays upon Several Subjects concerning British Antiquities Composed Anno MDCCXLV*, published anonymously in Edinburgh in 1747, but written by Henry Home

to attend him in his new employment at the Court of Turin,[1] which I hope will prove an agreeable if not a profitable jaunt for me I shall have an opportunity of seeing Courts & Camps; & if I can afterwards, be so happy as to attain leizure and other opportunities, this knowledge may even turn to account to me, as a man of letters, which I confess has always been the sole object of my ambition I have long had an intention, in my riper years, of composing some History; & I question not but some greater experience of the Operations of the Field, & the Intrigues of the Cabinet, will be requisite, in order to enable me to speak with judgement upon these subjects. But notwithstanding of these flattering ideas of futurity, as well as the present charms of variety, I must confess, that I left home with infinite regret, where I had treasured up stores of study & plans of thinking for many years. I am sure I shall not be so happy as I should have been had I prosecuted these. But, in certain situations, a man dares not follow his own judgement or refuse such offers as these.

The subscriptions for the stocks were filled up with wonderful quickness this year; but as the Ministry had made no private bargains with stock-jobbers, but opened books for every body, these money-dealers have clogged the wheels a little & the subscribers find themselves losers on the disposal of their stocks to their great surprize

There was a controverted election, that has made some noise, betwixt John Pitt & Mr Drax of the Prince's Family,[2] where Mr Pelham, finding himself under a necessity of disobliging the Heir Apparent, resolved to have others as deep in the scrape as himself, & accordingly obliged Fox,[3] Pitt,[4] Lyttleton,[5] & Hume-Campbell[6] all to speak on the same side. They say their speeches were very diverting An ass could not mumble a

[1] It is said that the secret purpose of this military mission was to discover whether the smaller allies who were receiving subsidies from England were keeping up their quota of troops in the field.

[2] The Wareham Election John Pitt of Encombe (died 1787), who had been member for Wareham since 1734 and was re-elected in 1747, was opposed by Henry Drax (died 1755), Secretary to the Prince of Wales The Petition against Pitt was heard in the House of Commons on 26 Jan 1748, and lost

[3] Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.

[4] William Pitt (1708–78), afterwards Earl of Chatham

[5] Sir George, afterwards Lord, Lyttelton

[6] Alexander Hume-Campbell

thistle more ridiculously than they handled this subject Particularly our countryman, not being prepared, was not able to speak a word to the subject; but spent half an hour in protestations of his own integrity, disinterestedness & regard to every man's rights & property.

His brother, Lord Marchmont,[1] has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world About three weeks ago he was at the play, where he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, air, & manner made such a powerful & wonderful effect upon him, as was visible to every beholder His raptures were so undisguised· His looks so expressive of passion: His inquiries so earnest, that every body took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linen-draper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, & had not been able to pay above 5 shillings in the pound The fair nymph herself was about 16 or 17, & being supported by some relations, appeared in every public place, & had fatigued every eye but that of his Lordship, which being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms Such, & so powerful was their effect, as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds & Cyruses in their utmost extravagances He wrote next morning to her father, desiring leave to visit his daughter on honourable terms, & in a few days, she will be Countess of Marchmont.[2] All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one Heaven be praised, that I have always liked the persons & company of the fair sex. For by that means, I hope to escape such ridiculous passions But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain, an Artamenes,[3] an Oroondates[4]?

The officers, (I suppose from effeminacy) are generally much disgusted at the service They speak of no less [than] 300, high & low, who have desired leave to sell out I am My Dear Sir

Yours most affectionately

London 29th Jany 1748 DAVID HUME

[1] Hugh, 3rd Earl of Marchmont His first wife died in 1747
[2] They were in fact married the next day, 30 Jan
[3] The hero of Mlle Scudéry's romance, *Le grand Cyrus*
[4] The hero of La Calprenède's romance, *Cassandra*

* 62. *To* Henry Home

Dear Sir, London, Feb 9 1748.

The doubt and ambiguity with which I came hither was soon removed. General St Clair positively refused to accept of a Secretary from the Ministry, and I go along with him in the same station as before.[1] Every body congratulates me upon the pleasure I am to reap from this jaunt and really I have little to oppose to this prepossession, except an inward reluctance to leave my books, and leisure and retreat However, I am glad to find this passion still so fresh and entire, and am sure, by its means, to pass my latter days happily and cheerfully, whatever fortune may attend me

I leave here two works going on, a new edition of my *Essays*, all of which you have seen, except one, *Of the Protestant Succession*, where I treat that subject as coolly and indifferently, as I would the dispute betwixt Caesar and Pompey. The conclusion shows me a Whig, but a very sceptical one. Some people would frighten me with the consequences that may attend this candour, considering my present station, but I own I cannot apprehend any thing [2]

The other work is the *Philosophical Essays*,[3] which you dissuaded me from printing I won't justify the prudence of this step, any other way than by expressing my indifference about all the consequences that may follow I will expect to hear from you; as you may from me. Remember me to Mrs Home, and believe me to be yours most sincerely,

David Hume

P S We set out on Friday next for Harwich.

† 63 *To* Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald

Dear Sir

On seeing me begin so early, you will certainly expect that I shall prove either a very good or a bad Correspondent But I beg you to consider, that this is the only Letter you will receive

* Tytler, 1 179 f , Burton, 1 238 f

† MS in the possession of Mrs H M Williamson, Edinburgh, hitherto unpublished

[1] There were in fact three secretaries or A D C s—Hume, Colonel Sir Harry Erskine, and Captain (afterwards General) James Grant (1720–1806).

[2] See next Letter for the history of this essay

[3] Philosophical | Essays | concerning | Human Understanding | By the Author of the | Essays Moral and Political | London | Printed for A Millar, opposite Katharine-Street, | in the Strand MDCCXLVIII

from me, that will cost you nothing, & to which you are, therefore, oblig'd to give some Indulgence You shou'd excuse it, did it contain no more, than that we arriv'd safe in this Place. Mr Wilson, indeed, who sat next me in the Coach, complain'd grievously, at every Jolt we receiv'd, of the enormous Weight, that was thrown on his little Carcass, & swears, that all his Body, especially his Shoulders, are as black as his Beard, and he has beg'd me fifty times to put any thing, were it Treason, to the Press, & only spare him. But as this is only one Jest of a thousand, to which we fat People are expos'd, I have born it with great Patience tho I confess, it has frequently excited my Admiration, why fat People shou'd be so much the Object of Mirth, rather than lean, & am at a Loss, whether to ascribe it to the Cowardice or Benevolence of Mankind. Perhaps, we are not commonly so witty as you, & consequently Men think they will have an easy Conquest in attacking us Perhaps, we are better naturd, & Men think they run no Risque of offending us. I leave this as a Problem for you to discuss

There is a Favour I intended to have askt of you when I was in London, but was hinder'd, partly by the Want of Opportunity, partly by the *pudor malus* You must know, that Andrew Millar [1] is printing a new Edition of certain Essays,[2] that have been ascrib'd to me, and as I threw out some, that seem'd frivolous & finical,[3] I was resolv'd to supply their Place by others, that shou'd be more instructive One is against the original Contract, the System of the Whigs, another against passive Obedience, the System of the Tories A third upon the Protestant Succession, where I suppose a Man to deliberate, before the Establishment of that Succession, which Family he shou'd adhere to, & to weigh the Advantages & Disadvantages of each I hope I have examin'd this Question as coolly & impartially as if I were remov'd a thousand Years from the present Period But this is what some People think extremely dangerous, & sufficient, not only to ruin me for ever, but also throw some Reflection on all my Friends, particularly those with whom I am connected at present I have wrote to Millar to send you the Sheets and I hereby make you entire Master to dispose of

[1] Andrew Millar (1707–68). He first set up as a bookseller in London about 1729, and made a comfortable fortune in the trade He published for Thomson, Fielding, Robertson and Adam Smith, as well as for Hume

[2] *Essays Moral and Political*, both vols.

[3] The rejected essays were *Of Essay Writing*, *Of Moral Prejudices*, and *Of the Middle Station in Life*, which had all appeared in 1742, in vol II.

this last Essay as you think proper. I made Oswald Master in the same manner, & he gave me his Approbation, & thought none but Fools cou'd be offended at my Candour. And indeed, were I alone concernd, I have Courage enough to acquiesce in his Verdict. I have established it as a Maxim never to pay Court to my Superiors by any of my Writings, but tis needless to offend them, especially where my Sentiments might by any man of Sense be thought to throw a Reflection on others, to whom I lye under the greatest Obligations. If you esteem it altogether improper to print this Essay, keep this copy of it till I see you, it being the only one I have I have desir'd you to read the other two, not that I have any Scruple with regard to them, but that I hope the Candour, which you'll see run thro the whole, may serve as an Atonement for any Liberties I use in the last I do not conceal my great Desire, that you may find it innocent Tho' I beg of you to act according to your Judgement, without Favour & without Mercy.[1]

I have also order'd the Bookseller to send you two Copies of the whole after they are printed. One I desire you to accept of as a Mark of my Regard; and another to present, in my Name, to the Duke of Argyle [2] His Grace is oblig'd to me, that I have not dedicated them to him, & put him out of Countenance, by the usual Fawning & Flattery of Authors He is also oblig'd to me, that having once had the Honour of being introducd to him, I have not incumber'd his Levees, but have left him the free Disposal of all his Favours to Voters, & Cabballers, & Declaimers, & Spies, & such other useful People I have a Regard for his Grace, & desire this Trifle may be considerd as a Present, not to the Duke of Argyle, but to Archbald Campbell, who is undoubtedly a Man of Sense & Learning

If Millar do not immediatly send you these Papers, pray send your Servant for them I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Harwich 13th of February
1748

[1] Apparently Charles Erskine decided against the essay, for it did not appear till the publication of the *Political Discourses* in 1752 Its place in the 1748 edition was taken by the new essay *Of National Characters*

[2] Archibald (1682–1761), 3rd Duke of Argyll, who was so powerful in Scottish affairs that he was known as 'King of Scotland'.

* 64 *To* JOHN HOME OF NINEWELLS

Hague 3d March 1748. N S

Dear Brother

I have taken a Fancy, for your Amusement, to write a sort of Journal of our Travels, & to send you the whole from Turin, by a Messenger whom we are to dispatch from thence I shall endeavour to find little Snatches of Leizure, in the several Towns, thro which we shall pass, & shall give you an Account of the Appearances of things, more than of our own Adventures. The former may be some Entertainment But the other will in all Probability, contain little Diversity, at least for some time

We set out from Harwich the day I wrote you last, & in 24 *Hours arrived at Helveot Sluice* [1] I had the Misfortune to be excessively sick But the Consolation to see an Admiral as sick as myself Twas Admiral Forbes,[2] the most agreeable, sensible Sea-Officer in England Harwich & Helvoet are the general Images in Abridgement of all the Towns in the two Countries Both of them small Sea Port Towns, without much Trade or any Support but Passengers. Yet the Industry, Oeconomy, & Cleanliness of the Dutch have made the latter the much prettier Town The day of our Arrival we lay at Rotterdam, & past thro' the Brill & Maitlan-Sluyse Yesterday we lay at this Place Holland has the Beauties of Novelty to a Stranger, as being so much different from all the other Parts of the World But not those of Diversity, for every part of it is like another Tis an unbounded Plain divided by Canals, & Ditches & Rivers The Sea higher than the Country The Towns higher than the Sea And the Ramparts higher than the Towns The Country is in general pretty open, except a few Willow Trees, & the Avenues of Elm, which lead to their Towns, & shade the Ramparts But the Country is at present cover'd with Snow, so that tis difficult to judge of it Were the Season favourable, the way of traveling wou'd be very pleasant, being along the Dykes, which gives you a perfect Prospect of the whole Country I need not describe the Beauty & Elegance of the Dutch Towns, particularly of the Hague, which nothing

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 240–66 (incomplete)

[1] Hume's spelling of proper names has been retained throughout

[2] The Hon John Forbes (1714–96), promoted Rear-Admiral, 1747 He was going out overland through Germany and Italy to serve in the Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Byng He was left in command of this fleet in 1749

can exceed Rotterdam is also a handsome Town The Mixture of Houses, Trees, & Ships, has a fine Effect, & unites Town, Country, & Sea in one Prospect Every person & every house has the Appearance of Plenty & Sobriety, of Industry & Ease. I own, however, that the Outside of their Houses are the best· They are too slight. Full of bad Windows, & not very well contriv'd

Hague 10 March

The General intended to have left this place to day, but was detain'd by the Arrival of his Royal Highness,[1] which will retard him a day or two longer We go first to Breda, where the General's two Battallions[2] lye, out of which, he will endeavour to form one good healthy Battallion to remain here. The other returns to Scotland We go in a day or two

The Prince of Orange's[3] Authority seems firmly establishd, & for the present is as absolute as that of any King in Europe The Favour of the People is the Foundation of it He is certainly a Man of great Humanity & Moderation but his Courage & Capacity is perhaps a little more doubtful. The present Emergences have given him an Opportunity of establishing his Authority on a firmer Bottom than popular Favor, viz on foreign & mercenary Forces The Dutch Troops have behav'd so ill that the People themselves are willing to see them disgracd & discredited & broke So that the Prince has been able to make great Distinctions in favour of Foreigners, with the good Will of the People, who see the Necessity of it He has broke all the Dutch Troops that were Prisoners in France, but keeps up the Foreigners that were in the same Condition And the latter are chiefly encouragd in every thing Great & universal Joy appeard on the Birth of the young Prince[4] while we were there tho all the Arrangements were taken to have the Young Princess succeed, & particularly, she was namd Colonel of a Regiment of Guards

This is a Place of little or no Amusement, nor has the Court made much Difference in this Respect· No Balls, no Comedy, no Opera The Prince gives great Application to Business; which, however, they pretend does not advance very much But this we may venture to say, that Holland was undoubtedly

[1] The Duke of Cumberland (1721–65)
[2] General St Clair was Colonel of the 1st Foot (the Royal Scots)
[3] William IV (died 1751), Prince of Orange since 1702, Stadtholder, 1747
[4] Afterwards William V, born 8 March 1748

ruin'd by its Liberty; & has now a Chance of being sav'd by its Prince· Let Republicans make the best of this Example they can Tis here regarded, as a Point indisputable, that the old Governors were in Concert with the French, & were resolv'd, by delivering up Town after Town, & Army after Army, to have Peace, tho at the Price of Slavery & Dependance Tis a Pity that the scrupulous & conscientious Character of the Prince has not allowd him to make some Examples of these Rascals, against whom, tis said, there coud have been legal Proofs It was not the Mob, properly speaking, that made the Revolution but the middling & substantial Tradesmen At Rotterdam particularly, these sent a regular Deputation to the Magistrates requiring the Establishment of the Prince of Orange, telling them, at the same time, that if their Request was refus'd they cou'd no longer answer for the Mob This Hint was sufficiently understood, & gave an Example to all the other Towns in the Province The only Violence offerd was that of throwing into the Canals, whoever wore not Orange Ribbons. Every Yellow Rag, Woollen, Silk, & Linnen were employ'd, & when these were exhausted the Flowers were made use of, & happily the Revolution begun in the Spring, when the Primroses & Daffadilys coud serve as Orange Cockades To this day, every Boor & Tradesman, & Schoolboy wears the Ensigns of the Prince, & every Street in every Village as well as in every Town has triumphal Arches with emblematical Figures & Latin Inscriptions, Such as tandem justitia triumphat Novus ab integro sœclorum nascitur ordo Vox populi, vox Dei I shall only say, if this last Motto be true the Prince of Orange is the only *Jure divino* Monarch in the Universe I believe since the time of Germanicus, deservedly the Darling of the Romans, never was a People so fond of one Man Surely there enter'd not the smallest Intrigue of his own into his Election There is something of Innocence & Simplicity in his Character, which promotes more his Popularity than the greatest Capacity. But

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget [1]

Breda 16th March

We arrivd here the day before Yesterday in three days from the Hague, & as the Snows were then melted, after the most violent Frost in the World, we discover'd Holland in all its

[1] Virg, *Aeneid*, ii 521.

native Deformity Nothing can be more disagreeable than that heap of Dirt & Mud & Ditches & Reeds, which they here call a Country, except the silly Collection of Shells, & clipt Ever Greens which they call a Garden It gave us a sensible Pleasure as we came near Breda to find Ourselves on a dry barren Heath, & to see something like a human Habitation I have heard that a Man from the Aspect of Holland, woud imagine, that Land & Water, after many Strugles which shoud be Master of it, had at last agreed to share it betwixt them If so, the Land has come by much the worst Bargain, & has much the smallest Share of the Possession I am told however that Holland is a pleasant enough Habitation in the Summer, tho even that Beauty lasts a very short time. For during the latter End of Summer & during the Harvest, the Canals send forth so disagreeable & unwholsome a Smell, that there is no enduring of it.

We past over the Maese at Gorcum, where it is above half a Mile broad, and as the Ice had been soften'd by a Thaw of three or four days, we were oblig'd to make use of an Ice-boat. The Operation is after this Manner You place Yourself on your Ice boat, which is like an ordinary Boat except only that it runs upon two Keels, shod with Iron Three or four Men push you along in this Boat very cleverly, as long as the Ice will bear you But whenever that fails, plump, down you go into the Water of a sudden· You are very heartily frighten'd. The men are wet, up to the Neck sometimes But keeping hold of the Boat, leap in, row you thro the Water; till they come to Ice, which can bear There they pull you up; run along with you, till you sink again. And so they renew the same Operation.

At Gorcum we met with Drumlanrig's Regiment,[1] which does no great Honour to their Country by their Looks & Appearances There has been a Mutiny amongst them, out of Discontent to the Country We met with some Highlanders, who regreted extremely their native Hills

The Night we came to Breda, we supt with Lord Albemarle,[2] who told us, in entering, that we might soon expect to hear of

[1] Henry Douglas (1722–54), Earl of Drumlanrig, eldest son of Charles, 3rd Duke of Queensberry and of Prior's 'Kitty', raised a Scottish regiment of two battalions in 1747 for service in the Netherlands along with the Scottish Brigade already there. This regiment was reduced to one battalion in 1749 and disbanded in 1752

[2] William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle (1702–54), Lieut.-Gen. and Colonel of the Coldstream Guards He had served on the staff with Lord Stair at Dettingen

a Battle in the Neighbourhood, and accordingly in about an hour a Messenger came in with the News, which is the best we have had in the Low Countries during the whole War. You have no doubt heard of it It was the Attack of a Convoy to Bergen-op-Zoom, escorted by about 5000 French, where 400 were killd, & about 1000 taken Prisoners Next day, the Prisoners were led thro' the Town They were the Piquets of several old Regiments & some Companies of Grenadiers, but such pitiful looking Fellows never man set eye on France is surely much exhausted of Men, when she can fill her Armies with such poor Wretches We all said, when they past along Are these the People, that have beat us so often? I stood behind Lord Albemarle, who was looking over a low Window to see them One of the ragged Scarecrows, seeing his Lordship's Star & Ribbon, turn'd about to him, & said very briskly Aujourd'hui pour vous, Monsieur, Demain pour le Roi. If they have all this Spirit, no wonder they beat us However, when one compares to the French the Figures of men that are in this Town, British, Hessians, & Austrians, they seem almost of a different Species Their Officers expect they will all do much better after having had Leizure to see their Enemy

Breda is a strong town tho not near so strong as Bergen-op-Zoom. It is almost surrounded by Water, & inaccessible except in one place, by which it will be taken, if the 206,000 Men, whom we are to have in the Field, this Year, in the Low Countries, cannot save it Tis certain so many men are stipulated by the several Powers The greatest Army, that ever was assembled together in the World, since the Xerxeses & Antaxerxeses, If these coud be called Armies God prosper his Royal Highness, & give him what he only wants I mean, good Fortune, to second his Prudence & Conduct

The French certainly have lay'd their Account to give up Flanders by the Peace; they squeeze & oppress & tax & abuse the Flemings so much, that tis evident they consider them not as Subjects They are also said to be pretty heartily tir'd of the War, notwithstanding of their great Successes I suppose the Loss of their Trade pinches them So that there are some Hopes of a Peace, which may not be altogether intolerable

By the Conversation I have had with several judicious Officers, I find, that Mareschal Saxe[1] & Lowendale,[2] tho

[1] Marechal Maurice, comte de Saxe (1696–1750).
[2] Maréchal Ulric Frederick Woldemar de Lowendahl (1700–55).

sensible Men & of great Experience, are not regarded as such mighty Generals as we are to [*sic*] apt to imagine them at a distance, from their Victories & Conquests Their Blunders last Campaign were many & obvious; & particularly that of besieging Bergen-op-Zoom Twas a thousand to one they got it, & it serves them to no purpose when they have it It is not by that Quarter they can penetrate into the Provinces.

Nimeguen 20th March

We have come from Breda in two days, & lay last Night at Bois-le-duc, which is situated in the midst of a lake & is absolutely impregnable That part of Brabant, thro which we travelld is not very fertile, & is full of sandy heaths Nimeguen is in the Gueldre the pleasantest Province of the seven, perhaps of the seventeen The Land is beautifully divided into Heights & Plains, & is cut by the Branches of the Rhine Nimeguen has a very commanding Prospect & the Country below it is particularly remarkable at present, because of the Inundations of the Wahal, a Branch of the Rhine, which covers the whole Fields for several Leagues And you see nothing but the Tops of Trees standing up amidst the Waters, which recalls the Idea of Egypt during the Inundations of the Nile Nimeguen is a well built Town, not very strong, tho surrounded with a great many Works Here we met our Machines, which came hither by a shorter Road from the Hague They are a Berline [1] for the General & his Company. And a Chaise for the Servants We set out to morrow, & pass by Cologne, Frankfort & Ratisbon till we meet with the Danube & then we sail down that River for 250 Miles to Vienna

Cologne 23d of March

We came hither last Night & have travelld thro an extreme Pleasant Country along the Banks of the Rhine Particularly Cleves, which belongs to the King of Prussia, is very agreeable, because of the Beauty of the Roads, which are Avenues borderd with fine Trees The Land in that Province is not fertile but is well cultivated. The Bishoprick of Cologne is more fertile & adorn'd with fine Woods as well as Cleves The Country is all very populous, the Houses good, & the Inhabitants well cloath'd & well fed This is one of the largest Cities in Europe, being near a League in Diameter The Houses are all high:

[1] A four-wheeled covered carriage with a hooded seat behind.

And there is no Interval of Gardens or Fields. So that you wou'd expect it must be very populous But it is not so It is extremely decay'd, & is even falling to ruin Nothing can strike one with more melancholy than its Appearance where there are Marks of past Opulence & Grandeur, but such present Waste & Decay, as if it had lately escap'd a Pestilence or Famine. We are told, that it was formerly the Center of all the Trade of the Rhine, which has been since remov'd to Holland, Liege, Frankfort &c Here we see the Rhine in its natural State, being only a little higher (but no broader) on account of the melting of the Snows. I think it is as broad as from the Foot of your House to the opposite Banks of the River [1]

Bonne. 24th March

This is, about 6 Leagues from Cologne, a pleasant well built little Town, upon the Banks of the Rhine, and is the Seat of the Archbishop [2] We have bestow'd half a day in visiting his Palace, which is an extensive magnificent Building, & he is certainly the best lodg'd Prince in Europe except the King of France. For besides this Palace, & a sort of Maison de Plaisance near it (the most elegant thing in the World), he has also two Country Houses very magnificent. He is the late Emperor's Brother, and is, as they say, a very fine Gentleman, a man of Pleasure, very galant & gay He has always at his Court a Company of French Comedians & Italian Singers And as he always keeps out of Wars, being protected by the Sacredness of his Character, he has nothing to hope & nothing to fear, and seems to be the happiest Prince in Europe However we cou'd wish, he took a little more care of his high Ways, even tho his Furniture, Pictures & Building were a little less elegant We are got into a Country where we have no Fires but Stoves, and no covering but Featherbeds· Neither of which I like Both of them are too warm and suffocating

Coblentz 26 March

We have made the pleasantest Journey in the World in two days from Bonne to this Town We travel all along the Banks of the Rhine, sometimes in open, beautiful, well cultivated Plains At another time sunk betwixt high Mountains, which are only divided by the Rhine, the finest River in the World:

[1] Ninewells stands on the left bank of the Whiteadder

[2] He was one of the many sons of Maximilian Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria, and was therefore brother of the Emperor Charles VII.

One of these Mountains is always coverd with Wood to the Top; the other with Vines. And the Mountain is so steep, that they are obligd to support the Earth by Walls, which rise one above another like Terrasses, to the length of forty or fifty Stories Every Quarter of a Mile, (indeed as often as there is any flat Bottom for a Foundation), you meet with a handsome Village, situated in the most romantic manner in the World Surely there never was such an Assemblage of the wild & cultivated Beauties in one Scene. There are also several magnificent Convents & Palaces to embellish the Prospects This is a very thriving well built Town situated at the Confluence of the Moselle & the Rhine, & consequently very finely situated Over the former River, there is a handsome Stone Bridge· Over the latter, a flying Bridge, which is a boat, fixt by a Chain: This Chain is fixt by an Anchor to the bottom of the middle of the River far above, & is supported by seven little Boats placd at Intervals that keep it along the surface of the Water By means of the Rudder, they turn the head of the large Boat to the opposite Bank & the Current of the River carries it over of itself It goes over in about 4 Minutes, and will carry four or five hundred People It stays about five or six Minutes, and then returns Two Men are sufficient to guide it; And it is certainly a very pretty Machine There is the like at Cologne This Town is the common Residence of the Archbishop of Treves; who has here a pretty magnificent Palace We have now travelld along a great Part of that Country, thro which the Duke of Marlborough marchd up his Army, when he led them into Bavaria Tis of this Country, Mr Addison speaks when he calls the People *Nations of Slaves, by Tyranny debas'd· Their Makers Image more than half defacd* And he adds that the Soldiers were *Hourly instructed, as they urge their Toyl, To prize their Queen & love their native Soil*[1] If any Foot Soldier cou'd have more ridiculous national Prejudices than the Poet, I shou'd be much surpriz'd Be assurd, there is not a finer Country in the World; nor are there any Signs of Poverty among the People But John Bull's Prejudices are ridiculous; as his Insolence is intolerable

Frankfort 28th March.

Our road from Coblentz to this passes thro' a great many Princes Territories Nassaus, Hesses, Badens, Mentz & this Republic &c And there is as great a Diversity in the Nature

[1] *The Campaign*, lines 80–4.

of the Country The first Part of the Road from Coblentz to Weis-Baden is very mountainous & woody But populous & well cultivated In many places, the Snow is lying very thick. The Road is disagreeable for a Coach Sometimes you go along the Side of a Hill with a Precipice below you, & have not an Inch to spare; & the Road hanging all the Way towards the Precipice; so that one had need to have a good Head to look out of the Windows. Nassau, the Prince of Orange's Capital, is but a Village, & one of the most indifferent I have seen in Germany Betwixt Weis Baden & Frankfort we travel along the Banks of the Maine, & see one of the finest Plains in the World I never saw such rich Soil, nor better cultivated; all in corn & sown Grass For we have not met with any natural Grass in Germany. Frankfort is a very large Town, well built & of great Riches & Commerce. Around it, there are several little Country Houses of the Citizens, the first of that kind we have seen in Germany For every body, except the Farmers, live here in Towns And these dwell all in Villages Whether this be for Company, or Protection, or Devotion, I cannot tell· But it has certainly its Inconveniences Princes have also Seats in the Country, & Monks have their Convents. But no private Gentleman ever dwells there To morrow we pass over the Field of Dettingen We saw Heighst [Hochst) to day where Lord Stairs[1] past the Maine, & was recall'd The Post he took seems not so good as we have heard it represented We saw General Mordaunt[2] at Cologne, who was at the Battle of Dettingen, & gave us an exact Description of the whole, which we are to morrow to compare with the Field Frankfort is a protestant Town

Wurtzburg 30th March

The first Town we come to after leaving Frankfort is Hanau, which belongs to the Landgrave of Hesse, & where there is a Palace, that may lodge any King in Europe, tho the Landgrave almost never lives there Hanau is a very beautiful, well built, but not large Town, on the Banks of the Maine All the Houses almost in Germany are of Plaister, either upon Brick or Wood, but very neatly done, & many of them painted over, which makes them look very gay Their Peasants Houses are

[1] Field-Marshal the Earl of Stair

[2] General Sir John Mordaunt (1697–1780), Colonel of the 58th Foot In 1757 he was tried by court martial (and acquitted) for the failure of the expedition against Rochefort

sometimes plaister, sometimes Clay upon Wood, two Stories High, & look very well Next Post beyond Hanau is the Village of Dettingen, where we walkd out & survey'd the Field of Battle, accompany'd with the Postmaster, who saw the Battle from his Windows Good God, what an Escape we made there! The Maine is a large River not fordable This lay on our left hand. On our Right, high Mountains, cover'd with thick wood, for several Leagues The Plain is not half a Mile Broad. The French were posted by Noailles[1] with their Right supported by the River & the Village of Dettingen: Their left by the Mountains On their Front a little Rivulet, which form'd some Marshes & Meadows, altogether impassable for the Cavalry, & passable with Difficulty by the Infantry Add to this, that their Cannon, plac'd in safety on the other Side of the Maine, rak'd the whole Plain before Dettingen, & took our Army in Flank Noailles had past the Bridge of Aschaffenbourg which was not broke down, & came up upon our Rear And our Army was starving for Want of Provisions Such an Arrangement of Circumstances, as it were contriv'd to ruin an Army, a King & Kingdom, never was before found in the World; & yet there we gain'd a Victory; by the Folly of *Grammont*,[2] who past that Rivulet & met us in the open Plain, before Noailles had come up We were travelling in great Security, notwithstanding two repeated Informations that the French had past the Maine. The Baggage of the Army was betwixt the two lines, and when the first Cannons were fir'd, Neuperg[3] & Stairs both agreed that it cou'd be nothing but the French Signal Guns But when they were certain that the Affair was more in earnest, Stairs said Go to the King, I take nothing upon me Clayton[4] said I will take it upon me to remove the Baggage And it was he, that made the little Disposition that was made that day The English behav'd ill The French worse, which gave us the Victory. But this Victory so unexpectedly gain'd, we push'd not as we ought, by the Council of Neuperg What Lord Stairs's Whim was to advance to Ashaffenbourg where he was 25 Miles from Frankfort, the Place of all his Magazines, tis impossible to

[1] Maréchal Adrien-Maurice de Noailles (1678–1766)

[2] Antoine, duc de Grammont (died 1795)

[3] The Austrian marshal, Wilhelm Reinhard, Graf von Neuperg (or Neipperg) (1684–1774)

[4] Jasper Clayton, Maj.-Gen., 1735, Lieut.-Gen., 1739 He was killed in this battle, 1747

imagine Surely he cou'd advance no farther, as he must have been convinc'd had he reconnoitred the Road. It runs over high Mountains, & for 25 Miles, thro' the thickest Woods in the World. There is a Pass three or four Miles beyond Aschaffenbourg, where no Army coud go with Cannon & Baggage. When we came to the Foot of it, a Trumpeter met us, who play'd a Tune for Joy of our safe Arrival, & the like on our ascending the opposite Hill. The Woods beyond are the finest I ever saw.

Wurtzburgh is a very well built Town, situated in a fine Valley on the Maine The Banks of the River are very high and cover'd with Vines The River runs thro the Town, and is past on a very handsome Bridge But what renders this Town chiefly remarkable is a Building which surprizd us all, because we had never before heard of it, & did not there expect to meet with such a thing Tis a prodigious magnificent Palace of the Bishop, who is the Sovereign Tis all of hewn Stone and of the richest Architecture. I do think the King of France has not such a House If it be less than Versailles, tis more compleat & finish'd What a surprizing thing it is, that these petty Princes can build such Palaces? But it has been fifty Years a rearing; & tis the chief Expence of Eclesiastics The Bishop of Wurtzburg is chosen from amongst the Cannons, who have a very good Artifice to exclude Princes Tis a Rule, that every one at entring shall receive a very hearty drubbing from the rest. A Brother of the Elector of Bavaria offerd a Million of Florins to be exempted from the Ceremony, & coud not prevail

Ratisbon 2^{d} April.

We were all very much taken with the Town of Nuremberg, where we lay two Nights ago The Houses tho old fashiond & of a grotesque Figure (having sometimes five or six Stories of Garrets) yet are they solid, well built, compleat, & cleanly The People are handsome, well cloath'd & well fed An Air of Industry & Contentment, without Splendor, prevails thro the whole Tis a protestant Republic on the banks of a River (whose Name I have forgot) that runs into the Maine, & is navigable for Boats The Town is of a large Extent

On leaving Nuremberg we enter'd into the Elector of Bavaria's Country, where the Contraste appeard very strong with the Inhabitants of the former Republic There was a great Air of Poverty in every Face· The first Poverty indeed we had

seen in Germany We travelld also thro part of the Elector Palatine's Country, & then return'd to Bavaria, but tho' the Country be good & well cultivated & populous, the Inhabitants are not at their Ease The late miserable Wars have no doubt hurt them much

Ratisbon is a Catholic Republic situated on the Banks of the Danube The Houses & Buildings & Aspect of the People are well enough, tho not comparable to those of Nuremberg. Tis pretended, that the Difference is always sensible betwixt a Protestant & Catholic Country, thro'out all Germany And perhaps there may be something in this Observation, tho it is not every where sensible

We descend the Danube from this to Vienna. We go in a large Boat about 80 foot long, where we have three Rooms one for Ourselves, a second for the Servants, and a third for our Kitchen Tis made entirely of Firr Boards, & is pulld to Pieces at Vienna The Wood sold, & the Watermen return to Ratisbon a foot We lye on Shore every Night We are all glad of this Variety, being a little tird of our Berline

The Danube 7th of April

We have really made a very pleasant Journey or rather Voyage, with good Weather, sitting at our Ease, & having a Variety of Scenes continually presented to us, & immediatly shifted, as it were in an Opera The Banks of the Danube are very wild & savage, & have a very different Beauty from those of the Rhine; being commonly high scraggy Precipices cover'd all with Firrs The Water is sometimes so straitend betwixt these Mountains, that this immense River is often not 60 foot Broad We have lain in and seen several very good Towns, in Bavaria & Austria such as Strauberg, Passau, Lintz But what is most remarkable is the great Magnificence of some Convents, particularly Moelk, where a set of lazy Rascals of Monks live in the most splendid Misery of the World For generally speaking, their lives are as little to be envy'd as their persons are to be esteemd We enter Vienna in a few Hours, & the Country is here extremely agreable; The fine Plains of the Danube begun about 30 Miles above, & continue down, thro Austria, Hungary, &c till it falls into the black Sea The River is very magnificent Thus we have finishd a very agreable Journey of 860 Miles (For so far is Vienna from the Hague) have past thro many a Prince's Territories, & have had more Masters than many of

these Princes have Subjects. Germany is undoubtedly a very fine Country, full of industrious honest People, & were it united it woud be the greatest Power that ever was in the World. The common People are here, almost every where, much better treated & more at their Ease, than in France, and are not very much inferior to the English, notwithstanding all the Airs the latter give themselves. There are great Advantages, in travelling, & nothing serves more tore move Prejudices. For I confess I had entertain'd no such advantageous Idea of Germany And it gives a Man of Humanity Pleasure to see that so considerable a Part of Mankind as the Germans are in so tolerable a Condition

Vienna 15th April

The last Week was Easter Week, & every body was at their Devotions, so that we saw not the Court nor the Emperor[1] & Empress,[2] till yesterday, when we were all introduc'd by Sir Thomas Robinson[3] They are a well lookt Couple, the Emperour has a great Air of Goodness, and his Royal Consort, of Spirit Her Voice & manner & Address are the most agreeable that can be, & she made us several Compliments on our Nation She is not a Beauty; but being a Sovereign, & a Woman of Sense & Spirit, no wonder she has met such extraordinary Support from her Subjects as well as from other Nations of Europe However the English Gallantry towards her is a little relax'd, & the King of Sardinia[4] is their present Favorite. She beg'd of the General not to be so much her Enemy as his Predecessor General Wentworth[5] had been He reply'd, that a perfect Impartiality was recommended him by the King his Master, and that he was resolv'd to preserve it, tho' he confest that was difficult for a Person, who had had the Honour of having had Access to Her Imperial Majesty We were introduc'd to day to the Archdukes & Archdutchesses (who are fine

[1] Francis I, Emperor, 1745–65

[2] Maria Theresa (1717–80), Queen of Hungary, 1740–80, and Empress, 1745–65

[3] Sir Thomas Robinson (1695–1770), afterwards 1st Baron Grantham, Ambassador at Vienna, 1730–48

[4] Charles Emmanuel (1701–73), King of Sardinia, 1730–73

[5] Lieut.-Gen. Thomas Wentworth (promoted Lieut.-Gen., 1745) had held an appointment at Turin He had a violent dispute with Admiral Vernon during the Spanish War in 1741, but very little more seems to be known about him.

Children) and to the Empress Dowager [1] She had seen no Company for two Months, but hearing that Englishmen desir'd to be introduc'd to her, she immediatly receiv'd us. You must know, that you neither bow nor kneel to Emperors and Empresses; but Curtsy So that after we had had a little Conversation with her Imperial Majesty, we were to walk backwards, thro a very long Room, curtsying all the way· And there was very great Danger of our falling foul of each other, as well as of tumbling topsy-turvy She saw the Difficulty we were in And immediatly calld to us Allez, Allez, Messieurs, sans ceremonie Vous n'etes pas accoutumés a ce mouvemen et le plancher est glissant We esteemd ourselves very much oblig'd to her for this Attention, especially my Companions, who were desperately afraid of my falling on them & crushing them [2] This Court is fine without being gay And the Company is very accessible, without being very sociable When we were to be introduced to the Emperor & Empress, Sir Thomas Robinson gather'd us, all together, into a Window, that he might be able to carry us to them at once, when the time shou'd be proper A Lady came up to him and ask'd him, if these were not his Chickens he was gathering under his Wings After which, she joind Conversation with us; and in a little time askt us, if we had any Acquaintaince of the Ladies of the Court, & if we shou'd not be glad to know their Names We reply'd, that she coud not do us a greater Favour Why then, says she, I shall tell you, beginning with myself I am the Countess —— She added her Name, which I am sorry to have forgot. We have met with several Instances of these agreeable Liberties The Women here are many of them handsome If you ever want Toasts please to name, upon my Authority, Mademoiselle Staremberg, or the Countess Palfi The Men are ugly & awkward We have seen all those fierce Heroes, whom we have

[1] Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel (1691–1750), mother of Maria Theresa and widow of the Emperor Charles VI She had been brought up a Lutheran, but had become a Catholic on her marriage in 1708, having been persuaded by Protestant divines and the philosopher Leibnitz that she could always give an Evangelical meaning to Catholic ceremonies

[2] According to Lord Charlemont, who met Hume soon after this at Turin, 'the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher His wearing an uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the trained-bands' (*Memoirs of James Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont*, by F Hardy, 8)

so often read of in Gazettes, the Lichtensteins, the Esterhasis, the Colloredos Most of them have red Heels to their Shoes, & wear very well dresst Toupees I have heard Maly Johnstone [1] say she was told, that she was very like the Empress-Queen Please tell her it is not so The Empress, tho not very well shap'd, is better than Maly; but she has not so good a Face She looks also as if she were prouder & worse temper'd Apropos, to our Friends of Huttonhall, inform them, that they have a very near Relation at this Court, who is a prodigious fine Gentleman, & a great Fool His Name is Sir James Caldwell [2] He told me, his Grandmother was a Hume, & that he expected soon to inherit a very fine Estate by her, which he was to share with the Johnstones in Scotland. But he says, it is only Wynne, that has the half not the Ladies, who have no Share So that you'll please tell Sophy, that I am off, & give her her Liberty, notwithstanding all Vows & Promises, that may have past betwixt us

Vienna 25 of April

We set out to morrow: But go not by the way of Venice, as we at first propos'd This is some Mortification to us We shall go however by Milan This Town is very little for a Capital, but excessively populous The Houses are very high The Streets very narrow & crooked So that the many handsome Buildings that are here make not any figure The Suburbs are spacious and open But on the whole, I can never believe what they tell us, that there are 200,000 Inhabitants in it It is compos'd entirely of Nobility, and of Lackeys, of Soldiers & of Priests. Now I believe, you'll allow, that in a Town inhabited only by these four Sets of People above-mention'd, the Empress-Queen cou'd not have undertaken a more difficult Task, than that which she has magnanimously enter'd upon, viz the producing an absolute Chastity amongst them. A Court of Chastity is lately erected here, who send all loose Women to the Frontiers of Hungary, where they can only debauch Turks & Infidels All Whore-masters are punishd as they deserve, that is, very severely The Promotion of several Officers has been

[1] Apparently one of the Johnstons of Hilton, neighbours of the Homes of Ninewells, living at Hutton Hall

[2] Sir James Caldwell, 3rd Bart, an Irishman, whom Maria Theresa created Count of Milan in the Holy Roman Empire His younger brother, Hume Caldwell (1733–62), had a romantic and distinguished career in the Austrian army

stop'd by Aspersions of this Nature. And the Emperor lately coud not prevail with the Queen to give a Regiment to a young Nobleman because it was suspected he wanted his Maidenhead. She has not the Generosity of the Cham of Tartary, who makes it be proclaimd every day at his Tent door by a Herald: That all the Kings of the Earth may now dine: For the Great Cham of Tartary has din'd They say, the Emperor is really an Emperor in that respect; or rather indeed is no Emperor, but a mere Porter or Dragoon I hope you will not pay your Taxes with greater Grudges; because you hear, that her Imperial Majesty, in whose Service they are to be spent, is so great a Prude Tis said, that this Fancy of a Court of Chastity was first started by a Society, who have the Direction of an Hospital of Foundlings, and who thought, that if they coud entirely suppress Fornication, there wou'd fewer Bastards come upon them, & more of the Revenues of the Hospital woud go to their own Use But the Wags are much rejoic'd at the Event· For by the Suppression of public Houses of this Nature, it happens, as might easily be forseen, that there are two Bastards produc'd for one that was before

There has been great Noise made with us on account of the Queen's new Palace at Shonbron. It is indeed a handsome House; but not very great, nor richly furnish'd. She said to the General last Night, that not a single Soldier had gone to the Building, whatever might be said in England But that she likd better to be tolerably lodg'd than to have useless Diamonds by her, & that she had sold all her Crown Jewels to enable her to be at that Expence I think for a Sovereign, she is none of the worst in Europe, & one cannot forbear liking her, for the Spirit with which she looks, & speaks & acts But tis a Pity, her Ministers have so little Sense Prince Eugene's[1] Palace in the Suburbs is an expensive stately Building; but of a very barbarous Gothic Taste. He was *more skilld in battering Walls than building*; as was said of his Friend, the Duke of Marlborough. There is a Room in it, where all Prince Eugenes Battles were painted· Upon which, the Portuguese Embassador told him, that the whole House was indeed richly furnishd; but that all the Kings in Europe coud not furnish such a Room as that I have been pretty busy since I came here & have regretted it the less, that there is no very great Amusement in this Place

[1] Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736)

No Italian Opera: No French Comedy. No Dancing I have however heard Monticelli, who is the next Wonder of the World to Farinelli

Knittelfeldt in Stiria 28th April

This is about 120 Miles from Vienna The first 40 is a fine well cultivated Plain After which we enter the Mountains, and as we are told, we have three hundred Miles more of them, before we reach the Plains of Lombardy The way of travelling thro' a mountainous Country is generally very agreeable. We are oblig'd to trace the Course of the Rivers, and are always in a pretty Valley surrounded by high Hills, & have a constant & very quick Succession of wild agreeable Prospects every quarter of a Mile Thro Stiria nothing can be more curious than the Scenes In the Vallies, which are fertile & finely cultivated, there is at present a full Bloom of Spring· The Hills, to a certain Height, are cover'd with Firs & Larch-Trees· The Tops are all shining with Snow You may see a Tree white with Blossom, & fifty Fathom farther up, the Ground white with Snow These Hills, as you may imagine, give a great Command of Water to the Vallies, which the industrious Inhabitants distribute into every Field & render the whole very fertile. There are many Iron Mines in the Country; & the Vallies are upon that Account extremely populous But as much as the Country is agreeable in its Wildness; as much are the Inhabitants savage & deform'd & monstrous in their Appearance Very many of them have ugly swelld Throats Idiots, & Deaf People swarm in every Village; & the general Aspect of the People is the most shocking I ever saw One wou'd think, that as this was the great Road, thro which all the barbarous Nations made their Irruptions into the Roman Empire, they always left here the Refuse of their Armies before they enterd into the Enemies Country, and that from thence the present Inhabitants are descended Their Dress is scarce European as their Figure is scarce human There happen'd, however a thing to day, which surpriz'd us all The Empress Queen, regarding this Country as a little barbarous, has sent some Missionaries of Jesuites to instruct them They had Sermons to day in the Street under our Windows, attended with Psalms And believe me, nothing cou'd be more harmonious, better tun'd, or more agreeable than the Voices of these Savages, and the Chorus of a French Opera does not sing in better Time You may infer from thence,

if you please, that Orpheus did not civilize the savage Nations by his Music I know not what Progress the Jesuites have made by their Eloquence But it appears to me, that Religion is not the Point, in which the Stirians are defective, at least, if we may judge by the Number of their Churches, Crucifixes &c We shall be detaind here some days by Sir Harry Erskine's Illness, who is seiz'd with an Ague

Clagenfurt in Carinthia May 4th

This is a mighty pretty little Town near the Drave; It is the Capital of the Province, and stands in a tolerable large Plain, surrounded with very high Hills, and on the other Side the Drave, we see the savage Mountains of Carniola You know the Alps join with the Pyrenees, these with the Alps, and run all along the North of Turkey in Europe to the Black Sea, and form the longest Chain of Mountains in the Universe

The Figure of the Carinthians is not much better than that of the Stirians.

Trent 8th of May.

We are still amongst Mountains, & follow the Tract of Rivers in order to find our Way. But the Aspect of the People is wonderfully chang'd on entring the Tirol The Inhabitants are there as remarkably beautiful as the Stirians are ugly An Air of Humanity, & Spirit & Health & Plenty is seen in every Face Yet their Country is wilder than Stiria The Hills higher, & the Vallies narrower & more barren They are both Germans subject to the House of Austria, so that it wou'd puzzle a Naturalist or Politician to find the Reason of so great and remarkable a Difference We trac'd up the Drave to its Source (That River, you know, falls into the Danube, & into the Black Sea) It ended in a small Rivulet, & that in a Ditch, & that in a little Bog On the Top of the Hill, (tho there was there a well cultivated Plain) there was no more Appearance of Spring than at Christmas In about half a mile after we had seen the Drave extinguish, we observ'd a little Strype of Water to move: This was the beginning of the Adige, & the Rivers that run into the Adriatic We were now turning towards the South part of the Hill, and descended with great Rapidity. Our little Brook in three or four Miles became a considerable River, and every hours travelling show'd us a new Aspect of Spring So that in one day, we past thro' all the Gradations of that Beautiful Season, as we descended lower into the Vallies, from its first faint

Dawn till its full Bloom & Glory We are here in Italy, at least the common Language of the People is Italian This Town is not remarkable, neither for Size nor Beauty Tis only famous for that wise Assembly of Philosophers & Divines,[1] who establishd such rational Tenets for the Belief of Mankind

Mantua 11th of May.

We are now in Classic Ground, & I have kist the Earth, that produc'd Virgil, & have admir'd those fertile Plains, that he has so finely celebrated *Perdidit aut quales felices Mantua campos.*[2] You are tir'd, & so am I, with the Descriptions of Countries And therefore shall only say, that nothing can be more singularly beautiful than the Plains of Lombardy, nor more beggarly & miserable than this Town

Cremona 12th of May.

Alas poor Italy! *Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit, Barbarus has segetes?*[3] The poor Inhabitant *Starves in the midst of Nature's Plenty curst And in the loaded Vineyard dyes for thirst.* The Taxes are here exhorbitant beyond all Bounds We lye to morrow at Milan

Turin June 16th 1748.

I wrote you about three Weeks ago. This is brought into England by Mr Bathurst, a Nephew of Lord Bathurst,[4] who intended to serve a Campaign in our Family We know nothing as yet of the time of our Return But I believe we shall make the Tour of Italy & France before we come home. Tis thought the General will be sent as public Minister to settle Don Philip,[5] so that we shall have seen a great Variety of Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, & French Courts in this Jaunt. *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes*[6] I say nothing of Milan or Turin or Piemont Because I shall have time enough to entertain you with Accounts of all these Tho you may be

[1] The Council of Trent (1545–63), which fixed the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church

[2] Was he thinking of

Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum?

Virg *Georg* II 198

[3] Virg, *Eclogue* I, 70 f

[4] Allen Bathurst (1684–1775), 1st Baron and 1st Earl Bathurst

[5] Don Philip (1720–65), son of Philip V of Spain and Elizabeth Farnese By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) he became Duke of Parma

[6] Horace, *Ars poet*, 142.

little diverted with this long Epistle, you ought at least to thank me for the Pains I have taken in composing it I have not yet got my Baggage

* 65. *To* President de Montesquieu [1]

Londres, 10 avril 1749

Monsieur,

Ayant appris par mon ami, M Stuart,[2] que vous aviez eu la bonté de m'envoyer un exemplaire de l'*Esprit des lois*, que j'avois lu l'automne passé en Italie avec tant de plaisir et de profit, je prends la liberté de vous écrire pour vous en témoigner ma reconnoissance Ayant autant d'expérience que vous en avez de la nature des hommes, vous ne douterez point que je ne sois très sensible à une faveur de votre part qui flatte autant ma vanité Mais ce serait mal faire ma cour à l'auteur d'un ouvrage qui s'est attiré la plus haute estime de toutes les nations et qui sera l'admiration de tous les siècles, que de m'engager dans un panégyrique Permettez-moi plutôt de vous communiquer quelques réflexions que j'ai faites en lisant votre ouvrage, dont la plupart servent à confirmer de plus en plus les principes sur lesquels votre système est fondé. Dans mes citations je ferai usage de l'édition in-quarto de Genève [3]

* MS at La Brède, *Corr de Montesquieu*, ed by Gebelin and Morize, II 169 ff

[1] Charles de Secondat (1689–1755), baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, author of *Lettres persanes*, *L'Esprit des lois*, &c , President of the Parlement of Bordeaux

Montesquieu wrote on the autograph of this letter 'Lettre de M David Hume, qu'il faut copier dans le Spicilège Elle est pleine de lumière et de bon sens Il y a quelques remarques qui pourront être utiles pour ma dernière edition de *l'Esprit des lois*, et je puis dire que, d'une infinité de papiers qui ont été écrits là-dessus, c'est peut-être celui qui a autant de sens Je pourrai ôter quelques endroits inutiles' (*Corr de Mont* , II 169 n)

[2] MM Gebelin and Morize in a note (loc cit) state that this Stuart was 'Médecin de Guillelmine-Dorothée, reine d'Angleterre, membre de la Société royale de Londres Il avait été élu membre associé de l'academie de Bordeaux le 24 juillet 1740 ' I think they are wrong There is no other evidence that Hume had any connexion with this Dr Stuart, whereas there is a great deal that he was intimate with John Stewart (see note 7 on p 53 above), and that John Stewart, who in the ordinary course of business as a wine-merchant had to make frequent journeys to France (and we may be sure to Bordeaux), took care wherever he went to become acquainted with men and women of letters We find him in 1759 on fairly intimate terms with M de Trudaine, his son, Trudaine de Montigny, and their circle, and discussing and praising his friend Hume with them

[3] The 1st edit

Vol I. La remarque de la page 26, ligne 3,[1] est nouvelle et frappante Peut-être ne serez-vous pas fâché de savoir que le Parlement d'Angleterre, trouvant par ce qui s'étoit passé en dernier lieu que la nation écossaise n'étoit pas suffisamment républicaine, conclut que ce penchant violent au gouvernement monarchique venoit de ce que la noblesse avoit conservé les juridictions gothiques féodales; c'est pourquoi le Parlement les abolit, il y a deux ans [2] Cela fait voir combien les Anglais ont été uniformes et conséquents dans leur manière de raisonner sur ce sujet Les conséquences que vous prédisez arriveroient certainement dans le cas d'une révolution dans notre gouvernement.

A la page 56, vous attribuez l'origine des lois de Sparte à la Crète [3] En cela, vous êtes appuyé de l'autorité de Platon et d'Aristote, mais je me rappelle un passage de Polybe [4] où il examine l'opinion de ces philosophes et tâche de la réfuter Comme je n'ai pas cet auteur sous ma main à présent, je suis obligé de parler de mémoire, le profond sens de cet historien rend son autorité très considérable, quoique j'aie oublié en grande partie les raisons sur lesquelles il établit son opinion

Le remarque que vous faites page 111, ligne 1,[5] peut être confirmée par un exemple célèbre du temps de nos guerres civiles en 1646, le Long Parlement fit une ordonnance, qui fut appelée du renoncement, *self denying*, par laquelle ils s'excluoient eux-mêmes de tout commandement dans leur propre armée, la conséquence immédiate de cette ordonnance fut la séparation de l'armée d'avec le Parlement et le perte totale de nos libertés.

Tous les déclamateurs qui sont en France exercent leur

[1] 'Les Anglais, pour favoriser la liberté, ont ôté toutes les puissances intermediaires qui formaient leur monarchie Ils ont bien raison de conserver cette liberte, s'ils venaient à la perdre, ils seraient un des peuples les plus esclaves de la terre' (Bk II, Ch 4)

[2] The abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions in the Highlands was one of the most beneficent results of 'The Forty-Five'- it united Scotland for the first time under a uniform system of law

[3] 'Les lois de Crète étaient l'original de celles de Lacédémone et celles de Platon en étaient la correction' (Bk IV, Ch 6)

[4] Polybius, I vi

[5] 'Voyez dans une nation où la république se cache sous la forme d'une monarchie combien l'on craint un état particulier des gens de guerre, et comment le guerrier reste toujours citoyen ou même magistrat, afin que ces qualités soient un gage pour la Patrie et qu'on ne l'oublie jamais' (Bk V, Ch 19)

rhétorique contre la vénalité des charges, dont vous parlez dans le même chapitre; mais vous en jugez sur des principes plus vrais et plus profonds Puis-je hasarder d'ajouter encore ceci? La considération d'un léger profit a engagé la Cour à multiplier prodigieusement les offices dans vos présidiaux [1] et dans vos parlements, ce qui rend vos cours de judicature plus populaires et les fait ressembler à nos jurés Comme il seroit plus odieux et plus tyrannique de dépouiller un homme d'un office qu'il a acheté à un haut prix que s'il l'avoit reçu gratuitement de la Cour, ces sortes de dépouillement sont très rares et donnent à vos juges la liberté et l'independance La créature d'un grand seigneur qui tiendroit sa charge du crédit de son patron, comptant sur cette protection, pourroit commettre de grandes vexations, mais les liaisons de vos juges avec les gens de la Cour sont très rares et cela vient principalement de la venalité des offices.

Pour ce qui est des jurés d'Angleterre, dont vous parlez à la page 121,[2] voici, je crois, ce qui en est. non seulement les jurés déterminent le fait, mais encore le crime et ils laissent la détermination de la punition à la loi Il y a douze ou quatorze ans qu'on entreprit de les renfermer dans le seul jugement du fait, mais cela fut rejeté comme une innovation dangereuse dans un procès pour un libelle, les avocats de la Cour proposèrent aux jurés de juger simplement si l'accusé avoit écrit certains mots, après quoi le juge décideroit si ces mots étoit un libelle; mais les jurés tinrent ferme à prononcer, suivant leur usage, *coupable* ou *innocent*, et non pas suivant la forme qu'on leur proposoit, *prouvé* ou *non prouvé* En Ecosse, avant la Révolution, la Cour, étant presque despotique, persécutoit les Presbytériens on permettoit seulement aux jurés de décider s'il étoit prouvé que l'accusé eut été à une assemblée dans une maison ou à un conventicule, après quoi le juge déterminoit la punition, mais en dernier lieu, les jurés dans ce pays-là ont fait revivre la manière plus générale de prononcer *coupable* ou *innocent*

[1] Before the Revolution, there were 118 *présidiaux*, or provincial tribunals, in France, each of which might pass judgement without appeal, up to a sum of 250 livres

[2] 'En Angleterre, les jurés décident si le fait qui a été porté devant eux est prouvé ou non et, s'il est prouvé, le juge prononce la peine que la loi inflige pour ce fait' (Bk VI, Ch 3) Montesquieu altered this passage, probably as a result of Hume's letter, to the form in which it appears in subsequent editions, viz. 'En Angleterre, les jurés décident si l'accusé est coupable ou non du fait qui a été porté devant eux et, s'il est declaré coupable, le juge prononce la peine que la loi inflige pour ce fait.'

Il est impossible d'opposer rien de raisonnable à ce que vous dites, page 357, des avantages qu'il y a à lever les taxes plutôt par régie que par des fermiers.[1] Je vous communiquerai seulement une remarque que j'entendis faire dernierement à ce sujet si une nation ne commence pas d'abord par des fermiers, elle ne retirera jamais tout l'avantage qu'elle peut retirer des impositions, il y a cent mille arts et inventions pour prévenir les fraudes des particuliers, que l'intérêt des fermiers leur suggère et dont les régisseurs ne se seroient jamais doutés, cependant les régisseurs peuvent mettre en usage ces inventions lorsque les fermiers les leur ont apprises En Angleterre, l'excise fut levée d'abord par des fermiers, et tout le système de cette branche de nos impositions, qui est très bien administrée, a été emprunté d'eux

Vol II Page 10, chapitre IX.[2] Les banques sont commodes, mais on peut mettre en doute si elles sont fort utiles Avant 1706, il y avoit une quantité suffisante d'or et d'argent dans toutes nos colonies pour les usages communs, on y introduisit un papier de crédit ou papier courant, qui fit sortir tout l'argent et a eu de si pernicieuses conséquences que le Parlement est résolu de l'abolir cette session On avoit entrepris la même chose, environ dans le même temps, dans votre colonie du Canada, mais on y renonça prudemment dès les commencements Ces banques étoient, en effet, très différentes des banques d'Europe elles répandoient un papier sans argent pour le faire circuler. Voici en gros mon raisonnement, que je soumets à votre décision l'abondance de l'or et de l'argent dans un Etat lui est fort avantageuse si l'on considère les Etats voisins, parce que ces étrangers donneront pour cet argent leur travail et leurs marchandises, mais, par rapport au commerce intérieur, cette abondance d'or et d'argent n'est d'aucun avantage, au contraire, elle rend les travaux chers et empêche l'exportation, le papier a les inconvénients de l'argent et n'en a point les avantages [3]

Page 12, chapitre XI.[4] Il paroît que nous avons en Angleterre une trop grande jalousie de la balance du commerce Il est difficile que l'équilibre se rompe au point de faire un tort considérable à une nation. Si la moitié de l'argent qui est en Angleterre étoit subitement anéantie, le travail et les marchan-

[1] Bk. XIII, Ch 19 [2] Bk XX, Ch 9
[3] For the expansion of these ideas see Hume's essay *Of Money* in the *Political Discourses* [4] Bk XX, Ch 11

dises deviendroient subitement à si bon marché qu'il s'en suivroit subitement une grande exportation qui attireroit chez nous l'argent de tous nos voisins. Si la moitié de l'argent qui est en Angleterre étoit subitement doublée, les marchandises deviendroient subitement beaucoup plus chères, l'importation croîtroit au préjudice de l'exportation et notre argent, se repandroit chez tous nos voisins Il semble que l'argent, non plus que l'eau, ne peut être élevé ni abaissé aucune part beaucoup au delà du niveau auquel il est dans les endroits où la communication est ouverte, mais qu'il doit toujours s'élever ou s'abaisser en proportion des marchandises et du travail qui sont dans chaque Etat [1]

Page 116, chapitre XVII.[2] L'énumeration que vous faites des inconvénients des dettes publiques est fort juste Mais n'ont-elles aucun avantage? Les marchands qui ont des capitaux dans les fonds publics ne gardent que peu d'argent dans leurs coffres pour les besoins de leur commerce; ils peuvent disposer quand il leur plaît de ces capitaux pour repondre à quelque demande que ce soit Par conséquent, ces capitaux servent à deux fins premièrement, à leur produire un revenu fixe secondement, à faire aller leur commerce, par conséquent le marchand peut soutenir le commerce avec de moindres profits sur les marchandises, ce qui est avantageux pour le commerce.[3] En parlant de ceci à un homme qui a beaucoup de connoissances, Milord Lonsdale,[4] il me fit remarquer un autre avantage, qui cependant me paroît plus douteux: les capitaux, dit-il, que l'on a dans les fonds publics sont dans une circulation continuelle et forment une espèce d'argent, l'abondance de l'argent diminue l'intérêt et favorise le commerce [5]

Votre sentiment sur les dettes publiques a déjà été cité dans

[1] Cf Hume's essay *Of the Balance of Trade* in the *Political Discourses*

[2] Bk XXII, Ch 17

[3] Cf Hume's essay *Of Public Credit* in the *Political Discourses*

[4] Henry Lowther (1694–1751), 3rd Viscount Lonsdale

[5] To this Montesquieu appended a note 'Ce que dit Mr Hume sur les dettes publiques et la réflexion de Milord Lonsdale ne me doivent rien faire changer, parce que j'ai distingué le papier circulant qui représente la monnaie ou celui qui représente une compagnie de commerce, d'avec celui qui ne représente qu'une dette Les deux premiers peuvent avoir tous les avantages du troisième et produire tous les bons effets qu'on attribue au troisième, comme la commodité des négociants A l'égard du papier circulant des colonies, il rend lui-même la raison des effets pernicieux qui en ont résulté il n'était point exigible et il n'y avait point d'argent pour le payer' (*Corr de Mont*, II 176 n)

la Chambre des pairs par le comte de Bath, ci-devant M Pulteney,[1] pair d'une grande distinction, à présent dans le parti de l'opposition; vous savez que ces distinctions ne sont pas souvent de longue durée parmi nous et sont très casuelles

Nos compatriotes sont fort vains de l'approbation que vous donnez à leur forme de gouvernement, dont ils sont, et avec quelque raison, si amoureux Mais ne peut-on pas remarquer que, si les formes simples de gouvernement sont par leur nature sujettes à l'abus, parce qu'il n'y a aucun contrepoids, d'un autre côté les formes compliquées où une partie réprime l'autre, sont, comme les machines compliquées, sujettes à se déranger par le contraste et l'opposition des parties

Je trouve bien des gens embarrassés ainsi que moi à deviner le sens du dernier paragraphe de votre ouvrage *Italiam, Italiam* ., faute sans doute de savoir quelque chose à quoi vous faites allusion.

Vous voyez, Monsieur, avec quel empressement je saisis la première occasion de me faire connoître à un homme dont j'admire le génie et dont j'aime et j'estime l'humanité et la grandeur d'âme J'ai consacré ma vie à la philosophie et aux belles-lettres et cette ambition pacifique, exempte de toute espèce d'envie, me procurera, j'espère, votre indulgence favorable

Je suis, Monsieur. .

David Hume [2]

[1] Montesquieu heard of this quotation in the House of Lords from other correspondents, and Lord Bath ultimately sent him some notes that he had made on *l'Esprit des lois* These do not seem to have reached the author, who was much disappointed 'L'approbation de Milord Bath est la meilleure pièce de mon sac,' he writes to Domville on 22 July 1749 (op cit , ii 208)

[2] Montesquieu replied to this letter from Bordeaux on 19 May 1749 His letter is printed at length in Burton, i. 456 f , and in *Corr de Mont.* ii 188 f The autograph is among the MSS , R S E The following extracts are of special interest

'J'ay recu, Monsieur, comme une chose tres precieuse la belle lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire au sujet de mon ouvrage, elle est remplie de reflexions si judicieuses, et si sensées, que je ne sçaurois vous dire a quel point j'en ay eté charmé j'aime mieux vous parler d'une belle disertation ou vous donnez une beaucoup plus grande influence aux causes morales qu'aux causes phisiques. Et il m'a paru autant que je suis capable d'en juger que ce sujet est traité à fond, quelque dificile qu'il soit a traiter et ecrit de main de maitre, et rempli d'idées et de reflexions tres neuves Nous commencames aussi a lire Mr Stuart et moy un autre ouvrage de vous ou vous maltraités un peu l'ordre eclesiastique Vous croiés bien que Mr Stuart et moy n'avons pu entierement vous aprouver nous nous sommes contentés de vous admirer '

* 66. *To* JOHN CLEPHANE [1]

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων [2]

Dear Doctor,

I have here received a great many thanks from an honest man, who tells me that he and all his family have been extremely obliged to me. This is my brother's gardener,[3] who showed me a letter from his son, wherein he acknowledges that he owes his life to your care, that you placed him in an hospital, and attended him with as much assiduity as if he had been the best nobleman in the land; that all he shall ever be worth will never be able to repay you· and that therefore he must content himself with being grateful. at the same time desiring his father to give me thanks, by whose means he was recommended to you

These thanks I received with great gravity, and replied, that one must always endeavour to do good when it is in one's power In short, I took upon me your part, and gave myself as many airs as if I had really shown the same beneficent dispositions. I considered that you have good deeds to spare, and are possessed of greater store of merits and works of supererogation, than any church, Pagan, Mahometan, or Catholic, ever was entitled to, and that, therefore, to rob you a little was no great crime —

—cui plura supersunt,
Et fallunt dominum, et prosunt furibus.[4]

I hope, dear Doctor, you find virtue its own reward—that, methinks, is but just—considering it is the only reward it is ever likely to meet with—in this world I mean, at least you

* Part of MS in J Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, Burton, I 296 ff

[1] In 1748 Clephane was superintendent at the military hospital in Ipswich, but by the time this letter was written he had probably settled in London. He took a house in Golden Square in 1752, and soon prospered

[2] Homer, *Iliad*, XI 514

[3] According to the anonymous biographer of John Home of Ninewells in Kay's *Portraits* (II 72 f) the gardener's name was Joseph Watson, and he remained all his life in the service of the family and was succeeded by his son Thomas

[4] The true quotation is

ubi non et multa supersunt,
Et dominum fallunt, et prosunt furibus
Horace, *Epist* I 6 45.

may take your own reward yourself for me I shall never trouble my head about the matter, and you need not expect that I shall even like or esteem you the better for this instance of your charity and humanity You fancy, I suppose, that I already liked and esteemed you so much, that this makes no sensible addition You may fancy what you please· I shall not so much as speak another word upon this subject, but proceed to a better You shall see.

You would perhaps ask, how I employ my time in this leisure and solitude, and what are my occupations? Pray, do you expect I should convey to you an encyclopedia, in the compass of a letter? The last thing I took my hand from was a very learned, elaborate discourse, concerning the populousness of antiquity,[1] not altogether in opposition to *Vossius*[2] and *Montesquieu*,[3] who exaggerate that affair infinitely, but, starting some doubts, and scruples, and difficulties, sufficient to make us suspend our judgment on that head Amongst other topics, it fell in my way to consider the greatness of ancient *Rome*, and in looking over the discourse, I find the following period 'If we may judge by the younger Pliny's account of his house, and by the plans of ancient buildings in Dr Mead's[4] collection, the men of quality had very spacious palaces, and their buildings were like the Chinese houses, where each apartment is separate from the rest, and rises no higher than a single story' Pray, on what authority are those plans founded? If I remember right, I was told they were discovered on the walls of the baths, and other subterraneous buildings. Is this the proper method of citing them? If you have occasion to communicate this to Dr Mead, I beg that my sincere respects may be joined

[1] Published as the essay *Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations* in the *Political Discourses*, 1752

[2] Isaak Vossius (1618–89), son of Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577–1649), residentiary canon at Windsor, 1673, author of *Variarum observationum liber* (1685), which contains an essay, *De antiquae Romae magnitudine*, in which Vossius tries to prove that the population of Rome was 14,000,000, and its area twenty times greater than that of Paris and London combined

[3] In the essay he calls Montesquieu 'an author of much greater genius and discernment' than Vossius, and refers to the *Lettres persanes* and *l'Esprit des lois*

[4] Richard Mead (1673–1754), physician and antiquary He made one of the greatest collections of MSS , books, coins, statues, gems, and drawings, of his age Pope commemorates him in the line

I'll do what Mead and Cheselden advise

Epist iii 51

I think the parsons have lately used the physicians very ill, for, in all the common terrors of mankind, you used commonly both to come in for a share of the profit but in this new fear of earthquakes,[1] they have left you out entirely, and have pretended alone to give prescriptions to the multitude. I remember, indeed, Mr Addison talks of a quack that advertised pills for an earthquake,[2] at a time when people lay under such terrors as they do at present. But I know not if any of the faculty have imitated him at this time I see only a Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of London,[3] where, indeed, he recommends certain pills, such as fasting, prayer, repentance, mortification, and other drugs, which are entirely to come from his own shop And I think this is very unfair in him, and you have great reason to be offended; for why might he not have added, that medicinal powders and potions would also have done service? The worst is, that you dare not revenge yourself in kind, by advising your patients to have nothing to do with the parson; for you are sure he has a faster hold of them than you, and you may yourself be discharged on such an advice.

[4] You'll scarcely believe what I am going to tell you, but it is literally true Millar had printed off some Months ago a new Edition of certain philosophical Essays, [5] but he tells me very gravely, that he has delay'd publishing because of the Earthquakes I wish you may not also be a Loser by the same common Calamity. For I am told the Ladies were so frightend that they took the Rattling of every Coach for an Earthquake,

[1] On 8 Feb and 8 March of this year London was shaken by slight earthquakes, no one being killed A mad soldier prophesied that a third would occur exactly a month after the second, and that it would destroy London As the fatal day approached the panic became extreme Horace Walpole, writing to Mann on 4 April (*Letters*, II 440), reports that within the last three days 'seven hundred and thirty coaches have been counted passing Hyde Park corner, with whole parties removing into the country .. Several women have made earthquake gowns, that is, warm gowns to sit out of doors all to-night These are of the more courageous ' Wesley and Whitefield preached all night to huge, terror-stricken congregations

[2] Possibly an imperfect recollection of *Spectator*, No 444 (which, as it happens, was written by Steele) and No 572.

[3] Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761) Horace Walpole (loc cit) says that 10,000 copies of this Pastoral Letter were sold in two days, and 50,000 subscribed for Lecky (*Hist of Eng in the Eighteenth Cent* III 94) says 100,000 were sold altogether

[4] Autograph in Pierpont Morgan Library begins here

[5] The second edition of the *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* was published by Millar in 1750

& therefore wou'd employ no Physicians but from amongst the Infantry. Insomuch that some of you Charioteers had not gain'd enough to pay the Expences of your Vehicle But this may only be Waggery & Banter, which I abhor Please remember to give my Respects to the General,[1] & Sir Harry[2] & Captain Grant; who I hope are all in good Health. Indeed as to the Captain, I do not know what to hope or wish. For if he recovers his Health, he loses his Shape; & must always remain in that perplexing Dilemma Remember me also to Suncey Glassaugh[3] And remember me yourself

Ninewells near Berwick
April 18 1750.

P S

Pray, did Guidelianus[4] get his Money allow'd him by the Pay Office? I suppose he is in Ireland, poor Devil! so I give you no Commission with regard to him

Pray tell Glassauch, that I hope he has not suppressd the Paper I sent him about the new Year[5] If he has, pray ask for a Sight of it For it is very witty. I contriv'd it one Night, that I coud not sleep for the Tortures of Rheumatisms And you have heard of a great Lady, who always put on Blisters, when she wanted to be witty. Tis a Receipt I recommend to you

To Dr Clephane

* 67 *To* James Oswald of Dunnikier[6]

Dear Sir,

I confess I was a little displeased with you for neglecting me so long, but you have made ample compensation. This commerce, I find, is of advantage to both of us; to me, by the new lights you communicate, and to you, by giving you occasion to examine these subjects more accurately. I shall here deliver my opinion of your reasonings with the freedom which you deserve

I never meant to say that money, in all countries which

* MS, R S E (copy only), Oswald, 65 ff, Burton, I 301 ff

[1] St Clair [2] Erskine [3] Abercromby

[4] Captain James Edmonstoune

[5] Probably a pamphlet, or a skit on James Fraser similar to the one printed in Appendix A

[6] This letter is in reply to a long one from Oswald, dated 10 Oct 1750, and printed in full in *Caldwell Papers*, II 1 93 ff Oswald was criticizing the MS of Hume's essay *Of the Balance of Trade*, published as one of the *Political Discourses*, 1752, and the criticism shows him to have been an enlightened economist—a *rara avis* among the politicians of his day

communicate, must necessarily be on a level, but only on a level proportioned to their people, industry, and commodities [1] That is, where there is double people, &c there will be double money, and so on, and that the only way of keeping or increasing money is, by keeping and increasing the people and industry; not by prohibitions of exporting money, or by taxes on commodities, the methods commonly thought of I believe we differ little on this head You allow, that if all the money in England were increased four-fold in one night, there would be a sudden rise of prices, but then, say you, the importation of foreign commodities would soon lower the prices Here, then, is the flowing out of the money already begun But, say you, a small part of this stock of money would suffice to buy foreign commodities, and lower the prices I grant it would for one year, till the imported commodities be consumed But must not the same thing be renewed next year? No, say you, the additional stock of money may, in this interval, so increase the people and industry, as to enable them to retain their money. Here I am extremely pleased with your reasoning I agree with you, that the increase of money, if not too sudden, naturally increases people and industry, and by that means may retain itself, but if it do not produce such an increase, nothing will retain it except hoarding Suppose twenty millions brought into Scotland, suppose that, by some fatality, we take no advantage of this to augment our industry or people, how much would remain in the quarter of a century? Not a shilling more than we have at present My expression in the Essay needs correction, which has occasioned you to mistake it.

Your enumeration of the advantages of rich countries above poor, in point of trade, is very just and curious, but I cannot agree with you that, barring ill policy or accidents, the former might proceed gaining upon the latter for ever The growth of every thing, both in arts and nature, at last checks itself The rich country would acquire and retain all the manufactures, that require great stock or great skill, but the poor country would gain from it all the simpler and more laborious. The manufactures of London, you know, are steel, lace, silk, books,

[1] As a result, probably, of Oswald's misunderstanding on this point, Hume added a footnote to his essay 'It must carefully be remarked, that, throughout this discourse, wherever I speak of the level of money, I mean always its proportional level to the commodities, labour, industry, and skill, which is in the several states '

coaches, watches, furniture, fashions But the outlying provinces have the linen and woollen trades

The distance of China is a physical impediment to the communication, by reducing our commerce to a few commodities; and by heightening the price of these commodities, on account of the long voyage, the monopolies and the taxes A Chinese works for three-halfpence a day, and is very industrious Were he as near us as France or Spain, every thing we use would be Chinese, till money and prices came to a level, that is, to such a level as is proportioned to the numbers of people, industry, and commodities of both countries

A part of our public funds serve in places of money; for our merchants, but still more our bankers, keep less cash by them when they have stock, because they can dispose of that upon any sudden demand This is not the case with the French funds The *rentes* of the Hotel de Ville are not transferable, but are most of them entailed in the families At least, I know there is a great difference in this respect betwixt them and the *actions* of the Indian company.

That the industry and people of Spain, after the discovery of the West Indies, at first increased more than is commonly imagined, is a very curious fact, and I doubt not but you say so upon good authority, though I have not met with that observation in any author

Besides the bad effect of the paper credit in our Colonies, as it was a cheat, it must also be allowed that it banished gold and silver, by supplying their place On the whole, my intention in the Essay was both to remove people's errors, who are apt, from chimerical calculations, to imagine they are losing their specie, though they can show in no instance that either their people or industry diminish, and also to expose the absurdity of guarding money otherwise than by watching over the people and their industry, and preserving or increasing them. To prohibit the exportation of money, or the importation of commodities, is mistaken policy, and I have the pleasure of seeing you agree with me

I have no more to say but compliments, and therefore shall conclude.

I am Dear Sir Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Ninewells,
1st Novr 1750

* 68. *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto [1]

Dear Sir

About six weeks ago, I gave our Friend, Jack Stuart,[2] the Trouble of delivering you a Letter, & some papers [3] enclos'd, which I was desirous to submit to your Criticism & Examination. I say not this by way of Compliment & Ceremonial, but seriously & in good earnest It is pretty usual for People to be pleas'd with their own Performance, especially in the Heat of Composition; but I have scarcely wrote any thing more whimsical, or whose Merit I am more diffident of

But in sending in these Papers, I am afraid that I have taken the least Step towards conveying them to your hand· I shou'd also have wrote you to ask for them, otherwise, perhaps, our Friend may wear them out in his Pocket, & forget the Delivery of them Be so good, therefore, as to desire them from him, & having read them at your Leizure, return them to him in a Packet, and he will send them to me by the Carrier You wou'd easily observe what I mention'd to you, that they had a Reference to some other Work, and were not complete in themselves But, with this Allowance, are they tolerable?

I wrote a Letter to Mr Mure directed to your Care, but it wou'd come too late for him. Be pleas'd to send it to him, under a new Cover, without any other Direction than that of Member of Parliament at London For that is sufficient.

I am Dear Sir Yours in [ ] [4]

Dav[id Hume] [4]

Ninewells near Berwick
10th February 1751.

* MS at Minto House, Burton, 1 321 f (incomplete)

[1] Gilbert Elliot (1722–77) of Minto, 3rd Bart, father of 1st Earl of Minto, admitted advocate, 1743, M P for Selkirkshire, 1753, Lord of Admiralty, 1756 He continued to hold one minor office or another under successive ministries, and later became one of 'The King's Friends' A somewhat formal man, cold and prudent

[2] Probably John Stewart, wine merchant, son of Archibald Stewart and first cousin to Elliot

[3] The MS of *A Dialogue*, published later in this year along with the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*

[4] MS mutilated

* 69 *To* Colonel James Abercromby [1]

[Feb 16 1751.]

Dear Collonel,

Endeavour to make Fraser [2] believe I am in earnest If the thing takes, you may easily find some Body to personate Mr Cockburn, & you may swear to the Truth of the whole To make it more probable, you may say, that you suspect too much Study has made me crazy; otherwise I had never thought of so foolish a thing

If there be any Probability of succeeding, an Advertisement, like that which is on the following Page, may be put into any of the public Papers That is, if you think, *que le jeu vaut la chandelle*

My Compliments to Mrs Abercromby I hope some day to regain her good Opinion It shall be the great Object of my Ambition.

Tell the Dr [3] I shall answer him sooner than he did me. He will assist you very well in any Cheat or Roguery But do not attempt it, unless you think you can all be Masters of your Countenance

This is a Note, not a Letter Yours sincerely

Da Hume

Read Fraser the Letter, but do not put it into his hands He will tear it. Show him first my other Letter to you

Advertisement

Speedily will be publish'd Price 1 sh A Letter to a certain turbulent Patriot in Westminster,[4] from a Friend in the Country.

. . *Et* spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, et quaerere conscius arma Virg

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 311 f

[1] This letter, No 69 A, and the Enclosure (in Appendix A) all go together No 69 is the real letter, and is endorsed in Hume's hand 'True Letter to Col Abercromby to be first read ' No 69 A is what Hume would call 'an ostensible letter'—in this case a joke

[2] Apparently a physician who had been on the expedition to L'Orient and remained with the 1st Foot for a time, afterwards settling in London He is said to have been connected with the Lovat family, and to have died in London about 1760 From Hume's letters it is clear that he was a hot-headed Highlander with Jacobite leanings, the butt of all his friends, but held in no little affection by them

[3] Clephane

[4] It would seem that Fraser had taken an active part in the riotous

* 69 A *To* Colonel James Abercromby

[An ostensible letter]

Dear Sir

This will be deliver'd you by Mr William Cockburn,[1] a Friend of mine, who travels to London for the first time. I have taken the Opportunity to send up by him a Manuscript, which I intend to have printed I have order'd him first to read it to you; but not to trust it out of his Hands You can scarce be surpriz'd that I treat Mr Fraser so roughly in it No Man, who loves his Country, can be a Friend to that Gentleman, considering his late, as well as former, Behaviour For if I be rightly inform'd, his Conduct shows no more the Spirit of Submission & Tranquillity than that of Prudence & Discretion, & if he goes on at this Rate, you yourself will be oblig'd to renounce all Connexion & Friendship with him

I have been ill of late, & am very low at present from the Loss of Blood, which they have drawn from me My Friends wou'd hinder me from reading, but my Books and my Pen are my only Comfort & Occupation And while I am master of

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 313

election at Westminster in 1750, when the candidates were (1) Granville Leveson-Gower (1721–1803), Viscount Trentham, eldest son of the 1st Earl Gower, and afterwards Marquis of Stafford, and (2) Sir George Vandeput, 2nd Bart (died 1784) The former was the Ministry's nominee, but unpopular with the mob because he had supported and protected the French players in a theatre riot shortly before, the latter was an adherent of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Leicester-House party The High Bailiff declared Trentham elected Fraser (like other Jacobites) supported Vandeput, though both Trentham and his father, Lord Gower, had been suspected of Jacobite sympathies earlier

The election was further noteworthy for the part taken in it by the Hon Alexander Murray, younger brother of Lord Elibank (see Appendix) Murray insulted the High Bailiff, and was summoned, along with one Crowle, an attorney, to the Bar of the House of Commons Crowle took his rebuke, kneeling before the Speaker, as the custom was, and on getting up, ostentatiously dusted his knees, saying it was the dirtiest house he had ever been in Murray declined to kneel, declaring magnificently that he knelt only to God, he was thereupon committed to prison, and remained in prison some months On his release he was escorted to Lord Elibank's house by a rowdy procession carrying banners with the device 'Murray and Liberty' Soon afterwards he escaped to France

[1] A fictitious personage

a Drop of Blood or of Ink, I will joyfully spill it in the Cause of my Country

I am Dear Sir
Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Ninewells Near Berwick
16 Feb^{y} 1751
To the Hon^{ble} Col. James Abercromby of the Royal, at his House in Petty France Westminster

* 70. *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Ninewells, near Berwick,
18th February, 1751.

Dear Doctor,

I will not pay you so bad a compliment as to say I was not angry with you for neglecting me so long, that would be to suppose I was indifferent whether I had any share in your memory or friendship However, since there is nothing in it but the old vice of indolence,

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco [1]

Ed io anche sono Pittore, as Corregio said, I am therefore resolved to forgive you, and to keep myself in a proper disposition for saying the Lord's Prayer, whenever I shall find space enough for it

I must own I could not but think you excusable, even before you disarmed me by your submission and penitence, 'tis so common an artifice for provincials to hook on a correspondence with a Londoner, under pretext of friendship and regard, that a jealousy on that head is very pardonable in the latter But I ought not to lie under that general suspicion, for the fashionable songs I cannot sing; the present or the expectant ministers I have no interest in, the old good books I have not yet all read or pondered sufficiently, and the current stories and *bon mots*, I would not repeat if I knew them You see, therefore, that if I were not concerned about Dr Clephane, I never should desire to hear from him, and consequently that a line of his would be equally acceptable whether it comes from London or Crookhaven

I have executed your desire and the Colonel's as well as I could, but have not, I believe, succeeded so well as last year [2] the subject, indeed, was exhausted, and the patient may justly,

* Burton, i 314 ff.

[1] Virg, *Aen* i 630

[2] See note 5 on p 142

I fear, be esteemed incurable. I leave you to manage the matter as you best can but I beg of you to conduct it, so as not to make a quarrel betwixt Fraser and me; he is an honest, good-humoured, friendly, pleasant fellow (though, it must be confessed, a little turbulent and impetuous), and I should be sorry to disoblige him The Colonel would be heartily bit, if by this or any other means Fraser could be cured of his politics and patriotism, and all his friends would lose a great deal of diversion, and certainly would not like him near so well, if he were more cool and reasonable, and moderate, and prudent But these are vices he is in no manner of danger of Is it likely that reason will prevail against nature, habit, company, education, and prejudice? I leave you to judge

But since I am in the humour of displaying my wit, I must tell you that lately, at an idle hour, I wrote a sheet called the Bellman's Petition [1] wherein (if I be not partial, which I certainly am) there was some good pleasantry and satire The printers in Edinburgh refused to print it, (a good sign, you'll say, of *my* prudence and discretion) Mr Mure, the member, has a copy of it, ask it of him if you meet with him, or bid the Colonel, who sees him every day at the House, ask it, and if you like it read it to the General, and then return it I will not boast, for I have no manner of vanity, but when I think of the present dulness of London, I cannot forbear exclaiming

Rome n'est pas dans Rome,
C'est par tout où je suis [2]

A namesake of mine [3] has wrote a tragedy,[4] which he expects to come on this winter. I have not seen it, but some people commend it much 'Tis very likely to meet with success, and

[1] The Scottish clergy were making a dignified, and entirely justified, attempt to secure higher stipends But their claims were strenuously opposed by the nobility and landed gentry, on whom the burden of paying the increased stipends would mainly fall, and Hume, perhaps influenced by the laird, his brother, wrote *The Bellman's Petition* to throw ridicule upon the claims It is a burlesque petition on behalf of the bell-ringers (who had also to act as sextons), and is not bad fun, though obviously written in imitation of Swift

[2] A misquotation for

Rome n'est plus dans Rome, elle est toute où je suis
Corneille, *Sertorius*, III, 1, l 936

[3] John Home

[4] *Agis*, Home's first play He took it up to London in 1749 and offered it to Garrick Garrick refused it then, but put it on in 1758, after Home had become famous with *Douglas*

not to deserve it, for the author tells me, he is a great admirer of Shakespere, and never read Racine

When I take a second perusal of your letter, I find you resemble the Papists, who deal much in penitence, but neglect extremely *les bonnes œuvres* I asked you a question with regard to the plans of ancient buildings in Dr Mead's collection.[1] Pray, are they authentic enough to be cited in a discourse of erudition and reasoning? have they never been published in any collection? and what are the proper terms in which I ought to cite them? I know you are a great proficient in the *virtu*, and consequently can resolve my doubts This word I suppose you pretend to speak with an *e*, which I own is an improvement: but admitting your orthography, you must naturally have a desire of doing a good-natured action, and instructing the ignorant.

It appears to me that apothecaries bear the same relation to physicians, that priests do to philosophers, the ignorance of the former makes them positive, and dogmatical, and assuming, and enterprising, and pretending, and consequently much more taking with the people Follow my example—let us not trouble ourselves about the matter, let the one stuff the beasts' guts with antimony, and the other their heads with divinity, what is that to us? according to the Greek proverb, they are no more, but as ἐς τὴν ἀμίδα ἐνουροῦντες.[2]

You may tell me, indeed, that I mistake the matter quite, that it is not your kindness for the people, which makes you concerned, but something else In short, that if self-interest were not in the case, they might take clysters, and physic, and ipecacuanha, till they were tired of them Now, dear Doctor, this mercenary way of thinking I never could have suspected you of, and am heartily ashamed to find you of such a temper

If you answer this any time within the twelve months 'tis sufficient, and I promise not to answer you next at less than six months' interval; and so, as the Germans say, je me recomante a fos ponnes craces

*71 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Dear Sir

Your Notion of correcting Subtility of Sentiment is certainly very just with regard to Morals, which depend upon Sentiment;

* MS at Minto House, Burton, 1 324 ff (incomplete and very inaccurate).

[1] See Letter 66 above

[2] Lucian, *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΜΙΣΘΩΙ ΣΥΝΟΝΤΩΝ*, 4 (658).

& in Politics & natural Philosophy, whatever Conclusion is contrary to certain Matter of Fact must certainly be wrong, and there must some Error lie somewhere in the Argument, whether we be able to show it or not But in Metaphysics or Theology, I cannot see how either of these plain & obvious Standards of Truth can have place Nothing there can correct bad Reasoning but good Reasoning and Sophistry must be oppos'd by Syllogism About seventy or eighty Years ago, I observe, a Principle like that which you advance prevail'd very much in France amongst some Philosophers & *beaux Esprits*. The Occasion of it was this. The famous Mons. Nicole[1] of the Port Royal, in his *Perpetuité de la Foi*, push'd the Protestants very hard upon the Impossibility of the People's reaching a Conviction of their Religion by the way of private Judgement; which requir'd so many Disquisitions, Reasonings, Researches, Erudition, Impartiality, & Penetration, as not one of a hundred, even amongst Men of Education, is capable of Monsr Claude[2] & the Protestants answer'd him, not by solving his Difficulties (which seems impossible) but by retorting them (which is very easy) They show'd that to reach the Way of Authority, which the Catholics insist on, as long a Train of acute Reasoning & as great Erudition was requisite as woud be sufficient for a Protestant We must first prove all the Truths of natural Religion, the Foundation of Morals, the divine Authority of the Scripture, the Deference which it commands to the Church, the Tradition of the Church &c The Comparison of these controversial Writings begot an Idea in some, that it was neither by Reasoning nor Authority we learn our Religion, but by Sentiment And certainly this were a very convenient Way, and what a Philosopher wou'd be very well pleas'd to comply with, if he coud distinguish Sentiment from Education But to all Appearance the Sentiment of Stockholm, Geneva, Rome antient & modern, Athens, & Memphis, have the same Characters And no thinking man can implicitly assent to any of them; but from the general Principle, that as the Truth in these Subjects is beyond human Capacity, & that as for one's own Ease he must adopt some Tenets, there is more Satisfaction &

[1] Pierre Nicole (1625–95), sole author of what is known as 'La Petite' *Perpétuité de la Foi*, 1 vol , 1664, and joint author, with Arnauld, of *Perpétuité de la Foi*, 4 vols , 1669

[2] Jean Claude (1619–87), author of *Réponse aux deux traités intitulés: la Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Eglise catholique touchant l'Eucharistie*, Charenton, 1665

Convenience in holding to the Catechism we have been first taught. Now this I have nothing to say against I woud only observe, that such a Conduct is founded on the most universal & determin'd Scepticism, join'd to a little Indolence For more Curiosity & Research gives a direct opposite Turn from the same Principles

The Origin I assign to Paederasty from the Frequency of the gymnastic Exercises amongst the Greeks is founded (1) On the plain Testimony of Cicero But I cannot readily point you out the Passage. (2) We may observe, that in that full, natural, undisguis'd Picture of ancient Manners drawn by Homer in his two Poems, there is not the smallest Traces of this Vice The Friendship betwixt Achilles & Patroclus was pure They were both middle-ag'd Men, & Patroclus was the elder Besides, Homer takes Care to lay them apart, & gives each of them a Wench in his Arms The more antient Greeks therefore were free from this Corruption Now Thucydides says that the Introduction of the gymnastic Exercises was late The first Antients had always part of their Body cover'd in their Exercises (3) Plato says, by way of Reproach both to the Barbarians & Asiatic Greeks, that they were ignorant of Paederasty & the gymnastic Exercises He speaks of them as connected Tho' this Question be foreign to my Subject in the Dialogue,[1] I know not but I had better add a Note containing these Arguments.

The Greeks seem rather to have been restrain'd in the Use of Women A Commerce with a Slave was reproachful Even wenching or a Commerce with a Courtezan was somewhat scandalous & its Punishment was to render a Man incapable of all public Offices, at least, he was not allow'd to speak to the People This appears from the Oration of Demosthenes contra Androt. However, I own, this is not reconcilable with many Passages in Antiquity, particularly, that Solon establish'd public Stews by Law. I have put this down amongst my *Greek* Doubts I find Alcibiades much reproach'd for his wenching by Isocrates, never for Paederasty.

I have amus'd myself lately with an Essay or Dissertation on the Populousness of Antiquity, which led me into many Disquisitions concerning both the public & domestic Life of the Antients Having read over almost all the Classics both Greek and Latin, since I form'd that Plan, I have extracted what

[1] The *Dialogue* published along with the *Enquiry concerning Morals* The note was not inserted

serv'd most to my Purpose· But I have not a Strabo, & know not where to get one in this Neighbourhood. He is an Author I never read. I know your Library (I mean the Advocates') is scrupulous of lending Classics, but perhaps that Difficulty may be got over I shou'd be much oblig'd to you, if you coud procure me the Loan of a Copy, either in the original Language or even in a good Translation

The Greeks had military Dances, particularly the Pyrrichia[1]; but these were not practic'd in their Festivals nor amidst their Jollity. Their way of dancing was very good for an indolent Fellow For commonly they rose not from their Seats, but mov'd their Arms and Head in Cadence. Tis difficult to imagine there coud be much Grace in that kind of dancing.

I send you enclos'd a little Endeavour at Drollery against some People who care not much to be jok'd upon[2] I have frequently had it in my Intentions to write a Supplement to *Gulliver*, containing the Ridicule of Priests Twas certainly a Pity that Swift was a Parson. Had he been a Lawyer or Physician, we had nevertheless been entertain'd at the Expense of these Professions But Priests are so jealous, that they cannot bear to be touch'd on that Head, and for a plain Reason: Because they are conscious they are really ridiculous That Part of the Doctor's Subject is so fertile, that a much inferior Genius, I am confident, might succeed in it.

Tell Jack Stuart, as soon as you see him, that I have sent you this Copy, if he can make any use of it I intended to have had it printed, but I know not how, I find it will not do If you like the thing, I wish you woud contrive together some way of getting over the Difficulties that have arisen, the most strangely in the World.

I am Dear Sir Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Ninewells near Berwick
18 February, 1751

* 72. *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

Dear Sir

You wou'd perceive by the Sample I have given you, that I make Cleanthes the Hero of the Dialogue[3] Whatever you

* MS at Minto House, Burton, I 331 ff (incomplete and inaccurate)

[1] So named after Pyrrhus, the inventor See Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1169

[2] *The Bellman's Petition* (see preceding Letter)

[3] The first draft of the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, which were not

can think of, to strengthen that Side of the Argument, will be most acceptable to me Any Propensity you imagine I have to the other Side, crept in upon me against my Will And tis not long ago that I burn'd an old Manuscript Book, wrote before I was twenty; which contain'd, Page after Page, the gradual Progress of my Thoughts on that head It begun with an anxious Search after Arguments, to confirm the common Opinion Doubts stole in, dissipated, return'd, were again dissipated, return'd again, and it was a perpetual Struggle of a restless Imagination against Inclination, perhaps against Reason

I have often thought, that the best way of composing a Dialogue, wou'd be for two Persons that are of different Opinions about any Question of Importance, to write alternately the different Parts of the Discourse, & reply to each other. By this Means, that vulgar Error woud be avoided, of putting nothing but Nonsense into the Mouth of the Adversary· And at the same time, a Variety of Character & Genius being upheld, woud make the whole look more natural & unaffected Had it been my good Fortune to live near you, I shou'd have taken on me the Character of Philo, in the Dialogue, which you'll own I coud have supported naturally enough· And you woud not have been averse to that of Cleanthes I believe, too, we coud both of us have kept our Temper very well, only, you have not reach'd an absolute philosophical Indifference on these Points.[1] What Danger can ever come from ingenious Reasoning & Enquiry? The worst speculative Sceptic ever I knew, was a much better Man than the best superstitious Devotee & Bigot I must inform you, too, that this was the way of thinking of the Antients on this Subject If a Man made Profession of Philosophy, whatever his Sect was, they always expected to find more Regularity in his Life and Manners, than in those of the ignorant & illiterate. There is a remarkable

published till after Hume's death Cleanthes is the philosophical theist, Philo the sceptic

[1] Elliot never did reach indifference on these points He was a leading elder of the Kirk, and according to Thomas Somerville, who became minister at Minto in 1767 'With regard to religion and morals, he ever professed and inculcated sentiments the most correct and pure He expressed a marked disapprobation of the sceptical philosophy, inculcated with unparalleled subtility and elegance, in the works of David Hume, at that time universally read, and too commonly admired' (*My own Life and Times*, 122)

Passage of Appian to this Purpose. That Historian observes, that notwithstanding the establish'd Prepossession in Favour of Learning, yet some Philosophers, who have been trusted with absolute Power, have very much abus'd it, and he instances in Critias, the most violent of the Thirty, & Ariston, who govern'd Athens in the time of Sylla But I find, upon Enquiry, that Critias was a profest Atheist, & Ariston an Epicurean, which is little or nothing different: And yet Appian wonders at their Corruption, as much as if they had been Stoics or Platonists A modern Zealot woud have thought that Corruption unavoidable.

I cou'd wish that Cleanthes' Argument[1] coud be so analys'd, as to be render'd quite formal & regular The Propensity of the Mind towards it, unless that Propensity were as strong & universal as that to believe in our Senses & Experience, will still, I am afraid, be esteem'd a suspicious Foundation. Tis here I wish for your Assistance. We must endeavour to prove that this Propensity is somewhat different from our Inclination to find our own Figures in the Clouds, our Face in the Moon, our Passions & Sentiments even in inanimate Matter Such an Inclination may, & ought to be controul'd, & can never be a legitimate Ground of Assent

The Instances I have chosen for Cleanthes are, I hope, tolerably happy, & the Confusion in which I represent the Sceptic seems natural But si quid novisti rectius, &c.[2]

You ask me, If the idea of Cause & Effect is nothing but Vicinity, (you shoud have said constant Vicinity, or regular Conjunction), I woud gladly know *whence is that farther Idea of Causation against which you argue?* This Question is pertinent, but I hope I have answer'd it. We feel, after the constant Conjunction, an easy Transition from one Idea to the other, or a Connexion in the Imagination And as it is usual for us to transfer our own Feelings to the Objects on which they are

[1] The argument from design, e g. 'The curious adapting of means to ends, throughout all nature, resembles exactly, though it much exceeds, the productions of human contrivance, of human design, thought, wisdom, and intelligence Since therefore the effects resemble each other, we are led to infer, by all the rules of analogy, that the causes also resemble, and that the Author of Nature is somewhat similar to the mind of man ' (*Dialogues*, Pt II)

[2] Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum
Horace, *Epist* 1. 6, 67.

dependent, we attach the internal Sentiment to the external Objects. If no single Instances of Cause & Effect appear to have any Connexion, but only repeated similar ones, you will find yourself oblig'd to have Recourse to this Theory

I am sorry our Correspondence shou'd lead us into these abstract Speculations. I have thought, & read, & compos'd very little on such Questions of late. Morals, Politics, & Literature have employ'd all my Time, but still the other Topics I must think more curious, important, entertaining, & useful, than any Geometry that is deeper than Euclid If in order to answer the Doubts started, new Principles of Philosophy must be laid, are not these Doubts themselves very useful? Are they not preferable to blind, & ignorant Assent? I hope I can answer my own Doubts But if I coud not, is it to be wonder'd at? To give myself Airs, & speak magnificently, might I not observe, that Columbus did not conquer Empires & plant Colonies?

If I have not unravell'd the Knot so well, in these last Papers I sent you, as perhaps I did in the former, it has not, I assure you, proceeded from Want of good Will, but some Subjects are easier than others At some Times one is happier in his Researches & Enquiries than at others Still I have Recourse to the *si quid novisti rectius* Not in order to pay you a Compliment, but from a real philosophical Doubt & Curiosity

I do not pay Compliments, because I do not desire them For this Reason, I am very well pleas'd you speak so coldly of my Petition[1] I had, however, given Orders to have it printed, which perhaps may be executed Tho' I believe I had better have left it alone Not because it will give Offence, but because it will not give Entertainment Not because it may be call'd profane; but because it may perhaps be deservedly call'd dull To tell the Truth, I was always so indifferent about Fortune, & especially now, that I am more advanc'd in Life, & am a little more at my Ease, suited to my extreme Frugality, that I neither fear nor hope any thing from any man, and am very indifferent either about Offence or Favour Not only, I woud not sacrifice Truth & Reason to political Views, but scarce even a Jest You may tell me that I ought to have revers'd the Order of these Points, & have put the Jest first As it is usual for People to be the fondest of their Performances on Subjects on which they are least made to excel And that, consequently, I woud give more to be thought a good Droll,

[1] *The Bellman's Petition.*

than to have the Praises of Erudition, & Subtility, & Invention —This malicious Insinuation, I will give no Answer to, but proceed with my Subject.

I find, however, I have no more to say on it, but to thank you for Strabo. If the Carrier who will deliver you this do not find you at home, you will please send the Book to his Quarters. His Name is Thomas Henderson, the Berwick Carrier. He leaves the Town on the Thursdays, about the Middle of the day; he puts up at James Henderson, Stabler, betwixt the Foot of Cant's Close & Blackfriars' Wynd

After you have done with these Papers, please return them by the same Carrier But there is no Hurry On the contrary the longer you keep them, I shall still believe you are thinking the more seriously to execute what I desire of you I am Dear Sir

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

Ninewells, near Berwick
March 10, 1751

P S.

If you'll be persuaded to assist me in supporting Cleanthes, I fancy you need not take Matters any higher than Part 3 He allows, indeed, in Part 2, that all our Inference is founded on the Similitude of the Works of Nature to the usual Effects of Mind Otherwise they must appear a mere Chaos. The only Difficulty is, why the other Dissimilitudes do not weaken the Argument And indeed it woud seem from Experience & Feeling, that they do not weaken it so much as we might naturally expect A Theory to solve this woud be very acceptable.[1]

I hope you intend to be in this Country this Season. I am sorry to hear Mrs Murray[2] has been ill But I hope she is now better

I make no Scruple to push you to write me something regular on this Subject It will be a kind of Exercise to you; & improve your Style & Invention

[1] Elliot drafted, and probably sent, a long answer. The draft (unfinished) is still among the Minto MSS , it was printed, with an encomium, by Dugald Stewart in *Encycl Britannica*, 8th edit , vol 1, Prelim Dissertation I, Note CCC, pp 287 ff It is a lucid, fluent document, superficial and—despite Stewart's praise—philosophically worthless

[2] Elliot's wife As an heiress in her own right (Lady Agnes Murray Kynnynmond) she retained her own name, and was known either as Mrs Murray or, sometimes, as Mrs Elliot-Murray

* 73 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

[March or April 1751][1]

Dear Sir

I am sorry your keeping these Papers[2] has proceeded from Business & Avocations, & not from your Endeavours to clear up so difficult an Argument I despair not, however, of getting some Assistance from you,[3] the Subject is surely of the greatest Importance, and the Views of it so new as to challenge some Attention

I believe the philosophical Essays contain every thing of Consequence relating to the Understanding, which you woud meet with in the Treatise, & I give you my Advice against reading the latter By shortening & simplifying the Questions, I really render them much more complete *Addo dum minuo* The philosophical Principles are the same in both But I was carry'd away by the Heat of Youth & Invention to publish too precipitately So vast an Undertaking, plan'd before I was one and twenty, & compos'd before twenty five, must necessarily be very defective I have repented my Haste a hundred, & a hundred times

I return Strabo, whom I have found very judicious & useful I give you a great many Thanks for your Trouble

I am Dear Sir Yours
Da Hume

† 74. *To* Mrs Dysart of Eccles[4]

Dear Madam

Our Friend,[5] at last, pluckt up a resolution, & has ventur'd on that dangerous encounter He went off on Monday morning; and this is the first action of his life, wherein he has engag'd himself without being able to compute exactly the consequences. But what Arithmetic will serve to fix the proportion betwixt good & bad Wives, & rate the different classes of each? Sir

* MS at Minto House, Burton, 1 336 f

† MS, R S E (copy only), Mackenzie, *Life of Home*, 104 ff, Burton, 1 337 ff

[1] The date might very well be even later than April

[2] The MS of the *Dialogues*

[3] Instead of assistance he got discouragement It was Elliot who first dissuaded him from publishing the *Dialogues*

[4] See note 4 on p 90

[5] John Home of Ninewells, David's brother He had just married Agnes, daughter of Robert Carre of Cavers in Roxburghshire

Isaac Newton himself, who cou'd measure the courses of the Planets, and weigh the Earth as in a pair of scales, even he had not Algebra enough to reduce that amiable Part of our species to a just equation and they are the only heavenly bodies, whose orbits are as yet uncertain

If you think yourself too grave a Matron to have this florid part of the speech addrest to you, pray lend it to the Collector,[1] & he will direct it to Miss Nancy

Since my Brother's departure, Katty[2] & I have been computing in our turn, and the result of our deliberation is, that we are to take up house in Berwick,[3] where if Arithmetic & Frugality dont deceive us (& they are pretty certain Arts) we shall be able, after providing for Hunger, Warmth, & cleanliness, to keep a stock in reserve, which we may afterwards turn either to the purposes of hoarding, Luxury or charity. But I have declar'd beforehand, against the first I can easily guess which of the other two, you and Mr Dysart will be most favourable to But we reject your Judgement For nothing blinds one so much as inveterate Habits

My Compliments to his Sollicitorship[4] Unfortunately, I have not a horse at present to carry my fat carcass to pay its respects to his superior Obesity. But if he finds travelling requisite either for his health or [the] Captains,[5] we shall be glad to entertain him here, as long as we can do it at anothers expence. In hopes, we shall soon be able to do it at our own.

Pray tell the Sollicitor, that I have been reading lately in an old Author called *Strabo*, that in some cities of ancient Gaul, there was a fixt legal standard establish'd for corpulency, & that the Senate kept a measure, beyond which, if any Belly presum'd to encrease, the Proprietor of that Belly was oblig d to pay a fine to the Public, proportionable to its rotundity. Ill wou'd it fare with his Worship & I, if such a law shou'd pass our Parliament For I am afraid we are already got beyond the statute

I wonder, indeed, no Harpy of the Treasury has ever thought of this method of raising money. Taxes on Luxury are always

[1] *Possibly the Collector of Excise, Stirling, whose name was Alexander* Home I know nothing of him except that he had a son, James, who became a W S in 1765

[2] Katherine Home, David's sister. She was probably, though not certainly, younger than he She died unmarried

[3] They never did, however

[4] Alexander Home, Solicitor-General for Scotland

[5] See note 3 on p 54

most approv'd of and no one will say, that the carrying about a portly Belly is of any use or Necessity Tis a mere superfluous ornament and is a proof too, that its Proprietor enjoys greater plenty than he puts to a good use and therefore, 'tis fit to reduce him to a level with his fellow-subjects by Taxes & impositions

As the lean people are the most active, unquiet, & ambitious, they every where govern the world, & may certainly oppress their antagonists whenever they please Heaven forbid that Whig & Tory shou'd ever be abolish'd· For then the Nation might be split into Fat and Lean & our Faction, I am afraid, wou'd be in piteous taking The only comfort is, if they opprest us very much, we shou'd at last change sides with them

Besides, who knows, if a tax were impos'd on Fatness, but some jealous Divine might pretend, that the Church was in danger

I cannot but bless the memory of Julius Caesar, for the great esteem he exprest for Fat men, and his aversion to lean ones All the World allows, That that Emperor was the greatest Genius that ever was, and the greatest Judge of mankind.

But I shou'd ask your Pardon, Dear Madam, for this long dissertation on Fatness & Leanness, in which you are no way concern'd For you are neither Fat nor lean, and may indeed be denominated an arrant Trimmer[1] But this letter may all be read to the Sollicitor For it contains nothing, that need be a secret to him. On the contrary, I hope he will profit by the example, & were I near him, I shou'd endeavour to prove as good an encourager as in this other instance What can the man be afraid of? The Mayor of London had more courage, who defy'd the Hare

But I am resolv'd some time to conclude by putting a grave Epilogue to a Farce, and telling you a real, serious truth, That I am with great esteem,

Dear Madam Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Ninewells March 19

1751.

P.S

Pray let the Sollicitor tell Frank[2] that he is a bad Correspondent, the only way in which he can be a bad one, by his silence

[1] The term was originally applied to the followers of the Marquis of Halifax, 1680–90

[2] Perhaps Francis Home He had now returned from the wars, he took his M D in Edinburgh in 1750

* 75 *To* MICHAEL RAMSAY

Dear Michael

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of your kind letter The concern you take in your friends is so warm, even after so long absence, & such frequent interruptions as our commerce has unhappily met with of late years, that the most recent familiarity of others can seldom equal it. I might perhaps pretend, as well as others, to complain of Fortune, but I do not, and should condemn myself as unreasonable, if I did. While Interest remains as at present, I have £50 a year, £100 worth of Books, great Store of Linnens and fine Cloaths, & near £100 in my Pocket, along with Order, Frugality, a strong Spirit of Independency, good health, a contented Humour, & an unabating love of Study In these circumstances, I must esteem myself one of the happy & fortunate. And so far from being willing to draw my Ticket over again in the Lottery of Life, there are very few prizes with which I would make an Exchange.

After some Deliberation, I am resolved to settle in Edinburgh, & hope I shall be able with these Revenues, to say with Horace, *Est bona librorum & provisae frugis in annum.*[1] Besides other Reasons, which determine me to this Resolution; I would not go too far away from my Sister, who thinks she will soon follow me, and in that case we shall probably take up House either in Edinburgh or the neighbourhood. Our Sister in law behaves well and seems very desirous we should both stay; . .[2] And as she [my sister] can join £30 a year to my Stock, & brings an equal love of Order & Frugality, we doubt not to make our Revenues answer Dr Clephane, who has taken up House, is so kind as to offer me a Room in it; & two Friends in Edin-

* MS , R S E (copy only), *Literary Gazette*, 1821, p 762, Burton, 1 342 and 427 (incomplete)

[1] The true quotation is-

Sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
Copia Hor , *Epist* 1 18, 109 f

[2] The gap is in the copy The copy was made by Michael Ramsay the younger, nephew of Hume's friend, and transmitted to Baron Hume, nephew of the philosopher In the covering letter Ramsay the younger promises to destroy the autograph in Baron Hume's presence. As Baron Hume was the son of 'our sister-in-law' here referred to, we may presume that the philosopher indulged himself in some personal comments of which her son thought it best that no trace should remain

burgh[1] have made me the same offer. But having nothing to ask or sollicit at London, I would not remove to so expensive a Place; and am resolved to keep clear of all Obligations & Dependencies even on those I love the most

Part of my baggage is already packt up, & I remove in a few weeks, however as I cannot give you any other Direction at present, I must beg of you to direct here as usual I believe I shall live in Mrs Freebairn's till Katty come to a Resolution; but this autumn, I shall probably take a Jaunt to the West Country. If you come down this summer, I hope there to have the pleasure of seeing you

Have you seen our Friend Harrys Essays?[2] They are well wrote, and are an unusual instance of an obliging method of answering a Book Philosophers must judge of the question; but the Clergy have already decided it, & say he is as bad as me Nay some affirm him to be worse, as much as a treacherous friend is worse than an open Enemy His Health is pretty good at present, but he has of late been subject to fits of low Spirits, very unusual with him Which makes his Friends wish to see him on the Bench, and on the first Vacancy we shall probably have that satisfaction[3] Marchmont violently opposed him last Occasion, as we hear; and from no other Reason but because he has not pay'd sufficient Court, according to his Lordships fancy He is surely the strangest man in the World.

I am Dear Mich,
Your most affectionate Friend & humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Ninewells 22[d] of June
1751
Mr Ramsay of Mungale at London.

[1] Names unknown

[2] *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*, published anonymously by Henry Home of Kames in 1751. Its avowed purpose was to refute Hume's theory of causality, and to prove that moral laws are founded in the human constitution, are immutable, and therefore cannot be explained as mere utilitarian conventions It is certainly not 'well wrote', but, as Hume indicates, it excited the anger of the zealots

[3] He was raised to the Bench in 1752

* 76. *To* WILLIAM CULLEN[1]

Edinburgh,[2] 21 January, 1752.

Sir,

The part which you have acted in the late project for my election into your College,[3] gave me so much pleasure, that I should do myself the greatest violence did I not take every opportunity of expressing my most lively sense of it. We have failed, and are thereby deprived of great opportunities of cultivating that friendship which had so happily commenced by your zeal for my interests, but I hope other opportunities will offer, and I assure you, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than an intimacy with a person of your merit. You must even allow me to count upon the same privilege of friendship, as if I had enjoyed the happiness of a longer correspondence and familiarity with you For as it is a common observation, that the conferring favours on another is the surest method of attaching us to him, I must by this rule consider you as a person to whom my interests can never be altogether indifferent Whatever the reverend gentlemen may say of my religion, I hope I have as much morality as to retain a grateful sentiment of your favours, and as much sense as to know whose friendship will give greatest honour and advantage to me

I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME

* Thomson, *Life of Cullen*, 1 72 f , Burton, 1 350 f

[1] William Cullen (1710–90), for many years supreme among British teachers of medicine studied in Edinburgh under Alexander Monro, *Primus*, 1734–6, in practice in Hamilton, 1736–44, removed to Glasgow, 1744, Professor of Medicine, Glasgow, 1751, Joint Professor of Chemistry, Edinburgh, 1755, sole Professor of Chemistry, 1756, Professor of the Practice of Physic, Edinburgh, 1773

[2] Hume had now removed to Edinburgh, but had not yet got a house of his own

[3] Thomas Craigie, who had succeeded Hutcheson in the Moral Philosophy Chair at Glasgow, died in November 1751 Adam Smith had been appointed to the Logic Chair in January of that year, and was now transferred to the Moral Philosophy Chair Some one then suggested Hume for the Logic Chair—a suggestion that seems to have raised quite a tumult Smith (who did not know Hume very well yet) wrote to Cullen '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 will oblige us to have some regard to the opinion of the public' (Thomson, *Cullen*, p 606) The project fell through, for reasons that Hume indicates in the next Letter

* 77 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Edinburgh, February 4th, 1752

Dear Doctor,

I have been ready to burst with vanity and self-conceit this week past, and being obliged from decorum to keep a strict watch over myself, and check all eruptions of that kind, I really begin to find my health impaired by it, and perceive that there is an absolute necessity for breathing a vein, and giving a loose to my inclination You shall therefore be my physician, Dum podagricus fit pugil et medicum urget [1] You must sustain the overflowings of my pride, and I expect, too, that by a little flattery you are to help Nature in her discharge, and draw forth a still greater flux of the peccant matter 'Tis not on my account alone you are to take part in this great event; philosophy, letters, science, virtue, triumph along with me, and have now in this one singular instance, brought over even the people from the side of bigotry and superstition.

This is a very pompous exordium, you say, but what will you say when I tell you that all this is occasioned by my obtaining a petty office of forty or fifty guineas a year. Since Caligula of lunatic memory, who triumphed on account of the cockle shells which he gathered on the sea shore, no one has ever erected a trophy for so small an advantage. But judge not by appearances! Perhaps you will think, when you know all the circumstances, that this success is both as extraordinary in itself, and as advantageous to me, as any thing which could possibly have happened

You have probably heard that my friends in Glasgow, contrary to my opinion and advice, undertook to get me elected into that College; and they had succeeded, in spite of the violent and solemn remonstrances of the clergy, if the Duke of Argyle [2] had had courage to give me the least countenance Immediately upon the back of this failure, which should have blasted for some time all my pretensions, the office of library-keeper to the Faculty of Advocates fell vacant,[3] a genteel office, though of small revenue; and as this happened suddenly, my name was immediately set up by my friends without my knowledge.

* Burton, 1 369 ff

[1] Presumably an invention of Hume's [2] Archibald, Duke of Argyll

[3] By the resignation of Thomas Ruddiman, the grammarian and publisher (1674–1757)

The President,[1] and the Dean of Faculty his son,[2] who used to rule absolutely in this body of advocates, formed an aversion to the project, because it had not come from them; and they secretly engaged the whole party called Squadrone[3] against me The bigots joined them, and both together set up a gentleman of character, and an advocate, and who had great favour on both these accounts.[4] The violent cry of Deism, atheism, and scepticism, was raised against me; and 'twas represented that my election would be giving the sanction of the greatest and most learned body of men in this country to my profane and irreligious principles But what was more dangerous, my opponents entered into a regular concert and cabal against me, while my friends were contented to speak well of their project in general, without having once formed a regular list of the electors, or considered of the proper methods of engaging them. Things went on in this negligent manner till within six days of the election, when they met together and found themselves in some danger of being outnumbered, immediately upon which they raised the cry of indignation against the opposite party; and the public joined them so heartily, that our antagonists durst show their heads in no companies nor assemblies expresses were despatched to the country, assistance flocked to us from all quarters, and I carried the election by a considerable majority, to the great joy of all bystanders[5] When faction and party enter into a cause, the smallest trifle becomes important Nothing since the Rebellion has ever so much engaged the

[1] Robert Dundas of Arniston, the Elder (1685–1753), admitted Advocate, 1709, Solicitor-General, 1717, Lord Advocate, 1720, raised to the Bench as Lord Arniston, 1737, Lord President of Session in succession to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 1748.

[2] Robert Dundas of Arniston, the Younger (1713–87), admitted Advocate, 1738, Solicitor-General, 1742, Dean of Faculty, 1746, Lord Advocate, 1754, Lord President of Session, 1760.

[3] *Squadrone Volante* was a name given before the Union to a section of the Country Party in Scotland They actually voted for the Union, but afterwards remained nearly always in opposition to the Government By mid-century the name was rather loosely given to those who opposed the administration of the Duke of Argyll and his henchman, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton Both the Dundases seem to have been considered as belonging to it

[4] Kenneth Mackenzie (died 1756), Professor of Civil Law in the Univ of Edin He was appointed one of the Curators of the Library in Jan 1754

[5] Hume was received as Keeper of the Library and Clerk to the Faculty, and took the oath, on 6 Feb 1752

attention of this town, except Provost Stewart's trial;[1] and there scarce is a man whose friendship or acquaintance I would desire, who has not given me undoubted proofs of his concern and regard

What is more extraordinary, the cry of religion could not hinder the ladies from being violently my partisans, and I owe my success in a great measure to their solicitations One has broke off all commerce with her lover, because he voted against me! and Mr Lockhart,[2] in a speech to the Faculty, said there was no walking the streets, nor even enjoying one's own fireside, on account of their importunate zeal. The town says, that even his bed was not safe for him, though his wife was cousin-german to my antagonist

'Twas vulgarly given out, that the contest was betwixt Deists and Christians, and when the news of my success came to the play-house, the whisper ran that the Christians were defeated Are you not surprised that we could keep our popularity, notwithstanding this imputation, which my friends could not deny to be well founded?

The whole body of cadies[3] brought flambeaux, and made illuminations to mark their pleasure at my success, and next morning I had the drums and town music at my door, to

[1] The trial of Archibald Stewart before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland 'for neglect of duty, and misbehaviour in the execution of his office, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, before and at the time the rebels got possession of that city in the month of September 1745' The trial began on 24 March 1747, was many times adjourned, and was finally concluded on 2 Nov 1747, when Stewart was acquitted Hume wrote a pamphlet in defence, which was published anonymously as A True | Account | of the | Behaviour and Conduct | of | Archibald Stewart, Esq, | late | Lord Provost of Edinburgh | In a Letter to a Friend | Non potuit mea mens, quin esset grata, teneri | Sit, precor, officio non gravis ira pio | Ovid | London | Printed for M Cooper, in Pater-noster- | Row MDCCXLVIII The letter itself was dated 20 Oct 1747, and a postscript was added, dated 4 Nov 1747, after Stewart was acquitted

[2] Alexander Lockhart (1701–82), admitted Advocate, 1722, Dean of Faculty, 1764, raised to the Bench as Lord Covington, 1775 He was for many years the senior member of the Scottish Bar, a famous horseman, and something of a bully His wife, whose maiden name was Baillie, was a noted beauty in her day, and her marriage to Lockhart caused some heartaches among his younger brethren at the Bar It was with Lockhart that young Wedderburn had his famous quarrel in 1757, and on that occasion Wedderburn taunted him with being dishonoured in his bed

[3] The famous Edinburgh corps of porters, messengers, guides, pimps, &c Though individually poor, they had a flourishing society of their own, with a constitution and funds

express their joy, as they said, of my being made a great man. They could not imagine, that so great a fray could be raised about so mere a trifle

About a fortnight before, I had published a Discourse of the Protestant Succession,[1] wherein I had very liberally abused both Whigs and Tories, yet I enjoyed the favour of both parties

Such, dear Doctor, is the triumph of your friend; yet, amidst all this greatness and glory, even though master of 30,000 volumes, and possessing the smiles of a hundred fair ones, in this very pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, I cast a favourable regard on you, and earnestly desire your friendship and good-will a little flattery too, from so eminent a hand, would be very acceptable to me You know you are somewhat in my debt, in that particular. The present I made you of my *Enquiry*,[2] was calculated both as a mark of my regard, and as a snare to catch a little incense from you Why do you put me to the necessity of giving it to myself?

Please tell General St Clair, that Mr St Clair,[3] the advocate, voted for me on his account, but his nephew, Sir David,[4] was so excessively holy, that nothing could bring him over from the opposite party, for which he is looked down upon a little by the fashionable company in town But he is a very pretty fellow, and will soon regain the little ground he has lost

I am, dear Doctor, yours sincerely,
DAVID HUME

* 78 *To* ADAM SMITH

Dear Sir

I confess, I was once of the same Opinion with you, & thought that the best Period to begin an English History was about Henry the 7th But you will please to observe, that the Change, which then happen'd in public Affairs, was very insensible, and

* MS , R S E , *Literary Gazette*, 1821, 745, Burton, 1 375 f It is endorsed in Baron David Hume's hand 'This the oldest letter to Mr Smith'

[1] See Letter 63 above The essay had appeared in the *Political Discourses*

[2] An | Enquiry | concerning the | Principles | of Morals | By David Hume Esq, | London | Printed for A Millar, over-against Catherine-Street | in the Strand 1751

[3] Charles St Clair (died 1775), son of Dr. Matthew St Clair of Hermanstoun, admitted Advocate, 1722 He was some sort of cousin of Hume's

[4] Sir David Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Hailes (see note 2 to Letter 82 below)

did not display its Influence till many Years afterwards Twas under James that the House of Commons began first to raise their Head, & then the Quarrel betwixt Privilege & Prerogative commenc'd. The Government, no longer opprest by the enormous Authority of the Crown, display'd its Genius; and the Factions, which then arose, having an Influence on our present Affairs, form the most curious, interesting, & instructive Part of our History. The preceding Events or Causes may easily be shown in a Reflection or Review, which may be artfully inserted in the Body of the Work, & the whole, by that means, be render'd more compact & uniform I confess, that the Subject appears to me very fine; & I enter upon it with great Ardour & Pleasure You need not doubt of my Perseverance

I am just now diverted for a Moment by correcting my Essays moral & political, for a new Edition [1] If any thing occur to you to be inserted or retrench'd, I shall be obligd to you for the Hint In case you shou'd not have the last Edition [2] by you, I shall send you a Copy of it In that Edition, I was engag'd to act contrary to my Judgement in retaining the 6th & 7th Essays,[3] which I had resolv'd to throw out, as too frivolous for the rest, and not very agreeable neither even in that trifling manner. But Millar, my Bookseller, made such Protestations against it, & told me how much he had heard them praisd by the best Judges, that the Bowels of a Parent melted, & I preserv'd them alive

All the rest of Bolingbroke's Works went to the Press last Week, as Millar informs me.[4] I confess my Curiosity is not much rais'd

I had almost lost your Letter by its being wrong directed I receiv'd it late, which was the Reason why you got not sooner

[1] Published in 1753 as vol 1 of *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* It was styled *The Fourth Edition* of *Essays Moral and Political.*

[2] 1748 edition

[3] *Of Love and Marriage* and *Of the Study of History* They continued to appear in all editions up to and including that of 1760, and then disappeared

[4] *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, privately printed before Bolingbroke's death, but first published under the editorship of David Mallet in 1752, in 2 vols , 8vo, together with *Plan for a General History*, and *The True Use of Retirement and Study*, and *Reflections upon Exile* In the same year was published Bolingbroke's *Reflections concerning Innate Moral Principles*, in both French and English

a Copy of Joannes Magnus.[1] Direct to me in Riddal's Land, Lawn Market [2] I am Dear S^ir^ Yours sincerely

Sept^r^. 24^th^ 1752. DAVID HUME

* 79. *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Dear Doctor,

I need not inform you, that in certain polite countries, a custom prevails, of writing *lettres de la nouvelle année*, and that many advantages result from this practice, which may seem merely ceremonious and formal Acquaintance is thereby kept up, friendship revived, quarrels extinguished, negligence atoned for, and correspondence renewed A man who has been so long conscious of his sins, that he knows not how to return into the way of salvation, taking advantage of this great jubilee, wipes off all past offences, and obtains plenary indulgence; instances are not wanting of such reclaimed sinners, who have afterwards proved the greatest saints, and have even heaped up many works of supererogation Will you allow me, therefore, dear Doctor, in consideration of my present penitence, and hopes of my future amendment, to address myself to you, and to wish you many and happy new years, *multos et felices*. May pleasures spiritual (*spirituels*) multiply upon you without a decay of the carnal May riches increase without an augmentation of desires May your chariot still roll along without a failure of your limbs May your tongue in due time acquire the *social sweet garrulity* of age, without your teeth losing the sharpness and keenness of youth May——but you yourself will best supply the last prayer, whether it should be for the recovery or continuance of the blessing which I hint at In either case, may your prayer be granted, even though it should extend to the resurrection of the dead

I must now set you an example, and speak of myself By this I mean that you are to speak to me of yourself I shall exult and triumph to you a little, that I have now at last—

* Burton, 1 376 ff

[1] Either *Gothorum Suonumque historia, ex probatissimis monumentis collecta*, by Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala (1st edit, Rome, 1554), or *Orationes duae, quarum altera est de praestantia Academiae Parisiensis, altera de philosophia eleganter et Latine tractanda*, by Joannes Magnus (Carnutis), Paris, 1584, probably the latter.

[2] From the next Letter it appears that Hume secured this house in Riddle's Land (on the south side of the Lawnmarket) about May 1752 The house is still standing

being turned of forty, to my own honour, to that of learning, and to that of the present age—arrived at the dignity of being a householder About seven months ago, I got a house of my own, and completed a regular family, consisting of a head, viz myself, and two inferior members, a maid and a cat My sister has since joined me, and keeps me company With frugality I can reach, I find, cleanliness, warmth, light, plenty, and contentment. What would you have more? Independence? I have it in a supreme degree Honour? that is not altogether wanting Grace? that will come in time A wife? that is none of the indispensable requisites of life [1] Books? that is one of them; and I have more than I can use In short, I cannot find any blessing of consequence which I am not possessed of, in a greater or less degree; and without any great effort of philosophy, I may be easy and satisfied

As there is no happiness without occupation, I have begun a work which will employ me several years, and which yields me much satisfaction 'Tis a History of Britain, from the Union of the Crowns to the present time I have already finished the reign of King James. My friends flatter me (by this I mean that they don't flatter me), that I have succeeded You know that there is no post of honour in the English Parnassus more vacant than that of History Style, judgement, impartiality, care—everything is wanting to our historians; and even Rapin,[2] during this latter period, is extremely deficient I make my work very concise, after the manner of the Ancients It divides into three very moderate volumes, one to end with the death of Charles the First; the second at the Revolution; the third at the Accession, for I dare come no nearer the present times.[3]

[1] 'Hume had not always been so determined a bachelor as he was in his latter days Early in life, he paid his addresses to a young lady of good family and great personal attractions in Edinburgh His suit was unfavourably received, but several years afterwards, when he had obtained celebrity, it was hinted to him by a common friend that the lady had changed her mind "So have I," replied the philosopher' (Editorial Note to *Caldwell Papers*, II ii 178)

[2] Paul de Rapin, usually styled Rapin-Thoyras (1661–1725), a French Protestant refugee who came to England in 1686, and wrote the *History of England*, in French (10 vols , 4to, 1723–7, 6th and best edit , 16 vols , 4to, 1749) Tindal's translation into English, 15 vols , 8vo, 1726–31, is the best Until Hume composed his own *History of England*, Rapin's was regarded as the standard work

[3] In fact, however, he never came nearer 'the present times' than the Revolution

The work will neither please the Duke of Bedford [1] nor James Fraser, [2] but I hope it will please you and posterity *Κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί* [3]

So, dear Doctor, after having mended my pen, and bit my nails, I return to the narration of parliamentary factions, or court intrigues, or civil wars, and bid you heartily adieu.

Edinburgh, Riddal's Land
5th January, 1753

P S.

When I say that I dare come no nearer the present time than the Accession, you are not to imagine that I am afraid either of danger or offence, I hope, in many instances, that I have shown myself to be above all laws of prudence and discretion I only mean, that I should be afraid of committing mistakes, in writing of so recent a period, by reason of the want of materials.

* 80 *To* John Clephane

Dear Doctor, Edinburgh, 6th March, 1753

This is delivered to you by my friend Mr Wedderburn,[4] who makes a jaunt to London, partly with a view to study, partly to entertainment I thought I could not do him a better office, nor more suitable to both these purposes, than to recommend him to the friendship and acquaintance of a man of learning and conversation. He is young,

Mais dans les âmes bien nées
La vertue n'attend point le nombre des années [5]

It will be a great obligation, both to him and me, if you give

* Burton, i 379

[1] John, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710–70), the archetype of the Whig oligarchy

[2] See Letter 69 above

[3] 'A possession for all time' (Thucydides, 1 22).

[4] Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805), son of Peter Wedderburn, Advocate, who was raised to the Bench as Lord Chesterhall in 1756, entered Univ of Edin , 1746, admitted Advocate, 1754, left Scottish Bar, 1757, called to English Bar, 1757, M P , Rothesay and Inveraray Burghs, 1762, Solicitor-General, 1771–8, created Lord Loughborough, 1780, Lord Chancellor, 1793–1801; created Earl of Rosslyn, 1801 He was the first Scotsman to reach the Woolsack

[5] The true quotation is:

. mais aux âmes bien nées
La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des années
Corneille, *Le Cid*, lines 405 f

him encouragement to see you frequently, and, after that, I doubt not you will think that you owe me an obligation—

La in giovenile corpo senile senno [1]

But I will say no more of him, lest my letter fall into the same fault which may be remarked in his behaviour and conduct in life, the only fault which has been remarked in them, that of promising so much that it will be difficult for him to support it You will allow that he must have been guilty of some error of this kind, when I tell you that the man, with whose friendship and company I have thought myself very much favoured, and whom I recommend to you as a friend and companion, is just twenty

I am, dear Doctor, your affectionate friend and servant,

DAVID HUME

* 81 *To the* AUTHOR *of 'The Delineation of the Nature and Obligation of Morality'* [2]

SIR,

When I write you, I know not to whom I am addressing myself; [3] I only know he is one who has done me a great deal of honour, and to whose civilities I am obliged If we be strangers, I beg we may be acquainted as soon as you think proper to discover yourself; if we be acquainted already, I beg we may be friends; if friends, I beg we may be more so Our connection with each other, as men of letters, is greater than

* Smellie, 190 ff, Ritchie, 42 ff, Burton, i 344 f

[1] So transcribed by Burton It seems highly improbable that Hume wrote *La*

[2] James Balfour of Pilrig (1705–95), an advocate, appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh, 1754, transferred to Chair of the Law of Nature and Nations, 1764, author of *A Delineation of the Nature and Obligation of Morality, with Reflexions upon Mr Hume's Book entitled 'An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals'* (anon 1753), *Philosophical Essays* (anon. 1768), and *Philosophical Dissertations* (under his own name, 1782) Somerville, who attended his class in the University, says that his lectures consisted mainly of desultory illustrations of the text of Pufendorff's *De Jure Civis*, but that at the end of the session he delivered six lectures, carefully prepared, which 'were intended to refute the doctrines contained in some of Mr Hume's Essays, then universally read, particularly those on Active Powers, Cause and Effect, Liberty and Necessity' (*My own Life and Times*, 17)

[3] Hume is said to have left this letter with the publishers of Balfour's book.

our difference as adhering to different sects or systems Let us revive the happy times, when Atticus and Cassius the Epicureans, Cicero the Academic, and Brutus the Stoic, could, all of them, live in unreserved friendship together, and were insensible to all those distinctions, except so far as they furnished agreeable matter to discourse and conversation. Perhaps you are a young man, and being full of those sublime ideas, which you have so well expresst, think there can be no virtue upon a more confined system I am not an old one; but being of a cool temperament, have always found, that more simple views were sufficient to make me act in a reasonable manner; *νηθε, χαι μέμνηδο ἀπιστειν*,[1] in this faith have I lived, and hope to die.

Your civilities to me so much over-balance your severities, that I should be ungrateful to take notice of some expressions, which, in the heat of composition, have dropped from your pen I must only complain of you a little for ascribing to me the sentiments which I have put into the mouth of the Sceptic in the Dialogue[2] I have surely endeavoured to refute the Sceptic with all the force of which I am master, and my refutation must be allowed sincere, because drawn from the capital principles of my system But you impute to me both the sentiments of the Sceptic and the sentiments of his antagonist, which I can never admit of In every Dialogue, no more than one person can be supposed to represent the author

Your severity on one head, that of Chastity, is so great, and I am so little conscious of having given any just occasion to it, that it has afforded me a hint to form a conjecture, perhaps ill grounded, concerning your person[3]

[1] A misquotation (Hume's or Smellie's) for

νᾶφε καὶ μέμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν Epich , 119 Ahr.

('Be sober-minded and remember to be sceptical ')

[2] The Dialogue appended to the *Enquiry concerning Morals*. Palamedes argues that all moral distinctions depend on fashion, custom, and law, and not on anything inherent in human nature The 'I' of the Dialogue retorts that the principles on which men reason in morals are always the same, though the conclusions drawn from these principles may be different in different nations and at different times. 'It appears, that there never was any quality recommended by any one, as a virtue or moral excellence, but on account of its being *useful*, or *agreeable* to a man *himself*, or to *others*' (Clarendon Press edit , 336)

[3] Did Hume honestly suppose that a paragraph like the following, from the Dialogue, would not offend the strait-laced 'It is needless to

I hope to steal a little leisure from my other occupations, in order to defend my philosophy against your attacks If I have occasion to give a new edition of the work, which you have honoured with [an] answer, I shall make great advantage of your remarks, and hope to obviate some of your criticisms [1]

Your style is elegant, and full of agreeable imagery. In some few places, it does not fully come up to my ideas of purity and correctness I suppose mine falls still further short of your ideas In this respect, we may certainly be of use to each other With regard to our philosophical systems, I suppose we are both so fixt, that there is no hope of any conversions betwixt us; and for my part, I doubt not but we shall both do as well to remain as we are

I am Sir With great regard
Your most obliged humble servant
DAVID HUME

Edin^{r} 15th March
1753.

* 82 *To* SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, BART [2]

Edinburgh 3^{d} of May 1753

Sir

I give you this Trouble, in order to put you in Mind of your Promise I assure you, that I shall think myself much obligd

* MS. at Newhailes, hitherto unpublished.

dissemble The consequence of a very free commerce between the sexes, and of their living much together, will often terminate in intrigues and gallantry We must sacrifice somewhat of the *useful*, if we be very anxious to obtain all the *agreeable* qualities, and cannot pretend to reach alike every kind of advantage Instances of licence, daily multiplying, will weaken the scandal with the one sex, and teach the other by degrees, to adopt the famous maxim of La Fontaine, with regard to female infidelity, *that if one knows it, it is but a small matter if one knows it not, it is nothing*"

[1] So far as I know, he took no further notice of Balfour's criticisms

[2] Sir David Dalrymple (1726–92), afterwards Lord Hailes, educated at Eton, then at Edin Univ, and at Utrecht, admitted Advocate, 1748, Lord of Session, 1766, Lord Justice Clerk, 1776; author of the *Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm Canmore* (1776), and many other works, among which it is curious to note (1) Davidis Humei, Scoti, | Summi apud suos philosophi, | De Vita sua acta, | Liber singularis, | Nunc primum Latine redditus | MDCCLXXXVII. (4to, pp 12), and (2) Adami Smithi, LL D | Ad | Gulielmum Strahanum, Armigerum, | De rebus novissimis | Davidis Humei, | Epistola, | Nunc primum Latine reddita | MDCCLXXXVIII (4to, pp 10) He was a careful and rather dull scholar, and as a lawyer fussy and

to you, if you will run over my Enquiry,[1] & remark what you think amiss either in Language or Argument. Besides, that I am extremely anxious to obtain some Degree of Correctness in all my Attempts; I must confess, that I have a Partiality for that Work, & esteem it the most tolerable of anything I have composd.[2] I have sent off some Sheets for the Press; but it is to be return'd to me Sheet by Sheet, or what they call the Proof Sheet; & therefore it will still be in my Power to reap Benefit from your Corrections. Such an undertaking, I woud fain believe, beside being very obliging to me, woud be useful to yourself, & be a kind of Exercise, which wou'd render you a scrupulous Critic in Language & Composition.

Since I saw you, we have had a Pamphlet from London, animadverting upon that Work.[3] The Pamphlet is well wrote, but ill reasond. When you read it, I know you'll say, that this Opinion of mine proceeds from this, that the Author approves of my Composition but not of my Argument; & therefore I am willing to allow him to be a Judge of the former, not of the latter.

I am Sir Yours usque ad aras
DAVID HUME

To Sir David Dalrymple Bart. New hailles

* 83 *To* SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, BART

Sir

I am very much oblig'd to you for your Remarks, & think them all just except one, of which I have some doubt. I believe *occur* is good English, in the Sense, in which I have us'd it.

* MS at Newhailes, hitherto unpublished

pedantic—characteristics neatly touched off in Boswell's *Court of Session Garland* in the couplet

'This cause,' cries Hailes, 'to judge I can't pretend,
For *justice*, I perceive, wants an *e* at the end.'

Hume and his circle were never on really friendly terms with him.

[1] The *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, the 2nd edit. of which appeared in this year as vol. iii of *Essays and Treatises*, &c.

[2] Cf. Hume's *My own Life*, p. 4 above.

[3] Possibly *Some Thoughts on Self-Love, Innate-Ideas, Freewill, Taste, Sentiment, Liberty, and Necessity, etc. occasioned by reading Mr Hume's Works, and the short treatise, written in French by Lord Bolingbroke, on Compassion. In a Letter to a Friend. By the Author of 'the Essay on Spirit'* [Bishop R. Clayton], Dublin and London, 1753, 8vo, pp. 66.

Ainsworth,[1] who is a good Authority, so far as he goes, translates it, *in mentem venire* You will oblige me much by continuing. I have already alterd all the Passages, which you have pointed out I am Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
10 May 1753
To Sir David Dalrymple Bart

* 84 *To* ADAM SMITH

My Dear Sir

I was very sorry to hear by Mr Leechman that you had been ill of late I am afraid the Fatigues of your Class have exhausted you too much, & that you require more Leizure & Rest than you allow yourself However, the good Season & the Vacation now approaches, and I hope you intend, both for Exercise & Relaxation, to take a Jaunt to this Place I have many things to communicate to you. Were you not my Friend, you wou'd envy my robust Constitution My Application has been & is continual; and yet I preserve entire Health I am now beginning the Long Parliament; which, considering the great Number of Volumes I peruse, & my scrupulous method of composing, I regard as a very great Advance I think you shou'd settle in this Town during the Vacation, where there always is some good Company, and you know, that I can supply you with Books, as much as you please

I beg to hear from you at your Leizure, and am

Your affectionate Friend & humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edin[r] Jack's Land [2]
26 May 1753

† 85 *To* PRESIDENT DE MONTESQUIEU

Sir, Edinburgh, 26 June 1753.

About a twelvemonth ago, my friend Mr Smith, of Boulogne,[3] who has the honour of being known to you, having occasion

* MS recently in the possession of Messrs Maggs Bros.; hitherto unpublished

† MS at La Brède, *Corr de Montesquieu*, ed by Gebelin and Morize, ii 466 ff

[1] Robert Ainsworth, *Dictionary of the Latin Tongue*, 1st edit., 4to, 1736, reprinted in 2 vols, 1746, and in 2 vols, L P, 1751

[2] In the Canongate Hume and his sister had just removed to this house from Riddle's Land, Lawnmarket

[3] I know nothing of this Mr. Smith

to go to Paris, had the goodness to charge himself with a copy of my *Political Discourses*, then newly published, with an intention of delivering it to you. By some accident, it has miscarried, for which I am sorry, as it has deprived me of an opportunity, however trivial, of marking my sincere respect for you [1]

Since that time, the work has undergone a second edition and I have desired our friend Mr Stuart [2] to transmit to you a copy of it and I hope it will be more fortunate than the former

Mr Wallace [3] has honoured me with a very polite, as well as learned and judicious answer, which, he tells me, you have seen [4] I should be much afraid that I am entirely refuted, had I not, all along, in my essay, kept on the sceptical and doubtful side, which, in most subjects, gives a man so much the advantage of the ground, that it is very difficult to force him To have been dogmatical, indeed, on this subject had in me been the most unpardonable temerity For, besides many other reasons of diffidence, I knew that you had already expressed your sentiments to be contrary to that opinion, which I discovered some propensity to support

I believe the chief merit of my performance was my forcing Mr Wallace, by a kind of challenge, to publish the learned *Dissertation* which he had, for some time, kept by him I

[1] In July 1749 Hume had sent Montesquieu a copy of the *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* It arrived, and was acknowledged from Paris on 3 Sept 1749 (MS , R S E , Burton, 1 457 , *Corr de Mont* , II 222 f)

[2] John Stewart the wine-merchant, almost certainly

[3] The Rev Robert Wallace (1697–1771), one of the ministers of the Auld Kirk in Edinburgh, an able mathematician, one of the founders of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh (now the Royal Society of Edinburgh), author of *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, 1753, and *Characteristics of the Present Political State of Great Britain*, 1758 He also attempted an essay on the *Principles and Art of Dancing*.

Earl Marischal Keith told Rousseau that Hume had corrected the proof-sheets of Wallace's *Dissertation*, though the work was openly written against his own essay, *On the Populousness of Ancient Nations*, and Rousseau was charmed with the anecdote and inserted it in the *Confessions* (Bk XII) For some obscure reason Burton pooh-poohed the story (*Life*, II 295), and was very properly taken to task by Morley (*Rousseau*, II 122 n.) Fortunately a document has now turned up which establishes the fact The proof-sheets of Wallace's *Dissertation* are among the Laing MSS in the Univ of Edin (Bundle II, 96), and they are corrected in two hands, Wallace's and Hume's Hume's alterations are almost all stylistic For example, Wallace corrected a misprint *their* into *then*, and Hume changed *then* into *therefore*

[4] Both Wallace's *Dissertation* and Hume's *Political Discourses* were sent to Montesquieu by the Earl of Morton on 25 May 1753 (*Corr de Mont.* II 459 ff).

acknowledge that he has detected me in several errors and mistakes and it is owing to his politeness that he has spared me in many more I learn from him that you proposed to get his *Dissertation* translated into French[1] and that the translator thought it would be requisite, for the better understanding Mr Wallace's work, to prefix a translation of mine If he continues his intention of doing me that honour, I must desire him to make a very few alterations according to the enclosed paper[2] I could have made many more amendments, by correcting the errors remarked by my antagonist, but, as that would have injured his work, I shall abstain at present, in hopes that a new edition will give me an opportunity

I have the honour to be with great regard Sir

Your most obedient and most humble servant

DAVID HUME[3]

* 86 *To* JAMES OSWALD OF DUNNIKIER

Dear Sir,

I am to give you great and very hearty thanks for your care in providing for my cousin[4] at my desire The quickness in doing it, and the many obliging circumstances attending that good office, I shall not readily forget What is usual, they say, makes little impression, but that this rule admits of exceptions, I feel upon every instance of your friendship

* MS , R S E (copy only); Oswald, 72 ff , Burton, 1 380 f

[1] It was translated by Elie de Joncourt under Montesquieu's direction, and published at London [Paris] in 1754

[2] The corrections are printed in *Corr de Mont* II 470 ff They have all been incorporated in later editions of the essay.

[3] Montesquieu replied to this letter on 13 July 1753 as follows

'J'ay, Monsieur, reçu l'honneur de vôtre lettre avec la postille qui y est jointe, et j'ay de plus reçu un exemplaire de vos excellentes compositions par la voye de Milord Morton Mr de Joncourt qui a formé le dessein de traduire l'ouvrage de Mr Walace, me dit hier qu'il traduiroit aussi le vôtre sur le nombre des peuples chés les anciennes nations, cela dépendra du succès qu'aura sa traduction qui est la premiere qu'il ait faite Il est certain qu'il a touts les talents qu'il faut pour s'en acquiter, et je ne doutte pas que le public ne l'encourage à continuer Le public qui admirera les deux ouvrages n'admirera pas moins deux amis qui font ceder d'une maniere si noble les petits interêts de l'esprit aux interêts de l'amitié, et pour moy je regarderay comme un très grand Bonheur si je puis me flatter d'avoir quelque part dans cette amitié ' (MS , R S E , Burton, 1 457 f , *Corr de Mont* II 479 f)

[4] A naval officer named Alexander Edgar The Edgars were a Berwickshire family

Mr Mure told me that you had undertaken to get satisfaction with regard to the *old English subsidies*. I cannot satisfy myself on that head; but I find that all historians and antiquarians are as much at a loss The nobility, I observe, paid according to their rank and quality, not their estates The counties were subjected to no valuation, but it was in the power of the commissioners to sink the sums demanded upon every individual, without raising it upon others; and they practised this art when discontented with the Court, as Charles complains of with regard to the subsidies voted by his third Parliament Yet it seems certain that there must have been some rule of estimation What was it? Why was it so variable? Lord Strafford raised an Irish subsidy from £12,000 to £40,000, by changing [the] rule of valuation, but the Irish Parliament, after his impeachment, brought it down again If Mr Harding [1] undertakes the solution of this matter, it will be requisite to have these difficulties in his eye. I am glad to hear that we are to have your company here this year, and that I shall have an opportunity of talking over this, and many other subjects, where I want your advice and opinion The more I advance in my undertaking, the more am I convinced that the History of England has never yet been written, not only for style, which is notorious to all the world, but also for matter; such is the ignorance and partiality of all our historians Rapin, whom I had an esteem for, is totally despicable I may be liable to the reproach of ignorance, but I am certain of escaping that of partiality The truth is, there is so much reason to blame and praise alternately King and Parliament, that I am afraid the mixture of both in my composition, being so equal, may pass sometimes for an affectation, and not the result of judgement and evidence Of this you shall be judge, for I am resolved to encroach on your leisure and patience, Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo [2] Let me hear of you as you pass through the town, that we may concert measures for my catching you idle, and without company, at Kirkaldy. I am Dear Sir

Yours affectionately
DAVID HUME

Jack's Land,
28th June, 1753

[1] Nicholas Hardinge (1699–1758), Chief Clerk to the House of Commons, 1731–52, then Joint Secretary to the Treasury, M P, Eye in Suffolk, 1748 and 1754

[2] Horace, *Ars poet*, 475

* 87. *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Edinburgh 28 of Oct^{r} 1753

Dear Doctor

I know not, if you remember the Giant in Rabelais, who swallow'd, every Morning, a Windmill to Breakfast; and at last was choak'd upon a Pound of melted Butter, hot from an Oven [1] I am going to compare myself to that Giant I think nothing of dispatching a Quarto in fifteen or eighteen Months; but am not able to compose a Letter once in two Years· And am very industrious to keep up a Correspondence with Posterity, whom I know nothing about, & who probably will concern themselves very little about me, while I allow myself to be forgot by my Friends, whom I value and regard However, it is some Satisfaction, that I can give you an Account of my Silence, with which, I own, I reproach myself I have now brought down my History to the Death of Charles the first, and here I intend to pause for some time. To read & think & correct To look forward & backward And to adopt the most moderate & most reasonable Sentiments on all Subjects I am sensible, that the History of [the] two first Stuarts will be most agreeable to the Tories· That of the two last, to the Whigs But we must endeavour to be above any Regard either to Whigs or Tories

Having thus satisfy'd your Curiosity· For I will take it for granted, that your Curiosity extends towards me I must now gratify my own I was very anxious to hear, that you had been molested with some Disorders this Summer, I was told, that you expected they wou'd settle into a Fit of the Gout. Tis lucky when that Distemper overtakes a man in his Chariot We foot walkers make but an awkward Figure with it I hope no body has the Impertinence to say to you, *Physician cure thyself* All the World allows that Privilege to the Gout, that it is not to be cur'd. It is itself a Physician, and of course, sometimes cures and sometimes kills I fancy one Fit of the Gout wou'd much encrease your Stock of Interjections; and render that part of Speech, which, in common Grammars, is usually the most barren, with you more copious than either Nouns or Verbs

* MS in Nat Lib Scotland, Watson Bequest, 608, *Scots Magazine*, 1802, p. 794, Burton, i. 381 ff

[1] Rabelais, Bk IV, Ch XLIV

I must tell you good News of our Friend, Sir Harry [1] I am informd, that his Talent for Eloquence will not rust for want of Employment He bids fair for another Seat of the House, & what is the charming Part of the Story, it is General Anstruther's Seat which he is to obtain He has made an Attack on the General's Burroughs, & by the Assistance of his Uncle's [2] Interest & Purse, is likely to prevail Is not this delicious Revenge? It brings to my Mind the Story of the Italian, who reading that Passage of Scripture, *Vengeance is mine saith the Lord,* burst forth; *Ay to be sure, It is too sweet for any Mortal.* I own, I envy Sir Harry. I never can hope to hate any body so perfectly as he does that renown'd Commander And no Victory, Triumph, Vengeance, Success, can be more compleat Are not you pleas'd too? Pray, anatomize your own Mind, & tell me how many Grains of your Satisfaction is owing to Malice & how many Ounces to Friendship

I leave the rest of this Paper to be filled up by Edmonstone,[3] & . . [4]

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

P S

After having this by me eight days, I have never been able to meet with Edmonstone I must therefore send off my own part of a Letter, which we projected in common I shall only tell you, that I have since seen Mr Oswald, who assures me that Anstruther's Defeat is infallible [5]

[1] Sir Harry Erskine of Alva During the debates on the Mutiny Bill in 1751 Erskine attacked Lieut.-Gen Philip Anstruther, M P for Anstruther Burghs (East Fife), alleging that Anstruther had been guilty of cruelty towards himself ten years earlier in Minorca. The cause was brought before the House of Commons, when the lawyers decided that proceedings were barred by the Act of Indemnity. Erskine and Anstruther were therefore formally reconciled, but in 1753 (as related in this letter) Erskine stood as a candidate for the General's Burghs According to Horace Walpole (*Letters*, III 36 f) 'Anstruther has mutually persecuted and been persecuted by the Scotch ever since Porteous's affair, when, of all that nation, he alone voted for demolishing part of Edinburgh'

[2] General St Clair He was M P. for Kirkcaldy Burghs, 1747–54, and for Fifeshire, 1754–62

[3] Captain James Edmonstoune of Newton, 'Guidelianus'.

[4] Autograph torn.

[5] Erskine was in fact elected

* 88 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Edinburgh, 8th Dec. 1753.

Dear Doctor,

I am at present reduced to the utmost straits and difficulties I know people are commonly ashamed to own such distresses. But to whom can one have recourse in his misfortunes, but to his friends? and who can I account my friend, if not Dr Clephane? not a friend only in the sunshine of fortune, but also in the shade of adversity not a security only in a calm, but in a storm a sheet-anchor ἄνχορη ἐσχάτη (This etymology of sheet-anchor, I remember you communicated to me on board the *Superbe*; and you see, by this instance, that your ingenious things have not been thrown away upon me) But, to cut short all prefaces—though, commonly, beggars and authors abound with them, and I unite both these qualities—the occasion of my distress is as follows

You know that the word *enough*, or *enuff*, as it is pronounced by the English, we commonly, in Scotland, when it is applied to number, pronounce *enow* Thus we would say 'such a one has books *enow* for study, but not leisure *enuff*.' Now I want to know, whether the English make the same distinction I observed the distinction clearly in Lord Shaftesbury; 'Though there be doors enow,' says he, 'to get out of life,' and thinking that this distinction of spelling words, that had both different letters, and different pronunciation, was an improvement, I followed it in my learned productions, though I knew it was not usual But there has lately arisen in me a doubt, that this is a mere Scotticism, and that the English always pronounce the word, as if it were wrote *enuff*, whether it be applied to numbers or to quantity To you, therefore, I apply in this doubt and perplexity Though I make no question that your ear is well purged from all native impurities, yet trust not entirely to it, but ask any of your English friends, that frequent good company, and let me know their opinion

It is a rule of Vaugelas always to consult the ladies, rather than men, in all doubts of language, and he asserts, that they have a more delicate sense of the propriety of expressions The same author advises us, if we desire any one's opinion in any grammatical difficulty, not to ask him directly; for that confounds his memory, and makes him forget the use, which is

* *Scots Mag*, 1802, p 902, Burton, i 384 f.

the true standard of language The best way, says he, is to engage him as it were by accident, to employ the expression about which we are in doubt Now, if you are provided of any expedient, for making the ladies pronounce the word *enough*, applied both to quantity and number, I beg you to employ it, and to observe carefully and attentively, whether they make any difference in the pronunciation

P.S

I am quite in earnest in desiring a solution of my grammatical doubt

* 89 *To* [THOMAS BLACKLOCK][1]

Sir

I receiv'd your obliging Letter, which wou'd give me a great deal of Vanity, were I not sensible, that I owe your good Opinion more to your good Nature than the Severity of your Judgement

The agreeable Vein of Poetry, which you have discover'd; had given me a Curiosity to enjoy your Acquaintance, & it is with Pleasure I lay hold of the Opportunity, which offers You will therefore very much oblige me, if you will favor me with your Company, the first time you are abroad. I am always at home in the Forenoons, & often in the Afternoon

The Preface [2] you sent me is really very well wrote, & it was not easily possible to do it better However I have us'd the Freedom of making some small Alterations I wish it were in my Power to do you any more material Service, & I shall lay hold of every such Opportunity with Pleasure

Friday Afternoon [1753][3]

I am Sir Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

† 90. *To* MATTHEW SHARP OF HODDAM

Dear Sir,

Edinburgh, 25th February, 1754

I have enclosed this letter under one to my friend Mr Blacklock, who has retired to Dumfries, and proposes to reside there

* MS in possession of Hist Soc of Maine, Portland, Maine, U S A; hitherto unpublished

† *Edin. Annual Register*, 1809, vol II, Pt II, pp. 553 ff, Burton, I 386 f

[1] A conjecture, but I think almost certain Thomas Blacklock (1721–91), the blind poet, son of a bricklayer in Annan For his early history see Letter 98 Volumes of his poems were issued in 1746, 1754, and 1756. It would appear that this letter marks the beginning of Hume's friendship with, and patronage of, him

[2] Presumably to the forthcoming volume of poems [3] A conjecture

for some time His character and situation are no doubt known to you, and challenge the greatest regard from every one who has either good taste or sentiments of humanity. He has printed a collection of poems, which his friends are endeavouring to turn to the best account for him. Had he published them in the common way, their merit would have recommended them sufficiently to common sale; but, in that case, the greatest part of the profit, it is well known, would have redounded to the booksellers His friends, therefore, take copies from him, and distribute them among their acquaintances The poems, if I have the smallest judgement, are, many of them, extremely beautiful, and all of them remarkable for correctness and propriety. Every man of taste, from the merit of the performance, would be inclined to purchase them every benevolent man, from the situation of the author, would wish to encourage him; and, as for those who have neither taste nor benevolence, they should be forced, by importunity, to do good against their will. I must, therefore, recommend it to you to send for a cargo of these poems, which the author's great modesty will prevent him from offering to you, and to engage your acquaintance to purchase them But, dear sir, I would fain go farther. I would fain presume upon our friendship, (which now begins to be ancient between us) and recommend to your civilities a man who does honour to his country by his talents, and disgraces it by the little encouragement he has hitherto met with He is a man of very extensive knowledge and of singular good dispositions, and his poetical, though very much to be admired, is the least part of his merit He is very well qualified to instruct youth, by his acquaintance both with the languages and sciences, and possesses so many arts of supplying the want of sight, that that imperfection would be no hindrance. Perhaps he may entertain some such project in Dumfries, and be assured you could not do your friends a more real service than by recommending them to him Whatever scheme he may choose to embrace, I was desirous you should be prepossessed in his favour, and be willing to lend him your countenance and protection, which I am sensible would be of great advantage to him.

Since I saw you, I have not been idle I have endeavoured to make some use of the library which was entrusted to me, and have employed myself in a composition of British History, beginning with the union of the two Crowns. I have finished

the reigns of James and Charles, and will soon send them to the press I have the impudence to pretend that I am of no party, and have no bias. Lord Elibank says, that I am a moderate Whig, and Mr Wallace [1] that I am a candid Tory I was extremely sorry that I could not recommend your friend to Director Hume,[2] as Mr Cummin [3] desired me. I have never exchanged a word with that gentleman since I carried Jemmy Kirkpatrick [4] to him; and our acquaintance has entirely dropt.

* 91. *To* [JOHN STEWART] [5]

Tuesday Forenoon [Feb. 1754] [6]

Sir

I am so great a Lover of Peace, that I am resolv'd to drop this Matter altogether, & not to insert a Syllable in the Preface,[7] which can have a Reference to your Essay [8] The Truth is, I

* MS , R.S.E , Burton, I 97 f and II 453 ff

[1] Rev Robert Wallace

[2] Probably Alexander Hume (died 1765), a Director of the East India Co , and sometime M P for Southwark

[3] Probably the Rev Patrick Cumin, at this time leader of the Moderate Party in the Kirk He lost the leadership a few years later to William Robertson In their own circle, Robertson, Blair, Carlyle, and Hume used to refer to him contemptuously as 'Dr Turnstile' They thought he behaved feebly during the controversy over John Home's *Douglas*

[4] I do not know who this was

[5] There is nothing on the autograph to show to whom this letter was addressed Baron Hume supposed it to have been addressed to Dr Traill, but did not say which Dr Traill, others have suggested that the addressee was Gilbert Stuart Burton conjectured that it was addressed to John Stewart, M D (died 1759), and I am certain he was right John Stewart was Prof of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh, 1742–59, but he has left practically no records behind him

[6] The date is established by the internal evidence referred to in the following notes

[7] Hume and Alexander Monro, *secundus*, were at this time joint secretaries of the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh (now the Royal Society of Edinburgh), which in 1754 issued a volume entitled *Essays and Observations Physical and Literary, read before a Society in Edinburgh and published by them* The Preface is almost certainly Hume's It bears all the marks of his hand, and ends with the following statement· 'Whoever will favour the Society with any discourse which it comprehends in its plan, may send their papers to either of the secretaries, Mr Alexander Monro Professor of Anatomy at Edinburgh or Mr David Hume Library Keeper to the Faculty of Advocates '

[8] The first essay in the volume is entitled *Of the Laws of Motion*, and is by Henry Home, Lord Kames, the second, *Some Remarks on the Laws of Motion*, by John Stewart. Stewart severely criticizes Kames, and also periodically refers in a somewhat slighting manner to Hume's *Treatise* and *Philosophical Essays*

cou'd take no Revenge, but such a one as wou'd have been a great deal too cruel, & much exceeding the Offence For tho' most Authors think, that a contemptuous manner of treating their Writings, is but slightly reveng'd by hurting the personal Character & the Honour of their Antagonists, I am very far from that Opinion. Besides, I am as certain as I can be of any thing (and I am not such a Sceptic, as you may, perhaps, imagine) that your inserting such remarkable Alterations in the printed Copy proceeded entirely from Precipitancy & Passion, not from any form'd Intention of deceiving the Society I wou'd not take Advantage of such an Incident to throw a Slur on a man of Merit, whom I esteem, tho' I might have reason to complain of him.

When I am abus'd by such a Fellow as Warburton,[1] whom I neither know nor care for, I can laugh at him· But if Dr Stewart approaches any way towards the same Style of writing, I own it vexes me: Because I conclude, that some unguarded Circumstance of my Conduct, tho' contrary to my Intention, had given Occasion to it

As to your Situation with regard to Lord Kames, I am not so good a Judge I only think, that you had so much the better of the Argument, that you ought, upon that Account, to have been the more reserv'd in your Expressions All Raillery ought to be avoided in philosophical Argument; both because it is unphilosophical, and because it cannot but be offensive, let it be ever so gentle What then must we think with regard to so many Insinuations of Irreligion, to which Lord Kames's Paper gave not the least Occasion? This Spirit of the Inquisitor is in you the Effect of Passion, & what a cool Moment wou'd easily correct. But where it predominates in the Character, what Ravages has it committed on Reason, Virtue, Truth, Liberty, & every thing, that is valuable among Mankind?

I shall now speak a Word as to the Justness of your Censure with regard to myself, after these Remarks on the manner of it I have no Scruple of confessing my Mistakes You see I have own'd, that I think Lord Kames is mistaken in his Argument, and I wou'd sooner give up my own Cause than my Friend's,

[1] William Warburton (1698–1779), Dean of Bristol, 1757, Bp of Gloucester, 1759, friend and literary executor of Pope, and editor of Shakespeare; author of *Alliance between Church and State* (1736) and *The Divine Legation of Moses* (1737–41)

if I thought that Imputation of any Consequence to a man's Character. But allow me to tell you, that I never asserted so absurd a Proposition as *that any thing might arise without a Cause*.[1] I only maintain'd, that our Certainty of the Falshood of that Proposition proceeded neither from Intuition nor Demonstration, but from another Source *That Caesar existed, that there is such an Island as Sicily*, for these Propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstrative nor intuitive Proof. Woud you infer that I deny their Truth, or even their Certainty? There are many different kinds of Certainty, and some of them as satisfactory to the Mind, tho perhaps not so regular, as the demonstrative kind.

Where a man of Sense mistakes my Meaning, I own I am angry: But it is only at myself For having exprest my Meaning so ill as to have given Occasion to the Mistake

That you may see I wou'd no way scruple of owning my Mistakes in Argument, I shall acknowledge (what is infinitely more material) a very great Mistake in Conduct, viz my publishing at all the Treatise of human Nature, a Book, which pretended to innovate in all the sublimest Parts of Philosophy, & which I compos'd before I was five & twenty Above all, the positive Air, which prevails in that Book, & which may be imputed to the Ardor of Youth, so much displeases me, that I have not Patience to review it But what Success the same Doctrines, better illustrated & exprest, may meet with, *Ad huc sub judice lis est* The Arguments have been laid before the World, and by some philosophical Minds have been attended to. I am willing to be instructed by the Public, tho' human Life is so short that I despair of ever seeing the Decision I wish I had always confin'd myself to the more easy Parts of Erudition, but you will excuse me from submitting to a proverbial Decision, let it even be in Greek

As I am resolv'd to drop this Matter entirely from the Preface; so I hope to perswade Lord Kames to be entirely silent with

[1] Stewart had said in his essay. 'That something may begin to exist, or start into being without a cause, hath indeed been advanced in a very ingenious and profound system of the sceptical philosophy*, but hath not yet been adopted by any of the societies for improvement of natural knowledge . ' And his footnote reads '*Treatise on Human Nature, 3 vols octavo This is the system at large, a work suited only to the comprehension of Adepts An excellent compend or summary whereof, for the benefit of vulgar capacities, we of this nation enjoy in the Philosophical Essays, and the Essays Moral and Political.'

regard to it in our Meeting. But in Case I shoud not prevail, or if any body else start the Subject, I think it better, that some of your Friends shou'd be there, & be prepard to mollify the Matter. If I durst pretend to advise, I shou'd think it better you yourself were absent, unless you bring a greater Spirit of Composition than you express in your Letter I am perswaded, that whatever a Person of Mr Monro's Authority proposes will be agreed to· Tho' I must beg leave to differ from his Judgement, in proposing to alter two Pages That chiefly removes the Offence given to me, but what regards Lord Kames is so interwoven with the whole Discourse, that there is not now any Possibility of altering it I am Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

P S.

I hope you are very zealous in promoting the Sale of Blacklock's Poems I will never be reconcild to you, unless you dispose of a Score of them, & make your Friends, Sir John Maxwell[1] and Lord Buchan[2] pay a Guinea a piece for their Copy.

* 92. *To* SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, BART

Sir,

There is a Book, calld Flagellum or the Life of Oliver Cromwell,[3] which I have commission'd for the Library, but as it is a very scarce Book, & these Commissions are not soon answer'd, I may wait long before I get it I know you have a very large Library; & if that Book be in it, I shall be very much obligd to you for a Loan of it, that being now the Period, which I have begun upon I am

Sir Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edin[r] 3[d] of April 1754

P S

If ever you read the Works of Julian, the Apostate (which, I own, notwithstanding that circumstance in his Favor, are not

* MS at Newhailes, hitherto unpublished

[1] Sir John Maxwell of Pollok (died 1758), 3rd Bart, succeeded to title, 1753, a great friend of William Mure of Caldwell

[2] Henry David Erskine (1710–67), 23rd Earl of Buchan, F R S, 1733–4

[3] *Flagellum or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial of O Cromwell, the late Usurper: faithfully described, with an exact account of his policies and successes. Enlarged with many additions, by S T. Gent* [James Heath] London, 1672, 8vo, pp 192 (1st edit, 1663)

much worth the Reading) you will see that Julian acknowledges the great Charity of the Christians, which they extended, he says, even sometimes to Heathens· But he asserts, like a Rogue as he is, that they borrow'd that Virtue from the Writings of Homer & other heathen Poets But whenceever they borrowd it, it was certainly a very commendable Quality, & well worth the imitating [1]

To Sir David Dalrymple

* 93 *To* John Clephane

Sept 1, 1754

Dear Doctor,

I desire you to give me joy *Jamque opus exegi &c* [2] This day I received from the press the last sheet of the volume of history which I intended to publish; and I am already well advanced in composing the second volume It was impossible for the booksellers to refuse to several the sight of the sheets as we went on; and Whig and Tory, and Tory and Whig (for I will alternately give them the precedence), combine as I am told in approving of my politics A few Christians only (and but a few) think I speak like a Libertine in religion· be assured I am tolerably reserved on this head Elliot tells me that you had entertained apprehensions of my discretion what I had done to forfeit with you the character of prudence, I cannot tell, but you will see little or no occasion for any such imputation in this work I composed it *ad populum*, as well as *ad clerum*, and thought, that scepticism was not in its place in an historical production.[3] I shall take care to convey a copy to you by the first oppor-

* Burton, 1 397 ff

[1] Apparently Dalrymple had the book, and lent it On the back of this autograph is a draft of his reply He says: 'You, who have been ἁπαξ φωτιζόμενος, needed not to have used y^e^ authority of Julian to command

Your most faithful well-wisher and humble servant
D D'

[2] Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec potent ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas
Ovid, *Metam*, xv 871

[3] Sir Harry Erskine wrote to Clephane from Dysart on 3 July 1754 'The library-keeper is printing his first volume, which will be published next winter It is well writ, but will be censured I have seen what was printed of it about a month ago If he had always subjoined his authorities, it would have screened him from some censures which that omission may subject him to' (*Kilravock Family Book*, 458)

tunity, and shall be very proud of your approbation, and no less pleased with your reprehensions

Our friend Aber [1] is again to enjoy the privilege of franking after a *hiatus valde deflendus* Edmonstone is at Peterhead drinking the waters for his health. Sir Harry lives among his boroughs, but not so assiduous in his civilities as formerly, an instance of ingratitude which one would not expect in a man of such nice honour I was lately told, that one day last winter he went to pay a visit to a deacon's wife, who happened in that very instant to be gutting fish He came up to her with open arms, and said he hoped madam was well, and that the young ladies her daughters were in good health. 'Oh, come not near me,' cried she, 'Sir Harry, I am in a sad pickle, as nasty as a beast.'—'Not at all, madam,' replied he, 'you are in a very agreeable négligé' 'Well,' said she, 'I shall never be able to understand your fine English'—'I mean, madam,' returned he, 'that you are drest in a very genteel *deshabille*'

There is a young man of this country, Mr Thomas Blacklock, who has discovered a very fine genius for poetry, and under very extraordinary circumstances He is the son of a poor tradesman, and was born blind; yet, notwithstanding these disadvantages, he has been able to acquire a great knowledge of Greek, Latin, and French, and to be well acquainted with all the classics in these languages, as well as in our own. He published last winter a volume of Miscellanies, which all men of taste admired extremely for their purity, elegance, and correctness; nor were they devoid of force and invention I sent up half a dozen to Dodsley,[2] desiring him to keep one, and to distribute the rest among men of taste of his acquaintance I find they have been much approved of, and that Mr Spence,[3] in particular, has entertained thoughts of printing a new edition by subscription, for the benefit of the author You are an acquaintance of Mr Spence. encourage, I beseech you,

[1] Probably Colonel Abercromby M P s had the right of franking letters But Hume was wrong, for Abercromby did not sit in the House of Commons between 1754 and 1761

[2] Robert Dodsley (1703–64), poet, dramatist, and bookseller, best known as editor of *Select Collection of Old Plays* (1744) Hume's letter to him was dated 12 March 1754, but does not appear to be extant

[3] Joseph Spence (1699–1768), Prof of Poetry, Oxford, 1727, Prof of Modern History, 1737, prebendary of Durham, 1754, author of *Essay on Pope's Odyssey* (1727), *Polymetis* (1747), and *Anecdotes*, published after his death

so benevolent a thought, and promote it every where by your recommendation The young man has a great deal of modesty, virtue, and goodness, as well as of genius, and notwithstanding very strict frugality, is in great necessities; but curst, or blest, with that honest pride of nature, which makes him uneasy under obligations, and disdain all applications I need say no more to you Dear Doctor, believe me, with great honesty and affection,

Your friend and servant,
DAVID HUME

* 94 *To the* ABBÉ LE BLANC [1]

Sir

Yours of the 25th of August [2] gave me a very real Pleasure I doubt not but the Translation, with which you have honour'd my Performance, will renew my Satisfaction. I expect every day to have it from London. I must confess, that I cannot conceal my Vanity, when I find an Author, so justly celebrated for his own Performances, deign to give the Public a Translation of Works, so much inferior. I have often read Les Letres [3] d'un Francois, with Profit and Pleasure And as I never peruse a good Book without wishing to possess the Friendship of the Author, how much more, where my Gratitude is mov'd by such Marks of Esteem & Distinction as you have confer'd on me?

I have just now finish'd a new Edition of the political Dis-

* B M MSS Egerton, 21, 198 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929); hitherto unpublished in England The autograph in the B M. is wrongly catalogued as addressed to Eléazar Mauvillon (see Appendix B below)

[1] Jean-Bernard Le Blanc (1707–81), French man of letters, 'historiographe des Bâtimens du Roy de France', author of *Lettres d'un François concernant le gouvernement, la politique et les mœurs des Anglois et François*, 3 vols., Paris, 1745 (English translation, *Letters on the English and French Nations*, 2 vols, Dublin, 1747), translator of Hume's *Political Discourses* as *Discours politiques de M Hume, traduits de l'Anglois*, Amsterdam (et se vend à Paris), 1754, 2 vols., 12mo, and 2nd edit, Dresden, 1755, 2 vols 8vo.

[2] Le Blanc opened the correspondence with this letter from Paris (MS, R S.E, Burton, 1 458 f) He announces that he is sending a copy of his translation of the *Pol Disc*, and asks Hume to read it with care and to point out any errors in translation The sooner this is done the better, he says, 'car il est bon de vous dire que cette traduction, grâce à l'excellence de l'original se débite ici comme un roman Le libraire m'avertit qu'il sera bientôt tems de penser à la seconde édition. J'attendray votre réponse pour l'enrichir de vos remarques qui feront que celle-ci sera reçue du public avec encor plus d'applaudissements' [3] *Sic* in MS.

courses,[1] where there are some Alterations & Additions. I have here subjoin'd in a Paper apart, that in case the Demand of the Public require a new Edition of the Translation, there may be no Delay in finishing it You mention Notes to your Translation This encreases my Impatience to see it I doubt not but I shall learn from them to correct many of my Errors.

You drop a Hint as if you intended to introduce some more of my Performances to the Acquaintance of the learned World abroad[2] Allow me, therefore, to inform you of the best Editions. The only good Edition of my Essays moral & political is the fourth[3] It begins with this Sentence *Some People are subject to a certain Delicacy of Passion &c*[4] The best Edition of the Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals is the second[5] The Booksellers are reprinting in London the philosophical Essays,[6] but the second Edition[7] differs very little from this new one I doubt these Essays are both too bold & too metaphysical for your Climate, tho' we have lately, in some French Writers, been entertain'd with Liberties, that are not much inferior

I know with what Advantage I must appear, when I pass thro your hands, who are so capable to improve & embellish my weak Performances For this Reason I have sent you all the best Editions of these four Volumes[8] They go by the way of Boulogne, & you may expect to have them in about a Month If they be of no Use to you in this Design, I beg at least you will favor me with an Acceptance of them as a Mark of my sincere Gratitude and Esteem

A few days ago I finish'd the printing the first Volume of

[1] Published as vol iv of the *Essays and Treatises*, 1754

[2] I doubt if Le Blanc really meant that What he said, after asking for Hume's comments on the translation, was. 'J'en profiterai à la premiere édition, ainsi que des remarques, changements, ou additions qu'il vous plaira me communiquer, soit à l'occasion de vos discours, soit sur les autres ouvrages anglois dont je parle dans mes notes'

[3] Vol i of *Essays and Treatises*, 1753

[4] The opening of the essay *Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion* In its earlier form it opened 'There is a certain delicacy of passion, to which some people are subject, that makes them extremely sensible . '

[5] Vol iii of *Essays and Treatises*, 1753

[6] Vol ii of *Essays and Treatises*, 1754 (reprinted, still as third edition, in 1756)

[7] The second edition appeared, first with A Millar's name on the title-page in 1750, and then with M Cooper's, in the same year

[8] I presume he means the 4 vols of *Essays and Treatises*, including vol iv, *Political Discourses*

a Work, about which I have been long employ'd. It will be publish'd in about two Months It is the History of Great Britain from the Accession of James the first· This first Volume contains the Reigns of James the I and Charles the I, and consists of 470 Quarto Pages If you consider the vast Variety of Events, with which these two Reigns, particularly the last, are crowded, you will conclude, that my Narration is rapid, and that I have more propos'd as my Model the concise manner of the antient Historians, than the prolix, tedious Style of some modern Compilers I have inserted no original Papers, and enter'd into no Detail of minute, uninteresting Facts The philosophical Spirit, which I have so much indulg'd in all my Writings, finds here ample Materials to work upon

The great Distance, which I have always kept from all Party & Dependance, from all Satyre and Panegyric, has made the Public entertain Expectations from this Work; and I tremble, I own, the more for the Opinion, which will be form'd on its Publication. I have sent you a Copy, which I beg you to accept of The Bookseller gave me 400 pounds for allowing him to print one Edition of 2000 Copies; and his hopes are so sanguine, that he speaks of beginning a second Edition of 3000, and of paying me 600 pounds more for it[1] I mention this Circumstance that you may see there is some Chance that a Translation might turn to account If it be done under your Eye I am sure it will be well executed A few Notes, to clear up Passages obscure to Foreigners, may also be requisite I esteem this Period, both for signal Events & extraordinary Characters, to be the most interesting in modern History, and considering some late Transactions in France,[2] your Ministry may think

[1] From a letter of Gavin Hamilton, the bookseller in question, to William Strahan, printed by Hill (p. 3, n 2), it appears that Hume was originally offered £1,200 in all, in return for which the booksellers were to have the right to print 2,000 copies of each of the 3 vols of the *History* when ready. As things fell out, Hume did not give Messrs Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill the chance to publish any volume after the first He objected to contracting for books too far ahead.

[2] A reference to the quarrels between the clergy and the Parlement of Paris, in which the Court took first one side and then the other In May 1753 the King by *lettres de cachet* ordered all Presidents and Councillors to residences that were named for them, away from Paris, the Grand Council being sent to Pontoise The result was the publication of the *Grandes Remonstrances* on 23 May, containing the memorable statement 'If subjects owe obedience to kings, kings on their side owe obedience to law' In 1754 the Court reversed its policy, and recalled the exiled *parlementaires*.

themselves oblig'd to a man, who, by the Example of English History, discovers the Consequences of puritanical & republican Pretensions You wou'd have remark'd in my Writings, that my Principles are, all along, tolerably monarchical, & that I abhor, that low Practice, so prevalent in England, of speaking with Malignity of France

I beg the Continuance of your Correspondence & Friendship, and tho' I be at present in a remote Part of the World, which can furnish nothing curious or entertaining to a Man who lives in the Center of all the fine Arts, you will at least have the Satisfaction, whenever you write to me, of conferring an Honour on a Person, who knows the Value of it A Letter directed to me at this Place will always find me

I have the Honour to be, with great Regard
Sir
Your most obedient & most obliged humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
12th of Septr. 1754

P S

The Second Volume of my History will be publishd in a twelvemonth after the first.

* 95. *To* JOHN WILKES [1]

Dear Sir

It was with much Regreat, I left the Town, & was depriv'd of the Satisfaction of seeing you & Mr Stowe [2] on your Return from Glasgow I had long promis'd a visit to a Friend in the Countrey, and he brought Horses to Town with him, and carryd me away of a sudden I must, however, beg a Share in

* B M. Addit. MSS 30877 (Select. Corresp of John Wilkes, xi 2), *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929); hitherto unpublished in England

[1] John Wilkes (1727–97), politician, journalist, and agitator. He unsuccessfully contested Berwick-on-Tweed in the election of April 1754, and may have become known to Hume in this way In any case his antipathy to the Scots did not appear till after the accession of George III and the coming into power of 'that puppy Bute'. Alex Carlyle, who knew him as a young student at Leyden, says that 'the people of that nation [Scotland] were always Wilkes's favourites till 1763' (*Autobiog*, 169)

[2] Probably Fenwick Stow, who was Mayor of Berwick-on-Tweed in 1746, 1751, and 1758, or some other member of that family, which was prominent in Berwick-on-Tweed in the eighteenth century and supplied three mayors

your Remembrance, and shall be proud to cultivate a Friendship & Acquaintance with you, if ever an Opportunity offer.

Your Curiosity to see my History does me a great deal of Honor. It will be publish'd in less than two Months. When I desird Hamilton's Consent to the supplying you with a Copy for your Amusement on the Road, he showd so much Reluctance, that I was oblig'd to desist. His Interest, he fancies to be much concern'd that no Copies get out before the Publication.

I am glad you got so good Weather in your Journey to the West That woud make some Compensation for bad Roads & bad Inns If your time had permitted, you shoud have gone into the Highlands You woud there have seen human Nature in the golden Age, or rather, indeed, in the Silver. For the Highlanders have degenerated somewhat from the primitive Simplicity of Mankind But perhaps you have so corrupted a Taste as to prefer your Iron Age, to be met with in London & the south of England; where Luxury & Vice of every kind so much abound There is no disputing Tastes, and no Opinion is so extravagant as not to find some Partizans

I do not remember whether I mention'd to you a Poet of this Countrey, one Blacklocke, a poor Tradesman's Son, & born blind I think he is the greatest Curiosity in the World. By his Industry he has acquir'd Greek, Latin & French, & has become a good general Scholar. He is a very elegant, correct Poet. He even employs the Ideas of Light & Colors with great Propriety Dodesley intends this Winter to reprint his Poems by Subscription at half a Guinea a Copy I am sorry I did not give you a Copy when you was here I am sure you woud have thought the Author highly deserving of Encouragement He is besides, a modest, virtuous, good Man, and from his Blindness, entirely helpless

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
8 of Oct[r] 1754.

* 96 *To* MRS DYSART OF ECCLES

I must beg of you not to lend the book out of your house on any account till the middle of November Anybody may read it in the house

* MS , R S E (copy only), Mackenzie, *Home*, 102 f , Burton, 1. 410 f.

9 of Oct^{r} [1754]

Dear Madam

As I send you a long book[1] you will allow me to write a short letter. I send the Fruit of near two Years very constant application· my youngest and dearest Child You shoud have received it sooner, but during the fine Weather I forsaw, that it woud produce some inconvenience: Either you woud attach yourself so much to the perusal of me, as to neglect walking, riding & field diversions, which are much more beneficial than any history. Or if this beautifull season tempted you, I must lye in a corner, neglected & forgotten I assure you I woud take the Pet, if so treated Now that the weather has at last broke, and long nights are joind to wind and rain, and that a Fireside has become the most agreable object, a new book, especially if wrote by a Friend, may not be unwellcome In expectation then that you are to peruse me first with Pleasure, then with care, I expect to have your remarks, & Mr Dysarts & the Sollicitors[2] Whether am I Whig or Tory? Protestant or Papist? Scotch or English? I hope you do not all agree on this head, & that there [are] disputes among you about my principles We never see you in town, and I never can get to the Country But I hope I preserve a place in your Memory I am Dear Madam

Your affectionate Friend and Servant

DAVID HUME.

P S

I have seen John Humes new unbaptized Play,[3] and it is a very fine thing He now discovers a great Genius for the Theatre

* 97 *To the* ABBÉ LE BLANC

Sir

I am sorry to be oblig'd to write you in a Hurry Tho' it is as well so For if I had never so much Leizure, I shoud never

* B M MSS Egerton, 21, 200 f ; *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England Autograph wrongly catalogued in B M as addressed to Mauvillon

[1] The | History | of | Great Britain | Vol I | Containing | The Reigns of James I and Charles I | By David Hume, Esq; | Edinburgh | Printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill | M,DCC,LIV (4to, pp VI, 473)

[2] Alexander Home

[3] The tragedy of *Douglas* Alex Carlyle (*Autobiog* 299) says that it was almost finished in July or August 1754, and completely finished for the stage by February 1755, when John Home set off to London to offer it, unsuccessfully, to Garrick

be able to express sufficiently my Sense of the Civilities, which you confer upon me [1] I hereby send you some Sheets of my History, & shall send you the rest successively by the Post I shou'd be entirely indifferent about Fame (which can be the Case with no Writer, and indeed with no Man) were I not very anxious to have you undertake this Translation As you thought, that the informing the Public of the Correspondence carry'd on betwixt us, wou'd prevent any other Translator from interfering with you, I have subjoind in the next Page, a Letter,[2] such as may not be improper to insert in some of the literary Journals I cannot mention any thing particularly of your Translation of the political Discourses; as I have not yet receiv'd it, tho' I long for it very impatiently The Booksellers in London have a Custom, that when an Author enters into any Engagement with any of them for a Translation, no other Bookseller will engage any other Person in the same Translation I hope this is also the Custom at Paris. In which Case, the Advance, which I give you, will prevent all Danger of your losing your Labor If you have receiv'd the Copy sent by Boulogne, you will have still a more considerable Advance Please enquire of the Coche or Waggon of Boulogne In the Parcel, there was also a new Edition of the political Discourses But the Alterations, which I sent in my last, refer'd to the Edition, from which you made your Translation, viz the first or second It will therefore be necessary for you to recall your Copy [3] for a few days If that shou'd be difficult, you wou'd still be able, by a little Computation, to find all the Passages in the new Edition, which I send The former Edition had 304 Pages; this has 270 By employing the Rule of three, and

[1] Le Blanc, answering Hume's letter of 12 Sept 1754 says 'A l'égard de votre Histoire de la Grande Bretagne que vous m'annoncés, ce ne sera plus simplement comme votre admirateur, mais comme votre ami, Monsieur, que j'en entreprendrai la traduction, et je ferai de mon mieux pour qu'elle perde le moins qu'il est possible J'ai encor à vous aprendre, Monsieur, que le succès de vos Discours Politiques ne fait qu'augmenter tous les jours, et que tout retentit de vos éloges Nos Ministres même n'en sont pas moins satisfaits que le Public Mr le comte d'Argenson, Mr le Maréchal de Noailles, en un mot tous ceux qui ont ici part au Gouvernement ont parlé de votre ouvrage, comme d'un des meilleurs qui ayent jamais été faits sur ces matières' (MS , R S E , Burton, 1 459 f)

[2] Letter 97 A below

[3] In the letter above-quoted Le Blanc also says that so great is the demand for the *Political Discourses* that he has been obliged to give away his own copy to one of the ministers of State.

computing as 304 to 270, so is the Number mention'd in my paper, to a fourth Number; which will be the Page in the third Edition, where the Alteration is to be inserted The Alterations in some places are of Moment; so that I wish a new Edition might not be made without inserting them

The whole Reign of James the I will come to you in a few Posts The Narration is pretty often interrupted by Digressions, which were necessary to clear up Difficulties in the History. The Reign of Charles flows more smoothly, & is much more interesting. If there be some strokes of the *L'esprit fort* too strong for your Climate, you may soften them at your Discretion That I am a Lover of Liberty will be expected from my Country, tho' I hope, that I carry not that Passion to any ridiculous Extreme

The subsequent Letter, being intended entirely for your Service, I am not only willing but desirous, that you alter and model it as you think proper Had I the Honor of being personally known to you, you woud be sensible that nothing wou'd be more agreeable to me than a free Censure and Criticism I have a great Deference for the Taste of your Nation, & for yours in particular. Be so good as to inform me, with the most unreserv'd Freedom, of the Faults, which either Yourself or the Public find with my Performance I shou'd regard it as a very blameable Action to invite you to use a Liberty, which I were not conscious I cou'd receive, not only without Resentment, but with the highest Gratitude

I cannot recollect the Contents of my Letters to the President Montesquieu, but I can trust to his Judgement with regard to the Propriety of publishing them Any Expressions of my Esteem for the President, I must certainly desire to have known, because they wou'd do honor to my Understanding all over the World

I shall endeavor to keep back the Publication in London, till the first of December.[1] I am Sir with great Regard

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
15 of Oct^{r} 1754

P S

Since I wrote this, I find that the Cargo of Books, which I sent by Boulogne, have been mislaid, & that you will receive them latter than I propos'd.

[1] Le Blanc had asked for this to be done, in order that he might be first in the field with the translation

* 97 A *To the* Abbé Le Blanc [1]

Sir

[You will receive, along with this, a Copy of the first Volume of my History of Great Britain, which will be publish'd next Winter in London.] The Honor, which you did me in translating my political Discourses, inspires me with an Ambition of desiring to have my History of Great Britain translated by the same excellent hand. The great Curiosity of the Events, related in this Volume, embellish'd by your elegant Pen, might challenge the Attention of the Public. If you do not undertake this Translation, I despair of ever seeing it done in a satisfactory manner. Many Intricacies in the English Government, many Customs peculiar to this Island, require Explication; and it will be necessary to accompany the Translation, with some Notes, however short, in order to render it intelligible to foreigners. None but a Person, so well acquainted as you with England and the English Constitution, can pretend to clear up Obscurities, or explain the Difficulties, which occur. If at any time you find Yourself at a loss, be so good as to inform me: I shall spare no Pains to solve all Doubts, and convey all the Lights which, by my long and assiduous Study of this Subject, I may have acquir'd. The Distance betwixt us need be no Impediment to this Correspondence. [If you favor me frequently with your Letters, I shall be able to render you the same Service as if I had the Happiness of living next door to you, and was able to inspect the whole Translation. In this Attempt the Knowledge of the two Languages is but one Circumstance to qualify a man for a Translator. Tho' your Attainments, in this Respect, be known to all the World, I own, that I trust more to the Spirit of Reflection and Reasoning

* Bibl. Nantes, MSS. 674, pièce 116, Brougham, *Voltaire et Rousseau*, 340; Burton, 1. 406 f.

[1] This is the public letter referred to in No. 97, and intended for publication in a literary journal. It would appear that Le Blanc, who left Paris for Dresden in Oct. 1754, and remained in Dresden for at least six months, either never received it at all or received it a long time afterwards (see Letter 101 below). The autograph at Nantes does not contain the passages enclosed in square brackets. How these found their way into Brougham's version, which Burton copied, I cannot tell, but it is clear from Letter 101 below that Hume sent another copy of the letter to Le Blanc some ten days later, and it is probable that the two copies did not agree word for word. The spelling and punctuation of the passages within square brackets are conjectural.

which you discover, and] I thence expect, that my Performance will not only have Justice done it, but will even receive considerable Improvements, as it passes thro' your hands. I am, with great Regard,

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
15 Oct 1754

* 98. *To* JOSEPH SPENCE

Edinburgh, Oct 15, 1754

Sir,

The agreeable productions, with which you have entertained the public, have long given me a desire of being known to you: but this desire has been much increased by my finding you engage so warmly in protecting a man of merit, so helpless as Mr Blacklock I hope you will indulge me in the liberty I have taken of writing to you I shall very willingly communicate all the particulars I know of him, though others, by their longer acquaintance with him, are better qualified for this undertaking

The first time I had ever seen or heard of Mr Blacklock was about twelve years ago, when I met him in a visit to two young ladies They informed me of his case, as far as they could in a conversation carried on in his presence I soon found him to possess a very delicate taste, along with a passionate love of learning Dr Stevenson[1] had, at that time, taken him under his protection, and he was perfecting himself in the Latin tongue I repeated to him Mr Pope's Elegy to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady, which I happened to have by heart: and though I be a very bad reciter, I saw it affected him extremely. His eyes, indeed, the great index of the mind, could express no passion but his whole body was thrown into agitation That poem was equally qualified to touch the delicacy of his taste, and the tenderness of his feelings I left the town a few days after; and being long absent from Scotland, I neither saw nor heard of him for several years At last an acquaintance of mine told me of him, and said that he would have waited on me, if his excessive modesty had not prevented him He soon appeared what I have ever since found him, a very elegant genius,

* Spence's *Anecdotes* (Singer's edit), 350 ff, Burton, 1 388 ff.

[1] An Edinburgh physician

of a most affectionate grateful disposition, a modest backward temper, accompanied with that delicate pride, which so naturally attends virtue in distress His great moderation and frugality, along with the generosity of a few persons, particularly Dr Stevenson and Provost Alexander,[1] had hitherto enabled him to subsist. All his good qualities are diminished, or rather perhaps embellished, by a great want of knowledge of the world Men of very benevolent or very malignant dispositions are apt to fall into this error; because they think all mankind like themselves: but I am sorry to say that the former are apt to be most egregiously mistaken

I have asked him whether he retained any idea of light or colours. He assured me that there remained not the least traces of them. I found, however, that all the poets, even the most descriptive ones, such as Milton and Thomson, were read by him with pleasure Thomson is one of his favourites. I remembered a story in Locke of a blind man, who said that he knew very well what scarlet was it was like the sound of a trumpet. I therefore asked him, whether he had not formed associations of that kind, and whether he did not connect colour and sound together He answered, that as he met so often, both in books and conversation, with the terms expressing colours, he had formed some false associations, which supported him when he read, wrote, or talked of colours but that the associations were of the intellectual kind The illumination of the sun, for instance, he supposed to resemble the presence of a friend, the cheerful colour of green, to be like an amiable sympathy, &c. It was not altogether easy for me to understand him though I believe, in much of our own thinking, there will be found some species of association. 'Tis certain we always think in some language, viz in that which is most familiar to us; and 'tis but too frequent to substitute words instead of ideas

If you was acquainted with any mystic, I fancy you would think Mr Blacklock's case less paradoxical. The mystics certainly have associations by which their discourse, which seems jargon to us, becomes intelligible to themselves. I believe they commonly substitute the feelings of a common amour, in the place of their heavenly sympathies· and if they be not belied, the type is very apt to engross their hearts, and exclude the thing typified

[1] William Alexander was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1752–4, and M P for the City, 1754–61

Apropos to this passion, I once said to my friend, Mr Blacklock, that I was sure he did not treat love as he did colours, he did not speak of it without feeling it There appeared too much reality in all his expressions to allow that to be suspected 'Alas!' said he, with a sigh, 'I could never bring my heart to a proper tranquillity on that head.' Your passion, replied I, will always be better founded than ours, who have sight· we are so foolish as to allow ourselves to be captivated by exterior beauty· nothing but the beauty of the mind can affect you 'Not altogether neither,' said he 'the sweetness of the voice has a mighty effect upon me the symptoms of youth too, which the touch discovers, have great influence And though such familiar approaches would be ill-bred in others, the girls of my acquaintance indulge me, on account of my blindness, with the liberty of running over them with my hand. And I can by that means judge entirely of their shape However, no doubt, humour, and temper, and sense, and other beauties of the mind, have an influence upon me as upon others '

You may see from this conversation how difficult it is even for a blind man to be a perfect Platonic But though Mr Blacklock never wants his Evanthe,[1] who is the real object of his poetical addresses, I am well assured that all his passions have been perfectly consistent with the purest virtue and innocence His life indeed has been in all respects perfectly irreproachable.

He had got some rudiments of Latin in his youth, but could not easily read a Latin author till he was near twenty, when Dr Stevenson put him to a grammar school in Edinburgh He got a boy to lead him, whom he found very docible, and he taught him Latin This boy accompanied him to the Greek class in the College, and they both learned Greek. Mr Blacklock understands that language perfectly, and has read with a very lively pleasure all the Greek authors of taste Mr William Alexander, second son to our late Provost, and present Member, was so good as to teach him French, and he is quite master of that language He has a very tenacious memory and a quick apprehension. The young students of the College were very desirous of his company, and he reaped the advantage of their eyes, and they of his instructions He is a very good philosopher, and in general possesses all branches of erudition, except the mathematical The lad who first attended him having left him, he

[1] One of Blacklock's poems is an ode *On Evanthe's Absence*, and another is *A Pastoral, inscribed to Evanthe*

has got another boy, whom he is beginning to instruct, and he writes me that he is extremely pleased with his docility. The boy's parents, who are people of substance, have put him into Mr Blacklock's service, chiefly on account of the virtuous and learned education which they know he gives his pupils

As you are so generous to interest yourself in this poor man's case, who is so much an object both of admiration and compassion, I must inform you entirely of his situation He has gained about one hundred guineas by this last edition of his poems, and this is the whole stock he has in the world He has also a bursary, about six pounds a year I begun a subscription for supporting him during five years, and I made out twelve guineas a year among my acquaintance That is a most terrible undertaking, and some unexpected refusals I met with, damped me, though they have not quite discouraged me from proceeding We have the prospect of another bursary of ten pounds a year in the gift of the Exchequer; but to the shame of human nature, we met with difficulties Noblemen interpose with their valet-de-chambres or nurses' sons, who they think would be burdens on themselves Could we ensure but thirty pounds a year to this fine genius and man of virtue, he would be easy and happy for his wants are none but those which nature has given him, though she has unhappily loaded him with more than other men

His want of knowledge of the world, and the great delicacy of his temper, render him unfit for managing boys or teaching a school he would retain no authority Had it not been for this defect, he could have been made professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen

Your scheme of publishing his poems by subscription, I hope will turn to account. I think it impossible he could want, were his case more generally known. I hope it will be so by your means Sir George Lyttleton, who has so fine a taste, and so much benevolence of temper, would certainly, were the case laid before him in a just light, lend his assistance, or rather indeed quite overcome all difficulties I know not, whether you have the happiness of that gentleman's acquaintance

As you are a lover of letters, I shall inform you of a piece of news, which will be agreeable to you: we may hope to see good tragedies in the English language. A young man called Hume, a clergyman of this country, discovers a very fine genius for that species of composition Some years ago, he wrote a tragedy

called *Agis*, which some of the best judges, such as the Duke of Argyle, Sir George Lyttleton, Mr Pitt, very much approved of. I own, though I could perceive fine strokes in that tragedy, I never could in general bring myself to like it the author, I thought, had corrupted his taste by the imitation of Shakespeare, whom he ought only to have admired But the same author has composed a new tragedy [1] on a subject of invention; and here he appears a true disciple of Sophocles and Racine I hope in time he will vindicate the English stage from the reproach of barbarism.

I shall be very glad if the employing my name in your account of Mr Blacklock can be of any service

I am, Sir, with great regard,

[Your obedient humble servant]

DAVID HUME

P S

Mr Blacklock is very docible, and glad to receive corrections I am only afraid he is too apt to have a deference for other people's judgment I did not see the last edition till it was printed, but I have sent him some objections to passages, for which he was very thankful I also desired him to retrench some poems entirely, such as the *Ode on Fortitude*, and some others, which seemed to me inferior to the rest of the collection You will very much oblige him, if you use the same freedom I remarked to him some Scotticisms, but you are better qualified for doing him that service I have not seen any of his essays, and am afraid his prose is inferior to his poetry He will soon be in town, when I shall be enabled to write you further particulars

* 99 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Oct 18th 1754

Dear Doctor,

I received your kind letter, for which I thank you Poor Aber is disappointed by a train of Norland finesse, alas—what you will [2] I have given orders to deliver to you a copy of my History, as soon as it arrives in London, and before it be published. Lend it not till it be published It contains no paradoxes, and very little profaneness,—as little as could be expected The Abbé Le Blanc, who has translated some other of my pieces,

* Burton, 1 408 f

[1] *Douglas.* [2] Col Abercromby was unsuccessful in the election of 1754

intends to translate it, and the enclosed is part of a copy I send him· excuse the freedom—you may perhaps receive some other packets of the same kind, which you will please to send carefully to the post-house. The General[1] and Sir Harry[2] are in town, who remember you Edmonstone is well, and I just now left him abed I may perhaps be in London for good and all in a year or two. Show me that frugality could make £120 a year do, and I am with you· a man of letters ought always to live in a capital, says Bayle I believe I have no more to say You'll own that my style has not become more verbose, on account of my writing quartos.

Yours affectionately,
DAVID HUME.

* 100. *To* JOHN WILKES

Dear Sir

This will be delivered to you by Mr Hamilton, my Bookseller, whom I have likewise desir'd to put into your hands a Copy of my History, which I beg you to accept of. There were only a few copies of the large Paper thrown off, & I was desirous you shou'd read it with as little Disadvantage as possible If I had had the Honor to be longer known to you, you wou'd have found, that nothing cou'd oblige me more than a free Criticism & Censure. Will you take my Word for it, and venture the Experiment? I know, that in many particulars, especially the Language, you wou'd be able, if you pleas'd to give me good Advice I beg of you to remark, as you go along, such Words or Phrazes, as appear to you wrong or suspicious, and to inform me of them. You cou'd not do me a better Office Notwithstanding all the Pains, which I have taken in the Study of the English Language, I am still jealous of my Pen[3] As to my Tongue, you have seen, that I regard it as totally desperate and irreclaimable[4]

Mr Hamilton is of Opinion, that your Countenance & Protection wou'd be of Use to him in London He is a very honest Man, and I dare venture to recommend him to your good

* B M Addit MSS 30877 (Select Corresp of John Wilkes, xi 3), *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England.

[1] St. Clair [2] Erskine

[3] Hume was always particularly sensitive about Scotticisms A printed list of them, believed to be of his compiling, is bound up with some copies of the *Political Discourses*, 1752

[4] Authorities agree that Hume spoke English with a broad Scots accent. He seems to have spoken French with the same accent.

Offices I beg to be remember'd to Mr Stowe; and if you see Dr Armstrong[1] let him know, that I am ambitious of retaining a Part in his Memory.

I am Dr Sir Your most obedient, humble Servt
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh 16 Oct
1754

* 101. *To the* ABBÉ LE BLANC

SIR

Tho' I have been very unlucky,[2] yet will not I despair. It is too much my Interest, that you execute your Intentions, to allow me to yield to Difficulties I have wrote to a Friend in London, desiring him to find a way to send the Packets to Hanover, whence they cou'd easily be conveyd to Dresden, and I hope this Copy will at last come to your hands But as it is still possible, that some Accident may make it miscarry, I must beg of you to give Orders, that one of the Copies, which I sent to Paris, may be convey'd to you[3] The close Alliance betwixt the Courts of Paris and Dresden must occasion the Passage of Couriers, one of which will be able to carry you a Copy I doubt not too but Waggons or Carriers, either directly or obliquely by the way of Holland, cou'd convey a small Parcel from one Place to another.

In a Letter, which I did myself the Honor to write to you, I enclos'd another Letter, which, I thought, it might be proper for you to get inserted in the literary Journals, in order to prevent any other Translator from attempting the same Work

* B M MSS Egerton, 21, 202 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England Autograph wrongly catalogued in B M as addressed to Mauvillon

[1] John Armstrong (1709–79), poet and physician, M D Edin, 1732, settled in London, *c* 1735, Physician to the Army in Germany, 1760, author of *Œconomy of Love* (1736), *The Art of Preserving Health* (a poem) (1744), and *Sketches or Essays on various Subjects*, written under the pseudonym of Launcelot Temple (1758) He was an intimate friend of Wilkes until the latter began his anti-Scottish campaign in the *North Briton* Then they quarrelled

[2] Le Blanc appears to have written to Hume, either on arriving in Dresden or immediately before His letter is not extant, but it obviously informed Hume that he had not received the various letters and parcels Hume had sent

[3] In a letter from Dresden, dated 25 Dec 1754 (MS, R S E, incompletely given by Burton, i. 461 f), Le Blanc acknowledges receipt of vol i of the *History*, and expresses his great delight at having got it at last

Your Journey to Dresden will throw you still farther behind. I have therefore enclos'd another Copy of that Letter, of which you may make whatever Use you think fit [1]

I have not yet receiv'd your Translation of my political Discourses, tho' I daily expect it with great Impatience There was a Translation publish'd at the same time in Holland,[2] which I have not seen I doubt not but the Comparison will show me how much I have been beholden to you [3] The Alterations, which I sent you, referd to the Edition, from which you made your Translation, viz, the first or second But as you have parted with your Copy, that Paper can no longer be of Use to you. As soon as your Translation comes to hand, I shall mark the Page & Line where the Alterations are to be inserted; & you will be able, without farther Trouble, to inform the Bookseller of Paris The Alterations are so considerable, that I cou'd wish the second Edition not to be publish'd without comprehending them.

I hope your Jaunt to Dresden will prove an Entertainment to you These Interruptions form an agreeable Diversity in the Life of a man of Letters, and the kind Reception, which your Character will procure you, cannot fail of rendering every Place acceptable The Fate of poor Voltaire will terrify all men of Genius from trusting themselves with his Prussian Majesty, who, tho' one of the most illustrious Characters of the Age, is too much a Rival to be a very constant Patron.[4] We have strange Stories with regard to Voltaire It is pretended, that that sprightly, agreeable, libertine Wit has at last thrown himself into a Convent, has recanted all his Heresies, and is doing voluntary Pennance for his past Transgressions [5]

[1] See Letters 97 and 97 A above.

[2] *Discours politiques de Mr David Hume, traduits de l'Anglois par M de M**** [Eléazar de Mauvillon], Amsterdam, 1754 (16mo, pp II, 355)

[3] Le Blanc thought so too In his letter of 25 Dec 1754 he says 'J'ay vu ici la traduction de vos Discours Politiques imprimée en Hollande, elle ne se peut pas lire . Le traducteur quel qu'il soit ne sait constament ni l'anglois ni le françois C'est probablement un de ces auteurs qui travaillent à la foire pour les libraires de Hollande, et dont les ouvrages bons ou mauvais se débitent aux foires de Leipsig et de Francfort Cette traduction passe ici pour être d'un Mr Mauvillon de Leipsig dont le métier est de faire des livres françois pour l'Allemagne, et d'enseigner ce qu'il ne sait pas, c'est à dire votre langue et la nôtre' (MS , R S E , Burton, I 461)

[4] Voltaire's breach with Frederick the Great was an old story by this time

[5] Voltaire did spend a month (June–July 1754) at the abbey of Sénones, living to all outward seeming as a monk but writing free-thinking articles

But this I have a great Difficulty to believe It is probably the Invention of the Bigots, in order to throw a Ridicule on him & other Freethinkers I shou'd be sorry, if this last Accident shoud so crush his Spirits as to disqualify him from any farther Productions, or even damp the Boldness & Freedom of his Reasonings, or more properly speaking, of his Decisions. He has the Art of couching his Determinations in such lively Terms, that they often carry Conviction, as much as if they were supported by the strongest Arguments.

I shou'd esteem myself extremely oblig'd to you, if you inform me of any good Writings, which have lately been produc'd in Paris. We are sometimes late of seeing them in this Part of the World Our English Literature has not, for some years past, been very fertile Lord Bolingbroke's posthumous Productions[1] have at last convinc'd the whole World, that he ow'd his Character chiefly to his being a man of Quality, & to the Prevalence of Faction Never were seen so many Volumes, containing so little Variety & Instruction: so much Arrogance & Declamation The Clergy are all enrag'd against him, but they have no Reason. Were they never attack'd by more forcible Weapons than his, they might for ever keep Possession of their Authority.

Mr Harris,[2] about two Years ago, publish'd a Book, which he calls Hermes or Universal Grammar. Notwithstanding his Affectation of Greek, & his Mimickry of Aristotle, he is a good Writer; & this Performance, in my Opinion, equals or surpasses that of Abbé Girard,[3] which has Merit

for the *Encyclopédie*. The episode was a piece of hypocrisy designed to facilitate his return to Paris and the French Court

[1] David Mallet edited all Bolingbroke's *Works* in 5 vols , 1753–4 With Hume's opinion cf Horace Walpole (*Letters*, iii 269) 'It is comical to see how he [Bolingbroke] is given up here, since the best of his writings, his metaphysical divinity, have been published While he betrayed and abused every man who trusted him, or who had forgiven him, or to whom he was obliged, he was a hero, a patriot, and a philosopher, and the greatest genius of the age the moment his *Craftsmen* against Moses and St Paul, &c , were published, we have discovered that he was the worst man and the worst writer in the world '

[2] James Harris (1709–80), a man of rank and wealth, M P , Lord of Admiralty, and Lord of the Treasury, Secretary and Controller to Queen, 1774–80, author of *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar* (1751), and *Philosophical Arrangements* (1775) As Hume notes, he was an Aristotelian, and applied Aristotle's methods to modern problems.

[3] Gabriel Girard (1677–1748), author of *Synonymes françois; leurs différentes significations et le choix qu'il en faut faire pour parler avec justesse*, a very popular work many times reprinted during the century

We have in this Town a singular Phaenomenon, one Blacklocke, a very elegant Poet, born blind. His Writings are particularly remarkable for the Justness & Propriety of their Imagery; tho' he owns that he has no Idea of Light or Colors An ingenious Gentleman in England is writing a Book, in order to solve the Phaenomenon, which is certainly very singular The Poet tells me, that he has a singular Pleasure in reading the rural Poets, Theocritus & Virgil For he understands the learned Languages Nay Thomson's Seasons is a favourite Book with him But he tells me, that to the Terms, expressive of Light & Color, he annexes, by a false Association, certain intellectual Ideas Thus he conceives the Illumination of the Sun to be like the Presence of a Friend; the cheerful Color of Green to be like social Sympathy This Account is scarce intelligible to us, who possess our Sight

Sir George Lyttleton,[1] who is an Author of Taste, has wrote the Reign of Henry the Second; & it will be publishd the Winter after the next The Period is not interesting, nor is Sir George's Genius very strong, tho' it be polish'd. Notwithstanding the Expectations of the Public, this may prove but a middling Production. But he is a man of Rank & Figure, which encreases his Vogue. His Poetry is better than his Prose

I have not seen Guthrie's [2] Book against you But I have seen his other Works, which makes me conclude, as you do, that it will make more against himself

I am Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh Oct 24
1754.

* 102 *To* WILLIAM MURE OF CALDWELL

I earnestly beg of you not to allow this Copy to go out of your House till the Book be publishd. Your Attention to this is of Consequence

* MS, R S E, *Caldwell Papers*, II, 1 111 f, Burton, i 409 f

[1] Lyttelton's *Henry II*, which he wrote and re-wrote with infinite pains and which in the end made very dry reading, did not begin to appear till 1764, but the printing was begun in 1755

[2] William Guthrie (1708–70) The book referred to here is probably *An Essay upon English Tragedy, with Remarks upon the Abbé Le Blanc's Observations on the English Stage*, 1747

Dear Mure

I have sent to Sharpe [1] a copy of my History, of which I hope you will tell me your Opinion with Freedom

Finding, like a Friend,
Something to blame, & something to commend [2]

The first Quality of an Historian is to be true & impartial; the next to be interesting. If you do not say, that I have done both Parties Justice, & if Mrs Mure be not sorry for poor King Charles, I shall burn all my Papers, & return to Philosophy

I shall send a Copy to Paris to l'Abbé le Blanc, who has translated some other of my Pieces; and therefore your Corrections & Amendments may still be of Use, & prevent me from misleading or tiring the French Nation We shall also make a Dublin Edition,[3] & it were a Pity to put the Irish farther wrong than they are already I shall also be so sanguine as to hope for a second Edition, when I may cor[rect all Errors][4] You know my Docility.

[Oct 1754]

To William Mure of Caldwell Esq[r] Member of Parliament at Glanderston near Glasgow.

* 103. *To* Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate [5]

20th Nov 1754

My Lord,

Reflecting on the conversation which I had the honour to have with your Lordship yesterday, I remember that your Lordship asked whether I insisted that these three books must be in the Library? [6] I believe I answered that the books were

* *Arniston Memoirs*, 1751–1838, 157 ff

[1] Probably Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam

[2] Pope, *Epistle to Mr Jervas*, l 20 f

[3] It appeared as: The | History | of | Great Britain, | containing | The Reign of James I | and | Part of Charles I | By David Hume, Esq. | Dublin | Printed for John Smith at the Philosophers Heads | on the Blind Quay MDCCLV (8vo)

[4] MS torn

[5] Robert Dundas of Arniston the Younger He was appointed Lord Advocate in 1754, having been Dean of Faculty since 1746

[6] On 4 April 1754 Hume, as Keeper of the Advocates' Library, bought a number of books for the library, and among them the *Contes* of La Fontaine, *L'Ecumoire* by Crébillon *fils*, and *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules* by

indifferent to me, and that being once expelled I did not see how they could be restored except by being bought anew. This answer was the effect of precipitation and inadvertence. I take this opportunity of retracting it; that if your Lordship be so good as to interpose your authority in this affair, you may be informed of the grounds on which I conceive the matter to stand The expelling these books I could conceive in no other light than as an insult on me, which nothing can repair but the re-instating them. Mr Wedderburn [1] and Mr Miller,[2] who certainly had no bad intentions, will not, I hope, regard my insisting on this point as any insult on them And if any of the Curators [3] had bad intentions, which I hope they had not, there cannot in the world be a more rejoicing spectacle, nor one more agreeable to the generality of mankind, than to see insolence and malice thrown in the dirt These qualities, which are always dirty, must in that case appear doubly so

There is a particular kind of insolence which is more provoking as it is meaner than any other, 'tis the *Insolence of Office*, which our great poet mentions as sufficient to make those who are so unhappy as to suffer by it, seek even a voluntary death rather than submit to it. I presume it is chance, not design, which has exposed some of the Curators to the reproach of this vice. But I am sure no quality will be more disagreeable to your Lordship, for if I may judge by the affable manner in which you received me, your late promotion will operate no such effect upon you

As to the three books themselves, your Lordship has little

Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy (generally known as Bussy-Rabutin). In June, when the Curators came to make their periodical inspection of the accounts, some of them objected to these three books as indecent, and after long deliberation they ordered them to be removed from the shelves (*MS. Register of the Curators and Keeper*, in Nat Lib Scot), and at the same time ordained that no more books should be bought for the Library on the authority of the Keeper alone (Draft minute in Hume's handwriting among MSS, R S E)

[1] Peter Wedderburn (d 1757), afterwards Lord Chesterhall, father of Alexander Wedderburn He was appointed a Curator in Jan 1753

[2] Mr., afterwards Sir, Thomas Miller of Glenlee (1717–89), Solicitor-General, 1759, Lord Advocate, 1760, Lord Justice Clerk, 1766; Lord President of Session, 1787. He was appointed a Curator in 1750 or 1751. He was a special friend of William Mure of Caldwell, and appears to have been a man of great personal charm, with hardly any enemies

[3] The other Curators were James Burnet (1714–99), afterwards Lord Monboddo, and Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes Hume (like his friend Kames) could never get on with Monboddo.

leizure from more grave and important occupations to read them; but this I will venture to justify before any literary society in Europe, that if every book not superior in merit to *La Fontaine* be expelled the Library, I shall engage to carry away all that remains in my pocket. I know not indeed if any will remain except our fifty pound Bible, which is too bulky for me to carry away If all worse than *Bussi Rabutin*, or *Crebillon*, be expelled, I shall engage that a couple of porters will do the office By the bye, *Bussi Rabutin* contains no bawdy at all, though if it did, I see not that it would be a whit the worse For I know not a more agreeable subject both for books and conversation, if executed with decency and ingenuity I can presume, without intending the least offence, that as the glass circulates at your Lordship's table, this topic of conversation will sometimes steal in, provided always there be no ministers present And even some of these reverend gentlemen I have seen not to dislike the subject I hope your Lordship will excuse this freedom, and believe me to be, with great regard, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME

* 104 *To* ADAM SMITH

Dear Sir

I told you, that I intended to apply to the Faculty for Redress, and if refusd, to throw up the Library I was assur'd that two of the Curators[1] intended before the Faculty to declare their Willingness to redress me, after which there cou'd be no Difficulty to gain a Victory over the other two But before the day came, the Dean[2] prevaild on them to change their Resolution, & joind them himself with all his Interest I saw it then impossible to succeed, & accordingly retracted my Application But being equally unwilling to lose the Use of the Books & to bear an Indignity, I retain the Office, but have given Blacklock, our blind Poet, a Bond of Annuity for the Sallary. I have now put it out of these malicious Fellows power to offer me any Indignity; while my Motives for remaining in this Office are so apparent I shou'd be glad that you approve of my Conduct· I own I am satisfy'd with myself

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 393 and 411

[1] Probably Miller and Wedderburn (see preceding letter)

[2] Robert Dundas remained Dean of Faculty till he became Lord President in 1760

Pray tell me, & tell me ingenuously, What Success has my History met with among the Judges with you, I mean Dr Cullen,[1] Mr Betham,[2] Mrs Betham, Mr Leechman, Mr Muirhead,[3] Mr Crawford,[4] &c? Dare I presume, that it has been thought worthy of Examination, & that its Beauties are found to overballance its Defects? I am very desirous to know my Errors, & I dare swear you think me tolerably docile, to be so veterane an Author I cannot indeed hope soon to have an Opportunity of correcting my Errors, this Impression is so very numerous The Sale indeed has been very great in Edinburgh, but how it goes on at London, we have not been precisely inform'd In all Cases, I am desirous of storing up Instruction, & as you are now idle (I mean, have nothing but your Class to teach Which to you is comparative Idleness) I will insist upon hearing from you

Pray tell Mr Crawford, that I sent a Copy to Lord Cathcart,[5] as he desird

I am Dear Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
17 Dec^{r} 1754
To Mr Adam Smith Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow

* 105 *To the* EARL OF BALCARRES [6]

My Lord, Edinburgh, 17 December, 1754.

I did really intend to have paid my respects to your Lordship this harvest; but I have got into such a recluse, studious habit,

* *Lives of the Lindsays*, II 272 f

[1] William Cullen, Professor of Medicine in Glasgow

[2] Beyond the fact that Mr Betham was an original member of the Literary Society in Glasgow, I have not been able to discover anything about him

[3] George Muirhead (1715–73), Prof. of Oriental Languages in Glasgow, 1753, and of Humanity, 1754–73. Along with James Moore he superintended the edition of Homer printed by the brothers Foulis in 1747

[4] Probably Patrick Crawfurd of Auchenames (died 1778), elder brother of Ronald Crawfurd, W S., and father of John ('Fish') Crawfurd, both of whom were friends of Hume He succeeded Mure as M P for Renfrewshire in 1761, having previously been M P for Ayrshire in 1741 and 1747

[5] Charles, 9th Baron Cathcart (1721–76), A D C to Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 1755–63 and 1773–6, British Ambassador at St Petersburg, 1768–71

[6] James, 5th Earl of Balcarres (1691–1768), an ex-Jacobite who had been

that I believe myself only fit to converse with books, and, however I may pretend to be acquainted with dead kings, shall become quite unsuitable for my friends and cotemporaries Besides, the great gulf that is fixed between us [1] terrifies me. I am not only very sick at sea, but often can scarce get over the sickness for some days

I am very proud that my History, even upon second thoughts, appears to have something tolerable in your Lordship's eyes It has been very much canvassed and read here in town, as I am told, and it has full as many inveterate enemies as partial defenders. The misfortune of a book, says Boileau, is not the being ill spoke of, but the not being spoken of at all The sale has been very considerable here, about four hundred and fifty in five weeks How it has succeeded in London I cannot precisely tell Only, I observe that some of the weekly papers have been busy with me. I am as great an atheist as Bolingbroke, as great a Jacobite as Carte,[2] I cannot write English, &c I do indeed observe that the book is in general rather more agreeable to those they call Tories, and, I believe, chiefly for this reason, that, having no places to bestow, they are naturally more moderate in their expectations from a writer A Whig, who can give hundreds a year, will not be contented with small sacrifices of truth; and most authors are willing to purchase favour at so reasonable a price

I wish it were in my power to pass this Christmas at Balcarres. I should be glad to accompany your Lordship in your rural improvements, and return thence to relish with pleasure the comforts of your fireside. You enjoy peace and contentment, my Lord, which all the power and wealth of the nation cannot give to our rulers. The whole Ministry, they say, is by the ears.[3]

'out' in 'The Fifteen', and was pardoned, and held a commission in the 2nd Dragoons, retired from the army, 1745, to cultivate his estate; married, 1749, Anne, d of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, by whom he had eleven children, the eldest being Lady Anne Barnard (1750–1807), the poetess

[1] The Firth of Forth

[2] Thomas Carte (1686–1754), Jacobite historian, author of *The Irish Massacre* [of 1641] *set in a clear light*, 1714, and *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, 1736 He was a non-juring clergyman and a friend of Bishop Atterbury.

[3] William Pitt and Henry Fox revolted against the Duke of Newcastle on the assembling of the new Parliament in Nov 1754 Writing to Mann on 1 Dec , Horace Walpole says: 'In short, Mr Pitt has broke with the Duke of Newcastle, on the want of power, and has alarmed the dozing House of Commons with some sentences, extremely in the style of his former *Pittics*.

This quarrel, I hope, they will fight out among themselves, and not expect to draw us in, as formerly, by pretending it is for our good We will not be the dupes twice in our life

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

* 106 *To* JOHN HOME [1]

[? December 1754][2]

Dear Sir,

With great pleasure I have more than once perused your tragedy [3] It is interesting, affecting, pathetic The story is simple and natural, but what chiefly delights me, is to find the language so pure, correct, and moderate. For God's sake, read Shakespeare, but get Racine and Sophocles by heart It is reserved to you, and you alone, to redeem our stage from the reproach of barbarism

I have not forgot your request to find fault, but as you had neither numbered the pages nor the lines in your copy, I cannot point out particular expressions I have marked the margin, and shall tell you my opinion when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. The more considerable objections seem to be these. *Glenalvon's* character is too abandoned Such a man is scarce in nature, at least, it is inartificial in a poet to suppose such a one, as if he could not conduct his fable by the ordinary passions, infirmities, and vices of human nature *Lord Barnet's*[4] character is not enough decided, he hovers betwixt vice and virtue, which, though it be not unnatural, is not sufficiently theatrical nor tragic After *Anna* had lived 18 years with *Lady Barnet*, and yet had been kept out of the secret, there seems to be no sufficient reason why, at that very time, she should have been let into

* Mackenzie, *Life of John Home*, i 100 ff, Burton, i 419 f

As Mr Fox is not at all more in humour, the world expects every day to see these two commanders first unite to overturn all their antagonists, and then worry one another' (*Letters*, iii 268)

[1] John Home (1722–1808), minister of Athelstaneford, 1746–58, author of *Douglas*, *Agis*, *The Fatal Discovery*, and other tragedies, secretary to Lord Bute, 1758–63 'He was truly irresistible, and his entry to a company was like opening a window and letting the sun into a dark room' (Carlyle, *Autobiography*, 223)

[2] It is impossible to date this letter with any precision.

[3] *Douglas*, which Home took to London in Feb. 1755, to offer, unsuccessfully, to Garrick

[4] The name Barnet was afterwards changed to Randolph.

it. The spectator is apt to suspect that it was in order to instruct him, a very good end indeed, but which might have been attained by a careful and artificial conduct of the dialogue

There seem to be too many casual rencounters. *Young Forman*, passing by chance, saves *Lord Barnet; Old Forman*, passing that way by chance, is arrested Why might not *Young Forman* be supposed to be coming to the Castle, in order to serve under *Lord Barnet*, and *Old Forman*, having had some hint of his intention, to have followed him that way? [1] Might not *Anna* be supposed to have returned to her mistress after long absence? This might account for a greater flow of confidence

* 107 *To* Adam Smith

Dear Sir

I beg you to make my Compliments to the Society,[2] & to take the Fault on Yourself, If I have not executed my Duty, & sent them this time my Anniversary Paper Had I got a Week's warning, I shou'd have been able to have supply'd them, I shou'd willingly have sent some Sheets of the History of the Commonwealth or Protectorship; but they are all of them out of my hand at present, & I have not been able to recall them

I think you are extremely in the right, that the Parliaments Bigotry has nothing in common with Hiero's Generosity [3] They were themselves violent Persecutors at home to the utmost of their Power Besides, the Hugonots in France were not persecuted; they were really seditious, turbulent People, whom their King was not able to reduce to Obedience The French Persecutions did not begin till sixty Years after

Your Objection to the Irish Massacre [4] is just, but falls not on the Execution but the Subject Had I been to describe the Massacre of Paris, I shoud not have fallen into that Fault But in the Irish Massacre no single eminent Man fell, or by a remarkable Death If the Elocution of that whole Chapter be

* MS , R S.E , *Literary Gazette*, 1821, p 745, Burton, i 417 f

[1] Some lines are torn off the MS and lost (Mackenzie)

[2] The Literary Society of Glasgow, founded in 1752 by Adam Smith and others, and composed mainly of those in and about the University Hume, Sir John Dalrymple, Andrew and Robert Foulis the printers, also became members

[3] Probably a reference to Hiero (Hieron) II, Tyrant of Syracuse, 270–216 B.C See Theocritus, xvi, and Polybius, i 8, viii

[4] The Irish Massacre of 1641, related by Hume in vol. i, ch vi of the *History* (collected edition, ch. lv)

blameable, it is because my Conception labord with too great an Idea of my Subject, which is there the most important. But that Misfortune is not unusual I am Dear Sir

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

Edinr
9th of Jany 1755
To Mr Adam Smith Professor at Glasgow

* 108 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I am entirely of your Opinion: Your Offer to Baillie Hamilton[1] was very reasonable, & ought to have been receiv'd with Thankfulness, not Peevishness He is a very honest Man, & far from being interested But he is passionate & even wrong headed to a great Degree He has made it sufficiently appear in his Conduct of this whole Affair I think the London Booksellers have had a sufficient Triumph over him, when a Book, which was much expected & was calculated to be popular, has had so small a Sale [in] his hands To make the Triumph more compleat, I wish you wou'd take what remains into your hands, & dispose of it in a few Months I beg of you to think again seriously [of] that Matter If you will return to your former Offer, I will engage to make it effectual, or if the Baillie refuses to comply, I wou'd rather make out the Difference from my own Pocket So much do I desire to have the Affair under your Management You need have no Correspondence with him Write to me, & I shall manage the Matter

The second Volume of my History I can easily find a way of conveying to you, when finishd & corrected, & fairly copy'd. Perhaps I may be in London myself about that time I have always said to all my Acquaintance that if the first Volume bore a little of a Tory Aspect, the second wou'd probably be as grateful to the opposite Party The two first Princes of the House of Stuart were certainly more excusable than the two second The Constitution was in their time very ambiguous & undetermin'd, & their Parliaments were, in many respects, refractory & obstinate. But Charles the 2d knew, that he had succeeded to a very limited Monarchy His long Parliament

* MS , R S E , Burton, 1 415 ff (incomplete)

[1] Gavin Hamilton, the Edinburgh bookseller. He was 4th Bailie in 1735, and 1st Bailie in 1744.

was indulgent to him, & even consisted almost entirely of Royalists; yet he cou'd not be quiet, nor contented with a legal Authority I need not mention the Oppressions in Scotland nor the absurd Conduct of K. James the 2d These are obvious & glaring Points Upon the whole, I wish the two Volumes had been publishd together Neither one Party nor the other, wou'd, in that Case, have had the least Pretext of reproaching me with Partiality

I shall give no farther Umbrage to the Godly Tho' I am far from thinking, that my Liberties on that head have been the real Cause of checking the Sale of the first Volume They might afford a Pretext for decrying it to those who were resolv'd on other Accounts to lay hold of Pretexts

Pray tell Dr Birch,[1] if you have Occasion to see him, that his Story of the Warrant for Lord Loudon's Execution,[2] tho' at first I thought it highly improbable, appears to me at present a great deal more likely. I find the same Story in Scotstarvat's Staggering State,[3] which was publishd here a few Months ago. The same Story, coming from different Canals, without any dependence on each other, bears a strong Air of Probability I have spoke to Duke Hamilton,[4] who says, that I shall be very welcome to peruse all his Papers I shall take the first Opportunity of going to the bottom of that Affair, & if I find any Confirmation of the Suspicion, will be sure to inform Dr Birch I own it is the strongest Instance of any which History affords of K. Charles's arbitrary Principles

I have made a Trial on Plutarch[5] & find that I take Pleasure

[1] Thomas Birch (1705–66), historian and biographer, rector of several London parishes, F R S and F S A, 1735, Secretary, R S, 1752–65, D D Aberdeen, 1753, author of the *History of the Royal Society*, 1756–7, and many other works He was a zealous Whig controversialist

[2] John Campbell (1598–1663), 1st Earl of Loudon, along with the Earl of Dunfermline, had an interview with Charles I at Whitehall in March 1640, and protested against the prorogation of the Scots Parliament Some days later Loudon was committed to the Tower, charged with having intrigued with the French king According to Birch, a warrant for his execution was made out, but this story is not corroborated He was eventually released and allowed to go back to Scotland

[3] Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet (1585–1670), Scottish lawyer and statesman, wrote *The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen between 1550 and 1650*, and left it in MS It was first published, in Edinburgh, in 1754

[4] James, 6th Duke (1724–58)

[5] Apparently Millar had suggested that Hume should undertake a translation of Plutarch It came to nothing

in it, but cannot yet form so just a Notion of the time & pains, which it will require, as to tell you what Sum of Money I wou'd think an Equivalent But I shall be sure to inform you as soon as I come to a Resolution. The Notes requisite will not be numerous, not so many as in the former Edition. I think so bulky a Book ought to be swelld as little as possible, & nothing added but what is absolutely requisite The little Trial I have made, convinces me that the Undertaking will require time My manner of composing is slow, & I have great Difficulty to satisfy myself I am

Dear Sir Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Edin^{r}
12 of April
1755

* 109 *To* ALLAN RAMSAY [1]

[April or May 1755]

It [2] has grown to be a national concern. Young and old, noble and ignoble, witty and dull, laity and clergy, all the world are ambitious of a place amongst us, and on each occasion we are as much solicited by candidates as if we were to choose a Member of Parliament. . Our friend young Wedderburn has acquired a great character by the appearance he has made.[3]

* Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, II 340 ff Burton says that the autographs of this and of Letter 112 below were shown to him after he had published his *Life of Hume*, but he printed only portions of the letters, gave no dates for them, and failed to indicate in whose possession the autographs were.

[1] Allan Ramsay (1713–84), the painter, eldest son of Allan Ramsay the poet He went to London to study *c* 1733, made a prolonged tour on the Continent, 1736–8, along with an Edinburgh physician, Dr Alex Cunningham, who afterwards became Sir Alex. Dick of Prestonfield, returned to Edinburgh off and on, 1738–56, settled in London, *c* 1756, was appointed portrait-painter to the King, 1767 For a time he was more popular as a portrait-painter than Reynolds himself

[2] The Select Society, founded by Ramsay in Edinburgh in 1754 It held its first meeting on Wed , 22 May, on 29 June was granted permission to hold its meetings in the Advocates' Library, and continued to flourish for many years after It met every Wednesday evening from November to August, and was at liberty to debate any subject 'except such as regarded revealed religion, or which might give occasion to vent any principles of Jacobitism' (*MS Rules and Orders of the Select Society* in Nat Lib Scot) Hume was its first Treasurer. By 1759 it contained more than 190 members

[3] Alexander Wedderburn, though still under 21 years of age, was moved into the Chair by Ramsay at the inaugural meeting

Wilkie the minister[1] has turned up from obscurity, and become a very fashionable man, as he is indeed a very singular one. Monboddo's[2] oddities divert, Sir David's[3] zeal entertains, Jack Dalrymple's[4] rhetoric interests. The long drawling speakers have found out their want of talents, and rise seldomer In short, the House of Commons was less the object of general curiosity at London than the Select Society at Edinburgh. The Robinhood, the Devil, and all other speaking societies,[5] are ignoble in comparison. Such felicity has attended the seed which you planted. But what chiefly renders us considerable is a project of engrafting on the Society a scheme for the encouragement of arts and sciences and manufactures in Scotland, by premiums partly honorary, partly lucrative[6] A box is opened for donations, and about one hundred guineas have been given in We hear of considerable sums intended by Lord Hopetoun,[7] Morton,[8] Marchmont,[9] &c , who desire to be members Nine managers have been chosen; and to keep the

[1] William Wilkie (1721–72), minister of Ratho, and afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy at St Andrews, author of the *Epigoniad*

[2] James Burnet (1714–99), admitted advocate, 1737, raised to the Bench as Lord Monboddo, 1767, author of *Essays on the Origin and Progress of Language*, 6 vols , 1773–92, and *Antient Metaphysics*, 6 vols , 1779–99 In his lifetime his eccentricities were thought to amount almost to insanity, and his cherished opinions were generally ridiculed, but his anthropological opinions are a curious anticipation of the theory of biological evolution

[3] Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes

[4] John Dalrymple of Cranstoun (1726–1810), afterwards Sir John Dalrymple-Hamilton-Macgill, admitted advocate, 1748, author of *Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain* , 1757, and *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II until the Sea Battle of La Hogue*, 3 vols , 1771 The story of Dr Johnson's visit to him at Cranstoun in 1773 is well known (Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*)

[5] The Robin Hood was a famous debating club in London, of which Burke was at one time a member By 'the Devil' Hume may have meant the Royal Society Club, which met at the Devil Tavern, near Temple Bar, from 1746 to 1780

[6] For the full story of this offshoot of the Select Society see Rae's *Adam Smith*, p 115 ff

[7] John, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun (1704–81). He was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1754

[8] James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton (1702–68); Lord Clerk Register, 1760–7, Trustee of the British Museum and P R S , 1764–8 He was travelling in France in 1746, and, oddly enough, was in the town of Lorient when General St Clair's expeditionary force attacked it The French, instigated by the Jacobites, arrested him as a British spy and lodged him in the Bastille (see *Mémoires* of D'Argenson, ed 1857, iii 74)

[9] Hugh, 3rd Earl of Marchmont

business distinct from our reasoning, the first Monday of every month is set apart for these transactions, and they are never to be mentioned in our Wednesday meetings. Advertisements have been published to inform the public of our intentions [1] A premium, I remember, is promised to the best discourse on Taste,[2] and on the Principles of Vegetation. These regard the belles lettres [3] and the sciences, but we have not neglected porter, strong ale, and wrought ruffles, even down to linen rags. . .

Your 'Investigator' [4] has been published this spring, and I find that it has met with a very good reception from the wits and the critics. In vain did I oppose myself, and assert it was not just metaphysics They did nothing but laugh at me, and told me it was very entertaining, and seemed very reasonable

* 110. *To* William Strahan.[5]

Sir

I was out of Town for some days otherways the Sheet shou'd have been return'd sooner, along with an Answer to your obliging Letter I am of your Opinion, that it were much to be wish'd we cou'd publish the 2d Volume [6] the ensuing Winter; but I am afraid it will be impossible; at least, without hurrying myself more than I desire To tell the Truth, I was so discourag'd this last Winter, that I have not been so assiduous as I might have been Surely, never man was so torne in Pieces by Calumny I thought I had been presenting to the Public a History full of Candor & Disinterestedness, where I conquer'd

* MS , Nat Lib Scot 7 1 19 (f 42), hitherto unpublished

[1] The first advertisement was published on 10 April 1755

[2] It was won by Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Taste*, published in 1759

[3] Both Hume and Adam Smith were on the Committee for Belles-Lettres

[4] *The Monthly Review* for March 1755 (p 238) contains a notice of '*The Investigator* Numb 322 To be continued occasionally 8vo 1*s* 6*d* Millar ' I have not seen this pamphlet, which seems to be extremely rare, but it is probably the work Hume refers to An earlier number (321) was reviewed in *The Monthly Magazine* for January 1754

[5] William Strahan (1715–85) served an apprenticeship as a printer in Edinburgh, then settled in London and prospered Millar took him into partnership and in 1767 handed the publishing business over to him and Thomas Cadell King's Printer, 1770, M P., Malmesbury, 1774 He ran a daily paper, *The London Chronicle*, and, according to Boswell, loved to be employed in political negotiation

[6] Of the *History*

some of the Prejudices of my Education, neglected my Attachments & Views of Preferment, & all for the Sake of Truth When behold! I am dub'd a Jacobite, Passive Obedience Man, Papist, & what not But all this we must bear with Patience The Public is the most capricious Mistress we can court; and we Authors, who write for Fame, must not be repuls'd by some Rigors, which are always temporary, where they are unjust I am not surely unfavorable to the Parliament Till they push'd their Advantages so far as to excite a civil War, so dangerous & unnecessary, I esteem their Conduct laudable, & to this Extremity nothing carry'd them but their furious Zeal for Presbytery A low Bigotry, with which they sully'd a noble Cause. I did indeed endeavour to paint the King's Catastrophé (which was singular & dismal) in as pathetic a manner as I cou'd And to engage me, needed I any other Motive, than my Interest as a Writer, who desires to please & interest his Readers?

I am glad that Mr Millar has renewd his Offer, which I find Baillie Hamilton is resolv'd to accept of Every body writes me & tells me, that the Conspiracy of the Booksellers contributed very much to retard the Sale I hope, that Mr Millar's Industry will redress this Inconvenience, tho' it is not so easy to put right what has once been set wrong We must have Patience, & trust to time If things succeed at present, Mr Millar, like the last Doctor, will get the Praise You are better acquainted with these Matters than me· But if the Booksellers had not a great Influence, whence coud proceed the great Difference of the Sale in Scotland & England? The Freedoms with Religion ought here to have given more Displeasure, & the Cry of Jacobitism as much, notwithstanding what may be imagin'd

I shall use the Precaution you desire with regard to our Letters, & beg the Continuance of our Friendship & Correspondence. I am Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
3d of May, 1755

* 111 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I give you a great many thanks for thinking of me in your Project of a weekly Paper I approve very much of the Design,

* MS, R S E, Burton, 1 421 f

as you explain it to me; and there is no body I wou'd more willingly engage with. But as I have another Work in hand, which requires great Labour & Care to finish, I cannot think of entering on a new Undertaking, till I have brought this to a Conclusion Your Scheme wou'd require me immediatly to remove to London; and I live here at present in great Tranquillity, with all my Books around me, & cannot think of changing, while I have so great a Work in hand as the finishing my History

There are four short Dissertations, which I have kept some Years by me, in order to polish them as much as possible One of them is that which Allan Ramsay mentiond to you [1] Another of the Passions, a third of Tragedy, a fourth, some Considerations previous to Geometry & Natural Philosophy The whole, I think, wou'd make a Volume a fourth less than my Enquiry; as nearly as I can calculate But it wou'd be proper to print it in a larger Type, in order to bring it to the same Size & Price. I wou'd have it publish'd about the new Year, I offer you the Property for fifty Guineas, payable at the Publication. You may judge, by my being so moderate in my Demands, that I do not propose to make any Words about the Bargain It wou'd be more convenient for me to print here, especially one of the Dissertations, where there is a good deal of Literature, but as the Manuscript is distinct & accurate, it wou'd not be impossible for me to correct it, tho' printed at London I leave it to your Choice, tho' I believe, that it might be as cheaply & conveniently & safely executed here However, the Matter is pretty near indifferent to me

I wou'd fain prognosticate better than you say, with regard to my History, that you expect little Sale till the Publication of the second Volume I hope the Prejudices will dissipate sooner I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
12 of June 1755

[1] *The Natural History of Religion.*

* 112 *To* ALLAN RAMSAY

[June 1755.]

They will not at once go to extremities with him, and deliver him over to Satan, without any preparation or precaution [1] They intend to make him be prayed for in all the churches of Scotland during six months, after which, if he do not give signs of repentance he is to be held as *anathema maranatha* [2] Meanwhile I am preparing for the Day of Wrath, and have already bespoken a number of discreet families, who have promised to admit me after I shall be excommunicated

You may tell that reverend gentleman the Pope, that there are many here who rail at him, and yet would be much greater persecutors had they equal power. The last Assembly sat on me. They did not propose to burn me, because they cannot But they intend to give me over to Satan, which they think they have the power of doing My friends, however, prevailed, and my damnation is postponed for a twelvemonth But next Assembly will surely be upon me Anderson, the godly, spiteful, pious, splenetic, charitable, unrelenting, meek, persecuting, Christian, inhuman, peace-making, furious Anderson, is at present very hot in pursuit of Lord Kames He has lately wrote a letter to his son, which they say is a curiosity He mentions his own great age, which leaves him no hopes of being able long to survive the condemnation of that atheistical, however just, judge [3] He therefore leaves me as a legacy to his son, and conjures him, as he expects his blessing, or the blessing of Heaven, never to cease his pursuit of me till he bring me to condign

* Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, II 344 f (See Letter 109 above)

[1] In 1753 the Rev George Anderson, chaplain to Watson's Hospital in Edinburgh, published an anonymous attack on Lord Kames, entitled *An Estimate of the Profit and Loss of Religion illustrated with reference to 'Essays on Morality and Natural Religion'* In May 1755, the day after the General Assembly met, he followed this up with a still more scurrilous pamphlet, entitled *An Analysis of the Moral and Religious Sentiments contained in the Writings of Sopho* [Kames] *and David Hume, Esq* He also provoked a discussion on these two writers in the General Assembly, in the hope of getting them excommunicated The Moderates, however, adroitly headed the discussion off into a blind alley, and the Assembly was content to pass a pious, but very general, resolution, condemning infidelity and calling upon the clergy to be zealous in their efforts to withstand it

[2] During these six months Kames and his friends among the Moderates showed themselves very active in his defence, and by the next Assembly Anderson had decided to concentrate on the arch-infidel, Hume

[3] Anderson, in fact, died in the summer or autumn of 1756.

punishment [1] Is not this somewhat like Hamilcar, who swore Hannibal on the altar to be an eternal enemy to the Roman people?

* 113 *To the* Abbé Le Blanc

Sir

I find, that I am extremely unfortunate. I have receiv'd none but one Letter of yours from Dresden [2] I have wrote you two to Dresden [3] under Cover to Monsr Heineken Conseillier des Finances I wrote you also one to Paris,[4] which wou'd arrive about the time you left it last Year. I had enclos'd two Copies of the Alterations I had made on the political Discourses And also two Copies of a Letter,[5] which I was desirous you shou'd publish in the literary Journals, by which every one wou'd see that we were in Correspondence together. But all this I find has miscarry'd I also sent you three Copies of the first Volume of my History, one by Courier to Dresden; one under Cover to Monsr Jannel, one to be deliver'd at your Lodgings at Paris There was along with this last, a Copy of all the newest Editions of my philosophical Writings in four Volumes. You may see by this, that I have a just Sense of the Honour you did me by your excellent Translation of my political Discourses, & that it is my bad Fortune, not any Negligence of mine, that has so long interrupted our Correspondence

The last Letter, with which you honour'd me, has unluckily no Date, [6] so that it is is [*sic*] only by Conjecture I know, that you are at Paris However I send this under Cover to Monsieur Jannel, which seems to me the safest Direction, tho' I am afraid

* B M MSS Egerton, 21, fo 204 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] The Assembly of 1756, instigated by Anderson and other High-Flyers, did discuss a motion to excommunicate Hume Alexander Wedderburn, who appeared as a ruling elder from Dunfermline, made a spirited but none too discreet defence of his friend, but it was really Robertson who persuaded the Assembly to reject the motion.

[2] The Abbé's letter of 25 Dec. 1754.

[3] One of these must be Letter 101 above, the other does not seem to be extant

[4] Letter 97 above.

[5] Letter 97 A above

[6] It is among the MSS , R S.E. Burton printed a short extract from it in *Life*, 1 462

that the breaking out of the War [1] will beget still further Interruptions betwixt us

I am extremely oblig'd to you for continuing your Resolutions to translate my History You wou'd see, that it was not intended to please any Party, & it has here been extremely run down by Faction, but it has met with such Indulgence by good Judges, that I have no Reason to repent of my Undertaking The second Volume will be printed about a Twelvemonth hence, and if you undertake the first, I engage that you shall receive the second, Sheet by Sheet, as it comes from the Press

It was a Gentleman, a Friend of mine, who told me, that he had himself sent a Copy of my History, along with my other Works, to your Lodgings, rue neuve des bons enfans a Paris. I wou'd fain flatter myself that these may have come to hand If you have got more than one Copy of my History, & have any Correspondence with Monsr Voltaire, I wou'd consider it as a singular Favor, that you wou'd transmit it to him, along with my Compliments. In this Countrey, they call me his Pupil, and think that my History is an Imitation of his Siecle de Louis XIV [2] This Opinion flatters very much my Vanity, but the Truth is, that my History was plan'd, & in a great measure compos'd, before the Appearance of that agreeable Work

I have never in my Life receiv'd greater Satisfaction, than by the Passages of Monsr Maupertuis Letters, which you have been so good to transmit to me [3] You observe well, it is *laudari*

[1] The Seven Years War began in a desultory fashion in the summer of 1755

[2] Horace Walpole, writing to Bentley on 27 Mar 1755 (*Letters*, III 294) about the first volume of Hume's *History*, says ' his style, which is the best we have in history, and his manner, imitated from Voltaire, are very pleasing ' Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV* was published in 1751

[3] Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), President of the Berlin Academy and an enemy of Voltaire Le Blanc sent Maupertuis a copy of his translation of the *Political Discourses* This drew enthusiastic praise e g , Maupertuis writes to Le Blanc about Hume on 30 Aug 1755 'C'est assurement un des plus grands esprits que je connoisse Je crois vous avoir dit que je m'étois fait traduire ici ses Essais Philosophiques qui m'ont charmé mais quelques morceaux que j'ai déjà vus de ses Essais politiques et moraux me charment encor davantage. Et un Irlandois homme de Lettres Mr Grierson qui est ici, me dit qu'il y a de lui des Principes de Morale supérieurs encore Que c'est domage que touts ces ouvrages n'ayent pas un traducteur tel que vous!' (Copied by Le Blanc in his letter to Hume of summer 1755, MS , R S E)

a laudato I have long been a great Admirer of Monsr Maupertuis He is the only great Geometer in the World, who ever was a man of Eloquence and fine Imagination Not to mention his Talents of a profound Metaphysician, and as I hear, an accomplish'd Gentleman & a man of Worth. To be known to such a man is a farther Obligation, which I owe you

If you entertain thoughts of translating my other Works, I shall order a new Edition to be sent to you of my philosophical Essays. It is the third, & contains some Amendments I am afraid it is too bold for you to venture on. My Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals wou'd probably be more popular, and indeed, it is my favorite Performance, tho' the other has made more Noise. The best Edition of it is the second The best Edition of my Essays moral & political is the fourth

That you may be sure against the Intrusion of hireling Translators, I have again enclos'd another Copy of that Letter, which I formerly sent you [1] I hope it will be to your Satisfaction, & may be inserted in the literary Journals

I write you at present in a Hurry, but shall again write to you in a few Posts, & give you an Account of all the Alterations I had made on the political Discourses, along with a few Remarks on your Translation, with which I am extremely pleas'd This other Letter I shall direct to you, rue neuve des bons enfans So that one way or other, I hope to reach you

I had heard of the Dutch Translation of my political Discourses [2] before yours; but have never yet seen it I sent a Copy of my other Writings (except the History) to the Bookseller at Amsterdam [3] This I wou'd not have done, had I known, that you had any Thoughts of translating them But it is of no Consequence I have the Honor to be

Sir Your most obedient & most humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
5th of Novr 1755

[1] Letter 114 below.

[2] Mauvillon's

[3] Some of these appeared as *Œuvres philosophiques de Mr D Hume* [translated by J -B Mérian and J -B -R Robinet], Amsterdam, J H. Schneider, 1758–60, 5 vols , 8vo The *Essays Moral and Political*, however, were not all translated into French till later.

* 114 [*To the* Abbé Le Blanc]

Sir

It is some time ago, that I receivd and read with Pleasure the excellent Translation, with which you have honour'd my political Discourses It gives me great Satisfaction to find my Sense so justly preservd, and at the same time embellish'd by the Propriety & Elegance of your Expressions I have sent you the first Volume of my History of Great Britain; and wou'd consider it as a very great Happiness, if you cou'd think it worthy your Approbation, but much more, if it cou'd engage you to do it the same Honour, that you have done to the political Discourses There are many Passages in the History, which will require Notes to explain them to Foreigners; and I know none so capable of that Undertaking as yourself Your Knowlege of the English Constitution and Manners will enable you to remove all Difficulties and if you shou'd happen to be at a Loss in any Place, be so good as to write me, and I shall endeavor to communicate to you all the Lights, which I have been able to acquire by a long Application to this Subject I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

David Hume

Edinburgh
6th Nov 1755

† 115. *To* Sir Harry Erskine of Alva, Bart

20 January, 1756.

I have been set upon by several to write something, though it were only to be inserted in the Magazines, in opposition to this account which Voltaire has given of our expedition [1] But

* MS in Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, *Englische Studien*, Band 62, 1928 This is the enclosure referred to in Letter 113 It is obviously an attempt to reproduce Letter 97 A above from memory

† Burton, I 219 (incomplete). Burton did not pretend that he was giving the whole letter He stated that the autograph was in the possession of Cosmo Innes Where it is now, I do not know.

[1] St Clair's expedition against Lorient That Voltaire wrote an account of this expedition is possible, but I think improbable He merely mentions it in his *Précis du Siècle de Louis XV* Hume may have been misinformed he seems to have composed his MS account of the expedition mainly as

my answer still is, that it is not worth while, and that he is so totally mistaken in every circumstance of that affair, and indeed of every affair, that I presume nobody will pay attention to him I hope you are of the same opinion

* 116. *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Edinburgh, 20th April, 1756

Dear Doctor,

There is certainly nothing so unaccountable as my long silence with you, that is, with a man whose friendship I desire most to preserve of any I know, and whose conversation I would be the most covetous to enjoy, were I in the same place with him. But to tell the truth, we people in the country (for such you Londoners esteem our city) are apt to be troublesome to you people in town; we are vastly glad to receive letters which convey intelligence to us of things which we should otherwise have been ignorant of, and can pay them back with nothing but provincial stories, which are no way interesting It was perhaps an apprehension of this kind which held my pen· but really, I believe, the truth is, when I was idle, I was lazy—when I was busy, I was so extremely busy, that I had no leisure to think of any thing else For, dear Doctor, what have we to do with news on either side, unless it be literary news, which I hope will always interest us? and of these, London seems to me as barren as Edinburgh; or rather more so, since I can tell you that our friend Hume's 'Douglas' is altered and finished, and will be brought out on the stage next winter, and is a singular, as well as fine performance, [ ][1] of the spirit of the English theatre, not devoid of Attic and French elegance. You have sent us nothing worth reading this winter, even your vein of wretched novels is dried up, though not that of scurrilous partial politics We hear of Sir George Lyttleton's History, from which the populace expect a great deal: but I hear it is to be three quarto volumes 'O magnum horribilem et sacrum libellum'—This last epithet of *sacrum* will probably be applicable to it in more senses than one However, it cannot well fail

* Burton, I 433 ff.

a defence of General St. Clair, and not as a counterblast to something by Voltaire. He does, however, in the MS itself, refer to Voltaire as 'a certain foreign Writer, more anxious to tell his Stories in an entertaining manner than to assure himself of their Reality'

[1] Word illegible, Burton says.

to be readable, which is a great deal for an English book nowadays

But, dear Doctor, even places more hyperborean than this, more provincial, more uncultivated, and more barbarous, may furnish articles for a literary correspondence Have you seen the second volume of Blackwell's 'Court of Augustus'? [1] I had it some days lying on my table, and, on turning it over, met with passages very singular for their ridicule and absurdity He says that Mark Antony, travelling from Rome in a post-chaise, lay the first night at Redstones I own I did not think this a very classical name, but, on recollection, I found, by the *Philippics*, that he lay at Saxa Rubra He talks also of Mark Antony's favourite poet, Mr Gosling, meaning Anser, who, methinks, should rather be called Mr Goose He also takes notice of Virgil's distinguishing himself, in his youth, by his epigram on Crossbow the robber Look [into] your Virgil, you'll find that, like other robbers, this man bore various names Crossbow is the name he took at Aberdeen, but Balista at Rome The book has many other flowers of a like nature, which made me exclaim, with regard to the author,

> Nec certe apparet utrum
> Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
> Moverit incestus Certe furit [2]

But other people, who have read through the volume, say that, notwithstanding these absurdities, it does not want merit, and, if it be so, I own the case is still more singular What would you think of a man who should speak of the mayoralty of Mr Veitch; meaning the consulship of Cicero?—Is not this a fine way of avoiding the imputation of pedantry? Perhaps Cicero, to modernize him entirely, should be called Sir Mark Veitch, because his father was a Roman knight

I do not find your name among the subscribers of my friend Blacklock's poems, you have forgot; buy a copy of them and read them, they are many of them very elegant, and merit esteem, if they came from any one, but are admirable from him.

[1] *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, by Thomas Blackwell [the Younger, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen], 3 vols, 4to, Edin, 1753–63. Ramsay of Ochtertyre says of Blackwell '. . he was regarded by many as a learned coxcomb of some genius and much application' (*Scotland and Scotsmen*, 1 291). Johnson reviewed the book in the *Literary Magazine* for May 1756 This review is reprinted in his collected works.

[2] From *utrum* to *furit* is taken from Horace, *Ars poet*, 470–2.

[ ][1] Spence's industry in so good a work, but there is a circumstance of his conduct that will entertain you. In the Edinburgh edition there was a stanza to this effect·

> The wise in every age conclude,
> What Pyrrho taught and Hume renewed,
> That dogmatists are fools

Mr Spence would not undertake to promote a London subscription, unless my name, as well as Lord Shaftesbury's (who was mentioned in another place) were erased the author frankly gave up Shaftesbury, but said that he would forfeit all the profit he might expect from a subscription, rather than relinquish the small tribute of praise which he had paid to a man whom he was more indebted to than to all the world beside I heard by chance of this controversy, and wrote to Mr Spence, that, without farther consulting the author, I, who was chiefly concerned, would take upon me to empower him to alter the stanza where I was mentioned He did so, and farther, having prefixed the life of the author, he took occasion to mention some people to whom he had been obliged, but is careful not to name me,[2] judging rightly that such good deeds were only *splendida peccata*, and that till they were sanctified by the grace of God they would be of no benefit to salvation

I have seen (but, I thank God, was not bound to read) Dr [Birch's] 'History of the Royal Society' Pray make my compliments to him, and tell him, that I am his most obliged humble servant I hope you understand that the last clause was spoken ironically You would have surprised *him* very much had you executed the compliment[3] I shall conclude this article of literature by mentioning myself I have finished the second volume of my History, and have maintained the same unbounded liberty in my politics which gave so much offence. religion lay more out of my way, and there will not be [ ][4] in this particular I think reason, and even some eloquence, are on my side, and [ ][4] will, I am confident, get the better of faction and folly, which are the [ ][4] least they never

[1] Words obliterated; 'I commend', probably

[2] Besides this prefatory life, Spence wrote, and the Dodsleys published, as a separate pamphlet, in Nov 1754, *An Account of the Life, Character, and Poems of Mr Blacklock* In this Spence refers three times to Hume's letter of 12 March 1754 to Robert Dodsley.

[3] Presumably because Birch was an ardent Whig

[4] Words obliterated

continue long in the same shape. I am sorry, however, that you speak nothing on this head in your postscript to me.

It gives me great affliction, dear Doctor, when you speak of gouts and old age Alas! you are going down hill, and I am tumbling fast after you I have, however, very entire health notwithstanding my studious sedentary life I only grow fat more than I could wish When shall I see you? God knows. I am settled here, have no pretensions, nor hopes, nor desires, to carry me to court the great. I live frugally on a small fortune, which I care not to dissipate by jaunts of pleasure All these circumstances give me little prospect of seeing London Were I to change my habitation, I would retire to some provincial town in France, to trifle out my old age, near a warm sun in a good climate, a pleasant country, and amidst a sociable people. My stock would then maintain me in some opulence, for I have the satisfaction to tell you, dear Doctor, that on reviewing my affairs, I find that I am worth £1600 sterling, which, at five per cent, makes near 1800 livres a year—that is, the pay of two French captains

Edmonstone left this town for Ireland. I wish he were out of the way he has no prospect of advancement suitable to his merit. Sir Harry, I hope, has only run backwards to make a better jump [1] Pray imitate not my example—delay not to write, or, if you do, I will imitate yours, and write again without waiting for an answer

Ever most sincerely,
DAVID HUME

* 117. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Edinburgh 27 May 1756

Dear Sir

I receivd Yours, with which I am very well satisfy'd. It requires no other Answer than to tell you, that I agree that the Edition be 1750, and inform you that the Number printed of fine Paper was 75 not 100, as you seem to suppose. I have no Objection to Mr Mitchels [2] having a Copy of the Dissertations I just saw John Balfour, who is very uneasy on account of a considerable Number of Copies of the first Volume [3] which

* MS , R S E , hitherto unpublished

[1] Sir Harry Erskine was dismissed from the army in Jan 1756 for parliamentary opposition He was reinstated on the accession of George III

[2] Andrew Mitchell

[3] Of the *History*

Baillie Hamilton had orderd to be bound. This seems to have been very ill advis'd, and I own embarasses me not a little. For I desire to do him all the Service possible But this must be the Object of Deliberation some time afterwards I am

Dear Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

P S

I write this at present, that you may adjust precisely with Mr Strahan the Number of each kind of Paper before the Sheet be returnd from me.

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London
Free J S[t] Clair

* 118 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Mr Strahan in a few days will have finish'd the Printing this Volume,[1] and I hope you will find Leizure, before the Hurry of Winter, to peruse it, & to write me your Remarks on it I fancy you will publish about the middle of November I must desire you to take the Trouble of distributing a few Copies to my Friends in London, & of sending me a few Copies here The whole will be 15 Copies

Notwithstanding Mr Mallets[2] Impertinence in not answering my Letter (for it deserves no better a Name) if you can engage him from yourself to mark on the Perusal such Slips of Language, as he thinks I have fallen into in this Volume, it will be a great Obligation to me I mean that I shall lie under an Obligation to you For I woud not willingly owe any to him

I am D[r] Sir

Your most humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
22 Sept 1756
To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller

† 119. *To* [WILLIAM STRAHAN]

Sir

As we are now drawing towards a Conclusion, I take this Opportunity of returning you Thanks for the Pains you have

* MS , R.S E , Burton, II 2 f The beginning of the autograph has been torn off

† MS in the possession of Mr J M Keynes, London, hitherto unpublished.

[1] Vol II of the *History*, covering the Commonwealth and the reigns of Charles II and James II

[2] David Mallet (born Malloch) (1700–65), friend and literary executor of Bolingbroke

taken in pointing out such Corrections as occurd to you in this Volume of History Your Hints have been very judicious, and they have been of great Service to me, as you have seen. For I have commonly follow'd them I hope to have an Opportunity soon of acknowledging the Favor, & of commencing thence a personal Friendship & Acquaintance. For I have some Thoughts of being in London next Spring, & even of settling there

I have sent you a List of a few Errata. They are not all of them Errors of the Press, but many of them Negligences & Oversights

Last Post I desird you to send me no more Sheets, because I was obligd to leave the Town I must however beg of you to send the corrected Sheets, still directed to this Place. But if there occur any Doubt or Difficulty which may require an immediate Answer, direct to me at Gen[l] St Clair's at Dysert Please make your Corrector be very attentive in those Sheets, which I am not to revise I am

Sir Your most humble Servant,
DAVID HUME.

23[d] Sept[r] [1756]

* 120 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

D[r] Sir

I am entirely of your opinion, that Mr Balfour's [1] ill humor on this Occasion has no manner of Foundation Mr Millar seems to me to have all along us'd him very well, Only, I thought the Price offerd for the large Paper Copies a little too low; and I see you have rais'd it He has disoblig'd me very much at present, by spreading about a Story, that, when we made our Bargain for the first Volume, I had promis'd he shoud have the second at the same Price This was demanded, and positively refus'd by me I only said, that I was not accustomd lightly to change the People whom I dealt with, but that I woud not bind myself Accordingly, when all the Articles of our Bargain, even the most trivial, were written over, I woud not allow this to be inserted Baillie Hamilton, who is a very honest Man, remembers and acknowledges this Fact Indeed, it was very lucky I had that Precaution· For if I had entangled

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 1 f

[1] John Balfour, bookseller, Gavin Hamilton's partner He also was an Edinburgh bailie

myself in such a Bargain, I never shoud have wrote a second Volume which I coud not hope ever to see succeed in their Management I am very well pleas'd with the State of the Sale; and hope it is the Prognostic of good Success I certainly deserve the Approbation of the Public, from my Care and Disinterestedness, however deficient in other Particulars I shall regard myself as much oblig'd to you, if you inform me of all the Objections, which you hear made by Men of Sense, who are impartial, or even who are not. For it is good to hear what is said on all Sides It was unlucky, that I did not publish the two Volumes together. Fools will be apt to say, that I am become more whiggish in this Volume As if the Cause of Charles the 1 and James the 2 were the same, because they were of the same Family But such Remarks as these, every one, who ventures on the Public, must be contented to endure Truth will prevail at last, and if I have been able to embellish her with any Degree of Eloquence, it will not be long before she prevail

I am Dr Sir Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh, 30 of November, [1756]

P S.

It is easy for me to see, that Mr Millar has certainly offerd to take from Baillie Hamilton 900 copies at nine Shillings [1] He never woud have offerd seven at the beginning It was a strange Infatuation in the Baillie to refuse it

* 121. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I have two of Yours before me, & shoud have answer'd them sooner, had not Mr Dalrymple [2] told me, that he wou'd come to a Resolution in a few days, about the Method of printing his Volume As soon as he does so, I shall write you.

I am certainly very well satisfy'd with your Sale, which I hope continues Lord Lyttleton's [3] Objection is not well grounded I have not contradicted that Story betwixt Shaftesbury & Clifford I have only omitted it. It stands only on

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 3 ff

[1] This must refer to unsold copies of the *History*, vol 1

[2] John Dalrymple of Cranstoun The volume here referred to must have been the *Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property in Great Britain*

[3] Sir George Lyttelton was created Baron Lyttelton of Frankley in Nov. 1756

Burnet's [1] Authority, who is very careless & inaccurate I believe I cou'd convince both you & him that it was without Foundation

I am very glad that Mr Mallet has mark'd those Expressions, which appear'd Scotticisms You cou'd not do me a greater Pleasure, than to procure me a List of them I beg of you to employ all your Interest with him to that Purpose I am very anxious to see them soon, that I may examine them at Leizure, & correct them in all my Writings A very little time, woud suffice for him to take down the Page & the Line & the Expression If counting the Line were too troublesome, he wou'd oblige me by only marking the Page & the Expression I coud easily find it

I had a Conversation yesterday with Messrs Kincaid & Donaldson, where I made them a Proposal, which I hope will be for both your Advantage They told me, that you had only about 400 compleat Sets of my philosophical Writings [2] I am extremely desirous to have these four Volumes, with that [3] which you will publish this Winter, brought into a Quarto Volume [4] They said, that the small Size was rather more proper for their Sale, and therefore, they woud gladly take at present 200 Sets of the four Volumes, to be pay'd for by so many of their Shares in the Quarto Edition as woud be an Equivalent That is, if the Quarto Volume were sold at the same Price with the four Volumes, then Set for Set If at more, then such Allowance to be made as upon Calculation wou'd appear to be an Equivalent. If the History meet with Success, it will certainly quicken the Sale of the philosophical Writings, & the taking two hundred Sets from you leaves you so small a Number on hand, as gives you a certain Prospect of coming soon to a new Edition Tho' some odd Copies of particular Volumes remain on hand, there is no great Matter, as they may be dispos'd of with a small Discount If you agree to this Proposal, they empower'd me to desire you to put the 200 Copies on board a Ship with the first Occasion, and to write them a Letter by which they may be sure, that there is no Mistake in the Conditions The bringing these scatterd Pieces into one Volume will of itself quicken the Sale, & every new Edition has naturally that Effect.

[1] Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *History of my own Time* appeared, v 1 in 1723, v 11 in 1734

[2] The *Essays and Treatises*

[3] The *Four Dissertations*

[4] They were so published in April 1758

I again recommend to you very earnestly the procuring me that Favour from Mr Mallet It is not possible, that he can refuse you I wish I had desir'd you to ask the same Favour of Mr Reid,[1] to whom please to make my Compliments I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
4th of Decr 1756

P S The Copies[2] are not yet arrivd here but are daily expected.

* 122 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

[? 1756]

I am convinced that whatever I have said of religion should have received some more softenings There is no passage in the *History which strikes in the least at revelation* But as I run over all the sects successively, and speak of each of them with some mark of disregard, the reader, putting the whole together, concludes that I am of no sect, which to him will appear the same thing as the being of no religion With regard to politics and the character of princes and great men, I think I am very moderate My views of *things* are more conformable to Whig principles; my representations of *persons* to Tory prejudices Nothing can so much prove that men commonly regard more persons than things, as to find that I am commonly numbered among the Tories

† 123 *To* CHARLES BINNING,
Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Advocates[3]

Sir

A few days ago I sent the Faculty a verbal Resignation,[4] but as I am told, that it is expected I shou'd give a Resignation

* Burton, II 10 f (incomplete) Burton appears to have printed only a small part of the letter.

† MS in Nat Lib Scot, Burton, II 18 f

[1] Probably Andrew Reid, a man who seems to have performed odd jobs of a literary kind. According to Johnson (*Life of Lyttelton*), he punctuated Lyttelton's *Henry II* for him

[2] Presumably of the *History*, vol II, which had been published in Nov 1756, though the title-page bears the date 1757

[3] Charles Binning (1674–1758), admitted advocate, 1698, Solicitor-General for Scotland 1721–5, Vice-Dean of Faculty, 1755–8

[4] It was Alexander Wedderburn (just appointed a Curator) who conveyed the verbal resignation, and who was asked to get it in writing from Hume

under my hand, and as I am very desirous to deliver over the Charge of the Library as soon as possible, I have been induc'd to write you at present, and beg of you to inform the Faculty, that they may choose me a Successor, whenever they think proper [1] I am

Sir Your most humble Servant,
David Hume

Edinburgh
8th January, 1757
To Mr Charles Binning Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Advocates
On back To Mr Charles Binning Advocate Vice-Dean of the Faculty

* 124 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I return you the Dedication[2] with a few Corrections. I hope it will not be too much Trouble to insert the Correction, which I sent you two Posts ago The Subject of that Letter may be answerd at your Leizure For there is no Hurry in it Mr Kincaid has none of the first or fourth Volumes,[3] which he can send you I shall send you the other two Volumes corrected by the Stage Coach this day sennight Mr Hume is at present employd in making some Alterations on his Douglas, chiefly in the last Act, which did not correspond to the great Beauty of the rest After that, he sets out for London, where you will see him I am Dr Sir

Yours
D H

Edinburgh—
11 Jany. 1757.
P S

I thank you for your Pamphlet [4] It will serve to keep that lying Rogue in the Mire For I think he was thrown in it before I suppose, no body now countenances him.

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London
Free Gil Elliot

* MS , R S E , hitherto unpublished.

[1] The same day (8 Jan) they appointed Adam Ferguson.

[2] The Dedication to John Home the poet, to be prefixed to the *Four Dissertations* For the history of this Dedication see subsequent letters

[3] Of the *Essays and Treatises*

[4] Probably one of the pamphlets written by John Douglas (1721–1807), afterwards Bishop of Carlisle and Bishop of Salisbury, against Archibald Bower (1686–1766), a Scotsman who oscillated between the Catholic and

* 125 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I have sent off to day by the Stage Coach the other two Volumes of my Works [1] Please to order the Printer to keep this Copy of all the four Volumes, that, in case you print an Edition in Twelves, it may be done from them, and any Errata of the Quarto Edition be avoided If you think proper, I shall make an Index to the Quarto Edition, and for that Reason desire that a Copy of it be soon sent me, either by the Post or the Stage Coach

Last Autumn, Mr Hope [2] deliverd me a Letter & the Copy of a new Book from the Count Algarotti, a famous Virtuoso of Venice [3] I have sent in the enclosd an Answer to it, where I also told the Count that I had sent him a Copy of the four Dissertations, which will shortly be publishd I must therefore desire you to bind up neatly a Copy of these Dissertations, & send it to Mr Hope with the enclos'd. I expect 18 Copies here by Sea I wont trouble you to send Copies of such a Trifle to any body in London.

I shall transact your two Bills either this Week or the next.

I am Dr Sir Yours sincerely

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
18 Jany 1757
To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London
Free H Erskine

† 126 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

The Dedication of my Dissertations to Mr Hume was shown to some of his Friends here, Men of very good Sense, who

* MS , R S E , hitherto unpublished † MS , R S E , Burton, ii 18

Protestant Churches, and who wrote a *History of the Popes*, 1748–61 He was the centre of a regular campaign of pamphlets in the winter of 1756–7. Douglas wrote *Six Letters from A——d B——r to Father Sheldon, Provincial of the Jesuits in England* in 1756, and, Bower having replied to this, *Bower and Tillemont compared* in 1757

[1] Of the *Essays and Treatises*

[2] Probably some member of the Hopetoun family, but which, it is impossible to say

[3] Francesco Algarotti (1712–64), poet, mathematician, anatomist, philosopher, and classical scholar His collected *Works* (in French) appeared first at Livorno in 1765 (4 vols), then at Berlin in 1772 (8 vols), and then at Venice in 1791–4 (17 vols)

were seiz'd with an Apprehension, that it wou'd hurt that Party in the Church, with which he had always been connected, and wou'd involve him, and them of Consequence, in the Suspicion of Infidelity [1] Neither he nor I were in the least affected with their Panic; but to satisfy them we agreed to stand by the Arbitration of one Person, of great Rank & of known Prudence; and I promis'd them to write to you to suspend the Publication for one Post, in case you shou'd have resolv'd to publish it presently Next Post you shall be sure to hear from me, and if we be oblig'd to suppress it, you'll be pleas'd to place the Charges of Print & Paper to my Account. I indorst this Day your two Bills to Mr Alexander Cunninghame I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
20 Jany 1757

* 127. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir,

Your letter gave me a great deal of Satisfaction, and I am much oblig'd to you for it I must own, that, in my private Judgement, the first volume of my History is by far the best; The Subject was more noble, and admitted both of greater Ornaments of Eloquence, and nicer Distinctions of Reasoning. However, if the Public is so capricious as to prefer the second, I am very well pleas'd, and hope the Prepossession in my Favor will operate backwards, and remove even the Prejudices formerly contracted

I assure you, that, tho' Mr Millar has probably had an Intention of writing me to the Purpose he told you, yet he never did it, and his Memory has fail'd him in this Particular On the contrary, he said to me, that he intended to put this Volume of my philosophical Writings into the same hands with the Dissertations, which are soon to be publish'd, who is, I

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 4 f

[1] John Home, and his friends Alexander Carlyle, Matthew Dysart, &c, were now in the midst of the squabble occasioned by the acting of *Douglas* in the Edinburgh theatre The High-Flying party in the Kirk raised a storm because a stage play had been written by one clergyman and witnessed by others Home gave his accusers the slip by resigning from the ministry in the following summer, but Carlyle fought it out, and got off with a nominal reprimand The best account of this famous affair is contained in Carlyle's *Autobiography*

think, one Bowyer [1] I did not oppose him, because I thought, that was a Matter, which it did not belong me to meddle with However, you will see by the enclos'd, which I have left open, what woud be my Choice in such a Case, and I hope henceforth he will never think of any but you, wherever any of my Writings are concern'd

I cannot think of troubling you so far in this new Edition as I did in my History; but I woud be extremely oblig'd to you, as you go along to mark any Doubts that occur to you, either with regard to Style or Argument Mr Millar thinks of making very soon another Edition in Twelves,[2] and these Observations woud then serve me in good Stead These Writings have already undergone several Editions, and have been very accurately examind every Impression; yet I can never esteem them sufficiently correct.

You will see by my Letter to Mr Millar that I mention a Dedication, which may perhaps surprize you, as I never dealt in such servile Addresses, But I hope it will not surprize you, when you hear it is only to a Presbyterian Minister, my Friend, Mr Hume, the Author of Douglas. I was resolv'd to do what lay in my Power to enable a Youth of Genius [3] to surmount the unaccountable Obstacles, which were thrown in his Way You will probably see it publishd in a few Days I hope the Goodness of the Intention will apologize for the Singularity of the undetaking [*sic*].

I am Dear Sir Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh, 1 Feby 1757

* 128 *To* WILLIAM MURE OF CALDWELL

Dear Mure

I hope you do not think yourself oblig'd, by saying civil things, to make Atonement for the too homely Truths, which

* MS , R S E , *Literary Gazette*, 1821, 636 f , Burton, II 19 ff , *Caldwell Papers*, II, I 112 ff

[1] William Bowyer the Younger (1699–1777), whom Nichols called 'the most learned printer of the eighteenth century' He succeeded his father, of the same name, in 1737, and in 1767 took John Nichols into partnership. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* grew out of the Biographical Memoirs and Anecdotes of Bowyer

[2] The edition of the *Essays and Treatises* in 4 vols 12mo did not actually appear till 1760

[3] The *youth* was now 34 years of age

you told me formerly [1] I will not believe so I take for granted that you are equally sincere in both· Tho' I must own, that I think my first Volume a great deal better than the second The Subject admitted of more Eloquence, and of greater Nicety of Reasoning, and more acute Distinctions The Opposition, I may say the Rage with which it was receiv'd by the Public, I must confess, did not a little surprize me. Whatever Knowlege I pretend to in History & human Affairs, I had not so bad an Opinion of men as to expect, that Candor, Disinterestedness, & Humanity cou'd entitle me to that Treatment Yet such was my Fate After a long Interval, I at last collected so much Courage as to renew my Application to the second Volume, tho' with infinite Disgust & Reluctance, and I am sensible that in many Passages of it, there are great Signs of that Disposition, & that my usual Fire does not every where appear At other times, I excited myself, & perhaps succeeded better

> Exul eram requiesque mihi, non fama petita est,
> Mens intenta suis, ne foret usque malis
> Nam simul ac mea caluerant pectora musæ,
> Altior humano spiritus ille malo est [2]

I leave you to judge, whether your Letter came in a very seasonable time I own, that I had the Weakness to be affected by it, when I found, that a Person, whose Judgement I very much valu'd, could tell me, tho' I was not asking his Opinion ——But I will not proceed any farther The Matter gave me Uneasyness at the time, tho' without the least Resentment At present, the Uneasyness is gone, and all my usual Friendship, confirmd by Years & long Acquaintance, still remains

Pray, whether do you pity or blame me most, with regard to this Dedication of my Dissertations to my Friend, the Poet? I am sure I never executed any thing, which was either more elegant in the Composition, or more generous in the Intention Yet such an Alarm seiz'd some Fools here (Men of very good Sense, but Fools in that Particular) that they

[1] Apparently Mure had written rather pointedly in criticism of the *History*, vol 1, probably in answer to Letter 102 above His letter is not extant

[2] This is a patchwork from Ovid The first two lines are correctly quoted from the *Tristia*, IV, 1, l 3 f The fourth line is also correct, and occurs at line 44 of the same poem But the third line is apparently Hume's invention, the correct line being

'Sic ubi mota calent viridi mea pectora thyrso'

assaild both him & me with the utmost Violence, and engag'd us to change our Intention I wrote to Millar to suppress that Dedication. Two Posts after I retracted that Order. Can any thing be more unlucky, than that in the Interval of these four days, he shoud have opend his Sale, & dispos'd of 800 Copies; without that Dedication, whence, I imagin'd, my Friend wou'd reap some Advantage, & myself so much Honor. I have not been so heartily vexd at any Accident of a long time However, I have insisted that the Dedication shall still be publish'd

I am a little uncertain what Work I shall next undertake. For I do not care to be long idle I think you seem to approve of my going forward, and I am sensible, that the Subject is much more interesting to us, & even will be so [to] Posterity than any other I coud chuse But can I hope, that there are Materials for composing a just & sure History of it? I am afraid not However, I shall examine the Matter. I fancy it will be requisite for me to take a Journey to London, and settle there for some time, in order to gather such Materials as are not to be found in Print But if I shoud go backwards, and write the History of England from the Accession of Henry the 7th, I might remain where I am, and I own to you, at my time of Life, these Changes of Habitation are not agreeable, even tho' the Place be better to which one removes

I am sorry, my fair Cousin[1] does not find London so agreeable as perhaps she expected She must not judge by one Winter It will improve against next Winter, & appear still better the Winter after that Please make my Compliments to her, & tell her that she must not be discourag'd By the bye, Mrs Binnie[2] tells me that she writes her a very different Account of Matters, so that I find my Cousin is a Hypocrite.

I shall make use of your Criticisms, and wish there had been more of them That Practice of doubling the Genitive is certainly very barbarous, and I carefully avoided it in the first Volume· But I find it so universal a Practice, both in writing & speaking, that I thought it better to comply with it, and have even chang'd all the Passages in the first Volume in conformity to Use All Languages contain Solecisms of that kind

[1] Mrs Mure (1735–1820) She was Katherine Graham, only daughter of James Graham (1697–1750), advocate, who was raised to the Bench as Lord Easdale in 1749 I have not been able to trace her cousinship to Hume

[2] Mrs Binnie was the sister of Andrew Stuart of Torrance, W S

Please make my compliments to Sir Harry Erskine, & tell him that I have executed what I propos'd I am Dear Mure

Your most affectionate Friend & Servant

DAVID HUME

[Feby 1757]

* 129 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir,

I have wrote apart a Letter,[1] which you may send to Mr Millar I shall here add a Word to Yourself; and ask a little of your Advice Some time ago, I wrote to Mr Millar, that if he was inclin'd to purchase the full Property of these two Volumes of History, I wou'd part with it, if he wou'd make me a proper Offer He desir'd me to name my Terms I ask'd 800 Guineas, but have not yet receiv'd an answer from him I own to you, that the Demand may appear large, but if Mr Millar and I reason upon the same Principles it will not appear unreasonable I think History the most popular kind of writing of any, the Period I treat of the most interesting, and my Performance will I hope rise in Credit every day We have so little, or rather nothing of this kind that has the least Appearance either of Impartiality or Eloquence, that I cannot doubt but in the long run it will have a considerable Success Now I was offerd 800 Pounds for the first Edition alone by Baillie Hamilton; and he propos'd to have reasonable Profits after paying me that Sum I cannot think but all the subsequent Editions must be at least equal in Value to the first alone This is the View in which the Affair appeard to me If it appears to you in the same Light, I doubt not but you will express your Mind to him If you think my Demand unreasonable, I shall be oblig'd to you for telling me so, and for giving me your Reasons For tho' it is not probable, that I shall fall much, if any thing, of that Demand Yet if I see it impracticable for me to obtain it, I shall endeavor to contrive some other Method, by which I may adjust Matters with Mr Millar in case of a second Edition It is chiefly in order to avoid the Trouble and Perplexity of such Schemes that I desire at once to part with all the Property

I am dear Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

15 Feby 1757 DAVID HUME

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 13 *f*

[1] Letter 129 A below

P S

You will certainly like my Friend's Play [1] It was acted here with vast Success. And reads as well as it acts Mr Millar woud tell you the Accident, which occasiond many copies of the Dissertations to be sold without the Dedication It has given me some Vexation However there is no Remedy.

* 129 A *To* William Strahan

Edinburgh, 15 Feby 1757

Sir

I suppose you have now begun, and are somewhat advanc'd in the Quarto Edition of my Essays I intend to make an Index to it, and for this Reason have desir'd that the corrected Sheets may be sent me by the Post I must also desire you to send them from time to time, as they are printed off, that, if there be any Mistakes in the Press (and some are unavoidable) I may be able to make a more full Errata Please send under a Cover as many as a Frank will admit· And if you want Franks, either Mr Millar or you may send Covers directed to me to Mr Mure, Mr Oswald, Mr Elliot or Sir Harry Erskine You may chuse either of them whose House lye most convenient I fancy Mr Mure may have most Leizure.

I am Sir Your most humble Servt
David Hume

† 130 *To* Adam Smith

Dear Smith

I have got down a few Copies of my Dissertations lately publish'd at London, & shall send you one by the first Glasgow Waggon. I beg of you to do me the Favor of accepting this Trifle You have read all the Dissertations in Manuscript; but you will find that on the natural History of Religion somewhat amended in point of Prudence I do not apprehend, that it will much encrease the Clamour against me.

The Dedication to John Hume you have probably seen For I find it has been inserted in some of the weekly Papers, both

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 16 f This is the ostensible letter enclosed with 129 above

† MS, R S E, Burton, II 16 ff (incomplete)

[1] Home's *Douglas*.

here & in London Some of my Friends thought it was indiscreet in me to make myself responsible to the Public for the Productions of another: But the Author had lain under such singular & unaccountable Obstructions in his Road to Fame; that I thought it incumbent on his Wellwishers to go as much out of the common Road to assist him. I believe the Composition of the Dedication will be esteemd very prudent; & not inelegant

I can now give you the Satisfaction of hearing, that the Play, tho' not near so well acted in Covent Garden as in this Place, is likely to be very successful: Its great intrinsic Merit breaks thro all Obstacles When it shall be printed (which will be soon) I am perswaded it will be esteem'd the best, & by French Critics, the only Tragedy of our Language This Encouragement will, no doubt, engage the Author to go on in the same Carrier. He meets with great Countenance in London And I hope will soon be render'd independant in his Fortune

Did you ever hear of such Madness & Folly as our Clergy have lately fallen into? For my Part, I expect that the next Assembly will very solemnly pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against me But I do not apprehend it to be a Matter of any Consequence. What do you think?

I am somewhat idle at present; and somewhat undetermin'd as to my next Undertaking Shall I go backwards or forwards in my History? I think you us'd to tell me, that you approvd more of my going backwards The other woud be the more popular Subject, but I am afraid, that I shall not find Materials sufficient to ascertain the Truth; at least, without settling in London. Which I own, I have some Reluctance to I am settled here very much to my Mind; and wou'd not wish, at my Years, to change the Place of my abode

I have just now receivd a copy of Douglas from London· It will instantly be put in the Press I hope to be able to send you a Copy in the same Parcel [with the Dissertations] [1]

I am Dear Sir [1]

[Feby or March, 1757][1]

Pray why did we not see you this Winter? We shall excuse you for no other Reason but because we hope you were busy But you must not only have Industry You must also have Perseverance.

[1] Autograph torn

* 131. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Sir

I have receiv'd the two first Sheets of the Quarto Edition of my philosophical Writings; and am very well satisfy'd with it. Please only to tell the Compositor, that he always employ a Capital after the Colons. Here follow a few Alterations, which I desire you to make on the last published Volume or four Dissertations which are to be inserted in different Places of the Quarto Volume. . [1]

Please to get a Copy of the Dissertations from Mr Millar and make these Alterations. Observe also that the two Dissertations, which are to be inserted among the Essays, are to be entitled Essays.[2] The other two [3] are to be inserted in the Places as directed

I am very well pleas'd to finish the Bargain with Mr Millar. I hope we shall both find our Account in it I believe his Offer may be reckond very reasonable and even frank and generous. We have only a small Difference about the time of Payment, which I hope will easily be adjusted If it be not convenient for him to pay the Money in May next, I wou'd delay it till the 2d of August, which is our Lambas term, and would endeavour to get his Bill discounted, tho' that Practice be not very common in Scotland

I hope the Douglas has had a good Success in London [4] The Public will certainly at first be divided. That Simplicity both of Fable and Style are Novelties on the English Stage, and will no doubt meet with Opposition, but they must prevail, I think, at last

I am Sir Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Ninewells near Berwick,
18 April, 1757

P.S. I return to Edinburgh in a few days.

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 18 f

[1] The detailed alterations follow
[2] *Of Tragedy* and *Of the Standard of Taste*
[3] *The Natural History of Religion* and *Of the Passions*
[4] Garrick having refused it for Drury Lane, it was produced at Covent Garden

* 132 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I received from Mr Couts [1] one of the Duplicates of your Note of 600£ which I did not intend to be drawn in so unusual a Form, but only to be drawn, like two Bills of Exchange (the second bearing Payment, if the first be not pay'd). However, the Matter is not of any Consequence

The ten Copies, large Paper, were thrown into Mr Kincaid's Warehouse, & I had given Baillie Hamilton Permission to send for them, which he had neglected This is as lucky, since you desire to have them sent back again I only allow'd, some time ago, Mr Kincaid to make use of one Copy; and I must retain another for myself, in order to bind up for a Present to Allan Ramsay, to whom I gave the first Volume This you may state to my Account at the small Paper Price The other eight shall be sent you, tho I cannot imagine you will have any Use for them For there were no more than 75 of large Paper printed of the first Volume.

Please to draw out my Account, & send me a Copy of it I shall deduct the Sum from your Note, when I negotiate it I see an Answer to my Dissertations advertisd in the Papers [2] If it be of a small Size, please send it me under a Frank I sent to Mr Strahan a Letter to Mr Oswald, desiring Franks from him· But if there be any Inconvenience on account of that Gentle-

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 22 ff (incomplete)

[1] There were several brothers Coutts, sons of John Coutts (1699–1751) James and Thomas removed to London and established the famous banking house there, but other brothers remained in Edinburgh and carried on the Edinburgh house

[2] Probably *Remarks on Mr David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion, by a Gentleman of Cambridge, in a Letter to the Rev Dr W* , which is advertised in the list of books for May 1757 It was written by Warburton and Hurd together Warburton had seen a proof or advance copy of the *Four Dissertations*, and on 7 Feb 1757 wrote to Millar 'I supposed you would be glad to know what sort of book it is which you are about to publish with Hume's name and yours to it The design of the first essay [*Nat Hist Relig*] is the very same with all Lord Bolingbroke's, to establish *naturalism*, a species of atheism, instead of religion You have often told me of this man's moral virtues He may have many, for ought I know, but let me observe to you, there are vices of the *mind* as well as of the *body*, and I think a wickeder mind, and more obstinately bent on public mischief, I never knew ' (Quoted by Grose, History of the Editions, being Introd to Hume's *Essays*, I 61)

man's Living out of Town; send Covers directed to me to Mr Elliot, or Sir Harry Erskine or Mr Mure, & they will frank them

I have already begun and am a little advanc'd in a third Volume of History. I do not preclude myself from the View of going forward to the Period after the Revolution, but at present I begin with the Reign of Henry the 7th It is properly at that Period modern History commences America was discoverd Commerce extended The Arts cultivated Printing invented· Religion reform'd And all the Governments of Europe almost chang'd. I wish therefore I had begun here at first. I shoud have obviated many Objections, that were made to the other Volumes. I shall be considerably advancd in this Volume before I be in London

I come now to speak to you of an Affair, which gives me Uneasyness, & which I mention with Reluctance I am told, that one Dr Brown has publishd a Book in London,[1] where there is a Note containing personal Reflections on me, for which he quotes a Letter I wrote to you [2] What Sort of Behaviour this is to make use of a private Letter, without the Permission of the Person to whom it was addressd, is easily conceivd; but how he came to see any of my Letters I cannot imagine; nor what I wrote that coud give him any handle for his Calumny All I can recollect of the Matter is this, that above two Years ago, when Baillie Hamilton was in London, he wrote me, that the Stop in the Sale of my History proceeded from some Strokes of Irreligion, which had raisd the Cry of the Clergy against me This gave me Occasion to remark to you, that the Baillie's Complaint must have proceeded from his own Misconduct,

[1] *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (1757), by John Brown, D D (1715–66), who became Vicar of Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1761 It had a considerable success in its day

[2] The passage runs 'A certain historian of our own times, bent upon *popularity* and *gain*, published a large volume, and omitted no opportunity that offered, to disgrace religion a large impression was published, and a small part sold The author being asked, why he had so larded his work with irreligion, his answer implied, "He had done it that his book might sell" —It was whispered him, that he had totally mistaken the spirit of the times: that no allurements could engage the *fashionable* infidel world to travel through a large quarto and that as the few readers of quartos that yet remain, lie mostly among the serious part of mankind, he had offended his best customers, and ruined the sale of his book This information had a notable effect for a second volume, as large and instructive as the first, hath appeared, not a smack of irreligion is to be found in it, and an apology for the *first* concludes the whole' (*Estimate*, Sect. VI, p 57)

that the Cause he assignd coud never have produced that Effect, that it was rather likely to encrease the Sale, according to all past Experience, that you had offerd (as I heard) a large Sum for Bolingbroke's Works, trusting to this Consequence, and that the Strokes complaind of were so few & of such small Importance, that, if any ill Effects coud have been apprehended from them, they might easily have been retrenchd As far as I can recollect, this was the Purport of my Letter; but I must beg you, that you woud cause it to be transcribd & send me a Copy of it For I find by John Hume, that you have it still by you I doubt not but I coud easily refute Dr Brown, but as I had taken a Resolution never to have the least Altercation with these Fellows, I shall not readily be brought to pay any Attention to him. And I cannot but be displeas'd, that your Inadvertance or Indiscretion (for I cannot give it a better Name) shoud have brought me to this Dilemma I fancy Brown will find it a difficult Matter to perswade the Public that I do not speak my Sentiments in every Subject I handle, & that I have any View to any Interest whatsoever I leave that to him and his Gang For he is a Flatterer, as I am told, of that low Fellow, Warburton And any thing so low as Warburton, or his Flatterers, I shoud certainly be ashamd to engage with

I am Dr Sir Yours &c
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
20 May 1757

P S.

Since you are acquainted w[t] Dr Brown, I must beg of you to read this Letter to him. For it is probably or indeed certainly, all the Answer I shall ever deign to give him

* 133 *To* [WILLIAM STRAHAN]

Dear Sir

I find it has been often objected to My natural History of Religion, that it wants order That I may obviate that Objection, I am resolv'd to prefix the enclosd Contents to it, if the Volume [1] be not yet finish'd, which I hope it is not These are the Titles of the several Sections. I shoud likewise desire, that the Title of each Section be prefixd to the Section This

* MS in J Pierpont Morgan Lib , New York City, hitherto unpublished

[1] That is, of the 1-vol 4to edit of the *Essays and Treatises.*

will help the Reader to see the Scope of the Discourse. If you make a whole Leaf of a Title Page to the Natural History, the Summary of the Contents may be printed on it If you do not, it may be printed at the End of the natural History

I must also desire you to print the enclosd Advertisement [1] I fancy the most commodious Place for it will be at the End of the general Contents of the whole Volume.

If it be not too late, please also to make this slight Alteration in the 4 Dissertations. P 94 l 7. read *and must augment* P 216 l. 11. for *Dissertation* read *Essay* But I am afraid this last correction comes too late. P. 229. l. 16 for *Dissertation* read *Essay*

I have begun a new Work some time ago, tho' I did not fix my Resolutions of persevering, till I shoud find, that I was pleas'd [with] it It is the writing the History of England from the Accession of Henry the VII I wish I had from the first begun at that Period It is really the Commencement of modern History; and I shoud have obviated many Objections to my History of the Stuarts, by taking Matters so high. However this retrogade [*sic*] Motion is not unusual Tacitus wrote his Annals after his History, tho' they treat of a preceding Period. I do not however preclude myself from the Purpose of writing the Period after the Revolution, by my undertaking this Work, but shall be somewhat advanc'd before I go to London I have more Command of Books here, than I cou'd easily have had in that Place; at least such Books as suit this Subject. For it is much to be lamented that there are no public Libraries in London

I am extremely pleasd with the Correctness of this Edition of my philosophical Writings, so far as it has gone I have not seen any thing better executed in that particular The Type & Paper are also very good I am Dear Sir

Your most humble Servant

DAVID HUME.

Edin[r] 25 May

1757

[1] This Advertisement reads: 'Some alterations are made on the titles of the Treatises, contained in the following volume What in former editions was called *Essays, Moral and Political*, is here entitled *Essays, moral, political and literary, Part I* *The Political Discourses* form the *Second Part* What in former editions was called *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, is here called *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* The *four Dissertations* lately published are dispersed through different parts of this volume'

I have receivd eleven Sheets & shall have an Index ready very soon

I have wrote to Mr Millar of a new Epic Poem that is to be publishd this Week in Edinburgh It is calld the Epigoniad, & is wrote by one Mr Wilkie, a Minister It is a Production of great Genius I recommend it to you to read it when it comes to London If you like it you will naturally speak of it among your Acquaintance

* 134 *To* William Strahan

[June 1757]

D^r^ Sir

I am positive not to reply a single Word to Dr Hurd,[1] and I also beg of you not to think of it His Artifices or Forgeries, call them which you please, are such common things in all Controversy that man woud be ridiculous who woud pretend to complain of them, and the Parsons in particular have got a License to practice them I therefore beg of you again to let the Matter pass over in Silence I have deliverd to Mr Becket[2] a Volume of Essays

I am Yours
D H

† 135 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Dear Sir

To show you that I am not such an Affecter of Singularity as to entertain Prejudices against Ministers of State, I have resolv'd to congratulate you on your Return to Power,[3] and to

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 20

† MS at Minto House, Burton, ii 25 ff

[1] Richard Hurd (1720–1808), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1774, Bishop of Worcester, 1781, author of *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, 1762, and editor of Warburton's *Works*, 1788 He and Warburton collaborated in this pamphlet against Hume, but pretended they had nothing to do with it Warburton wrote to Hurd. 'The address will remove it from me, the author, a *Gentleman of Cambridge*, from you, and the secrecy in printing from us both' (*Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate*, 241)

[2] Thomas Becket, bookseller He began as assistant to Andrew Millar, then set up a separate establishment in partnership with P A De Hondt He published Macpherson's *Ossian* and Hume's *Concise and Genuine Account* of the quarrel with Rousseau He also seems to have specialized in translations from the French

[3] As a Lord of Admiralty.

express my Wishes, that, both for your Sake and the Public's your Ministry, & that of your Friends, may be more durable than it was before [1] We even hope it will, tho' the strange motley Composition which it consists of, gives us some Apprehensions However, we are glad to find, from past Experience, that you can neither rise nor fall, without Credit & Reputation. You know that, according to the whimsical way of thinking in this Country, it is more difficult to rise than fall with Reputation

I suppose that, by this time, you have undoubtedly read & admir'd the wonderful Production of the Epigoniad, and that you have so much Love for Arts, & for your native Country, as to be very industrious in propagating the Fame of it It is certainly a most singular Production, full of Sublimity & Genius, adorn'd by a noble, harmonious, forcible, & even correct versification We generally think the Story deficient & uninteresting, but perhaps the new Fancy of crossing the Invention of all modern Romance Writers may make some Atonement, and even bestow an Air of Novelty on the Imitation of Homer As I cannot but hope that this Work will soon become a Subject of Conversation in London, I shall take this Opportunity of supplying you with some Anecdotes with regard to the Author, besides such as you already know,[2] of his being a very worthy & a very entertaining man, adorn'd with all that Simplicity of Manners, so common to great Men, & even with some of that Rusticity & Negligence which serve to abate that Envy to which they are so much expos'd.

You know he is a Farmer's Son, in the Neighbourhood of this Town, where there are a great Number of Pigeon Houses The Farmers are very much infested with the Pigeons, and Wilkie's Father planted him often as a Scarecrow (an Office for which he is well qualify'd)[3] in the Midst of his Fields of Wheat It was in this Situation that he confesses he first conceiv'd the Design of his Epic Poem, and even executed Part of

[1] Pitt had just combined with the Duke of Newcastle to form a ministry The previous ministry—Pitt and the Duke of Devonshire—had been formed only in Nov 1756 and had never shown any signs of stability

[2] As Elliot had been a fellow-student of Wilkie's at Edinburgh, he probably knew already a great deal of what Hume now told him

[3] Wilkie was a gaunt, raw-boned man, and very rough-mannered Charles Townshend, who met him at Inveresk, said he 'had never met with a man who approached so near the two extremes of a god and a brute' (Carlyle, *Autobiog*, 394)

it He carry'd out his Homer with him, together with a Table, & Pen & Ink, & a great rusty Gun He compos'd & wrote two or three Lines, till a Flock of Pigeons settled in the Field, then rose up, ran towards them, & fir'd at them, return'd again to his former Station, & added a Rhyme or two more, till he met with a fresh Interruption

Two or three Years ago, Jemmy Russel[1] put a very pleasant Trick on an English Physician, one Dr Roebuck,[2] who was travelling in this Country Russel carry'd him out one day on horseback to see the Outlets of the Town, and purposely led him by Wilkie's Farm He saw the Bard at a small Distance sowing his Corn, with a Sheet about his Shoulders, all besmear'd with Dirt & Sweat, with a Coat & Visage entirely proportion'd to his Occupation Russel says to his Companion, *Here is a Fellow, a Peasant, with whom I have some Business · Let us call him* He made a Sign, & Wilkie came to them Some Questions were ask'd him with regard to the Season, to his Farm & Husbandry, which he readily answer'd; but soon took an Opportunity of making a Digression to the Greek Poets, and enlarging on that Branch of Literature Dr Roebuck, who had scarce understood his rustic English, or rather his broad Scotch, immediatly comprehended him, for his Greek was admirable: And on leaving him, he coud not forbear expressing the highest Admiration to Russel, that a Clown, a Rustic, a mere Hind, such as he saw this Fellow was, shou'd be possest of so much Erudition *Is it usual*, says he, *for your Peasants in Scotland to read the Greek Poets?* *O yes*, replies Russel, very coolly, *we have long Winter Evenings, and in what can they then employ themselves better, than in reading the Greek Poets?* Roebuck left the Country in a full Perswasion that there are at least a dozen Farmers in every Parish who read Homer, Hesiod, & Sophocles, every Winter Evening, to their Families; and, if ever he writes an Account of his Travels, it is likely he will not omit so curious a Circumstance [3]

[1] James Russell (died 1773), an Edinburgh surgeon, and Professor of Natural Philosophy there, 1764–73

[2] John Roebuck, M D (1718–94), studied medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden, settled as a physician in Birmingham, but became more interested in chemistry, established a manufactory of sulphuric acid at Prestonpans in 1749, afterwards turned his attention to the smelting of iron, and founded the Carron Iron Works in 1760 He encouraged James Watt

[3] It is a pity to spoil a good story, but Roebuck was far from being what Hume suggests—a casual visitor to Scotland He knew Scotland well, and lived a great part of his life in it

Wilkie is now a settled Minister at Ratho, within four Miles of the Town: He possesses about 80 or 90£ a year, which he esteems exorbitant Riches. Formerly, when he had only 20£, as Helper, he said that he coud not conceive what Article, either of human Convenience or Pleasure, he was deficient in Nor what any man coud mean by desiring more Money. He possesses several Branches of Erudition, besides the Greek Poets, and, particularly, is a very profound Geometrician,[1] a Science commonly very incompatible with the lively Imagination of a Poet He has even made some new Discoveries in that Science, and he told me, that, when a young Man, he threw Cross & Pile, whether he wou'd devote himself chiefly to Mathematics or to Poetry, & fears that he rather crost the Bent of his Genius in taking to the latter Yet this man, who has compos'd the second Epic Poem in our Language understands so little of Orthography, that, regularly thro' the whole Poem, he always spelt the Word *yield* in this manner, *ealde*, and I had great Difficulty to convince him of his Mistake

I fancy our Friend Robertson [2] will be able to publish his History [3] next Winter You are sufficiently acquainted with the Merit of that Work; and really it is admirable how many Men of Genius this Country produces at present Is it not strange that, at a time when we have lost our Princes, our Parliaments, our independent Government, even the Presence of our chief Nobility, are unhappy, in our Accent & Pronunciation, speak a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue which we make use of, is it not strange, I say, that, in these Circumstances, we shou'd really be the People most distinguish'd for Literature in Europe?

Having spoke so much to Mr Elliot, the Man of Letters, you must now allow me to say a few Words to Mr Elliot, the Lord of the Admiralty There is a Cousin german of mine, Alexander Edgar, who is a Midshipman in the *Vestal*, off Harwich, and has past his Trials, above four Months ago, for a Lieutenancy He always behav'd well in all his Service, which has been very long & almost from his Infancy, he has had the good Will, & even Friendship, of all his Captains, is modest, sober, frugal,

[1] He was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy at St Andrews in 1759

[2] William Robertson the historian

[3] The *History of Scotland* It was not published till the spring of 1759 Robertson had been at work on it since 1753

& attentive, & very deserving of Promotion I recommended him to Mr Oswald, who always protected him, but can no longer be of Service to him He is of a very good Family, tho' his Father spent his Estate & dy'd a Bankrupt, and the poor Lad has now scarce any other Friends than what I can procure him Permit me the Freedom of recommending him to your Protection If I did not think him worthy of it, I shoud not venture to do so, notwithstanding his near Relation to me. I think I ought to make some Apologies for this Liberty I use with you, but I think it woud be wringing our Friendship to make too many

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
2 July 1757

* 136 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

About ten days ago, I received a Letter from you with four enclosd which I deliver'd. Mr Kincaid immediatly pay'd me the Money; Mr Gordon[1] said he woud pay me this Week; Mr Balfour[2] desird a little delay, & said he wou'd pay me as soon as he conveniently coud Mr Wright[3] I have not yet met with

Some time before that, I got yours, where you had inserted the Passage which probably gave Dr Brown Occasion for his fine Reflexion, which surely I shall never take the least Notice of. I must however beg the Favor of you, in order to prevent all such Misrepresentations for the future, that you woud burn all my Letters, which do not treat of Business, that is, I may say all of them For as all Business is clos'd between us, there can be no use of keeping the Letters. I own to you, that it woud be very disagreeable to me, if by any Accident these Letters shoud fall into idle People's hands, and be honord with a Publication As to what you say, about your Frankness &

* MS , R S E , *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] An Edinburgh bookseller in partnership with Murray

[2] John Balfour, the bookseller, publisher (with Hamilton and Neill) of the *History*, vol 1

[3] Probably Charles Wright, bookseller and stationer in Edinburgh Parliament Close from 1750 to 1774.

Openness in mentioning things, which malevolent People sometimes make a bad Use of, I can readily excuse you· For I find it is an Infirmity of my own.

I must desire you to put up in one Parcel three Copies of my History small Paper, in boards, both Volumes, together with three Copies, like binding, of my four Dissertations: And direct the whole to Monsr de la Rouviere a Rotterdam: And to send it thither by a sure hand, together with the smallest of these two Letters enclos'd. Monsr de la Rouviere is to send them as Presents to Paris, one to L'Abbe le Blanc who is translating my History The other two to different Persons, who have desir'd them from me Please to state them to my Account, at the Bookseller's Price, and send me the whole Account I owe you, that I may deduct it from your Bill

The largest of the Letters to Monsr de la Rouviere, please to put into the Post. I have sent you a Copy of Douglas, which you will be so good as to put up in the same Parcel with my History & Dissertations The Edinburgh Edition is more correct than yours, & contains some Lines, which were struck out in the latter I hope to get it translated into French, & acted at Paris.

L'Abbé le Blanc tells me of a Work called *L'Ami de l'homme ou Traité de la Population* wrote by the Marques de Mirabaut [1] He extolls this Piece much, & says it has met with vast Success at Paris. He also tells me, that it speaks much of my Writings, & that the Author had sent me a Copy which never came to hand If the Book be in Nourse's [2] or Vaillant's,[3] I shoud be very desirous of having a Copy; and if you get it in Sheets please send it by the Post. Mr Elliot will frank it for you.

The Translation of the first Volume of my History will be publishd next Winter at Paris The same Person is to translate the second, but wants a Copy. This makes me very anxious that these Copies may go by a safe hand.

[1] Victor Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau (1715–89), father of the famous Mirabeau of the French Revolution He began life as a soldier, then retired and took to economics, attaching himself to the school of Quesnay and the Physiocrats His most famous work is the one referred to here, *L'ami des hommes* [not *de l'homme*], *ou Traité de la population*, Paris, 1755, 5 vols , 12mo.

[2] John Nourse (died 1780), bookseller to H M. the King He was a mathematician, and specialized in French books.

[3] Paul Vaillant (1716–1802), bookseller in the Strand, grandson of Paul Vaillant (died 1739) who founded the firm, Sheriff of London and Middlesex, 1760 He also specialized in French (and classical) books

I shoud be glad to hear what the Connoisseurs with you say of that singular Piece the Epigoniad I am dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
21 July 1757

* 137. *To the* ABBÉ LE BLANC

Sir

You were much in the Right, when you conjectur'd that your Letters had miscarry'd I have been so unfortunate as to receive none from you for above a Year & a half; & I very often regreated the Interruption of our Correspondence by the War. Your last Letter [1] gives me still more sensible Affliction by informing me, that the Course of your Studies had been interrupted by Business & bad Health, and that you had been oblig'd to abandon all Thoughts of translating my History; an Undertaking, from which I expected so much Credit However as a Friend of Yours has begun the Work under your Eye,[2] I hope the Performance will not be altogether defective In order to enable the Gentleman, who does me this Honour, to make his Work as correct as possible, I have subjoin'd a List of a few Alterations, which I have made in different Parts of that Work As to *the Political Discourses*, I have not made any of Moment since those I sent you There is only one, which, I believe, I then forgot to send. Tis in Vol 2d, page 294 of your first Edition of Paris, in the Notes, where I call Rapin the most judicious of our Historians Instead of that please to say "*And Rapin, suitable to his usual Partiality & Malignity, seems etc.*" To tell the Truth, I was carry'd away with the usual Esteem pay'd to that Historian, till I came to examine him more particularly, when I found him altogether despicable; & I was not asham'd to acknowledge my Mistake.

* B.M. MSS. Egerton, 21, fo 206 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] Undated from Paris, MS, R.S.E Burton printed extracts from it in *Life*, 1 460 f

[2] Le Blanc had written that, being unable to undertake the translation himself, he had lent the first volume of the *History* 'à un de mes Amis homme d'esprit & laborieux', and added 'Il l'a traduit & le rendra public au commencement de l'hivert prochain' It is impossible to be sure who this friend was It may have been the Abbé Prévost, but if so, he did not complete his task till 1760 There is no trace of any French translation of the *History* before that date

I am every day more sensible of the Honour & Advantage, which I have reap'd from the Translation, which you gave of *my Political Discourses* In particular, the good Opinion of Monsr Du Clos[1] is an Honour, which I highly value That Gentleman's Performances are well known to me; and as they appear'd always to give Proofs of the Man of Sense & Virtue, as well as of the elegant Writer, I cannot but receive a great Pleasure from his Approbation I shou'd not despair of being able to cultivate in Person the Friendship of a Man, whom I so much value, wou'd our Sovereigns but agree to make Peace together. I have had an Intention of making a Journey to Paris, and I shall then be beholden to you for introducing me to the Acquaintance of Monsr Du Clos Meanwhile, I beg of you to make him my Compliments, and to assure him of my Esteem & Respect

I have a very great Desire to peruse a copy of *L'Ami de l'homme* of which you give me so advantageous a Character I hope also to receive Instruction from it. For I am far from being positive in any of my Opinions, and Monsr le Marquis de Mirabaut may very probably perswade me to change my Sentiments in all the Points, that are controverted between us. A French Gentleman of his Rank cou'd not fail of Politeness towards an Adversary, and I owe him Acknowledgements for thinking my Performance worth of his Attention[2] I meet with

[1] Charles Pinot Duclos (1704–72), Historiographe de France, and perpetual Secretary of the Academie Française, author of *Considérations sur les mœurs de ce siècle*, 1751 Hume became known to him later Le Blanc had written 'Vous pouvés comter encor au rang de vos admirateurs un des hommes de Lettres de ce Pays-ci du premier mérite C'est Mr Du Clos . . il est jaloux que vous soyés instruit de la vénération qu'il a pour vous & de l'estime singuliere qu'il fait de vos Ouvrages Indépendamment de l'amitié qui nous lie, je puis vous assurer qu'il mérite d'avoir part à la votre, & vous connoissés trop bien notre Littérature pour ignorer le rang qu'il y tient. Lui & moi nous sommes convenus vingt fois qu'il étoit heureux pour notre Siècle qu'au moment où sur les cotes Méridionales nous avons perdu un des Astres les plus brillants qui ayent éclairé les Lettres, il en aît paru dans le Nord un autre non moins lumineux, & dont l'utilité se reconnoit à proportion que ses lumières se répandent de plus en plus Vous êtes le seul dans l'Europe qui pouviés remplacer Mr le Président de Montesquieu '

[2] Le Blanc had written '[Mirabeau] prêche l'Agriculture & foudroye la finance Il combat votre sisteme sur le Luxe, mais avec les égards dus à la supériorité de vos lumières Il m'a remis un exemplaire de son Ouvrage qu'il me prie de vous presenter comme un tribut de son éstime & de la reconnoissance qu'il vous doit pour l'utilité qu'il a tirée de vos Discours Politiques. Il ne demande pas mieux que d'être éclairé, & par la noblesse

many Answerers in this Countrey, some of whom treat me with Civility, others in the usual Style of Controversy I have never yet been engag'd to make a Reply to any of them: But if I still continue unconverted after reading *L'Ami de l'homme*, I shall probably take an Opportunity of proposing my Doubts in the way you mention, were it only in hopes of drawing more Instruction from Monsr de Mirabaut to myself & to the Public.

I have wrote to London to get a copy of *L'Ami de l'homme*; but as it is probable, that the War, by interrupting all Communication with Paris, has renderd Copies of it very scarce in our Capital, I must beg of you to send me a Copy of it Please desire Monsr de la Rouviere to deliver one to Mr Crawford,[1] Banker of Rotterdam, who has Orders to send it to me

I have desir'd my Bookseller in London to send over to Monsr de la Rouviere three Copies of my History. I hope Madame du Pré de St. Maur [2] and you will not refuse me the Honour of accepting from me this small Present I have also order'd the Bookseller to join in the same Parcel three Copies of another Work of mine publish'd this Winter It is calld, *Four Dissertations, viz, the natural History of Religion, Of the Passions, Of Tragedy, of the Standard of Taste* I have destin'd one Copy for Madame Du Pré, another for yourself, a third for Monsr le Marquis de Mirabaut, if he reads English, as I have heard he does. I learn by Yours that Monsr Du Clos does not read that Language, which is the Reason, that I have not sent him a Copy by the same Parcel.

I have also desir'd another Book to be joind in the Parcel;

des sentiments & la politesse de la conduitte, je ne crains pas de le dire, l'adversaire est digne de vous . . si vous jugés à propos de répondre à Mr de Mirabaut, soit par une Lettre à moi addressée à ce Sujet ou de quelque autre maniere que ce soit, je me ferai encor un plaisir & un honneur de traduire votre réponse Vous aurés la bonté de me mander vos intentions sur ce sujet'

[1] A well-known Scots merchant. He succeeded John Home the poet, in 1770, in the sinecure of Conservator of Scots Privileges at Campvere

[2] Alléon, wife of Nicolas-François Dupré de St Maur (1695–1774), a French man of letters who translated *Paradise Lost* She was among the first of Hume's many admirers among Frenchwomen, saw a good deal of him when he was in Paris in 1763–5, and continued to correspond with him till 1775. There are nine of her letters to him among the MSS , R S E , of which the earliest, dated from Paris 15 Dec. 1757, and acknowledging the gift of his *History* referred to above, is given in Appendix C below as the first of the numerous complimentary letters which he received from French women of culture during the course of his life

tis *Douglas*, a new Tragedy, wrote by Mr John Hume, a very ingenious, young Gentleman, a Friend & Relation of mine. The Fate of this Gentleman's Performance was very extraordinary It was refus'd by the Manager of Drury-Lane Theatre; and for that Reason was oblig'd to be brought on in our Theatre in this City. In order to raise it from Obscurity, I wrote to the Author the Dedication, prefix'd to the Four Dissertations, which had so good an Effect, that the Tragedy was brought on in Covent Garden, and extremely well receivd by the Public I am perswaded, that there is not any Tragedy in the English Language so well adapted to your Theatre, by reason of the Elegance, Simplicity, & Decorum, which run thro' the whole of it. I wou'd be much pleas'd to see it translated into French, and to find it successful with those good Critics who so much abound in Paris.

I am giving just now a new Edition of all my philosophical & political Pieces in one Volume Quarto As soon as it is finish'd, I shall take care to send to you a Copy by Monsr de la Rouviere, if I find that this Method of Conveyance has been successful with regard to these Copies of my History, of which I beg of you to give me Information

I have the Honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient & most obliged

humble Servant

David Hume

Edinburgh.

22d July, 1757.

A Monsieur L'Abbé le Blanc Historiographe des Batimens du Roi a Paris

* 138 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Dear Sir

I can easily perceive that your Friends were no Lawyers, who said that there was no Statute in Henry the VII's Reign, which facilitated the Alienation of Lands, & broke the antient Entails. It is 4 H VII cap 24; but a man may read that Passage fifty times, and not find any thing that seems, in the least, to point that way I shou'd certainly have overlook'd the Meaning of it, had I not been guided by Lord Kames You must know that it was a Practice in the Courts of Justice, before

* MS at Minto House, Burton, ii 32 ff.

Henry the Seventh's time, to break Entails by a Device which seems very ridiculous, but which is continu'd to this day, and first receiv'd the Sanction of Law during the Reign of that Prince. You have an entail'd Estate, I suppose, & want to break the Entail You agree with me that I am to claim the Estate by a sham Title, prior to the first entailer You confess in Court that my Title is good & valid The Judges, upon this Confession of the Party, adjudge the Estate to me Upon which I immediatly restore the Estate to you, free & unencumber'd; & by this Hocus-Pocus the Entail is broke Such was the Practice, pretty common before Henry the Seventh: All that the Parliament then did, was to regulate the Method of Proceeding in this fine Device, & to determine that the Titles of Minors, & femmes couvertes, were not to be injur'd by it As to other People, who had an Interest to preserve an Entail, & who had any good Reason to plead in their own Favor, they woud naturally appear for themselves. This Practice is calld a fine, & a Recovery. Fine, from the Latin word *finis*; because it forecloses all Parties, & puts a final Issue to their Claims & Pretensions A Recovery, because a Man thereby recovers his Estate, without the Encumbrance of an Entail

By the bye, I am told, that there are many of these Practices still continu'd in the Law of England, which are as foolish, juvenile, & ridiculous, as are to be met with in—I mean in—I woud be understood to mean in—any Craft or Profession of the World

I am writing the History of England, from the Accession of Henry the 7th, & am some Years advanc'd in Henry the 8th I undertook this Work because I was tir'd of Idleness, & found reading alone, after I had often perus'd all good Books, (which I think is soon done) somewhat a languid Occupation. As to the Approbation or Esteem of those Blockheads who call themselves the Public, & whom a Bookseller, a Lord, a Priest, or a Party can guide, I do most heartily despise it I shall be able, I think, to make a tolerable smooth, well told Tale of the History of England during that period, but I own I have not yet been able to throw much new Light into it I begin the Reformation to morrow.

I find the Public, with you, have rejected the Epigoniad, for the present. They may do so if they please But it has a great deal of Merit, much more than any one of them is capable of throwing into a Work.

I disapprove very much of Ferguson's[1] Scruples, with regard to entering into Lord Bute's Family, with the Inspection of more than one Boy. But I hope Lord Bute will conform himself to his Delicacy, at least if he wants to have a Man of Sense, Knowlege, Taste, Elegance, & Morals, for a Tutor to his Son.

I am much oblig'd to you for your good Intentions, with regard to my Cousin;[2] but you must express yourself otherwise, than by saying that you will concur with the rest of my Friends in endeavouring to promote him For now that Oswald[3] is out of Court, whom have I besides to apply to?

I am Dear Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh,
9 Aug 1757

* 139 *To* JOHN CLEPHANE

Edinburgh, 3 Sept. 1757

Dear Doctor,

I am charmed to find you so punctual a correspondent. I always knew you to be a good friend, though I was afraid that I had lost you, and that you had joined that great multitude who abused me, and reproached me with Paganism, and Jacobitism, and many other wretched *isms*, of which I am only guilty of a part

* *Scots Magazine*, 1802, p. 978, Burton, ii 38 f

[1] Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), a Highlander, son of a minister in Perthshire, M A St. Andrews, 1742, chaplain to the Black Watch, 1745–54, resigned from the ministry, 1754, succeeded Hume as Keeper of the Advocates' Lib , Jan. 1757, acted as tutor to the sons of John, 3rd Earl of Bute, 1757–9, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1759, Professor of Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1764; Professor of Mathematics (nominal), Edinburgh, 1785, author of *Essay on Civil Society*, 1766, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, 1772, *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, 1782, one of the founders of the famous Poker Club in Edinburgh, and a great friend of Hume, John Home, Robertson, 'Jupiter' Carlyle, and all their circle. It was in his house, The Sciennes, on the south side of the Meadows, Edinburgh, that Scott met Burns for the first and last time in the winter of 1786–7. He was a hot-headed, generous, improvident, attractive man

[2] Alexander Edgar

[3] James Oswald of Dunnikier. He had left the Admiralty to become a Commissioner of Trade, 1751–9.

I believe a man, when he is once an author, is an author for life, for I am now very busily engaged in writing another volume of History, and have crept backwards to the reign of Henry the VII I wish, indeed, that I had begun there: For by that means, I should have been able, without making any digression, by the plain course of the narration, to have shown how absolute the authority was, which the English kings then possessed, and that the Stuarts did little or nothing more than continue matters in the former tract, which the people were determined no longer to admit By this means I should have escaped the reproach of the most terrible *ism* of them all, that of Jacobitism. I shall certainly be in London next summer, and probably to remain there during life; at least, if I can settle myself to my mind, which I beg you to have an eye to A room in a sober, discreet family, who would not be averse to admit a sober, discreet, virtuous, frugal, regular, quiet, good-natured man of a bad character, such a room, I say, would suit me extremely, especially if I could take most of my meals in the family; and more especially still, if it was not far distant from Dr Clephane's.[1] I shall then be able, dear Doctor, to spend £150 a year, which is the sum upon which, I remember, you formerly undertook me. But I would not have you reckon upon *propapilities*, as you then called them, for I am resolved to write no more. I shall read and correct, and chat and be idle, the rest of my life

I must now make room for Sir Harry,[2] who smiles at the sum at which I have set up my rest. I am, Dear Dr,

Yours sincerely

David Hume

Dear Sir

* 140. *To* Andrew Millar

I sympathize very heartily with you in the Loss you mention.[3] I have indeed heard the same Character you give of your Friend, and am sensible, that no Affliction can be greater than that of being bereav'd of such a one, after that a long Course of Years, intimate Acquaintance & other Connexions have bred the most cordial Friendship with the Person. We shoud be very un-

* MS , R S E ; Burton, ii 34 ff. (incomplete)

[1] Hume did not actually go to London till the autumn of 1758, and by that time Clephane was dead

[2] Erskine

[3] I do not know to whom this refers

happy, if Time & other Occupations did not contribute to alleviate the Grief, which we feel so naturally on these Occasions

As to my Opinions, you know I defend none of them positively I only propose my Doubts, where I am so unhappy as not to receive the same Conviction with the rest of Mankind. It surprizes me much to see any body, who pretends to be a man of Letters, discover Anger on that Account; since it is certain, by the Experience of all Ages, that nothing contributes more to the Progress of Learning than such Disputes & Novelties.

Apropos to Anger, I am positively assurd, that Dr Warburton wrote that Letter to himself which you sent me,[1] and indeed the Style discovers him sufficiently I shou'd answer him, but he attacks so small a Corner of my Building, that I can abandon it without drawing great Consequences after it If he woud come into the Field, and dispute concerning the principal Topics of my Philosophy, I shou'd probably accept the Challenge At present, nothing coud tempt me to take the Pen in hand, but Anger, of which I feel myself incapable, even upon this Provocation

I have finish'd the Index to this new Collection of my Pieces. This Index cost me more Trouble than I was aware of when I begun it I am oblig'd to Mr Strahan for the uncommon Pains he has taken in making it correct The Errata which I have given consist mostly of small Alterations in the Style, which I made myself You know I always expect half a dozen of Copies on each new Edition I wou'd wish that Mr Strahan wou'd accept of one, as a Proof of the Sense, which I have of his Care on this Occasion Please keep one by you, which I fancy I shall have Occasion to send abroad And be so good as to send the other four, with any other Parcel you are sending hither

I am very assiduous in writing a new Volume of History, and am now pretty well advanc'd I find the whole will be comprizd in one Volume,[2] tho' somewhat more bulky than any of the former. The Period of time is a great deal longer than that of either of the former, but is not near so full of interesting Matter, and as the original Historians are much fewer, there are not so many Circumstances transmitted to us. I am pretty certain, that I shall be able to deliver to you the Manuscript

[1] Hurd's letter to Warburton

[2] In the end the *History of the Tudors* ran to two vols 4to.

about a twelvemonth hence; and shall certainly be in London myself for that Purpose You seemd desirous, that we shoud mutually enter into Articles about this Volume, which I declin'd, till I shoud be so much advanc'd as to be sure of my Resolution of executing it, and coud judge with some Certainty of the Bulk. Now that I am satisfy'd in both these Particulars, I am willing to engage with you for the same Price, viz seven hundred Pounds, payable three Months after the Publication [1] If you approve of this Proposal, please write me a Letter for that Purpose, and I shall also in Return send you an obligatory Letter. I think this Justice is due to you, that you may see, I do not intend, on account of any Success, to screw up the Price, or ask beyond what you have already allowd me, which I own was very reasonable

Mr Dalrymple [2] has pay'd me 20 pounds & a Crown. I can never meet with Mr Wright, tho I call often at his Shop Mr Balfour does not name any Day.

I am glad of the Approbation, which Mr Dalrymple's Book meets with· I think it really deserves it Nothing surprizes me more than the Ill Usage which the Epigoniad has receiv'd [3] Every body here likes it extremely. The Plan & Story is not so much admired, as the Poetry & Versification: But your Critics seem willing to allow it no Merit at all I fancy it has not been enough dispers'd; and that your engaging in it, wou'd extremely forward its Success. The whole Edition is out There were 550 disposd of here: 200 sent to London. As the Author is my very good Friend & Acquaintance, I shoud be much pleasd to bring you to an understanding together, If the bad success on the first Edition has not discouragd you, I wou'd engage him to make you Proposals for that Purpose. He will correct all the Blemishes remark'd

I shou'd not be displeas'd that you read to Dr Warburton the Paragraph in the first Page of my Letter with regard to himself. The Hopes of getting an Answer, might probably

[1] That is, presumably, the same price as Millar paid for the *History of the Stuarts*, vol II

[2] John Dalrymple of Cranstoun Millar had just published his *Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property*

[3] The *Critical Review*, edited by Smollett, was contemptuous in June 1757, and the *Monthly Review* equally so in July. The notice in the latter was written by Goldsmith. When the 2nd edit of the poem appeared in 1759 Hume wrote a critical notice in it, which appeared in the *Critical Review*, VII 323 ff. (April 1759)

engage him to give us something farther of the same kind; which at least saves you the Expence of advertising I see the Doctor likes a literary Squable.

I wou'd be glad to know, how near you think you are to a new Edition of my History,[1] and whether you intend a Duodecimo Edition of these philosophical Pieces [2] I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Edin^{r} 3 Sept^{r} 1757
To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller

* 141. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Sir

I hereby send you the Index, Title-Page, and all the Preface, which I intend, being only a short Advertisement, to be inserted in any Corner For I do not think it deserves a Page to itself [3] The Errata are many of them small Alterations, which I coud not forbear making myself in the Style.

There are only two Errata which are material, those in page 455 and 459, where your Compositor has made me say the direct contrary to my meaning. I know, that such Mistakes are altogether unavoidable, but yet, if it were not too much Trouble, I coud wish, that they were corrected with the Pen, before publication [4]

I am so sensible of your great Care in this Edition, that I have desird Mr Millar to give you one of the Copies, which he delivers to me on every Edition, and I beg of you to accept it as a small Testimony of my Regard.

I am Sir Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh, 3 Sept^{r} 1757

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 22 f

[1] A 2nd edit of the *History of the Stuarts*, in 2 vols , 4to, was published by Millar in 1759 There is a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, but none in the British Museum or the Bodleian

[2] The duodecimo edit of the *Essays and Treatises* was published in 4 vols. in 1760

[3] The Advertisement referred to in Letter 133 above

[4] This does not appear to have been done

* 142 *To* Captain James Edmonstoune of Newton [1]

Edinburgh, 29th Sept. 1757.

Dear Edmonstoune,

I believe it is a rule in law, that any summons prevents prescription;[2] and in like manner, that the wakening a process keeps one's rank in the Lords' Row.[3] It is with some such view that I now write to you, not to send you a formal letter, which would require a formal answer, and would therefore get no answer at all but just to take a shake of your hand, and ask you how you do, and speak a little nonsense to you as usual, and then fall into s[ilence][4] without giving myself the trouble of supporting the conversation any lon[ger];[4] and, in a word, keep you from forgetting that you have some such friend in the world as myself

But pray, why did you not write me as you promised, and give me your direction? Was you afraid I should write to you? You see I can find out a method of directing to you without your information.

Tell me about the *Epigoniad*. Was there ever so much fine versification bestowed on so indifferent a story? Has it had any success in Ireland? I fancy not; for the criticklings in Dublin depend on the criticklings in London, who depend on the booksellers, who depend on their interest, which depends on their printing a book themselves This is the cause why Wilkie's book is at present neglected, or damned, as they call it: but

* Burton, II 40 f Burton stated that the autograph of this and other letters from Hume to Edmonstoune were among the Cambusmore family papers. From information received from the present representative of the family, Mrs Buchanan-Baillie-Hamilton, it seems that these and other valuable autographs were accidentally burnt about 1870

[1] James Edmonstoune of Newton, 'Guidelianus' of the expedition to L'Orient, Ensign, 5th Foot, 1739, Lieutenant, 1st Foot, 1742, Captain, 1st Foot, 1744; Major, 83rd Foot, 1758; Lieut.-Col., 83rd Foot, 1759, Lieut.-Col., 1st Foot, 1762, retired from the army, *c* 1770 He was a cousin of Lord Bute's, and spent some time, *c* 1764–6, as bear-leader on the Continent to Lord Mountstuart, Lord Bute's eldest son At the time of this letter he was apparently in Ireland with his regiment He was in Ireland again in 1767, commanding the 1st Bn, 1st Foot.

[2] A technical term of Scots Law, equivalent to 'Statute of Limitations' in English Law. 'Summons'='Writ'

[3] The roll of cases in the Court of Session.

[4] Autograph damaged, apparently. The conjectures are Burton's

I am much mistaken if it end so. Pray what says the Primate [1] of it? I hear he has the generosity to support damned books till the Resurrection, and that he is one of the saints who pray them out of Purgatory. I hope he is an honest fellow and one of [us] [2] Captain Masterton [3] told me, that he was not quite of my opinion with regard to the *Douglas*, and that he blamed my dedicatory address to the author. But I persist still, and will prove in spite of him and you, and of every man who [wears eit]ʰher black or scarlet, that it is an admirable tragedy, comparable [to the exce]ˡllent pieces of the good Age of Louis Quatorze The author is here at present, and is refitting his *Agis* for the theatre, which I hope will have justice done it [4] *Il est le mieux renté de tous les beaux esprits*. He has a pension from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as you have probably heard [5]

I hear sometimes from the Doctor, who desires me to tell him something about you But I am no necromancer; only, as the ancients said—*prudentia est quaedam divinatio*. I conjecture that you are lounging, and reading, and playing at whist, and blaming yourself for not writing letters, and yet persisting in the neglect of your duty

* 143 *To* William Strahan

Edinburgh, 15 Oct^{r}. 1757.

Dear Sir

I have sent you a Letter of mine to Mr Millar [6] open, because I desire you to peruse it, and to give me your Opinion, as a

* MS. at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 24.

[1] George Stone (? 1708–64), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland Hume was grateful to him for his encouraging message about the *History*, vol i (see *My own Life*, p 4 above).

[2] See note 4, page 268

[3] James Masterton, of the 1st Foot, Captain, 1755, D A G , Ireland, with rank of Lieut.-Col., 1761

[4] John Home had become factotum to Lord Bute, and Garrick, stimulated by the success of *Douglas* at Covent Garden, and eager to please Home's patron and the patron's patron, the Prince of Wales, gladly consented to produce *Agis*, which he had refused before It ran nine nights, brought the author some few hundred pounds, and was enthusiastically praised by the Scots in London. Carlyle, who happened to be up on ecclesiastical business, reviewed it for Smollett's *British Magazine* But more impartial critics (Gray among them) groaned.

[5] A pension of £100 a year When the Prince became George III, the pension was trebled.

[6] It is not extant.

Friend, of the Contents of it. Mr Millar departs somewhat from an Offer he made me last Spring for a new Volume of History If the Reason be just which he assigns, the slow Sale of the former Volumes, I own I shoud be extremely discouragd to proceed But tho' I have never had any Reason to complain of him, some People in my Situation woud be apt to suspect, that, after I had gone some Length in composing the Work, he intends to extort it from me at somewhat a lower Price; which is so ungenteel a Method of Proceeding that I cannot allow myself to believe it, and it woud much discourage me from dealing with him Your general Character and the Instances, which I have receivd of your Friendship, assure me of your Candor, and make me have recourse to you on this Occasion. Can I believe, that he has any real Reason for coming down of the Offer which he formerly made me?

I have sent you along with this, an ostensible Letter,[1] of the Nature of those you desird me to write I hope Mr Millar did not forget to deliver you the Copy of my last Volume, as I desird him I need not put you in mind to put a Wafer in my Letter to Mr Millar

I am Dr Sir Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

* 144 *To* HENRY HOME, LORD KAMES

My Lord,

I am very much obliged to you for allowing me a reading of Mr Tucker's[2] papers, in all that gentleman's productions,

* Clarke, *Survey of the Strength & Opulence of Great Britain*, 22 f

[1] Not extant either

[2] Josiah Tucker (1712–99), pamphleteer and economist, rector, first of All Saints', then of St Stephen's, Bristol; D.D Oxon, 1755, Dean of Gloucester, 1758, author of pamphlets urging the naturalization of Jews and foreign Protestants, and of pamphlets on the American War of Independence In 1755 the Bishop of Norwich, who was preceptor to the young princes, asked him to write a treatise on political economy which could be used for their instruction, and he began *The Elements of Commerce & Theory of Taxes*, privately printed in that year He did not finish it, but it is probably this that Hume refers to Kames had been in touch with Tucker for some time, and later, Hume met and helped him There are three letters from Tucker to Hume among the MSS, R S E, the earliest dated 1764 On 6 July 1758 Tucker wrote to Kames 'I was extremely hurt in observing with what arrogance and indecency Mr H was treated by that superficial writer, the author of the *Estimate*. He is himself below Mr H 's notice, and just vengeance has been taken on him by several writers' (Tytler, *Kames*, II. 161).

which have come to my hand, I can perceive a profound knowledge of the theory of commerce, joined to an enlarged acquaintance with its practice; and I own I have received both pleasure and instruction from the perusal of them. The papers which your Lordship has been pleased to communicate to me, do not belie this character. All the advantages which the author insists upon as belonging to a nation of extensive commerce, are undoubtedly real. great capital, extensive correspondence, skilful expedients of facilitating labour, dexterity, industry, &c., these circumstances give them an undisputed superiority over poor nations, who are ignorant and unexperienced. The question is, whether these advantages can go on, increasing trade *in infinitum*, or whether they do not at last come to a *ne plus ultra*, and check themselves, by begetting disadvantages, which at first retard, and at last finally stop their progress. Among these disadvantages, we may reckon the dear price of provisions and labour, which enables the poorer country to rival them, first in the coarser manufactures, and then in those which are more elaborate. Were it otherwise, commerce, if not dissipated by violent conquests, would go on perpetually increasing, and one spot of the globe would engross the art and industry of the whole I am pleased when I find the author insist on the advantages of England, and prognosticate thence the continuance and even further progress of the opulence of that country; but I still indulge myself in the hopes that we in Scotland possess also some advantages, which may enable us to share with them in wealth and industry. It is certain that the simpler kind of industry ought first to be attempted in a country like ours The finest arts will flourish best in the capital. those of next value in the more opulent provinces· the coarser in the remote countries. The carriage of provisions to the capital is a tax upon them, and a great many of them are of such a nature as cannot at all be transported It is then great encouragement to settle in the countries where they are produced; and tho a rich country, by its other advantages, may long maintain its ground against a poorer, which makes attempts towards commerce, it will not be able entirely to annihilate or oppress it

The author, conformable to the character both of a divine and a philosopher, draws an argument from the goodness of Providence, but I think it may be turned against him It was never surely the intention of Providence, that any one nation should

be a monopolizer of wealth: and the growth of all bodies, artificial as well as natural, is stopped by internal causes, derived from their enormous size and greatness Great empires, great cities, great commerce, all of them receive a check, not from accidental events, but necessary principles

There is a hint thrown out in the papers, which gave me great satisfaction, because it concurs with a principle which I have thrown out to your Lordship, and which you seemed not to disapprove of I was indeed so pleased with it, that, as I told you, I intended to make it the subject of a political discourse, as soon as I should have occasion to give a new edition of that work. My principle is levelled against the narrow malignity and envy of nations, which can never bear to see their neighbours thriving, but continually repine at any new efforts towards industry made by any other nation.[1] We desire, and seem by our absurd politics to endeavour to repress trade in all our neighbours, and would be glad that all Europe were reduced to the same state of desolation as Turkey the consequence of which must be, that we would have little more than domestic trade, and would have nobody either to sell or buy from us. I remember, that in a conversation on this head with your Lordship, I asked whether a man who opened a shop in Tartary was likely to meet with many customers This narrow spirit of nations, as well as individuals, ought carefully to be repressed; and I am glad to find that Mr Tucker is likely to employ his talents and abilities in so useful a manner.[2]

I am, &c &c.,
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
4th March 1758

* 145 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I am very glad that Mr Robertson is entering on Terms with you. It was indeed my Advice to him, when he set out for

* MS , R S E., Burton, II 42 and 135 (incomplete)

[1] Cf Hume's essay *Of the Jealousy of Trade*, which appeared for the first time late in 1759 or early in 1760

[2] Tucker had already done so in his *Brief Essay on the Advantages which attend France and Great Britain with regard to Trade*, 1750 (reprinted in McCulloch's *Collection of Tracts on Political Economy*, 1859), and did so again in his pamphlet against going to war for the sake of trade, 1763, which Turgot translated

London, that he shoud think of no other Body; and I ventur'd to assure him, that he woud find your way of dealing frank & open & generous. He read me part of his History, and I had an Opportunity of reading another Part of it in Manuscript above a twelvemonth ago. Upon the whole, my Expectations, both from what I saw, & from my Knowlege of the Author, were very much rais'd; and I consider it as a Work of uncommon Merit. I know that he has employ'd himself with great Diligence & Care in collecting the Facts. His style is lively & entertaining. And he judges with Temper and Candor. He is a man generally known & esteemd in this Country, and we look upon him very deservedly as inferior to no body in Capacity & Learning Hamilton & Balfour have offerd him a very unusual Price; no less than 500 Pounds for one Edition of 2000; but I own, that I shoud be better pleas'd to see him in your hands I only inform you of this Fact, that you may see how high the general Expectations are of Mr Robertson's Performance It will have a quick Sale in this Country from the Character of the Author; and in England from the Merit of the Work, as soon as it is known

Some part of his Subject is common with mine, but as his Work is a History of Scotland, mine of England, we do not interfere; and it will rather be an Amusement to the Reader to compare our Method of treating the same Subject I give you Thanks, however, for your Attention in asking my Opinion.

By hurrying myself, I coud with some Difficulty be ready at the time you desire. But it will be better both for me & the Book that you do not publish, till after the Christmas Holydays. I am glad to hear, that you intend to be in this Country soon. We shall then have an Opportunity of speaking of that Matter.

You would oblige me much, if you woud prepare the way for an Acquaintaince between Dr Birch & me, when I shall be in London. I have a great Esteem for his Character; have heard that he is very communicative; and is very willing, and even desirous, to give Information to any Body that applies to him. Such an Acquaintance woud be very useful and agreeable to me.

I sent Mr Elliots Letter the Instant I receivd it Do you not intend to print a new Edition this Autumn of the other two Volumes?[1] I am afraid, this extraordinary Run upon Dr

[1] The two vols of *The Stuarts*.

Smollet has a little hurt your Sales:[1] But these things are only temporary.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edin[r] 6 April
1758

P.S.

The Service I receivd from Mr Strahan made me recommend it to Mr Robertson, if he agreed with you, to desire that he might be the Printer, if it consisted with your Convenience.

* 146 *To* ALEXANDER HOME OF WHITFIELD [2]

Edinburgh, 12[th] April, 1758

Dear Sir,

I was told by Mrs Home, when she was in town, that you intended to make some researches into our family, in order to give them to Mr Douglas,[3] who must insert them, or the substance of them, into his account of the Scottish nobility I think that your purpose is very laudable, and is very obliging to us all; and for this reason I shall inform you of what I know of the matter These hints will at least serve to point out to you more authentic documents

My brother has no very ancient charters the oldest he has, are some charters of the lands of Horndean. There he is designated Home, or Hume, of Ninewells The oldest charters of Ninewells are lost It was always a tradition in our family, that we were descended from Lord Home,[4] in this manner.

* Burton, 1 2 ff I have not been able to trace the autograph.

[1] Tobias Smollett (1721–71), after only fourteen months' work, published his *History of England from the Death of Julius Caesar to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 4 vols 4to, in Dec 1757

[2] The Homes of Whitfield were cadets of the Homes of Ninewells Alexander Home succeeded his brother, George, sometime M P. for Berwick-on-Tweed, whose estate was confiscated for his participation in 'The Forty-Five'. Alexander Home, known as Alexander Home of Manderston, dissipated his estate, and bought a small property between Edinburgh and Leith, which he renamed Whitfield, in order to preserve the family name

[3] Robert Douglas (1694–1770), afterwards 6th Bart., author of *Peerage of Scotland*, 1764

[4] Sir Alexander Hume of Dunglas, father of 1st Baron Home; killed in Battle of Verneuil, 1424.

Lord Home gave to his younger son[1] the lands of Tinningham, East Lothian. This gentleman proved a spendthrift and dissipated his estate, upon which Lord Home provided his grandchild, or nephew, in the lands of Ninewells as a patrimony. This, probably, is the reason why, in all the books of heraldry, we are styled to be cadets of Tinningham; and Tinningham was undoubtedly a cadet of Home. I was told by my grandaunt, Mrs Sinclair of Hermiston,[2] that Charles Earl of Home[3] told her, that he had been looking over some old papers of the family, where the Lord Home designs Home of Ninewells either his grandson or nephew, I do not precisely remember which.

The late Sir James Home of Blackadder[4] showed me a paper, which he himself had copied a few days before from a gravestone in the churchyard of Hutton: the words were these—'Here lies John Home of Bell, son of John Home of Ninewells, son of John Home of Tinningham, son of John Lord Home, founder of Dunglas.'

I find that this Lord Home, founder of Dunglas, was the very person whom Godscroft[5] says went over to France with the Douglas, and was father to Tinningham: so thus the two stories tally exactly. He was killed either in the battle of Crevant or Verneuil, gained by the Duke of Bedford, the Regent, against the French. Douglas fell in the same battle. I think it was the battle of Verneuil. All the French and English histories, as well as the Scotch, contain this fact. This Lord Home was your ancestor, and ours, lived in the time of James the First and Second of Scotland, Henrys the Fifth and Sixth of England.

I have asked old Bell the descent of his family. He said he was really sprung from Ninewells, but that the lands fell to an heiress who married a brother of Polwarth's.[6]

By Godscroft's account, Tinningham was the third son of Home in the same generation that Wedderburn was the second, so that the difference of antiquity is nothing, or very inconsiderable.

The readiest way of vouching these facts would be for you

[1] Thomas Hume, 2nd son of Sir Alexander Hume

[2] Hume's aunt Margaret married a St Clair

[3] Charles, 6th Earl and 11th Baron Home, died 1706

[4] Sir James Home of Blackadder, 6th Bart., died 1755

[5] David Hume of Godscroft (*c.* 1560–*c* 1630), 2nd son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn; author of *History of the House of Wedderburn*, 1611, and *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*, posthumously published under the editorship of his daughter, 1644

[6] That is, the Marchmont family.

to take a jaunt to the churchyard of Hutton, and inquire for Bell's monument, and see whether the inscription be not obliterated, for it is above twenty-five years ago that I saw the paper in Sir James Home's hand, and he told us, at that time, that the inscription was somewhat difficult to be read. If it be still legible it would be very well done to take a copy of it in some authentic manner, and transmit it to Mr Douglas, to be inserted in his volume. If it be utterly effaced, the next, but most difficult task would be to search for the paper above-mentioned in the family of Home it must be some time about the year 1440 or 1450 If both these means fail, we must rest upon the tradition

I am not of the opinion of some, that these matters are altogether to be slighted. Though we should pretend to be wiser than our ancestors, yet it is arrogant to pretend that we are wiser than the other nations of Europe, who, all of them, except perhaps the English, make great account of their family descent. I doubt that our morals have not much improved since we began to think riches the sole thing worth regarding

If I were in the country I should be glad to attend you to Hutton, in order to make the inquiry I propose. I doubt whether my brother will think of doing it: he has such an extreme aversion to everything that savours of vanity, that he would not willingly expose himself to censure; but this is a justice that one owes to their posterity, for we are not certain that these matters will be always so little regarded

I shall farther observe to you, that the Lord Home, founder of Dunglas, married the heiress of that family, of the name of Pepdie, and from her we always bear the Pepingos in our arms.

I find in Hall's Chronicle[1] that the Earl of Surrey, in an inroad upon the Merse, made during the reign of Henry the Eighth, after the battle of Flodden, destroyed the castles of Hedderburn, West Nisgate, and Blackadder, and the towers of East Nisgate, and Winwalls The names, you see, are somewhat disfigured, but I cannot doubt but he means Nisbet and Ninewells the situation of the places leads us to that conjecture

I have reason to believe, notwithstanding the fact, as Ninewells lay very near Berwick, our ancestors commonly paid contributions to the governor of that place, and abstained from hostilities and were prevented from ravages. There is, in

[1] *Hall's Chronicle* [1399–1547], by Edward Hall (died 1547), first edit. (to 1542), 1542, other edits, 1548, 1550, and 1809.

Hayne's State Papers,[1] a very particular account of the ravages committed by an inroad of the English, during the minority of Queen Mary. Not a village, scarce a single house in the Merse, but what is mentioned as burnt or overthrown, till you come to Whitwater East of the river, there was not one destroyed This reason will perhaps explain why, in none of the histories of that time, even the more particular, there is any mention made of our ancestors; while we meet with Wedderburn, Aiton, Manderston, Cowdenknows, Spott, and other cadets of Home.

I have learned from my mother, that my father, in a lawsuit with Hilton, claimed an old apprizing upon the lands of Hutton-Hall, upon which there had been no deed done for 140 years. Hilton thought that it must necessarily be expired; but my father was able to prove that, during that whole time there had not been forty years of majority in the family He died soon after, and left my mother very young; so that there was near 160 years during which there was not forty years of majority. Now we are upon this subject, I shall just mention to you a trifle, with regard to the spelling of our name The practice of spelling Hume is by far the most ancient and most general till about the Restoration, when it became common to spell Home contrary to the pronunciation Our name is frequently mentioned in Rymer's Foedera, and always spelt Hume I find a subscription of Lord Hume in the memoirs of the Sidney family, where it is spelt as I do at present These are a few of the numberless authorities on this head

I wish the materials I give you were more numerous and more satisfactory; but such as they are, I am glad to have communicated them to you

* 147 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Dear Sir

I receiv'd the enclos'd from my young Cousin, Lieutenant Alex[r] Edgar, whom you was so good as to take under your Protection. It contains a short Account of a short Engagement; and as he is naturally a very modest young Fellow, I take the little Exultation, which it contains, to proceed from his Joy, at finding himself upon Tryal a Man of Courage You will see by it, that he is to be pay'd off, & will again stand in Need

* MS at Minto House, Burton, ii 44 f (incomplete).

[1] *Burghley State Papers*, 1542–70, edited by S Haynes, 1740

of your Patronage. I know that it is the Maxim of your frugal Administration not to allow half-pay Officers, who are able and willing to serve, to lie long idle; and therefore I hope you will soon reinstate him in some Command, where he may give Proofs of his Valour. Coud it be possible to put him in Lieutenant to your Brother?[1] His Obligations to your Family, join'd to his own natural Spirit, wou'd, I hope, engage him to exert himself in an extraordinary manner; and the Example as well as Testimony of such an Officer as Captain Elliot woud be of infinite Service to him But this perhaps is too great a Favor to ask for him, or may not be, at present, in your Power to grant. In all Cases, I hope you will excuse the Freedom I use in again desiring a Renewal of the Obligations, which he and I owe to you.

I have the Prospect of paying my Respects to you this Autumn, in London I am now come within Sight of Land, & am drawing near to a Period of that Volume which I had undertaken. I find the Subject curious, and I believe that this Volume will contain some Novelty, as well as greater Accuracy of Composition, than is employ'd by our ordinary Historians I may add, greater than is requisite to please the Taste of the Public; at least if we may judge by the vast Success of Dr Smollet's History. *Vanitas vanitatum, atque omnia vanitas*, says the Preacher: The great Object of us Authors, & of you Orators & Statesmen, is to gain public Applause; and you see at what Rate it is to be purchas'd. I fancy there is a future State, to give Poets, Historians, & Philosophers their due Reward, and to distribute to them those Recompenses which are so strangely shar'd out in this Life It is of little Consequence that Posterity does them Justice, if they are for ever to be ignorant of it, & are to remain in perpetual Slumber in their literary Paradise. However, it is some Comfort, that Virtue is its own Reward, & that a man cannot employ himself in the Cultivation of Letters without reaping a real present Satisfaction from his Industry

I am Dear Sir

Your most obliged humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh, 11 May, 1758

P.S

I am sorry to hear that the Bill for the Importation of Irish

[1] John Elliot (1732–1808) went to sea, 1744; Lieutenant, 1756, Captain commanding the *Aeolus*, a 32-gun frigate, 1758; defeated Admiral Thurot off the Isle of Man, Jan 1760

Cattle is rejected. Besides other Arguments for it, I remember a strong Argument which was us'd in Charles II's time against the Prohibition, when it was first lay'd on. It was affirm'd that the Shipping employ'd in that Commerce was nearly equal to that which serv'd for the Carriage of Coal from Newcastle to London It is not improbable that this Argument has, at present, escap'd all the Reasoners on that Subject; and I thought it a proper one to be suggested to a Lord of the Admiralty. It is to be found, if my Memory do not deceive me, in Carte's *Ormond*, and was employ'd by that Duke

* 148 *To* Adam Smith

Dear Smith

I sit down to write to you along with Johnstone,[1] and as we have been talking over the Matter, it is probable we shall employ the same Arguments As he is the younger Lawyer, I leave him to open the Case; and suppose that you have read his Letter first[2] We are certain, that the Settlement of you here & of Ferguson[3] at Glasgow[4] woud be perfectly easy by Lord Miltons[5] Interest The Prospect of prevailing with Abercrombie is also very good: For the same Statesman, by his Influence over the Town Council, cou'd oblige him[6] either to attend, which he never woud do, or dispose of the Office for the Money which he gave for it. The only real Difficulty is then with you. Pray then consider, that this is perhaps the only Opportunity we shall ever have of getting you to Town: I dare swear, that you think the Difference of Place is worth

* MS , R S E ; Burton, II. 45 ff

[1] William Johnstone (1729–1805), son of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, Bart , whom he eventually succeeded, admitted Advocate, 1751; M P , Cromarty, 1768–74, and Shrewsbury, 1775–1805 On marrying the heiress of the Bath family he took the name of Pulteney

[2] George Abercromby of Tullibody (died 1800), father of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, Professor of the Law of Nature and Nations, Edinburgh, since 1735. This Chair was heavily endowed, was worth sometimes about £300 a year, but was never taken very seriously by anybody; and Abercromby seems to have treated it as a sinecure Hume and Johnstone were trying to persuade Adam Smith to buy Abercromby out.

[3] Adam Ferguson.

[4] In Smith's Chair.

[5] Andrew Fletcher (1692–1766), Lord Milton; Lord Justice Clerk, 1735. He was the Duke of Argyll's factotum in the management of Scottish affairs.

[6] That is, Abercromby.

paying something for; and yet it will really cost you nothing. You made above 100 Pound a Year by your Class when in this Place, tho' you had not the Character of Professor: We cannot suppose that it will be less than 130 after you are settled. John Stevenson;[1] and it is John Stevenson, makes near 150; as we were inform'd upon Enquiry Here is 100 Pounds a Year for 8 Years Purchase; which is a cheap Purchase, even considerd as the way of a Bargain We flatter ourselves that you rate our Company at something; and the Prospect of settling Ferguson will be an additional Inducement. For tho' we think of making him take up the Project if you refuse it, yet it is uncertain whether he will consent; and it is attended in his Case with many very obvious Objections.[2] I beseech you therefore to weigh all these Motives over again; The alteration of these Circumstances merit that you shoud put the matter again in Deliberation.[3] I had a Letter from Miss Hepburn,[4] where she regrets very much, that you are settled at Glasgow, and that we had the Chance of seeing you so seldom. I am

Dear Smith

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME.

8 June 1758

P S.

Lord Milton can with his Finger, stop the foul Mouths of all the Roarers against Heresy

* 149. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir

I am oblig'd to you for the Letter with which you favord me. I fancy, you woud have found part of it answerd, before

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 25 f

[1] Professor of Logic in Edinburgh, 1730–74 Alexander Carlyle says that 'he had no pretensions to superiority in point of learning and genius, yet was the most popular of all the professors on account of his civility and even kindness to his students' (*Autobiog*, 42).

[2] One very obvious objection was that Ferguson knew nothing of the subject, public law

[3] I do not know how much consideration Adam Smith gave to these proposals. But in this year Abercromby made over his Chair to Robert Bruce, his son-in-law Bruce in turn made it over to James Balfour of Pilrig in 1764, and Balfour made it over in 1779 to Allan Maconochie for the sum of £1,522 18*s*. 2*d*

[4] The Miss Hepburns of Keith were particular friends of John Home the dramatist, and it was from one of them that he got the idea of *Douglas*.

I receivd it. This day three Weeks, I sent up the second Volume of my History[1] by the Stage Coach to Mr Millar, which is probably put into your hands by this time. The Alterations I make on this Volume are not very considerable; those I make on the first Volume[2] are more so, particularly in the Reign of James, which requires to be changd in many Places, in order to adjust it to this previous Volume, which I am now composing, and which is nearly finishd[3] It is for this Reason, I coud wish Mr Millar woud make a new Edition of both at once, and I have told him my Sentiments on that head. His Resolution will probably depend on the Number of Copies, which remain of the first Volume; but as there were only 250 thrown off more than of the Second, I fancy there cannot be many on hand, after all the second are sold off For there is always a considerable Defalcation in the Sale of second Volumes

I am really concernd for what you tell me of Mr Millar's being Ill, tho I hope his Ailment will only be slight I know few who woud make a greater Loss to this Country, especially to the young Men of Letters in it I propose to see you about the Autumn, when I hope to commence a personal Acquaintance with you.

I am Dr Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinr 12 June, 1758

* 150. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dr Sir

I did not think it had been possible for you to have so many Copies of the first Volume upon hand.[4] The Number you mention makes the whole that was printed above the second. This Incident alters a little my Views & Resolutions; tho' I have still a great Desire to have that Volume reprinted; and am much obligd to you for complying with my Inclination.

* MS, R S.E; Burton, ii 43 (incomplete).

[1] Vol ii of *The Stuarts*, corrected for the 2nd edit

[2] Vol. i of *The Stuarts*

[3] *The Tudors*, which Hume still thought could be published as one volume, but which was ultimately published as two.

[4] Vol i of *The Stuarts*, which Millar had taken over from the Edinburgh publishers.

I must compute, however, in a different manner, even if I were willing to go the half of the Expence. I compute only the Charge, which the reprinting so many Copies wou'd cost, without minding the former Price to Hamilton. Now 250 Copies makes a Rheam for every two sheet, at 14 or 15 Shillings a Rheam. You pay only two Shillings a Sheet for printing 250, when you add that Number to an Edition As to the binding; I fancy you will find that you have very few bound, if you order the Matter to be examin'd. For you wou'd naturally dispose of all the bound Copies first; and if you found that difficult or impracticable, the binding is a great Loss, and it was wrong to take these Copies from Hamilton: The Folly ought to have fallen on his own head We must therefore neglect altogether this Article. Please to make any of your Clerks, compute the Charge of this Number of Copies, and you will find the half of it far inferior to the 25 pounds, the Sum you mention.

I know you will incline to deal frankly with me on this head: And as an additional Motive, I must inform you, that this new Volume will amount nearly to 700 pages [1] The Title & Subject are entirely different from those of the former Volumes; and there is no manner of Reason for selling it at the same Price,[2] so that the Profit will be more considerable on this Volume, tho' I am contented, that the Copy Money be the same.

I send enclos'd a Letter from Mr Robertson· He wishes it were practicable to send him more than one Sheet every Post. I am afraid, if this be not done, our Publications will interfere, which woud be disagreeable to you as well as to both of us.

I have read a small Pamphlet calld Sketches, which from the Style I take to be Dr Armstrong's, tho' the public Voice gives it to Allan Ramsay.[3] I find the ingenious Author, whoever he be, ridicules the new Method of Spelling, as he calls it: But that Method of spelling, Honor, instead of Honour, was Lord Bolingbrokes, Dr Middletons,[4] & Mr Pope's; besides many other

[1] In the end *The Tudors* ran to 739 pp, 4to. The 2 vols. were paged as one.

[2] Vol. ii of *The Stuarts* was sold at 14*s* in boards, the 2 vols. of *The Tudors* at 1 guinea

[3] *Sketches or Essays on Various Subjects*, 1758. It was published under the pseudonym of Launcelot Temple, but Hume was right in guessing it to be Armstrong's.

[4] Conyers Middleton (1683–1750), author of *Life of Cicero*, 1741, and *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have existed in the*

eminent Writers. However, to tell truth, I hate to be any way particular in a Trifle, and therefore, if Mr Strahan has not printed off above ten or twelve Sheets, I shoud not be displeas'd, if you told him to follow the usual, that is, his own, way of Spelling throughout. We shall make the other Volumes conformable to it. If he be advancd farther, there is no great Matter

I am very sorry for your Illness; especially as it shall deprive us of the Pleasure of seeing you in this Place: But I shoud think a Journey, the properest Method of recovering your Health & Strength entirely I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
20 June 1758

* 151. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

[July 1758]

Dear Sir

I am glad to find that Mr Millar and I have agreed about reprinting the first Volume of my History I shall soon send you up a corrected Copy of it; and in the mean time you may proceed in printing the second Volume. The Title of it will be *History of Great Britain under the House of Stuart, in two Volumes.* As the Title of the other Volume will be *History of England under the House of Tudor.* By this Means they will be different Works; and some few Repetitions which will be unavoidable in this Method of composing them, will be the more excusable.

I had once an Intention of changing the Orthography in some particulars But on Reflection I find, that this new Method of Spelling (which is certainly the best and most conformable to Analogy) has been followd in the Quarto Volume of my philosophical Writings lately publishd, and therefore I think it will be better for you to continue the Spelling as it is.

I woud not give you the Trouble of sending me the Sheets. I shall see you in London before the Publication; and shall then be able to correct any Errata that may have escapd you.

I am Dr Sr

Your most humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 26 f.

Christian Church through several successive Ages, 1748 In his own day his English prose style was held to be only a little inferior to Addison's.

* 152 *To* HORACE WALPOLE [1]

SIR

I was very agreeably surprized, in returning from a jaunt in the country, to find the letter, with which you had honourd me [2] I did not indeed entertain any doubt of your patience of criticism Those who are to reach great beauties, are seldom reluctant to hear of small faults. But a man must be endowd with some qualities, even above those of a good writer, and have these too fortifyd by education in the best company, to regard a criticism as an obligation, and to take thence an opportunity of commencing a friendly correspondence with the person, who had presum'd to censure his writings.

I shou'd be asham'd, after you had set me so good an example, not to make you acknowledgments for the remark, which you have made on my negligence in not quoting my authorities. I own that I was so much the less excusable for not taking this precaution, that such an exactness would have cost no trouble; and it wou'd have been easy for me, after I had noted and markd all the passages, on which I founded my narration, to write the references on the margin But I was seduc'd by the example of all the best historians even among the moderns, such as Matchiavel,[3] Fra paolo,[4] Davila,[5] Bentivoglio; [6] without considering that that practice was more modern than their time, and having been once introduc'd, ought to be follow'd by every writer. And, tho' it be easy for

* MS formerly in Waller Collection; Hor. Walpole, *Letters*, Supp vol. III. 151 ff

[1] Horace Walpole (1717–97), 4th Earl of Orford, 1791; prince of English letter-writers, author of *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* (the work here referred to by Hume), 1758, *The Castle of Otranto*, 1765, *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George II*, first published 1822, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, first published 1845, &c , &c

[2] Apparently Hume had written to Lady Hervey passing certain criticisms on Walpole's *Catalogue* Walpole replied direct to Hume on 15 July 1758 (*Letters*, IV 158 ff) Hume must have answered this, and Walpole answered again Both of Hume's earlier letters, and Walpole's second one, are lost The letter given above is Hume's reply to Walpole's second.

[3] Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), author of *Il Principe* and *Istoria Fiorentine*.

[4] Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), author of *Storia del Concilio Tridentino*

[5] Enrico Caterino Davila (1576–1631), author of *Istoria delle Guerre Civile*

[6] Guido Bentivoglio (1579–1644), author of *Storia della Guerra di Fiandra*.

the falsest and most partial historian to load his margin with quotations, nor is there any other certain method of assuring ones self of the fidelity of an author than to read most of the original writers of any period, yet the reader has reason to expect that the most material facts, at least all such as are any way new, shou'd be supported by the proper authorities I am preparing for the press a new volume of History, from the commencement of Henry the VII to the union of the two crowns; and have there been very careful to obviate this objection

At the same time, that I submit to this censure, I hope, Sir, you will permit me to reclaim against another sentiment, which you have rather insinuated than advanc'd, as if it were superfluous to re-write the English history, or publish on that subject any thing which has ever before in any shape appeard in print. If no man is to know the English story but by perusing all those monuments, which remain of it, few will be able to attain that useful and agreeable erudition The original books, which instruct us in the reign of Q. Elizabeth alone, would require six months reading at the rate of ten hours a day; and most people, even after taking this pains, wou'd attain but a very confus'd idea of the transactions of that period. But what must foreigners do to get some notion of our history? What must posterity, after these monuments have farther multiply'd upon us? What must far the greatest part of ourselves, who have neither leizure nor inclination for such a laborious and disagreeable study? To allege therefore the number of historical monuments against composing a history seems not much better founded, than if one shoud give it as a reason for not building a house, that he lay near a quarry. Tho' my writings shoud fail of convincing the world of the propriety of this attempt; I am persuaded, Sir, that if your leizure permitted you to undertake such a work, your own country, as well as the learned throughout all Europe, woud acknowledge the obligation. I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble servant

David Hume

Edinburgh,
2 Aug^{t}, 1758.

* 153 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir

I sent off last Tuesday by the Stage Coach a corrected Copy of the first Volume of my History directed to you, and it will probably be with you as soon as this. There is only a small Correction more, which you will please to make At Page 100 Line 16, Add this note *Rushworth, Vol I, p* 82.

On Tuesday come Sennight the 15 of this Month, the Manuscript Copy of my new Volume will be put into the Stage Coach, in two white Iron Boxes, directed to you. As there are in the same Boxes a few Papers on private Business, you will please to leave the Boxes unopened till I come to London, which will probably be about the End of this Month or beginning of the next I go up on Horseback, which is the Reason why I send the Manuscript before me

I shall be sure to see you as soon as I arrive, and hope then to commence a personal Acquaintance with you, and to return you thanks for the many Instances, which I have receivd of your Attention and Friendship

I am Dr Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh, 5 of August, 1758

† 154 *To the* REV. JOHN JARDINE [1]

[? London, Oct 1758]

Rev Sir,

I am informed, by the late Rev. Mr John Home, that the still Rev Adam Ferguson's affair [2] is so far on a good footing, that it is agreed to refer the matter to the Justice Clerk,[3] whether more shall be paid to Mr Abercromby than he him-

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 28

† Burton, II. 47

[1] John Jardine (1715–66), ordained 1741, transferred from Liberton to Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, 1750, and to the Tron Kirk, 1754, D D, St Andrews, 1756; Chaplain in Ordinary to H M., 1759; Dean of the Thistle, 1763 He married the daughter of George Drummond, Edinburgh's most famous Lord Provost, who in his later years was much under his influence Jardine was one of Hume's best friends among the Edinburgh clergy

[2] The affair of the Professorship of the Law of Nature and Nations (see Letter 148 above)

[3] Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald

self gave for that professorship. Now, as it is obvious that, in these kinds of references, where the question is not of law and justice, the circumstances of the person are to be considered, I beg of you to inform my Lord of the true state of the case Ferguson must borrow almost the whole sum which he pays for this office. If any more, therefore, be asked than £1000, it would be the most ruinous thing in the world for him to accept of the office. I am even of opinion that if any other method of subsistence offered, it were preferable to this scheme of paying the length of £1000; at least such would be my sentiments, if the case were mine

If the Justice Clerk considers the matter aright, he will never agree to so unreasonable a demand as that of paying more; and I hope you will second these arguments with all your usual eloquence, by which you so successfully confound the devices of Satan, and bring sinners to repentance

I am, Rev Sir,

Your most obsequious humble servant,
DAVID HUME.

* 155 *To* WILLIAM ROBERTSON [1]

London, Lisle Street, Leicester Fields,[2] 18 Nov 1758

My dear Sir,

According to your permission, I have always got your corrected sheets from Strahan, and am glad to find, that we shall agree in almost all the material parts of our History. Your

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 153 ff —It is greatly to be regretted that the autographs of this and the other letters from Hume to Robertson are not extant. Dugald Stewart was given all available documents to enable him to write his *Life of Robertson*. Then, it would seem, he, or Robertson's son, or both together, destroyed the documents. I think it unlikely that any of these letters of Hume's are given exactly as he wrote them Stewart, like other editors of his day, altered his documents freely.

[1] William Robertson (1721–93), Minister of Gladsmuir till 1759; of Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, 1759–62; Principal of the University, 1762–93; author of *The History of Scotland*, *The History of Charles V*, and *The History of America*

[2] On this and later visits to London for the next ten years Hume lodged with a Miss (Anne) Elliot, a poor relation of the Minto family Her house appears to have been a regular boarding-establishment and meeting-place for Scotsmen in London. Her sister Peggy helped her to run it.

resolution to assert the authenticity of Mary's letters to Bothwell,[1] with the consequence which must necessarily follow, removes the chief point, in which, I apprehended, we should differ. There remain however, two other points where I have not the good fortune to agree with you, viz, the violation of the Treaty of Perth by Mary of Guise,[2] and the innocency of Mary with regard to Babington's conspiracy [3] but as I had wrote notes upon these passages,[4] the public must judge between us. Only allow me to say, that even if you be in the right with regard to the last, (of which, notwithstanding my deference to your authority, I cannot perceive the least appearance) you are certainly too short and abrupt in handling it [5] I believe you go contrary to received opinion, and the point was of consequence enough to merit a note or a dissertation

There is still another point in which we differ, and which reduced me to great perplexity. You told me, that all historians had been mistaken with regard to James's behaviour on his mother's trial and execution, that he was not really the pious son he pretended to be, that the appearances which deceived the world, were put on at the solicitation of the French Ambassador, Courcelles, and that I should find all this proved by a manuscript of Dr Campbell's [6] I accordingly spoke of the matter to Dr Campbell, who confirmed what you said, with many additions and amplifications. I desired to have the manuscript, which he sent me But great was my surprise, when I

[1] Robertson ends the *Hist of Scot* with a Dissertation on this subject, and Hume wrote a long note on it (*Tudors*, 1st edit, II. 498 ff; collected edit, Note L to Ch 39)

[2] Robertson accepts the Reformers' view that the Treaty (1559) was violated by Mary of Guise, Hume does not

[3] Robertson holds Mary to be innocent of Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth, Hume does not

[4] On the Treaty of Perth: *Tudors*, 1st edit., II, notes to pp 419 and 422, collected edit., Notes B and C to Ch 38. On Mary and Babington's conspiracy; *Tudors*, 1st edit, II, note to p. 605; collected edit., Note Z to Ch. 42

[5] Robertson dismisses the accusation against Mary in a few sentences, as though no impartial person could seriously accept it as true, whereas Hume weighs the evidence on both sides at considerable length Robertson left the passage unchanged in later editions.

[6] Probably John Campbell (1708–75), LL D, a miscellaneous writer living in London, whom Dr Johnson called 'the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature', author of *The Political State of Europe*, 1750, and *A Political Survey of Great Britain*, 1774 Johnson also said that he was sometimes careless of truth in conversation, which squares with Hume's statement in the text

found the contrary in every page, many praises bestowed on the King's piety both by Courcelles and the French Court; his real grief and resentment painted in the strongest colours; resolutions even taken by him to form an alliance with Philip of Spain, in order to get revenge, repeated advices given him by Courcelles and the French ministers, rather to conceal his resentment, till a proper opportunity offered of taking vengeance What most displeased me in their affair was, that as I thought myself obliged to follow the ordinary tenor of the printed historian, while you appealed to manuscript, it would be necessary for me to appeal to the same manuscripts, to give extracts of them, and to oppose your conclusions Tho I knew that I could execute this matter in a friendly and obliging manner for you, yet I own that I was very uneasy at finding myself under a necessity of observing anything which might appear a mistake in your narration But there came to me a man this morning, who, as I fancied, gave me the key of the difficulty, but without freeing me from my perplexity. This was a man commonly employed by Millar and Strahan to decipher manuscripts He brought me a letter of yours to Strahan, where you desired him to apply to me in order to point out the passages proper to be inserted in your Appendix, and proper to prove the assertion of your text You add there, these letters are in the French language I immediately concluded, that you had not read the manuscripts, but had taken it on Dr Campbell's word: for the letters are in English, translated by I know not whom from the French I could do nothing on this occasion but desire Strahan to stop the press in printing the Appendix, and stay till I wrote to you If I could persuade you to change the narration of the text, that sheet could be easily cancelled, and an Appendix formed proper to confirm an opposite account. If you still persist in your opinion, somebody else whom you trusted, might be employed to find the proper passages, for I cannot find them

There is only one passage which looks like your opinion, and which I shall transcribe to you. It is a relation of what passed between James and Courcelles upon the first rumour of the discovery of Babington's conspiracy before James apprehended his mother to be in any danger 'The King said he loved his mother as much as nature and duty bound him; but he could not love her . . .. for he knew well she bore him no more goodwill than she did to the Queen of England. that he had seen

with his own eyes before Foulnaye's departure out of Scotland a letter to him, whereby she sent him word, that if he would not conform himself to her will, and follow her counsels and advice, that he should content himself with the Lordship of Darnley, which was all that appertained unto him by his father. farther, that he had seen other letters under her own hand, confirming her evil towards him. besides, that she had oftentimes gone about to make a regency in Scotland, and to put him besides the Crown; that it behoved him to think of his own affairs, and that he thought the Queen of England would attempt nothing against her person without making him acquainted: that his mother was henceforward to carry herself towards him and the Queen of England after another sort, without bending any more upon such practices and intelligences as she had in former times: that he hoped to set such persons about her as . ' (Here the manuscript is not farther legible) But tho such were James's sentiments before he apprehended his mother to be in danger, he adopted a directly opposite conduct afterwards, as I told you I can only express my wishes that you may see reason to conform your narrative in vol ii pp 139, 140 to this account, or omit that Appendix altogether, or find some other person who can better execute your intentions than it is possible for me to do [1]

*156 *To* William Robertson

25 January, 1759.

My dear Sir,

What I wrote you with regard to Mary's concurrence in the conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, was from the printed histories of papers, and nothing ever appeared to me more evident Your chief objection, I see, is derived from one circumstance, that neither the secretaries nor conspirators were confronted with Mary, but you must consider that the law did not then require this confrontation, and it was in no case the

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 156 ff; Burton, ii 49 ff (incomplete)

[1] The result of Hume's letter becomes apparent on examination of the pages he refers to (139 f) in Robertson's *History*, ii, 1st edit These pages fall on T 2, which is a cancel. This can only mean that Robertson re-wrote the pages to make them conform to what Hume told him The Appendix in question, which takes up the whole of Sheet Y y, was probably cancelled altogether, and the whole sheet reprinted

practice. The Crown could not well grant it in one case without granting it in all, because the refusing of it would then have been a strong presumption of innocence in the prisoner. Yet as Mary's was an extraordinary case, Elizabeth was willing to have granted it I find in Forbes's MS papers,[1] sent me by Lord Royston,[2] a letter of hers to Burleigh and Walsingham, wherein she tells them, that if they thought proper, they might carry down the two secretaries to Fotheringay, in order to confront them with her But they reply, that they think it needless.

But I am now sorry to tell you, that by Murden's State Papers,[3] which are printed, the matter is put beyond all question I got these papers during the holidays, by Dr Birch's means; and as soon as I had read them, I ran to Mr Millar, and desired him very earnestly to stop the publication of your History till I should write to you, and give you an opportunity of correcting a mistake of so great moment; but he absolutely refused compliance He said that your book was now finished, that the copies would be shipped for Scotland in two days, that the whole narration of Mary's trial must be wrote over again, that this would require time, and it was uncertain whether the new narrative could be brought within the same compass with the old, that this change, he said, would require the cancelling a great many sheets; that there were scattered passages through the volumes founded on your theory, and these must also be all cancelled, and that this change required the new printing of a great part of the edition. For these reasons, which do not want force, he refused, after deliberation, to stop

[1] Patrick Forbes, M D , published, as *A Full View of the Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols , fol , London, 1740–1, a series of letters (with autographs in facsimile) and other state papers written by Elizabeth and her ministers Apparently he had a great many more manuscripts, which passed into the hands of Lord Royston Robertson, in the preface to his *History*, acknowledges his indebtedness to these manuscripts

[2] Philip Yorke (1720–90), M P. for Reigate, 1741–7, and for Cambridgeshire, 1747–54, Viscount Royston, 1754; 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, 1764 In 1778 he published *Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726*, being a portion of the collections made by Lord Somers (1651–1716) and others

[3] *Collection of Burghley State Papers, 1571–96*, edited by W Murdin [not Murden, as Hume states here and in notes to *Tudors*], 1759; being a continuation of *Burghley State Papers, 1542–70*, edited by S Haynes, 1740. According to Nichols (*Lit Anec* , II. 329) Murdin's volume was delayed owing to the financial difficulties of the editor; but William Bowyer finally took it in hand, and brought it out early in 1759.

his publication, and I was obliged to acquiesce. Your best apology at present is, that you could not possibly see the grounds of Mary's guilt, and every equitable person will excuse you.

I am sorry, on many accounts, that you did not see this Collection of Murden's Among other curiosities, there are several instructions to H Killigrew, dated 10th Sept 1572 [1] He was then sent into Scotland. It there appears, that the Regents, Murray and Lennox, had desired Mary to be put into their hands, in order to try her and put her to death Elizabeth there offers to Regent Mar to deliver her up, provided good security were given, 'that she should receive that she hath deserved there by order of Justice, whereby no futher peril should ensue by her escaping, or by setting her up again.' It is probable Mar refused compliance, for no steps were taken towards it

I am nearly printed out, and shall be sure to send you a copy by the stage coach, or some other conveyance I beg of you to make remarks as you go along. It would have been much better had we communicated before printing, which was always my desire, and was most suitable to the friendship which always did, and I hope always will, subsist between us. I speak this chiefly on my own account. For tho I had the perusal of your sheets before I printed, I was not able to derive sufficient benefits from them, or indeed to make any alteration by their assistance There still remain, I fear, many errors, of which you could have convinced me, if we had canvassed the matter in conversation. Perhaps I might also have been sometimes no less fortunate with you Particularly I could almost undertake to convince you, that the Earl of Murray's conduct with the Duke of Norfolk was no way dishonourable [2]

I have seen a copy of your History with Charles Stanhope.[3]

[1] Hume added a note (Note O to Ch 40 in Collected edit) on this subject to later editions. It was apparently too late to add it to the 1st edit

[2] The Regent Murray was in England in 1569 Desiring a safe conduct back into Scotland, and knowing that the Duke of Norfolk could help him in this matter through his friendship with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, he led the Duke to suppose that he would favour a marriage between him and Mary, Queen of Scots Once safe in Scotland, he disclosed Norfolk's plan to Queen Elizabeth Both Robertson and Hume tell this story in much the same way, but the former says 'the Scottish Regent . meanly betrayed the Duke', whereas Hume suggests as a palliation of Murray's later conduct that he had never been sincere in his expressions of friendship to Norfolk

[3] Charles Stanhope of Elvaston (died 1760), brother of 1st Earl of Harrington, and sometime Secretary to the Treasury and Treasurer of the Chamber.

Lord Willoughby,[1] who had been there reading some passages of it, said, that you was certainly mistaken with regard to the Act passed in the last Parliament of Mary, settling the Reformation.[2] He said that the Act of Parliament, the first of James, was no proof of it; for tho that statute contains a statute where the Queen's name was employed, yet that is always the case with the bills brought into Parliament, even tho they receive not the royal assent, nor perhaps pass the Houses I wish this be not the case, considering the testimony of Buchanan,[3] Calderwood,[4] and Spotswood [5] Besides, if the Bill had before received the royal assent, what necessity of repeating it, or passing it again? Mary's title was more undisputable than James's

Dr Blair [6] tells me, that Prince Edward [7] is reading you, and is charmed I hear the same of the Princess [8] and Prince of

[1] John Peyto Verney succeeded as 14th Baron Willoughby de Broke, 1752

[2] The reference is to the Act of Mary, passed in 1567 under the influence of Bothwell, which endeavoured to placate the Protestants In his 1st edit. (vol 1 352) Robertson says 'the act itself was so favourable to the doctrine of the Reformers, that the Parliament, which met next year, under very different leaders, could substitute nothing stronger or more explicit in its place, and thought it sufficient to ratify it word for word' Robertson took no immediate notice of Hume's hint, for the 2nd edit. contains the same statement But in later edits, he changed the whole passage and added a long footnote, admitting that he had previously fallen into error, but expressing his indebtedness for having been put right, not to Hume or to Lord Willoughby de Broke, but to Sir David Dalrymple Reading this footnote, Hume must have smiled

[3] George Buchanan (1502–82), sometime tutor to James VI, and author of *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Edinburgh, 1582

[4] David Calderwood (1575–1650), author of *True History of the Church of Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation unto the End of the Reign of James VI*, first published in an abridged form, 1678, completely published by the Wodrow Society in 8 vols, Edinburgh, 1842–9 From Robertson's Preface it appears that he had access to the full manuscript

[5] John Spotswoode (or Spottiswoode) (1565–1639), Archbishop of St. Andrews, author of *History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the Year of Our Lord 203 and continued to the End of the Reign of James VI*, London, 1655

[6] John Blair (died 1782), LL D, a Scotsman who took orders in the Church of England, author of *The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the Year of Christ 1753, illustrated in 56 Tables*, 1754, F.R S, 1755, Chaplain to Princess of Wales and mathematical tutor to Prince Edward, 1757; Prebendary of Westminster and F S A, 1761

[7] Prince Edward Augustus (1739–67), 2nd son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, created Duke of York, 1760

[8] Augusta of Saxe-Gotha (died 1772), widow of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Wales.[1] But what will really give you pleasure, I lent my copy to Elliot during the holidays, who thinks it one of the finest performances he ever read, and tho he expected much, he finds more. He remarked, however, (which is also my opinion) that in the beginning, before your pen was sufficiently accustomed to the historic style, you employ too many digressions and reflections. This was also somewhat my own case, which I have corrected in my new edition.

Millar was proposing to publish me about the middle of March, but I shall communicate to him your desire, even tho I think it entirely groundless, as you will likewise think after you have read my volume He has very needlessly delayed your publication till the first of February, at the desire of the Edinburgh booksellers, who could no way be affected by a publication in London. I was exceedingly sorry not to be able to comply with your desire, when you expressed your wish, that I should not write this period I could not write downward. For when you find occasion, by new discoveries, to correct your opinion with regard to facts which passed in Queen Elizabeth's days, who, that has not the best opportunities of informing himself, could venture to relate any recent transactions? I must therefore have abandoned altogether this scheme of the English History, in which I had proceeded so far, if I had not acted as I did. You will see what light and force this History of the Tudors bestows on that of the Stuarts Had I been prudent I should have begun with it. I care not to boast, but I will venture to say, that I have now effectually stopped the mouths of all those villainous Whigs who railed at me[2]

You are so kind as to ask me about my coming down. I can yet answer nothing I have the strangest reluctance to change places. I lived several years happy with my brother at Ninewells, and had not his marriage changed a little the state of the family, I believe I should have lived and died there. I used every expedient to evade this journey to London, yet it is now uncertain whether I shall ever leave it I have had some invitations, and some intentions of taking a trip to Paris, but I believe it will be safer for me not to go thither, for I might probably settle there for life. No one was ever endowed with so great a portion of the *vis inertiae* But as I live here very

[1] George William Frederick (1738–1820), afterwards George III

[2] But cf. the statement in *My own Life*, p 5 above, about the reception given to *The Tudors*

privately, and avoid as much as possible (and it is easily possible) all connexions with the Great, I believe I should be better at Edinburgh . .

* 157. *To* William Strahan

Dear Sir

On the Conclusion of this Work,[1] I thank you for your Care, Exactness, Diligence and Dispatch, and have put my angry Letter into the Fire, where, partly by its own heat, partly by that of the burning Coals, it was immediatly consumd to Ashes

I had a Letter from Dr Robertson, who was very earnest with me to have a Copy of my Volume as soon as possible, promising not to show it to a mortal, till publication. I have obtain'd Mr Millar's Consent; and therefore desire you to bind in boards a Volume of large Paper as soon as possible, and send it to the Stage Coach, directed to Mr Robertson Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh, near the head of the Cowgate. The Stage Coach sets up near you, so I must beg you to take this Trouble

Mr Andrew Reid [2] was so good as to look over some Sheets for me, but has so blotted them with Corrections that he has renderd it useless for me I must therefore beg of you to bind in boards another compleat Copy of small Paper, and to send it to my House as soon as it is ready.

I am Yours
David Hume

[London,] Friday [Feb 1759]

† 158 *To* [Ronald Crawford, W S.] [3]

Dear Ronald

You have here enclosd my Letter to Lord Hopton,[4] which, I hope, is properly express'd If you choose I should make any Alterations on it, please inform me. It cannot now surely be

* MS. at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 29

† John Rylands Lib, Manchester, English MSS, 334 (53); hitherto unpublished.

[1] The | History | of | England, | under the | House of Tudor | Comprehending the Reigns of | K Henry VII | K Henry VIII | K Edward VI | Q Mary, | and | Q Elizabeth | By David Hume, Esq; | In Two Volumes | . . London. | Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand | MDCCLIX [4to]

[2] See note 1 on p 237 above

[3] This is a guess, but I think almost certain. Ronald Crawford (died 1762), 3rd son of Patrick Crawford of Auchinaimes, was the W S. (*anglice*, solicitor) entrusted with the legal affairs of the Annandale and Hopetoun families

[4] John, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun (1704–81), the heir-at-law of the Scottish estates of the insane Marquis of Annandale.

too early to move in that Business.[1] Be so good, therefore, as to seal it & send it to his Lordship, seconding it with your good Offices, and informing him that you have my Direction. I live in the same House with Veitch,[2] & therefore please to write under his Cover.

I have wrote to John Dingwell[3] to act in this Affair as may be requisite. If Lord Hopton wants a Copy of my Agreement with the Marquess, he will send it you. And if a Decree of the Session be requisite, he will take the proper steps I trust chiefly to your Friendship in the Conduct of this Affair; and am Dear Ronald

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

London
6 Feby 1759

* 159 *To* WILLIAM ROBERTSON

London, 8 Feb. 1759

. . As to the *Age of Leo the Tenth*, it was Warton[4] himself who intended to write it, but he has not wrote it, and probably never will. If I understand your hint, I should conjecture, that you had some thoughts of taking up the subject. But how can you acquire knowledge of the great works of sculpture, architecture, and painting, by which that age was chiefly distinguished? Are you versed in all the anecdotes of the Italian literature? These questions I heard proposed in a company of literati when I enquired concerning this design of Warton They applied their remarks to that gentleman, who yet, they say, has travelled I wish they do not all of them fall more fully on you. However, you must not be idle May I venture to suggest to you the Ancient History, particularly that of Greece. I think

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 160 f, Burton, II 51 f (incomplete) This and the next letter may well have been parts of the same letter

[1] Hume's long-standing claim against Lord Annandale for £75

[2] James Veitch (b 1712), admitted Advocate, 1738, raised to the Bench as Lord Elliock, 1761

[3] I have not been able to discover who John Dingwell was He was neither an advocate nor a W S.

[4] Thomas Warton (1728–90), Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1757–67, Gray's friend; author of *Essay on Spenser's Faerie Queene*, 1754, and *History of English Poetry*, 1774–8, Poet Laureate, 1785 He did ultimately write a dissertation 'On the Introduction of Learning into England', published in the first volume of the *History of Poetry*, 1774.

Rollin's [1] success might encourage you, nor need you be in the least intimidated by his merit That author has no other merit but a certain facility and sweetness of narration, but has loaded his work with fifty puerilities.

Our friend Wedderburn is advancing with great strides in his profession . . . [2]

I desire my compliments to Lord Elibank I hope his Lordship has forgot his vow of answering us, and of washing Queen Mary white. I am afraid that is impossible; but his Lordship is very well qualified to gild her

* 160 *To* William Robertson

[London, Feb 1759]

You have very good cause to be satisfied with the success of your History, as far as it can be judged of from a few weeks' publication I have not heard of one who does not praise it warmly, and were I to enumerate all those whose suffrages I have either heard in its favour, or been told of, I should fill my letter with a list of names Mallet told me that he was sure there was no Englishman capable of composing such a work. The town will have it that you was educated at Oxford, thinking it impossible for a mere untravelled Scotchman to produce such language [3] In short, you may depend on the

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 21 f , Burton, II 49 (incomplete)

[1] Charles Rollin (1661–1741), French historian, Jansenist, and sometime Rector of the University of Paris, author of *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, &c* , Paris, 1730–8, 6 vols , 4to, and of *Histoire romaine*, best edit , Paris, 1752 Both works, and especially the former, had a great vogue, and went through many editions in translation in England and other European countries

[2] Alexander Wedderburn had made a spectacular departure from the Edinburgh Bar in the summer of 1757, and was now in London, pushing his way at the English Bar and trying to get rid of his Scots accent

[3] Horace Walpole, writing to Robertson on 4 March 1759 (*Letters*, IV 245), says 'Before I read your *History*, I should probably have been glad to dictate to you . How you have saved me, Sir, from making a ridiculous figure, by making so great an one yourself! But could I suspect that a man I believe much younger, and whose dialect I scarce understood, and who came to me with all the diffidence and modesty of a very middling author, and who I was told had passed his life in a small living near Edinburgh; could I suspect that he had not only written what all the world now allows the best modern history, but that he had written it in the purest English, and with as much seeming knowledge of men and courts as if he had passed all his life in important embassies?'

success of your work, and that your name is known very much to your advantage.

I am diverting myself with the notion how much you will profit by the applause of my enemies in Scotland Had you and I been such fools as to have given way to jealousy, to have entertained animosity and malignity against each other, and to have rent all our acquaintance into parties, what a noble amusement we should have exhibited to the blockheads, which now they are likely to be disappointed of. All the people whose friendship or judgment either of us value, are friends to both, and will be pleased with the success of both, as we will be with that of each other I declare to you I have not of a long time had a more sensible pleasure than the good reception of your History has given me within this fortnight. . . .

* 161. *To* William Robertson

[London] 20 [February?] 1759

. . . I am afraid that my letters will be tedious and disagreeable to you by their uniformity Nothing but continued and unvaried accounts of the same thing must in the end prove disgusting Yet since you will hear me speak on this subject, I cannot help it, and must fatigue your ears as much as ours are in this place by endless, and repeated, and noisy praises of the *History of Scotland* Dr Douglas [1] told me yesterday that he had seen the Bishop of Norwich,[2] who had just bought the book from the high commendations he heard of it from Mr Legge [3] Mallet [4] told me that Lord Mansfield [5] is at a loss whether he shall most esteem the matter or the style. Elliot [6] told me, that being in company with George Grenville,[7] that gentleman was

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 22 f, Burton, II 53 f

[1] John Douglas (1721–1807), afterwards Bishop of Salisbury At this period he was secretary to the Earl of Bath He had taken his D D degree at Oxford the year before (Carlyle, *Autobiog*, 363) His sister, Mrs Anderson, kept the British Coffee-house near Charing Cross, a favourite haunt of Scots in London.

[2] Thomas Hayter (died 1762), sometime tutor to the Prince of Wales. He became Bishop of London in 1761.

[3] Henry Bilson Legge (1708–64), Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1754–61.

[4] David Mallet.

[5] The Hon. William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield He became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1756 [6] Gilbert Elliot.

[7] The Hon George Grenville (1712–70), afterwards Prime Minister. He was Treasurer of the Navy, 1754–62. The Elliots and the Grenvilles were close friends.

speaking loud in the same key. Our friend pretended ignorance; said he knew the author, and if he thought the book good for anything, would send for it and read it. Send for it by all means, (said Mr Grenville) you have not read a better book of a long time. But, said Elliot, I suppose, although the matter may be tolerable, as the author was never on this side of the Tweed till he wrote it, it must be very barbarous in the expression By no means, cried Mr Grenville; had the author lived all his life in London, and in the best company, he could not have expressed himself with greater elegance and purity Lord Lyttleton[1] seems to think that since the time of St Paul there scarce has been a better writer than Dr Robertson Mr Walpole triumphs in the success of his favourites the Scotch, &c. &c. &c . .

The great success of your book,[2] beside its real merit, is forwarded by its prudence, and by the deference paid to established opinions. It gains also by its being your first performance, and by its surprising the public, who are not upon their guard against it. By reason of these two circumstances justice is more readily done to its merit, which, however, is really so great, that I believe there is scarce another instance of a first performance being so near perfection.

* 162. *To* William Robertson

[London, Feb or Mar 1759]

I am afraid, that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was undoubtedly a violent woman at all times You will see in *Murden* proofs of the utmost rancour against her innocent, good-natured, dutiful son. She certainly disinherited him What think you of a conspiracy for kidnapping him, and delivering him a prisoner to the King of Spain, never to recover his liberty till he should turn Catholic?—Tell Goodall,[3] that if he can but give me up

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 25, Burton, ii 48 This fragment is probably part of one of the other letters about this time

[1] Lyttelton published in 1746 a treatise on the Conversion of St. Paul.

[2] The 1st edit was exhausted in some six weeks

[3] Walter Goodall (died 1766), a hanger-on at the Advocates' Library; 'seldom sober', according to Lord Hailes, who, as a Curator, ought to have known; an ardent Jacobite; author of *Examination of the Letters said to have been written by Mary Queen of Scots to James, Earl of Bothwell* [The Casket Letters], 1754—the first broadside in this famous and perhaps endless

Queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in every thing else; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox and the Reformers made very ridiculous.

* 163 *To* William Robertson

[London, ? Mar. 1759]

. . . I forgot to tell you, that two days ago I was in the House of Commons, where an English gentleman came to me, and told me, that he had lately sent to a grocer's shop for a pound of raisins, which he received wrapped up in a paper that he shewed me. How would you have turned pale at the sight! It was a leaf of your History, and the very character of Queen Elizabeth, which you had laboured so finely, little thinking it would so soon come to so disgraceful an end. I happened a little after to see Millar, and told him the story, consulting him, to be sure, on the fate of his new boasted historian, of whom he was so fond But the story proves more serious than I apprehended. For he told Strahan, who thence suspects villany among his prentices and journeymen, and has sent me very earnestly to know the gentleman's name, that he may find out the grocer, and trace the matter to the bottom In vain did I remonstrate that this was sooner or later the fate of all authors, *serius, ocyus, sors exitura.*[1] He will not be satisfied; and begs me to keep my jokes for another occasion But that I am resolved not to do; and therefore, being repulsed by his passion and seriousness, I direct them against you.

Next week, I am published; and then, I expect a constant comparison will be made between Dr Robertson and Mr Hume. I shall tell you in a few weeks which of these heroes is likely to prevail Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half so much noise as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coach-

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 161 f., Burton, II. 51 f

---

controversy Hume once found Wattie asleep in the library, wakened him by shouting in his ear that Queen Mary was a whore and a murderess, and was promptly assaulted for his pains.

[1] omnium
Versatur urna, serius ocius
Sors exitura
Hor *Odes*, II 3.

man.[1] *Vanitas vanitatum, atque omnia vanitas* I shall still except, however, the friendship and good opinion of worthy men.

* 164. *To* William Robertson

London, 12 March, 1759.

My dear Sir,

I believe I mentioned to you a French gentleman, Monsieur Helvétius, whose book, *De l'Esprit*, was making a great noise in Europe.[2] He is a very fine genius, and has the character of a very worthy man My name is mentioned several times in his work with marks of esteem; and he has made me an offer, if I would translate his work into English, to translate anew all my philosophical writings into French.[3] He says that none of them are well done, except that on the Natural History of Religion, by Monsieur Matigny,[4] a Counsellor of State He

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 162 f, Burton, II 52 f.

[1] Jack Broughton kept a boxing *academy* in the Haymarket He was one of the most famous pugilists of the century, and is referred to more than once by Fielding, Hazlitt, and others 'The one-eyed coachman' was almost certainly George Stevenson (see H D Miles, *Pugilistica*, I 22).

[2] Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–71), sometime fermier-général, author of *De l'Esprit* (anon), Aug 1758 The publication of this book provoked a great disturbance in France, and although Helvétius published no less than three apologies or recantations in quick succession, the book was condemned by the Parlement of Paris and burnt on 10 Feb 1759

[3] Helvétius's first letter to Hume is not extant There are five others among the MSS, R S E, four of which Burton published (some incompletely) in *Letters of Eminent Persons*

[4] *Sic* in Stewart However Hume may have spelt the name in the autograph, the reference is clearly to Jean-Charles Trudaine de Montigny (1733–77), who afterwards became one of Hume's close friends In 1757 he was given a joint appointment with his father, Daniel-Charles Trudaine, as Intendant-général des finances; in 1769 he succeeded his father in this appointment. He was a friend of Turgot, of Helvétius, of Morellet, and of Mme Dupré de St Maur Morellet says of him 'Voulant un peu plus qu'il ne pouvoit, il n'en étoit pas moins un homme estimable et bon, éclairé, juste, et ami du bien.' Apparently Hume wrote to him first about this time, thanking him for his translation of the *Nat Hist Relig*, for Trudaine de Montigny replied from Paris on 16 May 1759 'J'ay recu, Monsieur, a la campagne ou j'etois alors la lettre obligeante que vous avez bien voulu m'ecrire sur la traduction que j'ay faite de votre histoire naturelle de la Religion. Si l'estime qu'on a pour un auteur et le cas qu'on fait de sa maniere de penser et d'ecrire pouvoient suffire pour mettre le traducteur en etat de rendre clairement et exactement ses idées je me flatterois de quelque succès' (MS, R.S E.). There is no trace of this translation. The

added, that the Abbé Prévost,[1] celebrated for the *Mémoires d'un homme d'honneur*, and other entertaining books, was just now translating my History.[2] This account of Helvétius engaged me to send him over the new editions of all my writings; and I have added your History, which, I told him, was here published with great applause, adding, that the subject was interesting and the execution masterly, and that it was probable some man of letters at Paris may think that a translation of it would be agreeable to the public. I thought that this was the best method of executing your intentions. I could not expect that any Frenchman here would be equal to the work. There is one Carracioli,[3] who came to me and spoke of translating my new volume of history, but as he also mentioned his intentions of translating Smollett, I gave him no encouragement to proceed. The same reason would make me averse to see you in his hands.

But tho I have given this character of your work to Monsieur Helvétius, I warn you, that this is the last time, that, either to Frenchman or Englishman, I shall ever speak the least good of it. A plague take you! Here I sat near the historical summit of Parnassus, immediately under Dr Smollett, and you have the impudence to squeeze yourself by me, and place yourself directly under his feet. Do you imagine that this can be agreeable to me? And must not I be guilty of great simplicity to contribute by my endeavours to your thrusting me out of my place in Paris as well as at London? But I give you warning that you will find the matter somewhat difficult, at least in the

only work of Trudaine de Montigny known to have been published is the tribute he paid to his father before the Académie des Sciences, of which both father and son were members.

[1] Antoine-François Prévost (1697–1763), journalist and novelist; author of *Mémoires et avantures d'un homme de qualité* [not *d'honneur*, as Hume states], 4 vols., Paris, 1728, with 3 addit. vols. (containing *Manon Lescaut*), Holland, 1730, and of *Le Philosophe anglois, ou Histoire de M. Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell*, 8 vols., Paris, 1731–9. Prévost also edited a journal, *Pour et Contre*, 1733–40, an encyclopaedic review. Texte says of him: '[Il] avait—après Muralt et un peu avant Voltaire—naturalisé parmi nous le goût de la littérature anglaise' (*Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, p. 67).

[2] *The Stuarts* only. It appeared as *Histoire de la Maison de Stuart, sur le Trône d'Angleterre, par M. Hume*. 2 vols., London [Paris], 1760. Prévost's name did not appear as the translator.

[3] Probably Louis-Antoine Caraccioli (1721-1803), French man of letters, author of *Lettres intéressantes du Pape Clement XIV*, 4 vols., Paris, 1777 (a book that made some noise), and of many other works now forgotten.

former city. A friend of mine,[1] who is there, writes home to his father, the strangest accounts on that head, which my modesty will not permit me to repeat, but which it allowed me very deliciously to swallow

I have got a good reason or pretence for excusing me to Monsieur Helvétius with regard to the translating his work. A translation of it was previously advertised here [2]

* 165 *To* Adam Smith

London, April 12, 1759

Dear Sir,

I give you thanks for the agreeable present of your *Theory*.[3] Wedderburn and I made presents of our copies to such of our acquaintances as we thought good judges, and proper to spread the reputation of the book. I sent one to the Duke of Argyle,[4] to Lord Lyttleton, Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyns,[5] and Burke,[6] an Irish gentleman, who wrote lately a very pretty treatise on the Sublime Millar desired my permission to send one in your name to Dr Warburton.

I have delayed writing to you, till I could tell you something of the success of the book, and could prognosticate, with some probability, whether it should be finally damned to oblivion, or should be registered in the temple of immortality. Though it has been published only a few weeks, I think there appear already such strong symptoms, that I can almost venture to foretell its fate It is, in short, this——

But I have been interrupted in my letter by a foolish impertinent visit of one who has lately come from Scotland. He tells me that the University of Glasgow intend to declare

* Stewart, *Life of Smith*, 54 ff, Burton, II 55 ff Stewart apparently treated the autograph of this letter in the same manner as those of Hume's letters to Robertson.

[1] John Stewart, the wine merchant His two letters to Hume at this time are given in Appendix C below

[2] It was published by Dodsley in May 1759.

[3] *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*, Smith's first book, just published by Millar

[4] Archibald, Duke of Argyll

[5] Soame Jenyns (1704–87), M P for Dunwich, author of *Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*, 1757.

[6] Edmund Burke (1729–97) So far he was known only for his *Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757.

Rouet's office vacant, upon his going abroad with Lord Hope [1] I question not but you will have our friend Ferguson in your eye, in case another project for procuring him a place in the University of Edinburgh should fail. Ferguson has very much polished and improved his *Treatise on Refinement*,[2] and with some amendments it will make an admirable book, and discovers an elegant and a singular genius. The *Epigoniad*, I hope, will do; but it is somewhat up-hill work As I doubt not but you consult the Reviews sometimes at present, you will see in *The Critical Review* a letter upon that poem; and I desire you to employ your conjectures in finding the author. Let me see a sample of your skill in knowing hands by your guessing at the person.

I am afraid of Kames' *Law Tracts*.[3] A man might as well think of making a fine sauce by a mixture of wormwood and aloes, as an agreeable composition by joining metaphysics and Scottish law. However, the book, I believe, has merit; though few people will take the pains of enquiring into it But to return to your book, and its success in this town, I must tell you——

A plague of interruptions! I ordered myself to be denied; and yet here is one that has broke in upon me again. He is a man of letters, and we have had a good deal of literary conversation You told me that you was curious of literary anecdotes, and therefore I shall inform you of a few that have come to my knowledge I believe I have mentioned to you already Helvétius's book *De l'Esprit*. It is worth your reading, not for its philosophy, which I do not highly value, but for its agreeable composition. I had a letter from him a few days ago, wherein he tells me that my name was much oftener in the manuscript, but that the censor of books at Paris obliged him to strike it out [4]

Voltaire has lately published a small work called *Candide, ou*

[1] William Rouet (or Ruat), first cousin to William Mure of Caldwell, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow, 1751, Professor of Church History, 1752, resigned from the University, 1760, on going abroad as travelling governor to Lord Hope (died 1765), eldest son of Earl of Hopetoun.

[2] Possibly the book published in 1766 as *Essay on the History of Civil Society* perhaps some work never published at all

[3] *Historical Law Tracts* (published anonymously), 2 vols , Edinburgh, 1758

[4] What Helvétius actually says in his letter of 1 April 1759 (MS , R S E) is: 'Votre nom honore mon livre, et je l'aurois cité plus souvent, si la sevérité du censeur me l'eût permis '

l'Optimisme. I shall give you a detail of it But what is all this to my book, say you? My dear Mr Smith, have patience: compose yourself to tranquillity: show yourself a philosopher in practice as well as profession think on the emptiness, and rashness, and futility of the common judgments of men; how little they are regulated by reason in any subject, much more in philosophical subjects, which so far exceed the comprehension of the vulgar.

> Non, si quid turbida Roma,
> Elevet, accedas examenve improbum in illa
> Castiges trutina, nec te quaesiveris extra [1]

A wise man's kingdom is his own breast, or, if he ever looks farther, it will only be to the judgment of a select few, who are free from prejudices, and capable of examining his work. Nothing, indeed, can be a stronger presumption of falsehood than the approbation of the multitude; and Phocion, you know, always suspected himself of some blunder, when he was attended with the applauses of the populace

Supposing, therefore, that you have duly prepared yourself for the worst by all these reflections, I proceed to tell you the melancholy news, that your book has been very unfortunate; for the public seem disposed to applaud it extremely It was looked for by the foolish people with some impatience; and the mob of literati are beginning already to be very loud in its praises. Three bishops called yesterday at Millar's shop in order to buy copies, and to ask questions about the author. The Bishop of Peterborough [2] said, he had passed the evening in a company where he heard it extolled above all books in the world. The Duke of Argyle is more decisive than he uses to be in its favour. I suppose he either considers it as an exotic, or thinks the author will be serviceable to him in the Glasgow elections. Lord Lyttleton says, that Robertson and Smith, and Bower,[3] are the glories of English literature. Oswald [4] protests he does not know whether he has reaped more instruction or entertainment from it But you may easily judge what reliance can be put on his judgment, who has been engaged all his life in public business, and who never sees any faults in his friends.

[1] Persius, *Sat* 1, lines 5–7

[2] Richard Terrick (died 1777), Bishop of Peterborough, 1757–64, and of London, 1764–77

[3] A joke against Lyttelton Archibald Bower was a protégé of his.

[4] James Oswald of Dunnikier, who, as a fellow-townsman of Smith's (from Kirkcaldy), took a special pleasure in the book's success.

Millar exults and brags that two-thirds of the edition are already sold, and that he is now sure of success. You see what a son of the earth that is, to value books only by the profit they bring him. In that view, I believe it may prove a very good book.

Charles Townsend,[1] who passes for the cleverest fellow in England, is so taken with the performance, that he said to Oswald he would put the Duke of Buccleugh under the author's care, and would make it worth his while to accept of that charge. As soon as I heard this, I called on him twice, with a view of talking with him about the matter, and of convincing him of the propriety of sending that young nobleman to Glasgow: for I could not hope, that he could offer you any terms which would tempt you to renounce your professorship; but I missed him Mr Townsend passes for being a little uncertain in his resolutions; so perhaps you need not build much on his sally[2]

In recompense for so many mortifying things, which nothing but truth could have extorted from me, and which I could easily have multiplied to a greater number, I doubt not but you are so good a Christian as to return good for evil; and to flatter my vanity by telling me, that all the godly in Scotland abuse me for my account of John Knox and the Reformation. I suppose you are glad to see my paper end, and that I am obliged to conclude with—

Your humble servant,
DAVID HUME

* 166 *To* [WILLIAM ROUET?][3]

Dr Sir

If you pass by Edinburgh, please bring me two Pounds of

* MS , R S E , Burton, ii 62.

[1] The Hon Charles Townshend (1725–67), the *Weathercock*, Lord of Admiralty, 1754, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1756, Secretary-at-War, 1761–2, President of the Board of Trade, 1763, Paymaster-General, 1765, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1766–7 In 1755 he married Caroline Campbell, Dowager Countess of Dalkeith, and so became *stepfather* and guardian to Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch

[2] Oddly enough, Charles Townshend's resolution held, and in the autumn of 1763 Smith was appointed travelling governor to the Duke of Buccleuch, at a salary of £300 a year and a pension of £300 a year for life He resigned his Chair in Glasgow in Jan 1764, and he and the Duke set out for France in February

[3] This is a guess, based on the remark about Rouet in the preceding Letter, and on the nature of Letter 168 below.

Rapee,[1] such as Peggy Elliot [2] uses to take You will get it at Gillespy's,[3] near the Cross

Mrs Mallet [4] has her Compliments to you, & begs you to procure her a Collection of Scotch Pebles. I assurd her that I shoud inform you of her Desire, & also that you woud not fail to execute it

We hear that you are to be expelld the University with Disgrace Even the most partial of your Friends here, are obligd to allow that you deserve it

We expect over forty thousand French with the first fair Wind.[5] They will probably settle the Ministry. For at present the Pits [6] & the Legs & the Grenvilles are all going by the Ears.

We live in hopes of seeing you soon. My Compliments to Smith, whose Book is in a very good way.

Dr Warburton presents his Compliments to you [7]

Yours sincerely
DA. HUME

15 May [1759].

* 167 *To* WILLIAM ROBERTSON

London, 29 May, 1759

My dear Sir,

I had a letter from Helvétius lately,[8] wrote before your book arrived at Paris He tells me, that the Abbé Prévôt, who had just finished the translation of my History, *paroît très disposé à*

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 163 ff, Burton, II. 54 f.

[1] Coarse snuff.

[2] The younger sister of Anne Elliot, in whose house Hume was lodging.

[3] Gillespie the tobacconist made a fortune, and founded Gillespie's Hospital.

[4] The second wife of David Mallet She brought him a considerable fortune The reference to her is clearly ironical, for Hume never could abide her, and is said to have resented her once, in a conversation, including him with herself as 'We Deists'

[5] There was general talk of invasion from France at this period, and some panic about it, and certainly the French intended something of the kind. Horace Walpole, writing to Montagu on 16 May 1759, says, 'Well! are you ready to be invaded? for it seems invasions *from* France are coming into fashion again A descent on Ireland at least is expected' (*Letters*, IV 266), and again, to Mann on 1 June- 'I have not announced to you in form the invasion from France, of which all our newspapers have been so full, nor do I tell you every time the clock strikes' (ibid, 268).

[6] Hume nearly always spelt Pitt's name with one *t*

[7] Again ironical, of course

[8] The letter of 1 April 1759.

traduire l'Histoire d'Écosse que vient de faire Monsieur Robertson. If he be engaged by my persuasion, I shall have the satisfaction of doing you a real credit and pleasure: for he is one of the best pens in Paris

I looked with great impatience in your new edition[1] for the note you seemed to intend with regard to the breach of the Capitulation of Perth; and was much disappointed at missing it. I own that I am curious on that head I cannot so much as imagine a colour upon which their accusations could possibly be founded The articles were only two, indemnity to the inhabitants, and the exclusion of French soldiers—now, that Scotch national troops were not Frenchmen and foreigners seems pretty apparent: and both Knox and the manifesto of the Congregation acquit the Queen-Regent of any breach of the first article, as I had observed in my note to page 422 This makes me suspect that some facts have escaped me; and I beg you to indulge my curiosity by informing me of them

. . . . . .

Our friend Smith is very successful here, and Gerard[2] is very well received. The *Epigoniad* I cannot so much promise for, tho I have done all in my power to forward it, particularly by writing a letter to the *Critical Review*, which you may peruse I find, however, some good judges profess a great esteem for it, but *habent et sua fata libelli* however, if you want a little flattery to the author, (which I own is very refreshing to an author) you may tell him that Lord Chesterfield[3] said to me he was a great poet I imagine that Wilkie will be very much elevated by praise from an English earl, and a Knight of the Garter, and an Ambassador, and a Secretary of State, and a man of so great reputation For I observe that the greatest rustics are commonly most affected with such circumstances.

Ferguson's book has a great deal of genius and fine writing, and will appear in time. . .

. . . . . .

[1] The 2nd edit

[2] Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Taste* Hume saw this through the press for him (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II 326)

[3] Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), Ambassador to the Hague, 1728–32, K G , 1730, Secretary of State, 1746–8, author of *Letters to his Son*, first published 1774.

* 168. *To* William Rouet

Dear Ruat

I am very much oblig'd to you for the Desire you express to Miss Elliot of hearing from me; and particularly your wishing to be inform'd by me of any News that pass As soon as I knew certainly how to direct to you, I have sat down to write; and tho' the Occurrences are noway extraordinary, which I can communicate, they shall all be strictly, & literally & certainly true; and you may venture to tell them as such to all the idle People that frequent Buxton.

This Morning there arrivd an Express from Admiral Hawkes's [1] Fleet, giving an Account that the French Fleet had sally'd out of Brest with twenty four Ships of the Line, and had engagd the English Fleet in a desperate & bloody Battle from Morning to Night, which ended in a total Victory on our Side. There are seven of the French Ships sunk & burnt & four taken There are two of our capital Ships sunk, & the Admiral's Ship was blown up with its whole Company, not one of whom is sav'd Prince Edward [2] in the Phœnix behavd to Admiration, but towards the End of the Engagement an unlucky Cannon ball carry'd away both his Legs, by which it is feard we shall lose that promising young Prince Our Friend poor Dr Blair [3] wou'd not go below deck, but stood by the Prince's Side during the whole Engagement. Till his head was carry'd off by a double headed Shot

About three Hours after the Arrival of this Express, there arrivd another from the West, giving an Account of the landing of the French in Torbay to the Number of 20 000 Foot & 5000 Horse They believe already in London that they are 60 000 strong The Panic is inconceivable The People in the Country are hurrying up to Town· Those in the Town are hurrying down to the Country. No body thinks of Resistance.

* MS., R.S E , Burton, ii 62 ff (incomplete)

[1] Rear-Admiral Edward Hawke (1710–81), First Lord of the Admiralty, 1766–71, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, 1768; created Baron Hawke, 1776 At this period he was watching the Channel, to prevent an invasion from France, and his defeat of the French fleet in Quiberon Bay in Nov 1759 ended all real danger of such an invasion

[2] Prince Edward had entered the Navy as a midshipman on board the *Essex* in 1758

[3] Dr John Blair, Prince Edward's mathematical tutor

Every one believes the French, Popery, & the Pretender to be at their Heels

What adds to our general Confusion is the Discovery of Treachery in our Councils Mr Pit is sent to the Tower for holding a Secret Correspondence with the French: His Cyphers & Letters are taken. Mr Wood,[1] our Friend (if he can be said to deserve that Name) is thrown into a Dungeon; & there will be certain Proofs to convict him of that Treachery.

In order to prepare the way for this Blow, the perfidious French had employd some body to blow up the Magazine in the Tower. I heard the Explosion this Morning about five o'clock All London is coverd with Rubbish, & Stones & Brick, & broken Arms. There fell into our back Court a shatterd Musket; and the bloody Leg of a Man I thought the day of Judgement was come, when I first heard the Explosion, and began seriously to think of my Sins.

These Events will all of them make a Figure in future Historians, and it is happy for these Gentlemen (who are or ought to be very scrupulous with regard to Matter of Fact) that they can so well reconcile the true & the marvellous

As to private News; there is little stirring, Only Dr Warburton turnd Mahometan, & was circumcis'd last Week. They say, he is to write a Book, in order to prove the Divine Legation of Mahomet;[2] and it is not doubted but he will succeed as well as in proving that of Moses I saw him yesterday in the Mall with his Turban, which really becomes him very well

Our Friend, little Hall, was marry'd yesterday to Kitty Fisher[3] Few People approve of his Choice, but his Friends are glad to find he has so much Vigor in him

Poor Andrew Millar is declard bankrupt· His Debts amount to above 40 000 Pounds, and it is said his Creditors will not get above three Shillings in the Pound All the World allow

[1] Robert Wood (died 1771), Under-Secretary of State since 1756, M P for Brackley, 1761–71, author of *Ruins of Palmyra*, 1753, and *Ruins of Balbec*, 1757, one of the best classical scholars of his day It was he who, as Under-Secretary of State in 1763, issued the General Warrant on which Wilkes was arrested, and which was later declared by the Courts to be illegal. There are three letters from him to Hume among the MSS , R S E

[2] The first work that brought Warburton into the public eye was his *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1738–41

[3] Catherine Maria, known as Kitty, Fisher (died 1767), a celebrated courtesan of the day. She afterwards married a country gentleman, John Norris by name

him to have been diligent & industrious, but his Misfortunes are ascribd to the Extravagance of his Wife, a very ordinary Case in this City.[1]

Miss Elliot yesterday Morning declard her Marriage with Dr Armstrong;[2] but we were surpriz'd in the Afternoon to find Mr Short, the Optician, come in & challenge her for his Wife.[3] It seems she has been marry'd privately for some time to both of them. Her Sister[4] has been much more prudent, whom we find to have confind herself entirely to Gallantry, and to have privately entertaind a Correspondence with three Gallants.[5] I am Dr Ruat

With great Truth,
Your most sincere Friend and humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

July 6th[6] [1759]

* 169 *To* ADAM SMITH

Dear Sir

Your Friend, Mr Wilson,[7] calld on me two or three days ago when I was abroad, & he left your Letter. I did not see him

* MS., R S E., *Lit Gazette*, 1821, p 665 f, Burton, II. 59 ff.

[1] The point of the joke is that Millar was noted for being shrewd, almost mean, in money affairs, and, in a convivial age, for being somewhat abstemious. His 'city wife' appears to have played the great lady. 'Jupiter' Carlyle met them at Harrogate in 1763, and says 'It was observed . . that she did not allow him to go down to the well with her in his morning dress [which was pretty shabby], though she owned him at dinner time, as he had to pay the extraordinaries' (*Autobiog.*, 435).

[2] John Armstrong the poet.

[3] On the back page of this letter is a note, also apparently to Rouet, in Armstrong's handwriting, and signed 'J. Armstrong Short'. I can only conjecture that 'Short the Optician' was really an alias of Armstrong's, either assumed by himself or given to him by his friends. He is known not to have been very successful as a physician, and yet to have been worth quite a large sum of money at his death. Did he trade as an optician under the name of Short?

[4] Peggy Elliot.

[5] Needless to say, the Elliot sisters were spinsters of fairly mature age and unimpeachable respectability. Their mother, who was known as Lady Midlemiln, and another sister or two, lived in Berwick-on-Tweed, and eked out a small pension paid by Lord Minto with money earned by taking in washing. Being proud Scots gentlewomen of good family, they considered 'trade' beneath them.

[6] The date is in Armstrong's handwriting.

[7] Alexander Wilson, M.D. (1733–86), a St. Andrews man; practised

till to day He seems a very modest, sensible, ingenious Man. Before I saw him, I spoke to A Millar about him, & found him very much dispos'd to serve him. I proposd particularly to Mr Millar, that it was worthy of so eminent a Bookseller as he to make a compleat elegant Set of the Classics, which might set up his Name equal to the Alduses, Stevens, or Elzivirs; and that Mr Wilson was the properest Person in the World to assist him in such a Project He confest to me, that he had sometimes thought of it, but that his great Difficulty was to find a Man of Letters, who cou'd correct the Press I mentioned the Matter to Wilson, who said he had a Man of Letters in his Eye; one Lyon,[1] a nonjuring Clergyman at Glasgow He is probably known to you, or at least may be so I wou'd desire your Opinion of him

Mr Wilson told me of his Machines, which seem very ingenious, & deserve much Encouragement. I shall soon see them.

I am very well acquainted with Bourke,[2] who was much taken with your Book He got your Direction from me with a View of writing to you, & thanking you for your Present· For I made it pass in your Name. I wonder he has not done it He is now in Ireland. I am not acquainted with Jennyns,[3] but he spoke very highly of the Book to Oswald, who is his Brother in the Board of Trade Millar show'd me a few days ago a Letter from Lord Fitz-maurice,[4] where he tells him, that he had carryd over a few Copies to the Hague for Presents Mr Yorke[5] was much taken with it as well as several others who had read it

I am told that you are preparing a new Edition,[6] & propose

medicine in London for a time, took to type-founding, appointed type-founder to University of Glasgow, 1748, appointed Professor of Practical Astronomy, and Observer, University of Glasgow, 1760, awarded gold medal of Royal Society of Sciences, Copenhagen, 1772, for a dissertation on sun spots He founded the types for the Foulis brothers in Glasgow, his Greek founts being unsurpassed

[1] I have not been able to trace this man

[2] Presumably Edmund Burke

[3] Soame Jenyns

[4] William Petty, Viscount Fitzmaurice (1737–1805), succeeded as Earl of Shelburne, 1761

[5] Probably the Hon Charles Yorke (1722–70), 2nd son of 1st Earl of Hardwicke, M P. for Reigate, Solicitor-General, 1756; Attorney-General, 1761–3; Lord Chancellor for three days, 1770

[6] The 2nd edit. did not appear till 1761.

to make some Additions & Alterations, in order to obviate Objections I shall use the Freedom to propose one, which, if it appears to be of any Weight, you may have in your Eye. I wish you had more particularly and fully prov'd, that all kinds of Sympathy are necessarily Agreeable This is the Hinge of your System, & yet you only mention the Matter cursorily in p. 20 Now it woud appear that there is a disagreeable Sympathy, as well as an agreeable. And indeed, as the Sympathetic Passion is a reflex Image of the principal, it must partake of its Qualities, & be painful where that is so. Indeed, *when we converse with a man with whom we can entirely sympathize*, that is, where there is a warm & intimate Friendship, the cordial openness of such a Commerce overpowers the Pain of a disagreeable Sympathy, and renders the whole Movement agreeable. But in ordinary Cases, this cannot have place. An ill-humord Fellow, a man tir'd & disgusted with every thing, always *ennuié*, sickly, complaining, embarass'd, such a one throws an evident Damp on Company, which I suppose wou'd be accounted for by Sympathy, and yet is disagreeable.

It is always thought a difficult Problem to account for the Pleasure, receivd from the Tears & Grief & Sympathy of Tragedy, which woud not be the Case, if all Sympathy was agreeable. An Hospital woud be a more entertaining Place than a Ball. I am afraid that in p. 99 and 111 this Proposition has escapd you, or rather is interwove with your Reasonings in that place You say expressly, *it is painful to go along with Grief & we always enter into it with Reluctance.* It will probably be requisite for you to modify or explain this Sentiment, & reconcile it to your System.

My Dear Mr Smith, You must not be so much engross'd with your own Book, as never to mention mine The Whigs, I am told, are anew in a Rage against me; tho' they know not how to vent themselves · For they are constrain'd to allow all my Facts You have probably seen Hurd's Abuse of me.[1] He

[1] The 1st edit of Richard Hurd's *Moral and Political Dialogues*, 1759, contains a 7½-page *Postscript* censuring Hume's *Tudors*. The following extracts indicate the tone of it 'For having undertaken to conjure up the spirit of absolute power, he [Hume] judged it necessary to the charm, to reverse the order of things, and to evoke this frightful spectre by writing (as witches use to say their prayers) *backwards* . Accordingly, while one half of his pains is laid out in exposing the absurdities of *reformed religion*, the other half is suitably employed in discrediting the cause of *civil liberty*' In later editions Hurd changed the *Postscript* into a footnote in which modified praise

is of the Warburtonian School; and consequently very insolent and very scurrilous; but I shall never reply a word to him. If my past Writings do not sufficiently prove me to be no Jacobite, ten Volumes in folio never would

I signd yesterday an Agreement with Mr Millar; where I mention that I proposd to write the History of England from the Beginning till the Accession of Henry the VII; & he engages to give me 1400 Pounds for the Copy. This is the first previous Agreement ever I made with a Bookseller I shall execute this Work at Leizure, without fatiguing myself by such ardent Application as I have hitherto employd It is chiefly as a Ressource against Idleness, that I shall undertake this Work For as to Money, I have enough: And as to Reputation, what I have wrote already will be sufficient, if it be good: If not, it is not likely I shall now write better. I found it impracticable (at least fancy'd so) to write the History since the Revolution I am in doubt whether I shall stay here & execute the Work; or return to Scotland, & only come up here to consult the Manuscripts I have several Inducements on both Sides Scotland suits my Fortune best, & is the Seat of my principal Friendships, but it is too narrow a Place for me, and it mortifies me that I sometimes hurt my Friends Pray write me your Judgement soon Are the Bigots much in Arms on account of this last Volume? Robertson's Book has great Merit, but it was visible that he profited here by the Animosity against me I suppose the Case was the same with you I am

Dear Smith
Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

London 28 July 1759.

* 170. *To* WILLIAM ROBERTSON

[London, Summer 1759]

. . . I have frequently thought, and talked with our common friends upon the subject of your letter.[1] There always occurred

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 40 f, Burton, II 83 ff.

is given to Hume's *History from Julius Caesar to Henry VII*, in comparison with the other sections.

[1] Robertson was uncertain what next to write about, and was consulting all his friends.

to us several difficulties with regard to every subject we could propose The Ancient Greek History has several recommendations, particularly the good authors from which it must be drawn but this same circumstance becomes an objection, when more narrowly considered: for what can you do in most places with these authors but transcribe and translate them? No letters or State Papers from which you could correct their errors, or authenticate their narration, or supply their defects. Besides, Rollin is so well wrote with respect to style, that with superficial people it passes for sufficient There is one Dr Leland,[1] who has lately wrote the life of Philip of Macedon, which is one of the best periods The book, they tell me, is perfectly well wrote, yet it has had such small sale, and has so little excited the attention of the public, that the author has reason to think his labour thrown away. I have not read the book; but by the size, I should judge it to be too particular. It is a pretty large quarto I think a book of that size sufficient for the whole History of Greece till the death of Philip. and I doubt not but such a work would be successful, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances The subject is noble, and Rollin is by no means equal to it.

I own, I like still less your project of the Age of Charles the Fifth[2] That subject is disjointed, and your hero, who is the sole connection, is not very interesting A competent knowledge at least is required of the state and constitution of the Empire; of the several kingdoms of Spain, of Italy, of the Low Countries; which it would be the work of half a life to acquire, and, tho some parts of the story may be entertaining, there would be many dry and barren; and the whole seems not to have any great charms

But I would not willingly start objections to these schemes, unless I had something to propose, which would be plausible; and I shall mention to you an idea which has sometimes pleased me, and which I had once entertained thoughts of attempting You may observe that among modern readers, Plutarch is in every translation the chief favourite of the Ancients Numberless translations, and numberless editions

[1] Thomas Leland, D D. (1722–85), an Irishman and a friend of Burke's, author of *The History of Philip, King of Macedon*, 1758, and *The History of Ireland*, 3 vols , 1773

[2] This, however, was the subject Robertson chose His *History of the Reign of Charles V*, 3 vols., 4to, appeared ten years later.

have been made of him in all languages; and no translation has been so ill done as not to be successful Tho those who read the originals never put him in comparison either with Thucydides or Xenophon, he always attaches more the reader in the translation; a proof that the idea and execution of his work is, in the main, happy Now, I would have you think of writing modern lives, somewhat after that manner: not to enter into a detail of the actions, but to mark the manners of the great personages, by domestic stories, by remarkable sayings, and by a general sketch of their lives and adventures. You see that in Plutarch the life of Caesar may be read in half an hour Were you to write the life of Henry the Fourth of France after that model, you might pillage all the pretty stories in Sully, and speak more of his mistresses than of his battles. In short, you might gather the flower of all modern history in this manner the remarkable Popes, the kings of Sweden, the great discoverers and conquerors of the New World; even the eminent men of letters might furnish you with matter, and the quick despatch of every different work would encourage you to begin a new one If one volume were successful, you might compose another at your leisure, and the field is inexhaustible There are persons whom you might meet with in the corners of history, so to speak, who would be a subject of entertainment quite unexpected; and as long as you live, you might give and receive amusement by such a work Even your son, if he had a talent for history, would succeed to the subject, and his son to him. I shall insist no farther on this idea, because if it strikes your fancy, you will easily perceive all its advantages, and, by farther thought, all its difficulties.

* 171 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I came to Town about six Weeks ago, & have been very busy during that time, in adding the Authorities to the Volumes of the Stuarts I find this a very laborious, but not unentertaining Occupation I find myself oblig'd to read over again almost all my old Authors; & besides adding the References, I take an Opportunity to correct a few Mistakes, to add some new Facts, & to make Improvements on the whole. I fancy that I shall be able to put my Account of that Period of English History

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 65 (incomplete)

beyond Controversy I am glad you have so near a Prospect of a new Edition [1]

As soon as this Task is finish'd, I undertake the antient English History. I find the Advocates Library very well provided of Books on this Period, but before I finish I shall pass a considerable time in London, to peruse the Manuscripts in the Musæum

There is one Dr Mackenzie[2] here (the same Gentleman who wrote on Health & long Life) who has compos'd a Book against me with regard to Q. Mary, where he treats me very roughly, as a virulent, determin'd Whig I am not displeasd to be abusd by the violent of both Parties The Book is not yet publishd. But the Booksellers will probably propose to you to take some Copies I own that I think the Book will rather do me good

I think that an Index will be very proper; and am glad, that you free me from the Trouble of undertaking that Task, for which I know myself to be very unfit

I am surprizd that Strahan had not printed the Essay on the Coalition of Parties.[3] He was very near it when I left London; & his Press must have stopd other wise it had been printed off in a week after. It will be necessary to add the two new Essays to what remains of the Quarto Edition Please send down half a dozen of Copies of the new Edition in Sheets for me, along with Kincaid & Donaldson's Parcel

I shall always desire to be remember'd to Mrs Millar; and hope to have the Pleasure of playing a Game of Whist with her in my House here next Summer I fancy these long Journies will do you both a great deal of Service.

Please make my Compliments to Mr Strahan, & Dr Douglas [4] I congratulate you, as a good Citizen, on the late Successes of our Arms, & on our Prospect of a good Peace, which, I hope,

[1] This new edition did not appear till 1762

[2] James Mackenzie (1690–1761), a Ross-shire man; M D , King's Coll , Aberdeen, 1719, author of *The History of Health and the Art of Preserving it*, Edinburgh, 1758 There is no trace of the book Hume mentions as about to be published, and it is possible that he was misinformed, and that the book he had heard of was really Tytler's *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, which was just about to appear (see next Letter)

[3] This, and the essay *Of the Jealousy of Trade*, were printed and paged separately, and bound up with later copies of the single-volume 4to edit of the *Essays and Treatises*, 1759 They first appear among the Contents in the 12mo edit , 4 vols , 1760.

[4] John Douglas (see note 1 on p. 298 above).

will give the Public more Leizure to read Books, & cultivate Literature. I am with great Sincerity Dr Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
18 Dec[r] 1759

P.S.

I desire the Favour of you to convey the enclosd to Dr Franklyn [1]

* 172. *To* [LORD ELIBANK?] [2]

[Late 1759 or early 1760] [3]

My Lord

As I am told, that Dr Robertson has wrote a few Remarks, which he communicated to your Lordship, on our common Answerer about the Affair of Q. Mary,[4] and has endeavourd to show you, that it was Contempt, & not Inability, which kept him from making a public Reply; I thought it wou'd not be amiss for me to imitate his Example And I did not indeed know a properer Person nor a more equal Judge than your Lordship, to whom I coud submit the Cause. For if on the one hand your Lordships Regard to the Memory of that Princess

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 252 ff The autograph is a draft, with many corrections No letter at all may have been sent, or the letter actually sent may have differed considerably from the draft

[1] Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), American scientist, statesman, and diplomat. He was appointed Deputy-Postmaster-General for the Colonies in 1753, and in 1757 arrived in London on his first diplomatic mission to the Mother Country Hume must have met him in London, where he was on terms of close friendship with William Strahan in particular. During the spring or summer of this year he had visited Scotland, met a great many of Hume's friends, and received the degree of LL D from St Andrews

[2] That the addressee was Patrick, Lord Elibank is made almost certain by the reference to him in Letter 159 above

[3] Burton suggested a date considerably later, but for no good reason.

[4] In the end of 1759 or the beginning of 1760, William Tytler (1711–92), W.S , published in Edinburgh *An historical and critical Enquiry into the evidence produced by the Earls of Murray and Morton, against Mary, Queen of Scots with an Examination of the Rev Dr Robertson's Dissertation and Mr Hume's History, with respect to that evidence* Tytler was a member of the Select Society, and a particular friend of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Elibank, and Lord Kames Tradition has it that Hume would not remain in the same room with him if they met at a common friend's, and though this is difficult to believe, it is evident that Hume felt more bitter against him than against most literary antagonists.

might give you a Byass to that Side, I knew, that the antient & constant Friendship, with which your Lordship has always honourd me, both in public & private, woud give you a strong Byass on my Side· And there was a good Chance for your remaining neutral and impartial between these Motives.

I shall confine my Apology to the Account, which I have given of the Conference at Hampton Court, as this is indeed the chief Point, in which the Answerer has thought proper to find fault with me

There are several Places, in which I mention Mary's Refusal to give any Reply to Murray's Charge; and have commonly said, that she annexd as a Condition, her being admitted to Q Elizabeth's Presence, as in Page 496 Line. 20 Page 501. Line 12, Line 21.[1] I have not said, that this Condition was an unreasonable one; (the words which the Answerer puts in my Mouth) but only that it was such a one as she did not expect to be granted; and that because Q Elizabeth had formerly refusd it, before any positive Proofs of Mary's Guilt were produc'd, merely from the general Rumor & Opinion, which were unfavorable to her Having thus clearly express'd myself on this head; when I have Occasion afterwards, in the course of the Narration, to mention the Matter, I say once or twice simply, that Mary refus'd to give any Answer, without expressing the Condition annexd by her My Reasons were, that the Position was sufficiently qualify'd by the preceding Narration, & because a Refusal, grounded on a Condition, which the Person does not expect to be granted, & which is accordingly deny'd, is certainly equivalent to a simple & absolute Refusal.

That your Lordship may judge of the Unfairness of the Answerer, he picks out this simple & unqualify'd Expression of mine, and ommitts the others, which explain it to the Readers of the meanest Capacity: And he opposes it by a Passage, cited with equal Unfairness from Mr Goodall's[2] Appendix. He quotes a long Passage from Goodall p. 308. in which Q Mary demands Copies of her Letters, and offers positively to give an Answer, without mentioning any Conditions: And this detachd Passage he opposes to the detachd Passage from me, in which I assert, that she absolutely refus'd to answer. He desires that this express Contradiction between my Narration & the Records may be remark'd. But in the

[1] The references are, of course, to the 1st edit of *The Tudors*.
[2] Walter Goodall.

first place, the Condition of being admitted to Q. Elizabeth, tho not mentiond in that Paper, is not relinquish'd, and it is even clearly imply'd· Because Mary there referrs to a former Letter, which we find in Goodall page 283 line 2 from the bottom, Page 289, line 13, and where it is positively insisted on. Secondly. We have in Goodall p. 184, Q Mary's Commission to break up the Conference, if that Condition be not granted Thirdly Q Elizabeth understands her Meaning very well, as indeed it was very plain, and offers to her Copies of the Letters if she will promise to answer without any Condition See Goodall p 311 line 3: And this Offer is not accepted of Fourthly In the very last Paper of all, which closes the whole, the Bishop of Ross still insists on that Condition Goodall p. 390 about the middle.

You see, therefore, My Lord, the double Trick practicd A mangled Passage of my History is confronted with a mangled Passage of Mr Goodall's Papers, and by this gross Fraud a Contradiction is pretended to be found between them A single Forgery would not do the Business.

I believe it will divert your Lordship to observe, that when the Answerer is employing these base Artifices, this is the very Moment he chooses to call me Lyar & Rascal. But that Trick is so frequently practicd by Thieves, Pick-pockets, & controversial Writers (Gentlemen whose Morality are pretty much upon a Footing) that all the World has ceased to wonder and wise men are tir'd of complaining of it

I do not find, that even this Gentleman has venturd to assert, that Q. Mary offerd to answer Murray's Accusation, tho' she shoud be refus'd Access to Q. Elizabeth. Where then is the Difference between us? He asserts, that she offerd to answer, if admitted to that Queen. I say, that she refusd to answer, unless she was admitted, which are positive & negative Propositions of the same Import

For a Proof that Q Mary's Commission was finally revokd, I beg your Lordship to consult Goodall p 184, 311, 387, where it is plainly asserted The last Quotation is from the concluding Paper of the whole Collection

I hope your Lordship, as my Friend, will congratulate me on the Resolution I took in the beginning of my Life, that is, of my literary Life, never to reply to any body Otherwise, this Gentleman, I mean, this Author might have insulted me on my Silence. I am sure your Lordship wou'd have disownd me for

ever as a Friend, if I had enterd the Lists with such an Antagonist. Mr Goodal is no very calm or indifferent Advocate in this Cause, yet he disowns him as an Associate, and confesses to me & all the World that I am here right in my Facts, and am only wrong in my Inferences

There appear to me two infallible Marks of our opposite Parties; and as we may say, Proof Charges, which if a man can stand, there is no Fear that any Charge will ever burst him A Whig who believes the popish Plot, and a Tory who asserts Q. Mary's Innocence are certainly fitted to go all Lengths with their Party.[1] I am happy to think, that such People are both equally my Enemies, and still more happy, that I have no Animosity at either

It is an old Proverb, *Love me, love my Dog*: But certainly it admits of many Exceptions I am sure, at least, that I have a great Respect for your Lordship; yet have none at all for this Dog of Yours On the contrary, I declare him to be a very mangey Cur Entreat your Lordship to rid your hands of him as soon as possible. And think a sound beating or even a Rope too good for him [2]

* 173. *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

You gave me a very sensible Pleasure in informing me so early of the Success of The Siege of Aquileia on its first Representation [3] I hope it sustain'd its Reputation after it came into Print I show'd Mr Kincaid your Letter; & he has publishd an Edition here of a thousand, which go off very well. As he had publish'd a Pamphlet this winter, which he got from you, I told him, that I fancy'd you wou'd be satisfy'd with the same Terms, which he then agreed to.

I am very busy & am making some Progress; but find, that this Part of English History is a Work of infinite Labour & Study; which however I do not grudge· For I have nothing better nor more agreeable to employ me I have sent you a short Catalogue of Books,[4] which either are not in the Advocates'

* MS, R S E; Burton, ii 81 ff (incomplete).

[1] Hume afterwards embodied this remark in a note (Collected edit, Note N to Ch 39)

[2] Two thick lines are drawn through this concluding paragraph in the draft.

[3] John Home's play, produced by Garrick It was not successful on the stage.

[4] Written on the back pages of the letter itself

Library or are not to be found at present I must beg of you to procure them for me & to send them down with the first Ship Send me also the Prices; for I shall be able to engage the Curators of the Library to take from me such as they want at the Price Dr Birch (to whom make my Compliments) will be so good as to give you his Advice about buying these Books; and will tell you, if several of them are collected in Volumes, as is often the Case with the old English Historians

I hope Lord Lyttleton & Mr Mallet are as busy as I: If so, we may expect to see their History soon Please to inform me what you hear of them We are inform'd that Lord Lyttleton is soon to appear I wish very much to have the Benefit of his Work before I go to the Press.

Donaldson told me, that Strahan has at last finishd the small Edition of my Essays, & that you have ship'd his and Kincaid's Number. They are resolvd, I find, to dispose of them all in this Place. I hope you have not forgot to send me half a dozen of Copies in Sheets, the Number which we agreed to on any new Edition

Your Press in London has been somewhat barren this Winter. We have had nothing from you but a good Pamphlet or two, & have, I think, payd the same in kind Our Militia Pamphlet was certainly wrote with Spirit; and has been twice re-printed, as I hear, in London

I beg to be rememberd to Mrs Millar; & please tell her that I am very sorry we shall not have the Pleasure of seeing her here this Summer. I coud wish her just as much Sickness as to make her sensible that travelling is good for her My Compliments to Dr Douglas & Strahan, and to Friend Cummin, who I hope sees now a better Prospect of overcoming all his Difficulties. I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh 22 March
1760

[Books Required]

[The remarks or marks shown in square brackets are entered on the MS in a different hand from Hume's, presumably by Dr. Birch or by someone in Andrew Millar's shop]

Du Moulin's Hist de Normandie[1] [not to be had]

[1] Gabriel du Moulin *Histoire générale de Normandie* [depuis l'an 800 de J.-C. jusqu'en 1361], fol, Rouen, 1631.

	Eudemare, Hist. de Guillaume le Conquerant[1]	[do]
[2s]	Hales (Sir Math) Original & Power of Parliaments[2]	[✓]
[5/✓]	Polydore Virgil[3]	
[10/✓]	Chron. Dunstaple[4]	[2 vol ✓]
	Chron. Alberici[5]	[not to be had]
	Robert Glocest[6]	[do]
	Wal. Coventry[7]	[do]
	Policratic[8]	[do]
	Rigord. de Gestis Phil. Augusti[9]	[do]
	Roger de Wendover.[10]	[do]
	Radix Niger[11]	[1 do]
[6s]	Cotton's Abridgement of the Records[12]	[✓]
	Annal Theokesbury[13]	[MS]

[1] Fr d'Eudemare *Histoire excellente et héroïque du roi Williaume le Bastard, jadis roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, Rouen, 1626, IV–12 (2nd edit revised by the author, Rouen, 1629, IV–12)

[2] Sir Matthew Hale *On the Original Institution, Power and Jurisdiction of Parliament, with a Declaration of the House of Lords concerning their Privileges*, London, 1707

[3] Polydore Vergil *Anglicae historiae libri xxvii* [from the earliest times to 1538], Leyden, 1651; other edits, Basel, 1555, 1556, 1570; Books I–XXVI [to 1509], Basel, 1534, 1546, or 2 vols, Ghent, 1556–7, Douai, 1603

[4] *Chronicon sive Annales Prioratus de Dunstaple, una cum excerptis e Chartulario ejusdem Prioratus, accedit Appendix*, edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1733, 2 vols, 8vo

[5] *Alberici Chronica*, ed Leibnitz, Hanover, 1698 [printed separately from *Accessiones historicae*, Leipzig, 1698]

[6] *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, with a Glossary of Old Words, &c*, edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1724, 2 vols, 8vo

[7] Walter of Coventry *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* [from Brutus to 1225] It was first printed (in part only) in Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens*, Paris, 1822, and has since been included in the Rolls Series

[8] *Policraticus, sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum*, by John of Salisbury, 1st printed, 1496, other edits, 1513 and 1596.

[9] Rigord *Gesta Philippi Augusti* [1179–1208]. It was first printed in Pithoeus [Pierre Pithou]. *Historiae Francorum ab anno 900 ad a. 1285 Scriptores veteres XI*, Frankfurt, 1596, then, by André Duchesne in *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol IV, Paris, 1641

[10] Roger of Wendover *Flores historiarum* [from the Creation to 1235], first printed by English Hist Soc, London, 1841–4

[11] An imperfect recollection of *Radulphi Nigri Chronica*, first printed by Caxton Soc, London, 1851

[12] *An exact Abridgement of the Records in the Tower, From the Reign of K Edward II unto K. Richard III*, collated by Sir Robert Cotton, revised by William Prynne, London, 1657, another edit, 1689

[13] *Annales monasterii de Theokesberia* [1066–1263], first printed in Rolls Series, 1864

Chron. Abingt·[1] [✗]
[✓] Math Westm. continuat.[2] [3/–]
[✓] Trivet continuat [3] [3/6]
Adam de Murimouth[4] [not to be had]
Chron. Blandford[5] [MS do]
[✓] Laboureur Hist. de Char. VI[6] [5/–]
Annal de W de Wyrcestre[7] [contained in Hearne's Black Book]

I am told, that Hearne has published an edition of Doomesday Book[8] If so please send it me [✓]
[sent Decem Scriptores]

[9]Avesbury Hist. of Edw. III[10]
Barnes do.[11]
Hist de Char. VII par Math. de Coucy[12]
Annal de J Whethamstede[13]

[1] *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon* [201–1189], first printed in Rolls Series, 1858

[2] *Flores historiarum* [from the Creation to 1326], attributed to a fictitious personage called Matthew of Westminster The MS up to 1306 was edited by Matthew Parker, London, 1567 and 1570, reprinted Frankfurt, 1601

[3] Trivetus *Annales VI Regum Angliae, cum continuatione*, &c., edited by Anthony Hall, Oxford, 1719–22, 2 vols, 8vo.

[4] Adam de Murimuth *Continuatio Chronicarum* [1303–47], *with a continuation to 1380*, edited by Anthony Hall, Oxford, 1722

[5] Henry of Blaneford *Chronica*, together with Johannis de Trokelowe *Chronica*, edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1729

[6] *Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France (jusques en l'an 1416) escrite par les ordres et sur les memoires et les avis de G. de Monceaux, & de Philippes de Villette, Abbez de Sainct-Denys, par un auteur contemporain religieux de leur Abbaye, traduite sur le Manuscrit latin par J Le Laboureur* 2 tom, fol, Paris, 1663

[7] *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, together with the *Chronicle* of William of Worcester, edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1728

[8] In his edition (1723) of Heming's Cartulary (end of 11th century) Hearne added the part of Doomsday Book relating to Worcester Cathedral

[9] The four items that follow were first written in and then crossed out, presumably by Hume himself

[10] Robert of Avesbury *De Gestis mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii* [to 1356], edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1720

[11] Joshua Barnes. *The History of Edward III, together with that of Edward the Black Prince*, Cambridge, 1688, fol.

[12] Probably *Histoire de Charles vii de France, par Jean Chartier, J. le Bouvier, dit Berry, M de Coucy et autres auteurs 1422–61*. Mise en lumière etc par D Godefroy, fol, 1661

[13] Johannis de Whethamstede *Chronicon, e Registro ejus*, edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1732 in *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres* It has since been included in the Rolls Series

* 174. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Mr Hume's Compliments to Mr Millar. He forgot to mention in his last among the Books, which he commissiond, Blackstone on the Magna Charta,[1] which he desires Mr Millar to send with the rest.

27 March [1760].

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London
Free Will Mure

† 175 *To* LORD MINTO[2]

My Lord

I hope your Lordship remembers my Prophecy, that the Echo of Mr Elliot's Eloquence[3] wou'd be as loud as that of the Captain's Cannon.[4] I think the Prophecy (tho' I pretend not to Inspiration) is now entirely fulfill'd The Accounts we receive from all hands of your Son's Appearance in this Affair of the Militia exceed any thing of the kind we have ever heard of, and it seems to be agreed, that no Man in the House was capable of such an Exertion of Eloquence, Reason, & Magnanimity; nay, that it probably never was surpassd by any one Member. We hear, that Mr Fox,[5] tho' an Adversary, is very loud in declaring his Sentiments to this Purpose I partake very heartily of the Joy, which your Lordship must feel on this Occasion

I have seen on your Table a Copy of Voltaire's Universal History [6] I must beg the Favor of your Lordship, if it be in the

* MS , R.S E , hitherto unpublished

† MS at Minto House, extract published in *Border Elliots*, 361

[1] William Blackstone *The Great Charter and Charter of the Forest . to which is prefixed an Introductory Discourse concerning the History of the Charters*, Oxford, 1759, 4to.

[2] Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart (1693–1766), father of Hume's friend, admitted Advocate, 1715; M P for Roxburghshire, 1722–6, raised to the Bench as Lord Minto, 1726, Lord Justice Clerk, 1763 He was a man of some literary taste and considerable musical accomplishment

[3] Gilbert Elliot's speech on the Scotch Militia Bill in the House of Commons, April 1760

[4] Captain John Elliot's victory over Admiral Thurot in the Irish Sea

[5] Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland. He was Paymaster-General at this time.

[6] In 1753 there appeared *Abrégé de l'histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Charles-Quint.* This was attributed to Voltaire, but he resented its

Country, to bring it to Town with you on the Summer Session; at least, those Volumes that precede the Year 1500 I know that Author cannot be depended on with regard to Facts; but his general Views are sometimes sound, & always entertaining.

There has been publish'd here within these few days a Collection of Poems by the King of Prussia, under the title of Le Philosophe de Sans-Souci [1] They are certainly genuine; tho' they seem not to have been publish'd by himself, they are so defective in point of Numbers & Language, not to mention, that they want Lines in many Places Surely nothing can be more imprudent than these Productions· he insults most of the Ministers of State in Europe, Count Bestuchef,[2] Count Bruhl,[3] L'Abbé Bernis,[4] not to mention the King of Poland,[5] the Queen of Hungary,[6] and the whole Nation of Muscovy He seems also to have entertain'd a great Hatred of the English, and that Nation may probably be cur'd of their Enthusiasm for him They were all wrote before the War; and Copies of them had been handed about in Manuscript some Years ago I remember Shawfield[7] show'd me a Copy, for which, as he told me, he pay'd a considerable Sum to the Keeper of the King's Library. I am perswaded these Pieces have been a great Cause of his Misfortunes, and of this general Combination against him There is Spirit & Merit in the Work, but it is not equal nor finish'd, and the King will not in the main reap great Honor by it It consists of Odes & Epistles, & an Art of War in six Cantos. Throughout the whole, there are Insults on Religion,

publication, and next year himself published *Essai sur l'histoire universelle, tome troisième* In 1756 he published *Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours*, 7 vols , 8vo These and other fragments were afterwards combined to make up what is now known as the *Essai sur les mœurs*. Which particular publication Hume had in mind cannot be determined

[1] *Œuvres du philosophe de Sans-Souci* Frederick the Great had had a small number of copies of this privately printed for himself and his friends some years before What was called a new edition was published at Neuchâtel in 1760, 4 tomes, 12mo

[2] Count Bestuchew-Riumin (1693–1766), Chancellor of the Russian Empire, 1744, exiled, 1757

[3] Count Bruhl (died 1763), sometime Prime Minister of Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony

[4] Cardinal François-Joachim Pierre de Bernis (died 1794), sometime Minister of Foreign Affairs to Louis XV; dismissed, 1758

[5] Augustus III, King of Poland, 1734–63

[6] Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, 1740–80

[7] Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, sometime M P for Lanarkshire

particularly one Letter to Maupertuis,[1] in which he ridicules the Idea of a particular Providence, and another to General Keith[2] in which he explodes the Belief of a future State, and in plain Terms expresses great Contempt of Christianity: He says also, that the General agreed with him in these Sentiments These Freedoms surely belong not to any body; much less, to People that are in such a precarious & dependant Situation as Kings-[3] They ought at least to leave them to their Betters.[4] I beg my Compliments to Lady Minto; & am

My Lord
Your Lordship's most obedient & most humble Servant
DAVID HUME.[5]

Edinburgh
1st May 1760

[1] Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, President of the Berlin Academy.

[2] Field-Marshal the Hon James Francis Edward Keith (1696–1758), brother of the titular Earl Marischal of Scotland and one of the most renowned of Frederick's marshals, like his brother, a Jacobite exile since 'The Fifteen'

[3] Hume originally wrote 'These freedoms surely belong not to people that are in such' &c , then he inserted 'to anybody, much less '

[4] Horace Walpole, writing to Mann about this book on 7 May 1760 (*Letters*, iv 387), says 'Miserable poetry, not a new thought, nor an old one newly expressed I say nothing of the folly of publishing his aversion to the English, at the very time they are ruining themselves for him; nor of the greater folly of his irreligion The epistle to Keith is puerile and shocking '

[5] The draft of Lord Minto's reply to this letter is among the Minto MSS and worth quoting from He says

'Your letter, Sir, found its way to my hands some days ago By the deep study you have made of human nature I suppose you have discovered that nothing can be more agreeable to a father than to hear a son praised.

'I have known you guess wider $\frac{\text{of}}{\text{from}}$ [*sic* in draft] the truth It appears to me that the first paragraph of your letter is within the stile of a period, which, you as an historian have not as yet touch'd, I mean the heroick times you have rather put too much colour upon your pencil which sometimes occasions daubing. But I can pardon the heat of your imagination since your own merit as a prophet is concern'd in it. I agree with you that you have no claim to inspiration, at least, from the fountain of truth but I think I can see two methods by which you may have been enabled to prophesy your sagacity as an historian, has sometimes from known facts, led you to the discovery of true causes tho, I'm affraid these causes have sometimes been spun out of your own bowels. So from known causes you may be enabled to predict the effects You are not to learn, I suppose, that I have suspected you of holding a correspondence with a certain little black gentleman Tho I cannot do him the honour to believe him able [to] foretell future contingencies yet I must allow him to be a devilish shrewd guesser, It gives me pleasure to see with what indignation you mention the sentiments

* 176. *To* [SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE OF NEWHAILES, BART][1]

Edinburgh, August 16, 1760

SIR,

I am not surprised to find by your letter, that Mr Gray[2] should have entertained suspicions with regard to the authenticity of these fragments of our Highland poetry.[3] The first time I was shown the copies of some of them in manuscript, by our friend John Home, I was inclined to be a little incredulous on that head, but Mr Home removed my scruples, by informing me of the manner in which he procured them from Mr Macpherson, the translator.

These two gentlemen were drinking the waters together at Moffat last autumn, when their conversation fell upon Highland poetry, which Mr Macpherson extolled very highly. Our friend, who knew him to be a good scholar, and a man of taste, found his curiosity excited, and asked whether he had ever translated any of them. Mr Macpherson replied, that he never had attempted any such thing; and doubted whether it was possible to transfuse such beauties into our language; but, for Mr Home's satisfaction, and in order to give him a general notion of the strain of that wild poetry, he would endeavour to turn one of them into English. He accordingly brought him one next day, which our friend was so much pleased with, that he never ceased soliciting Mr Macpherson, till he insensibly produced that small volume which has been published.[4]

* *European Magazine*, vol. v, May 1784, pp. 327 f.; Ritchie, *Hume*, 138 ff.; Burton, i. 462 ff.

---

of *Le Philosophe sans souci*. I hope it is the dawn of a—— pray fill up this blank. To my mind you have left one unlucky expression however which in some measure dashes all my hopes. He ought, you say, to have left these things to his betters. Grand Dieu!

[1] This is admittedly a guess. No addressee was given in the *Europ. Mag.* or suggested by either Ritchie or Burton. My own view is that Dalrymple, having received inquiries either directly or indirectly from Gray, asked Hume to write a letter which could be passed on to Gray. Certain it is that the letter reached Gray, for he quotes from it, when writing to Mason. Gray and Dalrymple had at least this in common, that they were both Etonians.

[2] Thomas Gray (1716–71) the poet.

[3] James Macpherson (1738–96) had just published *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language*, being the first instalment of *Ossian*.

[4] Substantially the same story is told by Carlyle in his *Autobiography*. He and John Home were at Moffat together when they first met Macpherson.

After this volume was in every body's hands, and universally admired, we heard every day new reasons, which put the authenticity, not the great antiquity which the translator ascribes to them, beyond all question, for their antiquity is a point, which must be ascertained by reasoning; though the arguments he employs seem very probable and convincing. But[1] certain it is, that these poems are in every body's mouth in the Highlands, have been handed down from father to son, and are of an age beyond all memory and tradition.

In the family of every Highland chieftain, there was anciently retained a bard, whose office was the same with that of the Greek rhapsodists; and the general subject of the poems which they recited was the wars of Fingal; an epoch no less celebrated among them, than the wars of Troy among the Greek poets. This custom is not even yet altogether abolished: the bard and piper are esteemed the most honourable offices in a chieftain's family, and these two characters are frequently united in the same person. Adam Smith, the celebrated professor in Glasgow, told me, that the piper of the Argyleshire Militia repeated to him all those poems which Mr Macpherson has translated, and many more of equal beauty. Major Mackay, Lord Rae's brother,[2] also told me that he remembers them perfectly; as likewise did the Laird of Macfarlane,[3] the greatest antiquarian whom we have in this country, and who insists so strongly on the historical truth, as well as on the poetical beauty of these productions. I could add the Laird[4] and Lady Macleod to these authorities, with many more, if these were not sufficient, as they live in different parts of the Highlands, very remote from each other, and they could only be acquainted with poems that had become in a manner national works, and had gradually spread themselves into every mouth, and been imprinted on every memory.

[1] The passage quoted by Gray in the note to his letter to Mason begins here

[2] George Mackay (died 1748), 3rd Lord Reay, had two sons Donald (died 1761), 4th Lord Reay, and Hugh, of Bighouse (died 1770), a major in the Earl of Sutherland's Regt., 1759

[3] Walter Macfarlane (died 1767), 20th of that ilk, called by Smollett in *Humphry Clinker* 'the greatest genealogist I ever knew in any country'. His MSS, now in the Nat. Lib Scot, have been edited for the Scot Hist Soc as Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, 2 vols, 1900, and Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, 3 vols., 1906.

[4] Norman Macleod (died 1772) of Macleod, sometime M P. for Inverness-shire There are several references to him and to his wife in Boswell's *Tour*.

Every body in Edinburgh is so convinced of this truth, that we have endeavoured to put Mr Macpherson on a way of procuring us more of these wild flowers He is a modest, sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr Grahame of Balgowan's family,[1] a way of life which he is not fond of. We have, therefore, set about a subscription of a guinea or two guineas apiece, in order to enable him to quit that family, and undertake a mission into the Highlands, where he hopes to recover more of these fragments. There is, in particular, a country surgeon somewhere in Lochaber, who, he says, can recite a great number of them, but never committed them to writing, as indeed the orthography of the Highland language is not fixed, and the natives have always employed more the sword than the pen This surgeon has by heart the epic poem mentioned by Mr Macpherson in his preface; and as he is somewhat old, and is the only person living that has it entire, we are in the more haste to recover a monument, which will certainly be regarded as a curiosity in the Republic of Letters

I own, that my first and chief objection to the authenticity of these fragments, was not on account of the noble and even tender strokes which they contain; for these are the offspring of genius and passion in all countries, I was only surprised at the regular plan which appears in some of these pieces, and which seems to be the work of a more cultivated age None of the specimens of barbarous poetry known to us, the Hebrew, Arabian, or any other, contained this species of beauty; and if a regular epic poem, or even anything of that kind, nearly regular, should also come from that rough climate or uncivilized people, it would appear to me a phenomenon altogether unaccountable

I remember Mr Macpherson told me, that the heroes of this Highland epic were not only, like Homer's heroes, their own butchers, bakers, and cooks, but also their own shoemakers, carpenters, and smiths He mentioned an incident which put this matter in a remarkable light. A warrior has the head of his spear struck off in a battle, upon which he immediately retires behind the army, where a forge was erected; makes a new one; hurries back to the action, pierces his enemy, while

[1] Thomas Graham (died 1766) of Balgowan, m Christian Hope, daughter of the 1st Earl of Hopetoun Their son Thomas, Macpherson's pupil, was created Lord Lynedoch in 1814.

the iron, which was yet red-hot, hisses in the wound. This imagery you will allow to be singular, and so well imagined, that it would have been adopted by Homer, had the manners of the Greeks allowed him to have employed it.

I forgot to mention, as another proof of the authenticity of these poems, and even of the reality of the adventures contained in them, that the names of the heroes, Fingal, Oscar, Osur, Oscan, Dermid, are still given in the Highlands to large mastiffs, in the same manner as we affix to them the names of Caesar, Pompey, Hector; or the French that of Marlborough

It gives me pleasure to find, that a person of so fine a taste as Mr Gray approves of these fragments; as it may convince us, that our fondness of them is not altogether founded on national prepossessions, which, however, you know to be a little strong. The translation is elegant; but I made an objection to the author, which I wish you would communicate to Mr Gray, that we may judge of the justness of it. There appeared to me many verses in his prose, and all of them in the same measure with Mr Shenstone's[1] famous ballad

Ye shepherds so careless and free,
Whose flocks never carelessly roam, &c

Pray ask Mr Gray, whether he made the same remark, and whether he thinks it a blemish?

Yours most sincerely,
DAVID HUME

* 177. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I never saw Mr Vivian[2] & Mr Forster but twice or thrice with our Friend, Ruat, with whom they were engag'd in a Lawsuit. I have never had the Pleasure of seeing Mr Lind So that really, I have a Scruple of asking so considerable a Favour from Men with whom I am so little acquainted, in behalf of one with whom I am not at all acquainted, & of whose Talents I cannot give them any certain Accounts. For, if I may judge by your Letter, you speak of him only by Hear-Say, and have not much

* MS, R S E., Burton, ii 87 f. (incomplete)

[1] William Shenstone (1714–63). The lines quoted are the first two from his *Pastoral Ballad*, 1743

[2] I have not been able to trace any of the men referred to in this paragraph except Rouet, for whom see Letter 165 above

Connexion even with his Uncle I am afraid these two Gentlemen woud think me somewhat forward in such an Application

I have been very busy ever since I came down; and if I keep my Health, shall be able to publish Winter after the next, or at farthest in the subsequent Spring Which I fancy will serve your Purpose well enough. At any Rate, this is not a Matter which I can hurry on, faster than I am able to satisfy myself in the Execution

I am very much pleas'd with what you tell me, that the Clarendon Papers have fallen into Dr Douglas's Hands especially as Dr Robertson tells me he intends to publish them.[1] What my Sentiments are on the Question you mention, you may learn from my Letter to the Doctor, which I have sent you open, & which I beg you to take the Trouble of sending. For I do not know how to direct it

I am glad to hear from all Accounts that Mrs Millar is in so good or so tolerable a State of Health Most of our Friends, I own, say a *good State of Health* But we shall make use of whatever Term she pleases, provided she eat & sleep well & maintain her sociable Humour, and only complain a little in the Intervals I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh. 27 Oct[r]
1760

* 178. *To the* REV JOHN DOUGLAS[2]

Edinburgh 27 Oct[r] 1760

Dear Sir

Our Friend, Mr Millar, informs me, that the Clarendon Papers[3] are entrusted into your hands, and that among the rest,

* B M. MSS. Egerton 2182, fol 21 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 2 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] See next letter

[2] The intimacy between Hume and Douglas was the more creditable to both, in that Douglas had published, in 1752, *The Criterion, or Miracles Examined; a Reply to Mr Hume's Argument against Miracles* This went through various editions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with various changes in the sub-title, but, being in the form of a letter to an unknown friend, it was generally supposed to be addressed to Adam Smith (with whom Douglas had been a fellow-student at Balliol), and to have been designed specially to convert Smith—which it failed to do

[3] It was only a small part of the Clarendon Papers that Douglas had access to, and even this part does not seem to have been in his possession, but in that of Dr Penyston Powney He used them to prepare *State*

there is one which clears up the Question of Glamorgan's Transactions He referd me to Dr Robertson for further Information, but I found that the Dr had read the Paper in so cursory a manner, & was so little acquainted with the Controversy, that he coud give me no Satisfaction about it This is the reason of my giving you the present Trouble; and I do it the more willingly, that it affords me Pleasure to embrace any Opportunity of renewing our Acquaintance & Correspondence, which gave me so much Entertainment when I was in London.

The Question is, what Point is cleard or wants to be cleard in this Affair. King Charles never deny'd, that he had given Glamorgan a Commission to conclude a separate Treaty with the Irish Rebels He only asserted, that the Marquess of Ormond was to be secretly consulted in it & his Consent obtain'd In virtue of this Power, Glamorgan concluded a Treaty with the Irish without consulting Ormond, & he made a great Sacrifice of the Interests of the Protestant Religion in Ireland. The King, as soon as he knew it, refusd to ratify this Treaty, and Glamorgan with his Approbation concluded a new Treaty on more moderate Terms. The first Treaty was in the beginning of the Year 1645· The other was in the latter End of that Year or the beginning of the subsequent Now, it is no Detection of King Charles to prove, that he gave Powers to Glamorgan, but only that he gave them, independant of Ormond Which indeed I shoud be extremely surprizd to find; for I think there is Demonstration to the contrary. If Glamorgan only says in general to Clarendon, that he had the King's Authority for what he did in Ireland; this will very naturally be understood of the second Treaty, which alone took effect, was ratifyd, concluded, & did the King some Service, at least might have done it, if his Affairs had then been capable of being retriev'd.

In my Opinion, Dr Birch[1] has totally mistaken the Point in

Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, edited with a preface vindicating his memory, by John Douglas, Oxford, 1763, 2 vols, 4to a publication long since superseded by the *Correspondence and Diary of Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, and of his Brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, Oxford, 1828 The bulk of the Clarendon Papers now in the Bodleian were secured later than the date of Douglas's publication

[1] One of Thomas Birch's many publications was *An Enquiry into the Share which King Charles I had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Marquis of Worcester, for bringing over a Body of Irish Rebels to assist that King*, anon, 1747 and 1756. It was a reply to Carte's *Ormonde*.

Question. Do we live in so bigotted an Age as to think it any Reflection on the King, that in order to save his own Life, his Family, his Party, his Friends, the English Throne and Church he shoud grant considerable Advantages to Papists, and sacrifice some of the protestant Establishments in Ireland, which he had not Power to support? But as he deny'd to the Parliament, & what is much more, denyd it solemnly to the Marquess of Ormond, his best Friend, in a private Letter, that Glamorgan had got any Powers, independant of that Nobleman; it woud be some Reproach, I own, to his Character of Sincerity, if he coud be detected in a Falsehood in this particular. Dr Birch's Style suits well enough those puritanical Times, when Popery was the Height of all Reproaches, but will scarce be admitted at present, and a man of his Judgement coud not have fallen into it, had he not been very much immers'd in reading Books & Papers of that Age Please to peruse that Passage in my second Edition of K. Charles's Reign For it is there alterd in some particulars from the first.[1] And then tell me whether you think from these Papers, that I have fallen into any Error For I am willing to retract it, if I have, & shoud even glory in the Recantation

But perhaps, if there be no more than a single Letter, I had better ask you to get it transcrib'd & send it to me. For tho I hear with great Satisfaction, that you are to publish the whole, & I expect great Entertainment & Instruction from it, yet my Impatience prompts me to anticipate a little the Publication, and as Mr Millar speaks of a new Edition, it may be requisite to alter some Particulars.

Do you intend to publish all Clarendon's Papers, or only the more material ones? I shoud think the last Method more satisfactory to every body except to Historians. And even they woud not be displeasd that you spare them a great deal of superfluous Reading Had Thurloe's Papers[2] been reducd to one Volume, they had been more useful as well as more entertaining.

Before I leave the Subject of Glamorgan, I shall observe to you, that his Commission, as publishd by Dr Birch, & I think by Rushworth,[3] bears, that the King had granted it to him, because it woud probably be necessary for him to agree

[1] For one thing, it is longer

[2] *State Papers of John Thurloe*, edited by Birch, 7 vols , fol , 1742

[3] *Historical Collections*, by John Rushworth [1612–90], 8 vols , 1659–1701.

to Terms, which it woud not be convenient for the Marquess to be seen in: These are the Terms. He informs Ormond in a Letter publishd by Carte, that he had employd Glamorgan; but warns the Marquess to beware of that Nobleman's shallow Understanding. Glamorgan therefore, according to the King's Intention, was to take the Odium of the Treaty upon him, which was nothing to him, that was a Papist But Ormond, without appearing, was to direct secretly the Negotiation Does there any thing appear contrary to this State of the Case? The Charge of Popery upon K. Charles was well suited to the Mob, but is now known to have been absolutely false, & it is wasting Ink, to write any further either for or against it.

Pray have you found anything to decide the Question with regard to the Author of Icon Basilike?[1] For that is the most interesting Question of that Age, which is not yet fully decided; tho' in my Opinion there is a very great Over-ballance of the Arguments on the Side of the King.

I am Dear Sir
You most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME.

* 179. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

[November or December, 1760]

Dear Sir

You gave me a sensible Satisfaction by writing to me, and tho I am a little lazy myself in writing (I mean, Letters. For as to other kinds of writing, your Press can witness for me, that I am not lazy) there is nothing gives me greater Pleasure than hearing from my Friends, among whom I shall be always fond of ranking Mr Strahan You have probably heard from Mr Millar, that I am wholly engrossd in finishing my History, and have been so above a twelvemonth If I keep my Health, which is very good and equal to any Fatigue, I shall be able to visit you in eight or nine Months; and then you may expect to have a very troublesome Dun upon you, in making Demands of a regular Visit of your Devil; and I shall be able to cure you of some Indolence, which as our friend opposite Catherine Street

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 31 f

[1] *ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, the Portraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, 12mo, London, 1648 If it was not written by Charles I himself, it was probably written by John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter and Worcester.

in the Strand[1] complains to me, is growing upon you. If this Indolence comes from Riches,[2] I hope also to cure it another way, by gaining your Money at Whist, tho' really the Person abovementiond is a Proof that Indolence is no immediate or necessary Effect of Riches So that I fancy it is born with you, and that there is no hopes of curing you However, it will give me some Satisfaction to come to you in case of any Negligence, and first scold you and then gain your Money, in order to punish you

I am sorry, both on your Account and Mr Rose's,[3] for whom I have a great Regard, that it shoud be absolutely impossible for me, till my present Undertaking is finishd, to have any hand in what he proposes to me[4] If I had leizure, I shoud certainly comply with his Request. He only disobliges me in mentioning any other Acknowlegment, than his being sensible of my Inclination to oblige him.

Is this new Reign to be the Augustan Age?[5] or have the Parsons got entire Possession of the young Prince? I hear that they brag much of their Acquisition, but he seems by his Speech to be a great Admirer of his Cousin of Prussia,[6] who surely is no Favourer or Favourite of theirs. I wonder how Kings dare be so free They ought to leave that to their Betters;[7] to Men who have no Dependance on the Mob, or the Leaders of the Mob As to poor Kings they are obligd sometimes to retract and to deny their Writings

I was glad to observe what our King says, that Faction is at an End and Party Distinctions abolish'd. You may infer from this, that I think I have kept clear of Party in my History, that I think I have been much injurd when any thing of that

[1] Andrew Millar

[2] Strahan was in fact doing very well out of his business Benjamin Franklin, writing to his wife in 1762, says that Strahan was able 'to lay up a thousand pounds every year from the profits of his business, after maintaining his family and paying all charges' (Franklin, *Works*, 1 265 f).

[3] Probably Dr William Rose of Chiswick, a schoolmaster and one of Millar's literary advisers

[4] It is not known what the proposal was, but as Rose was concerned with the conduct of the *Monthly Review* no doubt it had something to do with that journal

[5] George III came to the throne on 25 Oct 1760

[6] On opening Parliament on 18 Nov 1760 George III referred to 'my good brother and ally the King of Prussia' and to his 'magnanimity and perseverance almost beyond example'.

[7] Cf *Letter* 175 above.

Nature has been imputed to me, and that I now hope the public Ear will be more open to Truth: But it will be a long time first; and I despair of ever seeing it.

I beg my Compliments to Mrs Strahan, and all your Family, and am Dear Sir with great Sincerity,

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME.

* 180 *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Dear Sir,

I was very sensibly touch'd with your letter,[1] both on account of the friendly disposition which appears in it; and of the infirm state of your health, particularly with regard to your eyes, which, I remember, were always weak, yet so as that you could amuse yourself with reading and other occupations I am very desirous to spare you such a disagreeable task, as looking for old papers; and therefore shall briefly recapitulate to you all my transactions with the Marquess of Annandale, which are as fresh in my memory, as if they past yesterday

In January, 1745, I receiv'd a letter from the Marquess, inviting me to come to London in order to live with him, and was told, at the same time, by Ronald Crawfurd, that my Lord propos'd to grant me the same terms, which had been given to Mr Peter Young, viz., three hundred a year I immediately went to London, where my Lord told me the same thing, and it was confirm'd to me by you and Mr Vincent I took lodgings near him, and saw him every day, till we went out together to Weldehall, on the first of Aprile. While we stay'd at London,

* Murray, 75 ff.

[1] A long, rather rambling letter (Murray, 71 ff) dated 29 Dec 1760, written in answer to one from Hume (not extant) dated 17 Dec 1760. Johnstone says 'You'll readily believe it would give me great pleasure to be in any way serviceable to you, in establishing the facts necessary to be proven in the process between you and Lord Annandale . . and had the queries you now put to me, related to transactions that had passed 40 or 50 years ago, I believe I could have answered them with precision at once, but I have found from experience, in several late instances, that, with respect to transactions that have passed within these 15 or 20 years, I require to have circumstances brought into my mind by others, in order to recollect with distinctness, the true state of these transactions, and therefore, before answering your queries, I must put you to the trouble of answering some to me.' He then puts the questions which Hume answers in the text above.

some time either in the month of February or March (but I think in the latter), my Lord gave Captain Vincent powers to act for him. The powers were drawn in concert with you; and you, as well as I, was present at the reading and signing of them. The article which regards myself, I remember perfectly. After giving him powers to hire and discharge servants, and order his family, he proceeded in these or terms to the same purpose: 'And I also empower the said Philip Vincent to fulfill my agreement with David Hume, and pay him 300 pounds a year' You explain'd to me afterwards the meaning of these terms in a very obliging manner; that my Lady Annandale, and you, and all the friends of the family, as well as Captain Vincent, had a confidence in my integrity; that tho' Mr Vincent, in the first scrawl of these powers, had drawn them in such terms as to give him authority over me, as well as over the rest of the people about the Marquess, yet you had prevail'd with him to alter them, and that, therefore, I was to look upon myself as entrusted by the family, and answerable to them, as well as to Mr Vincent, for my conduct

When I was in the Country that summer, it occur'd to Mr Vincent, as well as to me, that I had nothing under any body's hand, expressing the terms of our agreement. He accordingly wrote me a letter to that purpose, engrossing a copy of the terms with Mr Young, and adding, that, by virtue of his powers, and with the Marquess's consent and yours, he granted me the same terms One article of Mr Young's agreement was, that, if he left the Marquess any time after the commencement of a quarter, he shou'd be pay'd the whole quarterly appointments in the same manner as if the quarter was finish'd. This condition was repeated and granted to me; and it seems a reasonable condition, that I either shou'd have some warning beforehand, or an equivalent for it

I enter'd with the Marquess on the 1st of April 1745, and left him on the 16th of April 1746, from a sudden caprice, which left it not in my power to stay any longer. Mr Vincent, who told me several times, that that quarter was due to me, and that he wou'd pay it me, at last, on parting, took a scruple, that he might be answerable for the money, if he pay'd it where no service was perform'd, but he promis'd me, if my Lady Annandale and you agreed to it, and thought it reasonable, he wou'd pay it afterwards I immediately wrote to you, and desir'd you both to consider the matter yourself, and lay it before my Lady

Marchioness My Lady and you thought it the best course to lay the matter before Mr James Graham,[1] my Lord's lawyer; because, as you told me afterwards, tho' you thought my claim just, yet the sanction of his opinion wou'd best secure you and every body from blame. His opinion, as you told me, was also favourable to my claim; but, before he had time to reduce it to writing, he dy'd suddenly

I went abroad soon after with General St Clair; and for that reason receiv'd no answer from you to my letter, at least I remember none, and have not any at present I staid abroad some years. On my return home, I open'd a lawsuit, by Lord Kaims's directions, against the estate of Annandale I was stopt by Lord Hopton's desire, who said, that, as soon as he took on him the management of that estate, he wou'd do me justice The affair lay over till that time, when I repeated my claim, and my Lord seems entirely inclin'd to satisfy me. He only desires the sentence of a Lord Ordinary[2] to secure him against any after-claims from the executory; and in order to that, I must produce some kind of proof of facts, which my Lord, and his agent Mr Crawfurd, both know to be true, but which cannot regularly be taken upon my bare assertion. Of this nature is the fact, that Captain Vincent had some powers, or at least that he took upon him to do business for the Marquess· which is the reason that I apply'd to you

Now, there is nothing, Dear Sir, to which I have a greater reluctance than to give you trouble. But, if your papers be arrang'd in order, according to their dates, the Marquess's powers were granted either in February or March 1745; or, at farthest, on some of the first days of Aprile; and my letter to you (which likewise wou'd be material) was certainly dated in the end of Aprile 1746 But if it be difficult for you to find these papers, your recollection of some of the material facts here recapitulated, might probably serve the same purpose, as my Lord's lawyers will not be anxious to chicane my proofs, which cannot be expected to be very regular, after so long an interval. I am particularly desirous you wou'd recollect this fact (which seems now to have escap'd you), that Captain Vincent did business for the Marquess,[3] because, in that case, his letter,

[1] Probably James Graham of Damside (died 1763), admitted W S 1726

[2] One of the five judges of the Court of Session constituting the Outer House

[3] That Vincent had such powers, for Lord Annandale's English estates at

expressing the terms of the agreement, will have authority; and I have that letter by me. If you find my letter to you, please to write on the bottom of it, that it is the same letter which I wrote you at that time

I was extremely sensible of your obliging behaviour to me thro' the whole course of these transactions, and retain a very grateful acknowledgment of it. It is but a bad return to give you so much trouble But you see the necessity of the case. I still am desirous of saving you the trouble of searching into a heap of papers, which are, perhaps, in confusion, as you never expected that it would become requisite to produce any of them; and, therefore, shall be contented with your ascertaining from your memory as many of the facts as you can recollect, after I have thus run them over to you Only, as it is uncertain, whether the Lord Ordinary may not think the producing these powers requisite, I know it wou'd give you uneasiness, if a neglect of this kind shou'd happen to lose me the money, which otherwise he wou'd think due to me. I beg my compliments to Lady Johnstone, and remain, with great sincerity, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh, Jack's Land,
1st Jan. 1761

P S.

I beg of you to receive my compliments of the season

* 181. *To* SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WESTERHALL

Dear Sir,

I met with Ronald Crawfurd yesterday, who told me, that he had seen Lord Hopton's referee, who told him, that the sole difficulty in my affair was with regard to Captain Vincent's powers, and that, if these, or a copy of them cou'd be produc'd, there was no question with regard to my claim. This is the reason why I again give you this trouble, and as I am certain there were such powers, and that you must have a copy of

* Murray, 79

least, is shown by a letter of Johnstone's (Murray, 73 n) dated 15 May 1746, instructing a sub-agent on a Yorkshire estate to forward documents to 'Philip Vincent Esq , at his house in Berkeley's Buildings, near Piccadilly,' who had a joint commission with Johnstone from Lord Annandale, 'to oversee the management of his English affairs'.

them, I must apply to you, if possible, to send them to me, attested by you, as the real copy which you then took. I need make you no apology, as you have seen my reluctance to give you trouble, where the necessity of the case does not require it. Ronald Crawfurd tells me, that he once saw these powers, but he does not remember exactly the purport of them. I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh, Jack's Land,
5th Jan., 1761

* 182. *To the* REV. ALEXANDER CARLYLE OF INVERESK[1]

Dear Sir

I am inform'd, that you have receiv'd a Letter from London, by which you learn that the Manuscript of *Sister Peg*[2] has been trac'd to the Printer's, and has been found to be in many Places interlind & corrected in my hand-writing. I cou'd have wish'd, that you had not publishd this Piece of Intelligence before you told me of it. The Truth is, after I had compos'd that trifling Performance,[3] and thought I had made it as correct as I cou'd, I gave it to a sure hand to be transcribed, that, and in case any

* MS, R S E, Mackenzie, *Home*, 155 f, Burton, II 88 f

[1] Alexander Carlyle (1722–1805), known as 'Jupiter' on account of his singularly handsome face and imposing presence, educated at the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Leyden, minister of Inveresk, near Musselburgh, 1748–1805, one of the leading Moderates, and a particular friend of Robertson, John Home, Adam Ferguson, Hugh Blair, &c., one of the most striking figures in Scotland of the eighteenth century, author of various pamphlets, and of the *Autobiography*, first published, under the editorship of John Hill Burton, Edinburgh, 1860. 'The grandest demigod I ever saw,' is how Scott described him.

[2] *The Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, called Peg, only Sister of John Bull*, a pamphlet published anonymously, but written by Adam Ferguson, in 1761. It was one of the shots fired in the campaign for a Scottish Militia.

[3] The point of the joke is that Hume, when he wrote this, believed Carlyle himself to be the author of the pamphlet. Carlyle says 'The real author was carefully concealed, though it was generally ascribed to me. This pamphlet occasioned a very ludicrous scene between David Hume and Dr Jardine, who was in the secret. David was a great blab, and could conceal nothing that he thought for the honour of his friends, and therefore it had been agreed to tell him of none of our productions, except such as might have been published at the Cross. He sent for Jardine, whom he first

of the London Printers had known my hand, they might not be able to discover me But as it lay by me some Weeks afterwards, I coud not forbear reviewing it, and not having my Amanuensis at hand, I was oblig'd in several Places to correct it myself, rather than allow it to go to the Press [with][1] Inaccuracies of which I was sensible I little dream'd, that this small Want of Precaution [wou'd have][1] betray'd me so soon! But as you know, that I am very indifferent about Princes or Preside[nts, Minist][1]ers of the Gospel or Ministers of State, Kings or Keysars, and set at Defiance all Powers, hum[an and][1] infernal; I had no other Reason for concealing myself but in order to try the Taste of the Public, whom, tho I also set in some degree at Defiance, I cannot sometimes forbear paying a little regard to I find, that that frivolous Composition has been better receivd than I had any Reason to expect, and therefore cannot much complain of the Injury you have done me by revealing my Secret, and obliging me to acknowlege it more early than I intended The only Reason of my writing to you is to know the Printer's Name who has so far broke his Engagements as to show the Manuscript· For the Bookseller assurd my Friend, to whom I entrusted it, that we might depend upon an absolute Secrecy. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Carlisle And am Dr Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
3 Feby 1761

* 183 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir

I cannot give you a better Return for your obliging Letter than by introducing to your Acquaintance, the Bearer, Mr M[c]pherson, who translated some Fragments of Highland Poetry, which have been extremely well receivd by the Public, and have

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 35 f.

suspected of being the author, who denying his capacity for such a work, he fixed on me (never dreaming of Ferguson), and when Jardine pretended ignorance, or refused to gratify him, he told him he had written it himself in an idle hour, and desired Jardine to mention him as the author everywhere, that it might not fall on some of us, who were not so able to bear it This I could not have believed, had not David himself written me a letter to that purpose, which I shall transcribe in the margin' (*Autobiog*, 408).

[1] MS. mutilated

probably come to your Hands He has also translated a larger Work, a narrative Poem of great Antiquity, which lay in Obscurity, and woud probably have been bury'd in oblivion, if he had not retrievd it [1] He proposes to print it by Subscription, and his Friends here are already very busy in procuring him Encouragement. He goes up to London with the same Intention; and you may readily believe, that I advis'd him to think of nobody but our Friend, Mr Millar, in disposing of the Copy.[2] He will probably need your Advice in several Particulars, and as he is an entire Stranger in London, you will naturally of yourself be inclind to assist him He is also very worthy of your Friendship; being a sensible, modest young Fellow, a very good Scholar, and of unexceptionable Morals I have advis'd him to be at first on a Footing of Confidence with you; and hope you will receive him as one who merits your Friendship.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Edinburgh, 9 Feby 1761

* 184 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS [3]

Edinburgh, 15 May, 1761.

Madam,

It is not easy for your Ladyship to imagine the pleasure I received from the letter, with which you have so unexpectedly honoured me,[4] nor the agreeable visions of vanity, upon which, upon that occasion, I indulged myself. I concluded, and, as I fancied, with certainty, that a person, who could write so well herself, must certainly be a good judge of writing in others, and that an author, who could please a lady of your distinction, educated in the Court of France, and familiarized with every thing elegant and polite, might reasonably pretend to some degree of merit, and might presume to take his rank above the

* Priv Corr , 1 ff , Burton, ii 98 ff.

[1] *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books· Together with several other poems, composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal, Translated from the Galic Language, by James Macpherson*

[2] The book was published in 1762, not by Millar, but by Beckett and De Hondt

[3] See Introduction, pp. xxiii ff

[4] For this letter see Appendix E below.

middling historians. But, Madam, it is but fair, that I, who have pretended, in so long a work, to do justice to all parties and persons, should also do some to myself, and should not feed my vanity with chimeras, which, I am sensible in my cooler moments, can have no foundation in reason. When I had the pleasure of passing some time in France, I had the agreeable experience of the polite hospitality, by which your nation is distinguished, and I now find, that the same favourable indulgence has appeared in your Ladyship's judgement of my writings And, perhaps, your esteem for the entire impartiality which I aim at, and which, to tell the truth, is so unusual in English historians, has made your Ladyship overlook many defects, into which the want of art or genius has betrayed me.

In this particular, Madam, I must own, that I am inclined to take your civilities in their full latitude, and to hope that I have not fallen much short of my intentions The spirit of faction, which prevails in this country, and which is a natural attendant on civil liberty, carries every thing to extremes on the one side, as well as on the other; and I have the satisfaction to find, that my performance has alternately given displeasure to both parties I could not reasonably hope to please both such success is impossible from the nature of things; and next to your Ladyship's approbation, who, as a foreigner, must necessarily be a candid judge, I shall always regard the anger of both as the surest warrant of my impartiality

As I find that you are pleased to employ your leisure hours in the perusal of history, I shall presume to recommend to your Ladyship a late work of this kind, wrote by my friend and countryman, Dr Robertson, which has met with the highest approbation from all good judges.

It is the History of Scotland during the age of the unfortunate Queen Mary; and it is wrote in an elegant, agreeable, and interesting manner, and far exceeding, I shall venture to say, any performance of that kind that has appeared in English. The failings of that Princess are not covered over; but her singular catastrophe is rendered truly lamentable and tragical; and the reader cannot forbear shedding tears for her fate, at the same time that he blames her conduct There are few historical productions, where both the subject and execution have appeared so happy.

Some prospect is now given us, that this miserable war between the two nations is drawing towards a period, and that

the former intercourse between them will again be renewed [1] If this happy event take place, I have entertained hopes that my affairs will permit me to take a journey to Paris; and the obliging offer, which you are pleased to make me, of allowing me to pay my respects to you, will prove a new and very powerful inducement to make me hasten the execution of my purpose.

But I give your Ladyship warning, that I shall, on many accounts, stand in need of your indulgence I passed a few years in France during my early youth; but I lived in a provincial town, where I enjoyed the advantages of leisure for study, and an opportunity of learning the language: what I had imperfectly learned, long disuse, I am afraid, has made me forget: I have rusted amid books and study; have been little engaged in the active, and not much in the pleasurable scenes of life; and am more accustomed to a select society than to general companies.

But all these disadvantages, and much greater, will be abundantly compensated by the honour of your Ladyship's protection, and I hope that my profound sense of your obliging favours will render me not altogether unworthy of it

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Madam,
Your Ladyship's most obedient, and most humble Servant,
DAVID HUME

* 185. *To* ADAM SMITH

Dear Smith.

As your Professorship of Hebrew is vacant, I have been applyd to in behalf of young Mr Cummin,[2] and you are the Person with whom I am supposd to have some Interest. But as I imagine you will not put this Election on the Footing of Interest, I shall say nothing on that head, but shall speak much more to the Purpose, by informing you, that I have known Mr Cummin for some time, and have esteemd him a young Man of exceeding good Capacity, and of a Turn towards

* MS , R.S.E., Burton, II. 89 f.

[1] France made overtures of peace in April 1761 The negotiations were broken off, however, in September

[2] Patrick Cumming (1741–1831), 3rd son of the Rev. Patrick Cumming (or Cumin), Minister of the High Church in Edinburgh (see note 3 on p. 185 above) Whether as a result of Hume's recommendation or not, Patrick Cumming was duly appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in Glasgow in this year, and continued in the chair till 1814, when he resigned

Literature. He tells me, that he has made the Oriental Tongues & particularly the Hebrew a Part of his Study and has made some Proficiency in them But of this Fact, craving his Pardon, I must be allowd to entertain some Doubt: For if Hebrew Roots, as Cowley says, thrive best in barren Soil,[1] he has a small Chance of producing any great Crop of them But as you commonly regard the Professorship of Hebrew as a Step towards other Professorships, in which a good Capacity can better display itself; you will permit me to give it as my Opinion, that you will find it difficult to pitch on a young Man, who is more likely to be a Credit to your College, by his Knowlege & Industry.

I am so far on my Road to London, where I hope to see you this Season. I shall lodge in Miss Elliots Lisle Street Leicester Fields, and I beg it of you to let me hear from you the Moment of your Arrival.[2] I am Dear Smith

Yours sincerely

Ninewells 29 June 1761 DAVID HUME

To Mr Professor Smith at Glasgow.

* 186. *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

London, 2d September, 1761

Madam,

The instance which your Ladyship has been pleased to give me of your goodness, is so extraordinary and so honourable to me, that it will be in vain for me to attempt expressing the sense of gratitude, with which I am affected.[3] I must always fall short of the just acknowlegments, which I owe on that occasion My only resource must be to take advantage of the prepossessions, which, I find, your Ladyship has entertained in

* Priv. Corr , 4 f

[1] It was not Cowley who said it, but Samuel Butler.

> For Hebrew roots although th'are found
> To flourish most in barren ground .
>
> *Hudibras*, Pt 1, canto i, ll 59 f

[2] Smith paid his first visit to London in 1761

[3] Having received Hume's letter of 15 May, Mme de Boufflers wrote again from Paris on 12 July, protesting that all her former expressions of admiration and esteem were genuine and not dictated by mere politeness. She adds: 'Si vous executes le projet que vous aves fait de venir en France a la paix, vous seres le maitre Monsieur d'y vivre a votre maniere Je vous offre un logement peu commode a la verité, mais c'est tout ce que je possede en ce genre Si vous l'acceptes, vous me feres une faveur infinie, si vous le refuses, vous m'affligeres sans me desobliger' (MS , R S E).

my favour; and to leave it to your own conjecture, how much a person, who has any sentiments of virtue or sound notion of duty, must be moved by a mark of distinction, conferred with such obliging circumstances

I am afraid that the present situation of public affairs between the two kingdoms sets at a distance the prospect, which I entertained, of being able to enjoy the company of a person so celebrated for her accomplishments by all who have any knowledge of the Court of France. But if peace, a blessing so desirable to both nations, should be restored to us, and if I can find leisure and an opportunity for a journey to Paris, your Ladyship will easily believe, that I understand my own interests too well not to cultivate every day an acquaintance, which must appear to me so valuable. But as I am sensible, that I shall, in many respects, stand in need of your indulgence, you must excuse me, if I be solicitous to avoid giving you any superfluous trouble, and decline, though with all imaginable sense of gratitude, the obliging offer, with which you have been pleased to honour me.

I am, with the greatest regard, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient and most obliged Servant,

DAVID HUME.

* 187 *To the* EARL OF SHELBURNE[1]

December 12, 1761.

My Lord,

An accident, a little unexpected, has hastened my journey to Scotland a little sooner than I intended I was offered a chaise that sets out to-morrow morning, where I could sit alone and loiter and read and muse for the length of four hundred miles. Your Lordship may judge, by this specimen of my character, how unfit I am to mingle in such an active and sprightly society as that of which your Lordship invited me to partake, and that in reality a book and a fireside, are the only scenes for which I am now qualified. But I should be unfit to live among human creatures could I ever forget the obligations which I owe to your Lordship's goodness, or could ever lose the firm resolu-

* Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i 313 ff.

[1] William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne (1737–1808) His house in Hill St was already a meeting-place for many eminent men of letters and science, Benjamin Franklin among them Hume became more intimate with him later (1767–8), when Shelburne was Secretary of State for the Southern Dept. and Hume Under-Secretary of State for the Northern.

tion of expressing my sense of them on all occasions. I beg your Lordship to believe that, though age and philosophy have mortified all ambition in me, yet there are other sentiments which I find more inherent to me, which I shall always cherish, and which no time can efface. And when I shall see your Lordship making a figure in the active scenes of life, I shall always consider your progress with a peculiar pleasure, though perhaps accompanied with the regret that I partake of it at so great a distance I remember to have seen a picture in your Lordship's house of a Hottentot who fled from a cultivated life to his companions in the woods and left behind him all his fine accoutrements and attire I compare not my case to his, for I return to very sociable, civilized people I only mean to express the force of habit which renders a man accustomed to retreat and study unfit for the commerce of the great world, and makes it a necessary piece of wisdom for him to shun it after age has rendered that habit entirely inveterate This is the only excuse I can give to your Lordship for being so much wanting to my own interest as to leave London when you had contrived to make it so agreeable a habitation to me

I did not hear of this vehicle till to-day, and to tell the truth, I rather chose to express my sentiments to your Lordship in writing, than to wait upon you in person, because however imperfectly I may have executed my purpose of discovering my sense of the obligations I owe your Lordship, I still could do it better by writing than by speech

I am, with the greatest sincerity, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

* 188 *To the* REV HUGH BLAIR[1]

SIR, [1761][2]

I have perused the ingenious performance,[3] which you was so obliging as to put into my hands, with all the attention

* Smellie, 183 ff, Ritchie, 144 ff, Burton, II 115 ff (incomplete).

[1] Hugh Blair (1718–1800), minister of the Canongate Kirk, then of Lady Yester's Kirk, and finally of the High Kirk, in Edinburgh, popular preacher, popular lecturer, and *arbiter elegantiarum* of his day, author of *Dissertation on Ossian* and *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres*, a vain, timid, fussy, kind-hearted little man that everybody liked.

[2] Possibly from London, in the autumn of 1761.

[3] The MS of George Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles*, published the following year.

possible; tho not perhaps with all the seriousness and gravity which you have so frequently recommended to me. But the fault lies not in the piece, which is certainly very acute, but in the subject. I know you will say, it lies in neither, but in myself alone If that be so, I am sorry to say that I believe it is incurable

I could wish that your friend had not chosen to appear as a controversial writer, but had endeavoured to establish his principles in general, without any reference to a particular book or person; tho I own he does me a great deal of honour, in thinking that any thing I have wrote deserves his attention For besides many inconveniences, which attend that kind of writing, I see it is almost impossible to preserve decency and good manners in it This author, for instance, says sometimes obliging things of me much beyond what I can presume to deserve; and I thence conclude that in general he did not mean to insult me yet I meet with some other passages more worthy of Warburton and his followers than of so ingenious an author.

But as I am not apt to lose my temper, and would still less incline to do so with a friend of yours, I shall calmly communicate to you some remarks on the argument, since you seem to desire it I shall employ very few words, since a hint will suffice to a gentleman of this author's penetration

Sect. I I would desire the author to consider, whether the medium by which we reason concerning human testimony be different from that which leads us to draw any inferences concerning other human actions, that is, our knowledge of human nature from experience? Or why is it different? I suppose we conclude an honest man will not lie to us, in the same manner as we conclude that he will not cheat us. As to the youthful propensity to believe, which is corrected by experience; it seems obvious, that children adopt blindfold all the opinions, principles, sentiments, and passions, of their elders, as well as credit their testimony, nor is this more strange, than that a hammer should make an impression on clay

Sect II No man can have any other experience but his own. The experience of others becomes his only by the credit which he gives to their testimony, which proceeds from his own experience of human nature.

Sect III There is no contradiction in saying, that all the testimony which ever was really given for any miracle, or ever will be given, is a subject of derision; and yet forming a fiction

or supposition of a testimony for a particular miracle, which might not only merit attention, but amount to a full proof of it. For instance, the absence of the sun during 48 hours, but reasonable men would only conclude from this fact, that the machine of the globe was disordered during the time.

Page 28. I find no difficulty to explain my meaning, and yet shall not probably do it in any future edition The proof against a miracle, as it is founded on invariable experience, is of that *species* or *kind* of proof, which is full and certain when taken alone, because it implies no doubt, as is the case with all probabilities, but there are degrees of this species, and when a weaker proof is opposed to a stronger, it is overcome

Page 29. There is very little more delicacy in telling a man he speaks nonsense by implication, than in saying so directly

Sect. IV. Does a man of sense run after every silly tale of witches or hobgoblins or fairies, and canvass particularly the evidence? I never knew any one, that examined and deliberated about nonsense who did not believe it before the end of his inquiries.

Sect V I wonder the author does not perceive the reason why Mr John Knox and Mr Alexander Henderson[1] did not work as many miracles as their brethren in other churches Miracle-working was a Popish trick, and discarded with the other parts of that religion Men must have new and opposite ways of establishing new and opposite follies. The same reason extends to Mahomet. The Greek priests, who were in the neighbourhood of Arabia, and many of them in it, were as great miracle-workers as the Romish; and Mahomet would have been laughed at for so stale and simple a device. To cast out devils, and cure the blind, where every one almost can do as much, is not the way to get any extraordinary ascendant over men I never read of a miracle in my life, that was not meant to establish some new point of religion. There are no miracles wrought in Spain to prove the Gospel, but St Francis Xavier wrought a thousand well attested ones for that purpose in the Indies The miracles in Spain, which are also fully and completely attested, are wrought to prove the efficacy of a particular crucifix or relict, which is always a new point, or, at least, not universally received

Sect. VI. If a miracle proves a doctrine to be revealed from

[1] Alexander Henderson (? 1583–1646), Scottish Presbyterian divine, Covenanter, and diplomatist For some years he was in effect the leader of the Covenanters against Charles I

God, and consequently true, a miracle can never be wrought for a contrary doctrine The facts are therefore as incompatible as the doctrines

I could wish your friend had not denominated me an infidel writer, on account of ten or twelve pages which seem to him to have that tendency: while I have wrote so many volumes on history, literature, politics, trade, morals, which, in that particular at least, are entirely inoffensive. Is a man to be called a drunkard, because he has been seen fuddled once in his lifetime?

Having said so much to your friend, who is certainly a very ingenious man, tho a little too zealous for a philosopher; permit me also the freedom of saying a word to yourself Whenever I have had the pleasure to be in your company, if the discourse turned upon any common subject of literature or reasoning, I always parted from you both entertained and instructed But when the conversation was diverted by you from this channel towards the subject of your profession, tho I doubt not but your intentions were very friendly towards me, I own I never received the same satisfaction I was apt to be tired, and you to be angry I would therefore wish for the future, wherever my good fortune throws me in your way, that these topics should be forborne between us I have, long since, done with all inquiries on such subjects, and am become incapable of instruction; tho I own no one is more capable of conveying it than yourself

After having given you the liberty of communicating to your friend what part of this letter you think proper,

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
DAVID HUME

* 189. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I am very glad, that you are in so good a way, and that you think so soon of making a new Edition [1] I am running over

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 130 ff

[1] In 1762 Millar published 'A New Edition, Corrected' of *The Stuarts* in 2 vols 4to, as *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688, In six Volumes . Vol v and Vol. vi*, thus linking these vols on to *The Early English History* and *The Tudors* In 1763 he published an 8vo edit of the whole *History* in 8 vols

both the antient History & the Tudors, and shall send you them up by the Waggon as soon as they are corrected. Please tell Mr Strahan to keep carefully this Copy I send up, as well as that which I left of the Stuarts. For if you intend to print an Octavo Edition next Summer, it will be better to do it from these Copies which are corrected, than from the new Edition, where there will necessarily be some Errors of the Press.

I give you full Authority to contradict the Report, that I am writing or intend to write an eclesiastical History: I have no such Intention; & I believe never shall [1] I am beginning to love Peace very much, and resolve to be more cautious than formerly in creating myself Enemies But in contradicting this Report, you will be so good as not to impeach Mr Mallet's Veracity. For tis certain I said to Lord Chesterfield (from whom Mr Mallet first had it), that I had entertain'd such a Thought. But my saying so proceeded less from any serious Purpose, than from a View of trying how far such an Idea would be relishd by his Lordship.

I have not laid aside thoughts of continuing my History to the Period after the Revolution It is not amiss to be idle a little time, but it is probable I shall tire of that kind of Life; and if I then find that the Public desires to see more of me, and that the Great will not shut up their Papers from me, I shall set to work in earnest.

I never thought that Lord Kaims's Elements [2] would be a popular Book; but I hop'd, that, as you engage for no copy Money, it wou'd certainly defray the Charge of Paper & Print, and on that footing alone I recommended it to you I find the Author's Expectations rais'd up to a vast Pitch, and indeed there are some parts of the Work ingenious & curious. But it is too abstruse & crabbed ever to take with the Public As to the Advice you desire me to give him, it is certainly very salutary; but I fancy neither I nor any other of his Friends will ever

[1] The idea remained, however, at the back of Hume's mind. He afterwards discussed it with his French friends, D'Alembert, Helvétius, &c They urged him to go on with the project, but he does not seem to have even begun to collect materials

[2] *The Elements of Criticism*, by Henry Home, Lord Kames, 3 vols , 8vo, Edinburgh and London, 1762 The 1st edit was published jointly by Millar in London and A Kincaid and J Bell in Edinburgh Hume's estimate of its probable unpopularity was hardly borne out by the number of editions it went through.

venture to mention it. The Admonitions, which come from you, are commonly the most effectual; and if this Book do not sell, I think it were not amiss, that you tell him the plain Truth, without Disguise or Circumlocution

I find the Booksellers here have sold off all their Share of my Essays, and are desirous of another Edition, which, however, I told them, I believd you was not ready for. I desire to be informd two or three Months before you put it in the Press: Because I intend to make some considerable Alterations on some Parts of them.

I hope Mrs Millar intends to pay us a Visit next Summer, and that you will be of the Party. Please make my most sincere Respects to her

I am Dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend & Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
15 March 1762

* 190. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

[March 1762]

Dr Sir

I return you thanks for the favourable Sentiments you express, in which I am sensible there is great Partiality, a Circumstance, however, which renders them the more obliging I do not expect ever to live and see the Completion of your Prophecy.

I send you the second Volume of the Stuarts. Mr Millar tells me, that he intends to throw off a small Number of 250 to compleat the Sets, and at the same time a larger number of 750, on Medium paper, which he intends likewise for a new Edition of the Tudors and this antient History. Now I am going to propose to you an Improvement, if it be practicable. I always intended, that the whole six Volumes shoud be printed and shoud read as one continued Work, and that the Chapters shoud go on without Interruption from beginning to end In that Case, the first Chapter of James I is the forty fifth of the whole Could you not therefore without any difficulty alter the Types for the last 750 Copies, so as to accommodate the Work to this Alteration. There needs only to change the beginning of the Chapter & the marginal Title, which may be

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 39.

done without Trouble [1] Unless this be done at present, I do not know when we shall be able to bring them to an Uniformity.

I am Dear Sir Yours sincerely

DAVID HUME.

* 191. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

I shall answer your Story of Charles Townsend [2] very fully by another Story of the same Gentleman Three Years ago when I was in London, I was told by a Friend, that Mr Townsend said, that my History of the Stuarts (the only one then publishd) was full of gross Blunders in the Facts He had consulted all the authentic Documents, particularly the Journals of the House of Commons, and found it so. When I made light of this Information, as knowing somewhat of Mr Townsend's hasty manner of speaking, my Friend said, that I ought not so much to neglect the Matter, because Mr Townsend had told him, that Mr Dyson,[3] Clerk to the House of Commons, a Man of Knowlege & Solidity, had made to him the same Observation I was a little surprizd & alarm'd at this; and I went to Mr Elliot, whom I desird to speak to Mr Dyson, & to tell him, that there was nothing in the World I desird so much as to be informd of my Errors, & that he woud oblige me extremely by pointing out those Mistakes. Mr Dyson reply'd, that he had never in his Life spoke of the Matter to Mr Townsend; and that tho' he differed from me in my Reasonings & Views of the Constitution,[4] he had observd no Blunders in Facts, except one with regard to the dispensing Power Which by the bye, was the one also remarkd to me by the Speaker [5] & which I corrected

* MS , R S E ; Burton, II 132 ff (incomplete)

[1] So far as I have been able to discover, this was not done, probably it would have cost too much The first uniform edition of the *History* was that of 1763 in 8 vols , 8vo, whereas Hume is here discussing the two odd vols. of the 4to edit , published in 1762

[2] The Hon Charles Townshend.

[3] Jeremiah Dyson (1722–76), Clerk to the House of Commons, 1748–62, M P for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 1762–8, for Weymouth, &c , 1768–74, and for Horsham, 1774–6 He was jocularly said to know the Journals of the House of Commons by heart.

[4] Dyson began by being an ardent republican, but on the accession of George III changed his views, and was thereafter numbered among 'the King's Friends'.

[5] Arthur Onslow (1691–1768), M P for Surrey, and Speaker from 1728 to 1761.

in the 2d Edition. It was not an Error with regard to the Reign of James II, but with regard to that of K. William which I had not sufficiently examin'd.

I assure you there is not a Quotation that I did not see with mine own Eyes, except two or three at most, which I took from Tyrrel[1] or Brady[2] because I had not the Books refer'd to. That there is no Mistake in such a Number of References, woud be rash or even absurd to affirm: That the Printer also has not sometimes made Mistakes in the Name of the Author or in the Number of the Page quoted, is what I dare not aver: For I only compard the Sheet now & then with my Manuscript, and was contented to be as correct as possible in the Text. I knew that these Mistakes could neither be frequent nor material. But if People, finding a few here & there, point them out, and give them as a Specimen of the whole, I know no remedy for this Malice, but to allow them to go on. Men of Candour will judge otherwise without Scrutiny. And Men of Diligence & Industry will find that the Case is otherwise upon Scrutiny.

I have heard of Charles Townsend's extolling & decrying me alternately, according as the Humour bites, and all the World knows this to be his Character He is perhaps angry with me at present; because I did not wait of [*sic*] him when I was in London. It is strange, that Great Men in England should slight & neglect Men of Letters when they pay court to them; & rail at them when they do not I have a Regard to Mr Townsend as a man of Parts; I believe, of very great Parts. But I attatch myself to no great Man, and visit none of them but such as happen to be my Friends, and particular Acquaintance. I wish they woud consider me as equally independant with themselves or more so. However, there is no Necessity of enraging Mr Townsend farther by the Story I told you in the first Paragraph; and therefore I wou'd not have you communicate it to any body, except a very particular Friend whom you can trust You may read the 2d Paragraph to every body.

Mr Bell swears to me, that he sent up none of the last Edition of my Essays to London, & Donaldson owns only twenty. I do

[1] Sir James Tyrrell *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil*, 3 vols, fol, London, 1696–1704—the so-called Whig history, completed only as far as the death of Henry II.

[2] Robert Brady. *History of England, from the first Entrance of the Romans to the Death of Richard II*, With an Appendix of Official Documents, 3 vols. in 2, fol., London, 1685—the so-called Tory History.

not think the Sale has been bad in the last two Years: For you & they have sold above six hundred of both Editions. If my History take a great run, it will quicken the Sale of the other.

I shall send off the three Volumes, corrected, by the Waggon to morrow Please tell Mr Strahan, that I hope he has kept all the detachd Bits of Manuscript, which were inserted in the Stuarts, and that he will do the same with the Tudors, & will pin them to the Page, to which they belong as I have done. If he has already lost those of the Stuarts, it is only having recourse to this new Edition for these Passages, when he comes to print the Octavo Edition. But for the rest let him follow the second Edition as I have now given it him corrected

Mr Kincaid sent me a Copy of the antient History in which there wants two Sheets of the first Volume viz B and Ff. There were also two Copies of B of the second Volume, of which I have returnd one enclosd in one of the Volumes, which I send up by the Waggon. I beg it of you to send me these two Sheets in a post Letter, otherwise this Copy will be lost.

Pray is there any hope of seeing Lord Lyttleton's History this Season?[1] I shou'd be glad to have had the Benefit of it for correcting this new Edition. Tho my Lord told me, that he observd no Mistakes in Authorities, & none in Facts, except one, where I tell a Story of Thomas a Becket after his Secretary; whereas His Lordship had a Manuscript, which puts the Matter in a different Light But this I could not know, and I still think it doubtful, which Authority I should follow

I was extremely obligd to you for advancing the Money in order to enable me to take part in the last Subscription. I shall certainly keep it till the Peace, which seems now to be in a tolerable good way; and then I shall be a considerable Gainer

I beg my Compliments to Mrs Millar; and am with great Sincerity

Dear Sir Your affectionate Friend & Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
8 April 1762

[1] The first three volumes of Lyttelton's *Henry II* were not published till 1767, and the other two not till 1771

* 192. *To* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Edinburgh, 10 May, 1762.

Dear Sir,

I have a great many thanks to give you for your goodness in remembering my request, and for the exact description, which you sent me of your method of preserving houses from thunder [1] I communicated it to our Philosophical Society,[2] as you gave me permission, and they desire me to tell you, that they claim it as their own, and intend to enrich with it the first collection which they may publish.[3] The established rule of our Society is, that after a paper is read to them, it is delivered by them to some member, who is obliged, in a subsequent meeting, to read some paper of remarks upon it

It was communicated to our friend, Mr Russell,[4] who is not very expeditious in finishing any undertaking; and he did not read his remarks, till the last week, which is the reason, why I have been so late in acknowledging your favour. Mr Russell's remarks, besides the just praises of your invention, contained only two proposals for improving it One was, that in houses, where the rain water is carried off the roof by a lead pipe, this metallic body might be employed as a conductor to the electric fire, and save the expense of a new apparatus Another was, that the wire might be carried down to the foundations of the house, and be thence conveyed below ground to the requisite distance, which would better secure it against accidents. I thought it proper to convey to you these two ideas of so ingenious a man, that you might adopt them, if they appear to you well founded.

I am very sorry, that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc ; but you are the first philosopher, and indeed the first great man of letters, for whom we are beholden to her It is our own fault, that we have not kept him; whence

* Franklin, *Works* (ed Sparks, Boston, 1840), VI 243 ff.

[1] Contained in a letter from Franklin to Hume, dated from London, 24 Jan. 1762 (MS., R.S E , and Franklin, *Works*, VI 241 ff)

[2] The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, of which Hume had been, and perhaps still was, joint secretary.

[3] It was published, as Article VIII, in *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary, read before the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh* . Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1771

[4] James Russell

it appears, that we do not agree with Solomon, that wisdom is above gold; for we take care never to send back an ounce of the latter, which we once lay our fingers upon

I saw yesterday our friend Sir Alexander Dick,[1] who desired me to present his compliments to you. We are all very unwilling to think of your settling in America, and that there is some chance for our never seeing you again, but no one regrets it more than does,

Dear Sir, Your most affectionate humble Servant,
DAVID HUME.[2]

* 193 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I find at last that the Mistake has proceeded from my own Want of Clearness, which has occasiond a new Mistake. I ought to have repeated the Title of the Sheets I wanted in my last Letter; and in that Case you would not have sent me the enclos'd, instead of Sheet B of the first Volume.[3]

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 135 f (incomplete)

[1] Sir Alexander Dick (formerly Cunningham) of Prestonfield, Bart. (1703–85), the Edinburgh physician who travelled with Allan Ramsay the painter, succeeded to the baronetcy and estate of Prestonfield, 1746, and assumed the name of Dick, sometime President, Roy Coll of Physicians, Edinburgh Boswell (*Tour*, I 38) speaks of his 'amiable character and ingenious and cultivated mind' He was one of those invited to dinner by Boswell in order to meet Dr Johnson

[2] In reply to this letter Franklin wrote from London on 19 May 1762 'It is no small pleasure to me to hear from you that my paper on the means of preserving buildings from damage by lightning, was acceptable to the Philosophical Society Your compliment of *gold* and *wisdom* is very obliging to me, but a little injurious to your country The various value of every thing in every part of this world, arises you know from the various proportions of the quantity to the demand We are told that gold and silver in Solomon's time were so plenty as to be of no more value in his country than the stones in the street You have here at present such a plenty of wisdom. Your people are therefore not to be censur'd for desiring no more among them than they have, and if I have *any*, I should certainly carry it where from its scarcity it may probably come to a better market.

'I nevertheless regret extreamly the leaving a country in which I have receiv'd so much friendship, and friends who conversation has been so agreeable and so improving to me, and that I am henceforth to reside at so great a distance from them is no small mortification to, My Dear Friend, Yours most affectionately,

'B FRANKLIN.'

(MS , R.S E , and Franklin, *Works*, VII 236 ff)

[3] See Letter 191 above

I like much better your publishing in Volumes than in Numbers: Tho' this last Method has been often practic'd, it has somewhat of a quackish Air, which you have always avoided as well as myself. I know not what to do for Frontispieces: I have no manner of Skill myself in designing; and am not able to point out the most proper Subjects nor the Method of executing them On the whole, I think it an Expence which may be spar'd; but if you continue in the Resolution of having some such Ornament, I could write a Letter to Allan Ramsay, who, I hope, would take the Pains of directing the Engraver. As to my Head, I think that also a superfluous Expence; and as there is no Picture of me in London, I know not how it can be executed With Submission to you, would it not be better to throw these Charges on the Paper & Print? I do not imagine, because these Ornaments have help'd off the Sale of Smollets History, that mine would be the better for them. These Arts are seldom practic'd twice with the same Success [1]

I do not lose View of my Design to continue my History, at least for two Reigns more But I question whether Party Prejudices with regard to me are as yet sufficiently subsided to enable me to carry on that Work without meeting with Repulses & Disgusts from those, who have the Materials in their Power, which must serve for the Foundation of my Narrative. A little farther time will, I hope, operate that Effect

I rejoice heartily in your Recovery. I hope your Indisposition was nothing more than this Cold which has been so epidemical in London, and is beginning to spread here

I believe you once askd me a Question with regard to Dr Robertson's History, which I neglected to answer. The Dr says it will be ready for the Press by the Winter after the next.[2] He thinks it will make two Volumes in Quarto I hope it will be as successful as his last Performance

I remove my House this Week to James's Court.[3] Please send

[1] There are no plates in either the 1762, 4to edit of *The Stuarts*, or the 1763, 8vo edit. of the whole *History*.

[2] If, as may be assumed, this refers to Robertson's *Charles V*, the author's calculations were a long way out It was not published till 1769.

[3] On the north side of the Lawnmarket The windows to the north looked across the Firth to Fife It was a fashionable quarter, and the inhabitants took care to keep it 'genteel' 'They kept a clerk to record their names and their proceedings, had a scavenger of their own, clubbed in many public measures, and had balls and assemblies among themselves' (Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1 220)

the enclosd to Mr Strahan. And remember me to Mrs Millar. I am Dr Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
17 May 1762

* 194. *To the* REV. GEORGE CAMPBELL[1]

7 June, 1762 [2]

Dear Sir,

It has so seldom happened that controversies in philosophy, much more in theology, have been carried on without producing a personal quarrel between the parties, that I must regard my present situation as somewhat extraordinary, who have reason to give you thanks for the civil and obliging manner in which you have conducted the dispute against me, on so interesting a subject as that of miracles. Any little symptoms of vehemence, of which I formerly used the freedom to complain, when you favoured me with a sight of the manuscript, are either removed or explained away, or atoned for by civilities, which are far beyond what I have any title to pretend to It will be natural for you to imagine, that I will fall upon some shift to evade the force of your arguments, and to retain my former opinion in the point controverted between us, but it is impossible for me not to see the ingenuity of your performance, and the great learning which you have displayed against me

I consider myself as very much honoured in being thought worthy of an answer by a person of so much merit, and as I find that the public does you justice with regard to the ingenuity and good composition of your piece, I hope you will have no reason to repent engaging with an antagonist, whom, perhaps in strictness, you might have ventured to neglect I own to you, that I never felt so violent an inclination to defend myself as at present, when I am thus fairly challenged by you, and I think

* *European Mag*, VII (1785), 250; Smellie, 192 ff, Ritchie, 149 ff, Burton, I. 57 and II 118

[1] George Campbell (1719–96), Principal of Marischal Coll, Aberdeen, since 1759, D D, 1764, Professor of Divinity, Marischal Coll, 1771, author of *Dissertation on Miracles*, 1762, and *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776

[2] Burton gives the date as 7 *January*, which must be wrong, for Campbell, replying on 25 *June*, speaks of Hume's letter 'of the 7th instant' (MS, R S E)

I could find something specious at least to urge in my defence; but as I had fixed a resolution, in the beginning of my life, always to leave the public to judge between my adversaries and me, without making any reply. I must adhere inviolably to this resolution, otherways my silence on any future occasion would be construed an inability to answer, and would be matter of triumph against me.

It may perhaps amuse you to learn the first hint, which suggested to me that argument which you have so strenuously attacked. I was walking in the cloisters of the Jesuits' College of La Flèche, a town in which I passed two years of my youth, and engaged in a conversation with a Jesuit of some parts and learning, who was relating to me, and urging some nonsensical miracle performed in their convent, when I was tempted to dispute against him; and as my head was full of the topics of my *Treatise of Human Nature*, which I was at that time composing, this argument immediately occurred to me, and I thought it very much gravelled my companion; but at last he observed to me, that it was impossible for that argument to have any solidity, because it operated equally against the Gospel as the Catholic miracles,—which observation I thought proper to admit as a sufficient answer I believe you will allow, that the freedom at least of this reasoning makes it somewhat extraordinary to have been the produce of a convent of Jesuits, tho perhaps you may think the sophistry of it savours plainly of the place of its birth.

* 195. *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Edinburgh, 1 July, 1762

Madam,

Had I the least propensity towards superstition, the incident your Ladyship mentions, would have revived that passion in me, and I should certainly have imagined, that I was secretly attended by a fairy, a sylph, or a good genius, who knew my inmost purposes, and was industrious to prevent my most earnest intentions from being frustrated I was a short time in London last autumn, when I gave that work to the press which your Ladyship is pleased to mention; and having a great ambition that it should be conveyed to your hands, I spoke to more than one person to point out to me some sure method for

* *Priv Corr*, 6 ff, Burton, II 102 (incomplete).

that purpose, but was not able to satisfy myself before I was obliged to leave England. In this part of the world, I found that the war laid me under still greater difficulties to procure a safe conveyance to Paris. But whether any of my friends, who knew the uneasiness, which I had felt from these disappointments, has been more happy in fulfilling my intentions, is, what I shall make it my business to enquire; and I surely owe him, whoever he be, the greatest obligations for executing in my behalf, a duty which I was so earnest to perform, and which nothing but obstructions, arising from these unhappy hostilities between the two nations, could have prevented me from having the honour to fulfil [1]

But, Madam, what new wonder is this which your letter presents to me? I not only find a Lady, who, in the bloom of beauty and height of reputation, can withdraw herself from the pleasures of a gay Court, and find leisure to cultivate the sciences, but deigns to support a correspondence with a man of letters in a remote country, and to reward his labours by a suffrage the most agreeable of all others, to a man who has any spark of generous sentiments or taste for true glory. Besides these unusual circumstances, I find a Lady, who, without any other advantages than her own talents, has made herself mistress of a language commonly esteemed very difficult to strangers, and possesses it to such a degree as might give jealousy to us who have made it the business of our lives to acquire and cultivate it [2]

I cannot but congratulate my country on this incident, which marks the progress made by its literature and reputation in foreign countries

[1] In a letter, written in English, and dated from Paris, 29 May 1762, Mme de Boufflers says 'I have received Sir, by an unknown hand, the continuation of your admirable performance Some little perhaps, of the pride so common in my sex, but much more the desire to contract an obligation with a man of your merit, and to obtain from him so valuable a favour, have persuaded me, I was indebted to you for it T'is natural to bend our thoughts towards what is most advantageous for us, however elevated it may be The wrong should be only, to believe we deserve it Then Sir, I think, that in wishing such a proof of your kindness, and confessing in the same time, I have no rhigt [*sic*] to pretend to it, I prove my just opinion of both' (MS , R S E)

[2] Hume's astonishment, real or assumed, might have been diminished had he known then, as he learned later, that Mme de Boufflers had an Englishwoman, Lydia Becquet by name, living with her as companion and secretary Some of her later letters are in Miss Becquet's hand

My vanity would also suggest to me some share in this happy event, did I not reflect, that your Ladyship's partiality towards my feeble writings, has proceeded entirely from the spirit of disinterestedness which I endeavoured to maintain in composing them. But the more I must abate of self-conceit on the occasion, the more I find myself obliged to redouble my sentiments of gratitude and respect towards your Ladyship, who have been pleased to confer so great an honour upon me

I am, with the truest regard, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

P.S.

So far I had wrote in answer to your Ladyship's of the 29th of May, when I was again honoured with yours of the 14th of June.[1] Good God! Madam, how much I regret my being absent from London on this occasion, which deprives me of an opportunity of showing in person my regard for your recommendation, and my esteem, I had almost said veneration, for the virtue and genius of M. Rousseau I assure your Ladyship there is no man in Europe of whom I have entertained a higher idea, and whom I would be prouder to serve; and as I find his reputation very high in England, I hope every one will endeavour to make him sensible of it by civilities, and by services, as far as he will accept of them I revere his greatness of mind, which makes him fly obligations and dependance, and I have the vanity to think, that through the course of my life I have endeavoured to resemble him in those maxims

But as I have some connexions with men of rank in London, I shall instantly write to them, and endeavoúr to make them sensible of the honour M. Rousseau has done us in choosing an asylum in England. We are happy at present in a king, who has a taste for literature; and I hope M Rousseau will find the advantage of it, and that he will not disdain to receive benefits from a great monarch, who is sensible of his merit I am only afraid that your friend will find his abode in England not so agreeable as may be wished, if he does not possess the language, which I am afraid is the case for I never could observe in his writings any marks of his acquaintance with the English tongue. The French nation will soon regret the loss of so great a man, and will be sensible that it is some dishonour to them to have

[1] For this letter, announcing that she has recommended Jean-Jacques Rousseau to go to England, see Appendix E below

lost him. We were in hopes that philosophical liberty had made greater advances in that country; and such of us as have indulged the freedom of the pen, had need be careful how they entrust their persons to such as profess these rigorous maxims, and do not think that any indulgence is even due to foreigners. I assure your Ladyship that this reflection gives me some uneasiness, but I will not allow myself to think that I shall always be condemned to admire you at a distance, and that I shall never have an opportunity of enjoying that conversation, of whose charms I have heard such frequent accounts

* 196. *To* Jean-Jacques Rousseau [1]

Sir

I was yesterday honour'd with a Letter from a Lady of great Merit, and one who has a very particular Regard for you, the Countess of Boufflers; and this Letter, I find, was wrote upon the Supposition of my being in London, and was probably brought over by you There is nothing I more regreat, than my being at so great a Distance, by which I am depriv'd of an Advantage that I have long coveted, the Pleasure of your Acquaintance, and in time, as I wou'd fain flatter myself, the Honour of your Friendship. For I will use the Freedom of telling you bluntly, without affecting the Finesse of a well-turnd Compliment, that, of all men of Letters in Europe, since the Death of President Montesquieu, you are the Person whom I most revere, both for the Force of your Genius and the Greatness of your Mind Had I been in London, I shou'd not have despair'd, that, tho' I be there little less a Stranger than Yourself, I might have been of some small Use to you, and I shou'd at least have been able, by my Regard & Attentions, to show you, that persecuted Merit becomes but the more precious in the Eyes of every one who knows how to value it. But I am sensible, that the extensive Reputation, which you have acquir'd by your eloquent Writings, will engage more People to offer you their Civilities and Services than your Taste for Privacy & Solitude will allow to admit of: I could only hope to be receiv'd by you with Some Distinction on account of that Lady, who

* MS in Bib pub de Neuchâtel, fol 128, Streckeisen-Moultou, II. 275 ff. (in French translation), hitherto unpublished in England.

[1] Instead of being in London, as Hume thought, Rousseau was at this time on his way to Neuchâtel, which he reached on 10 July.

seems desirous to establish a Friendship & Connexion between us Permit me also some Liberty of boasting on this Occasion while I pretend, that my Conduct & Character entitle me to a Sympathy with Yours, at least, in my Love of philosophical Retreat, in my Neglect of vulgar Prejudices, and in my Disdain of all Dependance· And if these Circumstances had happily prov'd the Foundation of an amicable Connexion between us; I shou'd have entertain'd the Project of engaging you to honour this part of the World with your Company, and to make you overlook the Disadvantages of Climate and other Circumstances, under which it labours There are here several Men of Letters & Merit, who wou'd have been proud of your Acquaintance, and whom you wou'd have found not unworthy of your Esteem. And I shou'd have valu'd myself on being the Person who had the Happiness of making them known to you. In the mean time, will you permit me to send some of my Friends in London to wait on you, and not think it strange, if they cite my Name & Authority for paying their Respects to you? I have wrote to one or two, who, I hope, are at present in that City, and who, I am confident, will perform to much better Purpose the good Offices, which I should have been proud to execute towards you in Person. You may be confident, that the Virtue & Probity of the Persons whom I recommend to your Friendship, will be principally attended to; much more than their Rank, or even their Genius and Knowlege, tho' they are also eminent in this latter particular

I have us'd the Freedom to write to you in English; because it is the only Language in which I can express myself with tolerable Propriety, tho' I am uncertain whether you will be able to understand my Letter without an Interpreter I remain, with sincere Regard, Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant
DAVID HUME[1]

Edinburgh
James's Court 2 July
1762

[1] This letter took a long time to reach Rousseau, but did reach him in the end. He replied to it from Motiers-Travers on 19 Feb 1763, sending his reply through Earl Marischal Keith He also sent a copy of his reply, presumably by some other route Both autographs are among the MSS, R.S E The second has been printed by Dufour (*Rousseau Corr*, IX 104 f) with the following note· 'Transcrit de l'imprimé en 1782 par Du Peyrou, tome XXIV, p 25–27 Cette lettre avait passé en 1766 dans *l'Exposé*

* 197. *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Edinburgh, 5 July, 1762.

Dear Sir,

I received a letter, a few days ago, from a lady in the Court of France, with whom I have been for some time in an epistolary correspondence, and who bears a very high character for knowledge and merit She had wrote to me on the supposition I was still in London, because my last letter to her was dated from that place, and she recommends to me, in very earnest terms, the famous Rousseau, who is obliged to fly France, on account of some passages in a new *Treatise of Education* which he has published [1] You may believe, that it gave me great uneasiness that I could not fulfil a duty which would have been so agreeable to me, and which would have connected me with a man whose character and talents I so much admire. I do not remember whether I have ever had a conversation with you on the writings of that author, and I know not whether you esteem them as much as I do. For my part, tho I see some tincture of extravagance in all of them, I also think I see so much eloquence and force of imagination, such an energy of expression, and such a boldness of conception, as entitles him to a place among the first writers of the age. As to his personal character, I shall give it you in the words of my correspondent, after remarking that all the world speaks of him in the same style . [2]

* Stewart, *Robertson* (coll edit of Stewart's *Works*), x 223 ff. Stewart was lent the autograph of this letter by the Lord Minto of his day, and apparently failed to return it It is not now among the Minto MSS

succinct etc' Apparently neither the late M Dufour nor his successors, the present editors of this magnificent edition of Rousseau's Correspondence, made any attempt to collate the printed version with the autograph in Edinburgh The result is that they have printed, not the original letter sent by Rousseau to Hume, but a version (in Rousseau's handwriting) labelled: 'Copie par duplicata d'une lettre écrite en réponse à Monsieur Hume, de Motiers-travers Comté de Neufchâtel en Suisse, par J J Rousseau Citoyen de Genève, sous couvert de Mylord Keith Marechal d'Ecosse, le 19 février 1763'

The original, which differs in several places from the duplicate, is given in Appendix G below

[1] The *Émile*, which was published in Paris in May 1762, and condemned by the Parlement to be burnt on 11th June

[2] He then quotes, from Mme de Boufflers's letter of 14 June (see Appendix E below), the passage· 'Mr Rousseau passe chez la pluspart de gens . . deffier de sa sincerité'

I own that I was extremely struck with the situation of so extraordinary a man, and having a great desire of being of some use to him, tho absent, I have ventured to give you this trouble. Our present King and present Minister[1] are desirous of being thought encouragers of learning: can they have a more proper opportunity of showing to the whole world that they are in earnest? Monsieur Rousseau is now thrown out of his ordinary course of livelihood; and tho he rejects presents from private persons, he may not think himself degraded by a pension from a great monarch and it would be a singular victory over the French, worth a hundred of our Mindens, to protect and encourage a man of genius whom they had persecuted I beseech you to advance this topic in places where your opinion may be able to produce the desired effect It would be a favour to the ministers to suggest such an action to them. I fancy Rousseau's crime is only some sallies of Republicanism, and Protestantism, and satire against French manners, for I do not find that, in any of his writings, he has ever gone farther

I have hitherto been a wanderer on the face of the earth, without any abiding city, but I have now at last purchased a house, which I am repairing, tho I cannot say that I have yet fixed any property in the earth, but only in the air: for it is the third story of James's Court,[2] and it cost me five hundred pounds. It is somewhat dear, but I shall be exceedingly well lodged. On comparing my situation with poor Roussseau's, I cannot but reflect how much better booksellers we have in this country than they in France

I am, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,
DAVID HUME[3]

[1] Lord Bute

[2] See note 3 on p. 359 above. As the tenement was built on the steep slope of the Castle Hill, the third story facing south was the sixth facing north Hume's flat was the third on the west stair He retained the ownership of it till his death, and left it in his will to his brother, with the life rent to his sister or £20 a year in lieu For at least two years between 1766 and 1773 Boswell was his tenant Then Boswell rented the ground-floor flat on the same stair, and Hume let his flat to the Dowager Lady Wallace. It was not in his house, but in the ground-floor flat, that Boswell entertained Dr Johnson in 1773

[3] Elliot answered this letter on 14 July He says. 'As soon as I received your letter, I apply'd to Mr Home [John Home, who was acting as secretary to Lord Bute] who had also heard from you by the same post, & desir'd him to make all possible enquiry after Mr Rousseau If he be in London we

* 198. *To* David Mallet

Dear Sir

You give me a great deal of Pleasure in affording me so near a Prospect of perusing your History of the Duke of Marlborough, which, to tell you the Truth, I did not think, was in so great Forwardness [1] I scarce know any Historian, except those who were engag'd in the Scene of Action, they describe, who has had the Opportunity of writing from such excellent Materials; and as the Subject is interesting, and you have conducted the Work with all imaginable Care and Deliberation, the Public has reason to expect, as I do, a Work of uncommon Merit [2] Happily, the Factions seem now to be almost entirely appeas'd, which might otherwise have given you Disturbance, and the Nation will be equally pleas'd to see you do Justice to the Tory as to the Whig Party For my Part, the Knowlege I have been able to form of that Period is but imperfect, but it has always appear'd to me, that the Whigs, as they resembled the Antients in the Greatness of their Views & in their Zeal for Liberty, so they copy'd but too nearly the same Models, in the Violence &

* MS in the possession of Colonel John Murray, hitherto unpublished.

shall certainly find him out, & I need not assure you that both on account of his own merit, and your recommendation, I shall not fail to show him all the attention in my power . Rousseau is not the only man of genius, the singularity of whose opinions has intercepted the rewards due to the superiority of his talents. I really admire both the sentiments & eloquence which mark some of his writings, 'tis amazing how he coud compose or publish so extraordinary a peice as the Eloize Many of the letters are true, but the tendency of the whole book is pernicious, & the composition throughout faulty & tedious' (MS , R S E)

[1] In 1744 Mallet was left £1,000 by Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, on condition that he wrote the Duke's Life He pocketed the money, and an annual pension as well, took possession of the Marlborough Papers, and for the rest of his life pretended that the work was making steady progress When he died in 1765 it was found that he had not composed a line of it

[2] In the undated letter, to which this of Hume's is the answer, Mallet says 'I have not been idle, tho I give no account of my progress to one in a hundred I converse with. As it contains several particulars of the reigns of the two brothers, Charles and James, the most interesting tho the least known parts of King William's, and embraces the whole of Queen Anne's reign, together with some anecdotes relative to her successor, it will swell into two quarto volumes. I am resolved too, that the translation, which will be done here by an excellent hand under my own eye, shall appear at the same time the original does . .' (MS , R S E)

Atrocity of some of their Projects. Both Parties, no doubt, were alternately in the Wrong as to afford you an ample Opportunity of showing your Impartiality.

The Undertaking you mention was rather founded on an Idea I was fond of, than on any serious, at least any present Purpose of executing it.[1] The Truth is, I am entirely idle at present, so far as regards writing; and I am very happy in that indolent State. My Friends tell me, that I will not continue long so, and that I will tire of having nothing to do but read and converse, but I am resolvd to resist, as a Temptation of the Devil, any Impulse towards writing, and I am really so much ashamd of myself when I see my Bulk on a Shelf, as well as when I see it in a Glass, that I would fain prevent my growing more corpulent either way To keep my Mind at rest & my Body in motion seems to be the best Recipe for both Maladies.

You make me very happy in telling me, that you have marked the Negligences of Style, particularly the Scotticisms, that have escap'd me in these two last Volumes.[2] You could not have laid me under a more sensible Obligation: But you must add to it, by sending me a List of them, that I may correct them in some future Edition· I will not say, may avoid them in any future Performance, for fear you laugh at me for departing so soon from my Resolutions Lord Lyttleton was so good as to mark on the Margin some Oversights of that kind, which had occur'd to him in reading but they were so few, that, I was sensible, he had been over-indulgent to me[3] I believe, indeed, that a Scotsman, who, by Care & Attention, has corrected all the Vices of Expression, incident to his Country, is the best Critic, whom one could have recourse to; and as you are entirely in that Situation, I propose to myself much Information from your Remarks I beg it of you, therefore, not to with-hold them from

[1] The projected Ecclesiastical History.

[2] In the same letter Mallet says 'I have done at last, what nothing but the greatest regard for the writer, and the truest friendship for the man, could have made me submit to· I have gone over both your volumes again with the eye and attention of a mere grammarian The task of looking after verbal mistakes, or errors against the idiom of a tongue, tho not unnecessary, is trivial, and disgusting in the greatest degree But your work and you deserved it of me· and I could not have forgiven myself had I not treated yours as I hope and expect you will do mine'

[3] In a letter dated 12 Oct 1761, Lyttelton promises Hume to undertake this task, but adds that he looks upon it as 'an honourable *sinecure*, attended with much Profitt, and very little trouble' (MS , R S.E.)

me. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Mallet; and am with great Sincerity

Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME.

Edinburgh
8 Novr. 1762

199 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

As yours of the 16 of last Month did not require any immediate Reply, I have us'd the Freedom to delay answering it. I am glad to find your two new Editions so well advanc'd. I hope they will be successful. Some People tell me, that, as the two Volumes last publishd, do not shock any party prejudices, they have been better receivd than the former, & procure a good Reception for the whole If I shoud see them make any farther Progress, it would be the best Encouragement for me to proceed in writing the more recent History. I am far from losing Sight of that Project; but it is better not to begin it, till Matters are more ripe for the Execution, and till I find, that every one would frankly concur in opening their Cabinets, and allowing me the Use of all Papers, which may be necessary for my Purpose. I had a Letter from Mr Mallet lately, by which I find, that he will no longer be an Obstacle in my way, for he tells me that his History of the Duke of Marlborough is ready for the Press Which is more than I or most People expected

Lord Marischal[1] wrote me lately, that the celebrated Rousseau had taken Shelter with him at Neufchatel; but that he had thoughts of coming to England, and desird to know of me, if he could make an Edition of his Works by which he could gain a little Money for his Subsistance, as he was not interested. He wishd also, that I could recommend him to a Bookseller.[2]

* MS , R.S E , Burton, ii. 139 f

[1] George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal of Scotland (? 1692–1778), joined the Earl of Mar in 'The Fifteen', and commanded two squadrons at Sheriffmuir, attainted, and fled to the Continent, concerned in the abortive Jacobite rebellion of 1719, entered the service of Frederick the Great, 1745, attainder removed, 1759, died unmarried at Potsdam, 1778 He was the elder brother of Frederick's Field-Marshal, James Keith His befriending of Rousseau is well known He was at this period Governor of Neuchâtel, which was (more or less) Prussian territory.

[2] The Lord Marischal's letter, dated 2 Oct 1762, is given in Appendix D below.

GEORGE KEITH, 10TH EARL MARISCHAL OF SCOTLAND

From the anonymous portrait in the Bibliothèque publique de Neuchâtel

You have told me, that you do not care to deal in French Books; but if he should publish any new Work, might he not have a Translation of it ready to be publishd at the same time with the Original? And would not you be willing to deal with him in that Shape? I should think him very fortunate, if he were in your hands. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Millar, who, I hope, is at Bath, more for her Amusement than her Health. I am Dear Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
22 Nov 1762

P.S.

As your Edition on royal Paper is not numerous, I shall only desire three Copies of it to be sent me, and shall reserve the other three for the Octavo Edition. Be so good therefore as to embark three Copies in any Parcel you send to Edinburgh. The Peace will now make the Intercourse of Trade more open between us [1] The mention of Peace reminds me to thank you for your Assistance in making out my Subscription last Year, which is likely to turn out so much to my Advantage. The Stocks are now very high; but I suppose will not come to their full Height this twelvemonth; and till then I fancy you will not think it prudent in me to sell out

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller

*200 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Edinburgh, 22 January, 1763.

Madam,

I was so rash as to regard the letter, with which your Ladyship has honoured me, as a kind of challenge; and I sat down several times with an intention of giving you an answer in French, being ashamed, when I saw your Ladyship mistress of so much elegance in our tongue, not to be able to express myself with some tolerable propriety in yours [2] But though the French language be esteemed much more easy to foreigners, and though I had

* *Priv Corr.*, 53 ff

[1] The preliminaries of the Peace of Paris had been signed on 3 Nov. 1762. The Peace itself was signed in the following February.

[2] Mme de Boufflers had written Hume a further letter in English, dated 30 July (see Appendix E below).

conversed in it some years of my life, I found it more prudent to desist from my enterprise, and not allow your Ladyship's superiority, who possessed not these advantages, to appear too conspicuous above me. I decline, therefore, the field of combat; and I hope your Ladyship will be contented with the victory, and not force me also to confess your superiority in English, a confession which I would make with great reluctance, and which yet I have a great difficulty to withhold, when I peruse your letters I dare venture to affirm, Madam, that you are the sole instance of a foreigner, not habituated to our tongue, who has, from reading alone, become so entirely mistress of it I had a letter lately from my friend, Lord Marischal, Governor of Neufchâtel, by which I learned that M Rousseau had taken shelter with him from the persecution of his enemies My Lord praises extremely the politeness and agreeableness of M Rousseau's conversation, and seems very desirous to detain the *honest savage*, as he pleasantly calls him, in his government: but I suspect, that the King of Prussia's authority is so limited in that republic, as scarcely to afford the philosopher sufficient protection from the bigots, who still continue to harass him. Meanwhile that great Prince ordered My Lord to build him a hermitage, to lay out a small garden for him, and to supply him with all his necessaries But Rousseau, with his usual dignity, refused all these gratuities, though at the same time he desired My Lord to learn from me, whether it were possible for him to gain from the London booksellers as much money as would suffice for his maintenance; and this recompence, being the fruit of his own industry, he would have no scruple to accept of I think this instance of conduct a kind of phenomenon in the republic of letters, and one very honourable for M Rousseau. One is only apt to wish that he could practise this virtue with less hardship and difficulty, though we must also confess, that the difficulty adds to the lustre of it I have heard, that the circumstance which deterred him from coming over to England, as he first intended, was a harsh reflection, which he threw out on the people in his Treatise of Education [1] if this was his motive, I am persuaded that he would find it a vain fear, and that every one would rather have been anxious to show respect

[1] Possibly a reference to 'Les Anglois ont pourtant aussi leurs préjugés nationaux, ils en ont même plus que personne, mais ces préjugés tiennent moins à l'ignorance qu'à la passion L'Anglois a les préjugés de l'orgueil, et les François ceux de la vanité' (*Émile*, v, 'Des voyages').

to his merit Perhaps also he might have seen reason to retract the opinion which he had formed of the nation; and might have observed the English to be more hard in their exterior than their interior. He would have seen many instances of humanity very honourable to their character: besides the magnificent charities, which are supported by voluntary contributions, where superstition has little share, they practised, during the late war, a piece of humanity which was very commendable. We had sometimes near 30,000 French seamen prisoners, who were distributed into different prisons, and whom the Parliament maintained by a considerable sum allotted them They received food from the public, but it was thought that their own friends would supply them with clothes, which however was found, after some time, to be neglected The cry arose, that the brave and gallant men, though enemies, were perishing with cold in prison a subscription was set on foot, great sums were given by all ranks of people, and, notwithstanding the national foolish prejudices against the French, a remarkable zeal every where appeared for this charity.[1] I am afraid that M. Rousseau could not have produced many parallel instances among his heroes, the Greeks; and still fewer among the Romans

You deign, Madam, to ask my opinion of the new performance of M Rousseau. I know that it becomes me better to form my judgment upon yours, but in compliance with your commands, I shall not make a secret of my sentiments. All the writings of that author appear to me admirable, particularly on the head of eloquence, and if I be not much mistaken, he gives to the French tongue an energy, which it scarce seems to have reached in any other hands. But as his enemies have objected, that with this domineering force of genius there is always intermingled some degree of extravagance, it is impossible for his friends altogether to deny the charge; and were it not for his frequent and earnest protestations to the contrary, one would be apt to suspect, that he chooses his topics less from persuasion, than from the pleasure of showing his invention, and surprizing the reader by his paradoxes The Treatise of Education, as it possesses much of the merit, seems also exposed to the faults of

[1] This zeal for the welfare of the French prisoners seems to have greatly upset Lieut.-Gen. Lord George Beauclerk, in command of the forces in Scotland On 29 Jan 1760 he wrote to Pitt from Edinburgh, complaining that the citizens were much too sympathetic towards the prisoners, and asking for instructions. Pitt gave him an evasive reply (*Chatham Corr.*, II. 19 ff.).

his other performances; and as he indulges his love of the marvellous even in so serious and important a subject, he has given a pledge to the public that he was in earnest in all his other topics If I dared to object any thing to M. Rousseau's eloquence, which is the shining side of his character, I should say, that it was not wholly free from the defect sometimes found in that of the Roman orator; and that their great talent for expression was apt to produce a prolixity in both This last performance chiefly is exposed to this objection, and I own, that though it abounds in noble and shining passages, it gave me rather less pleasure than his former writings. However, it carries still the stamp of a great genius; and, what enhances its beauty, the stamp of a very particular genius. The noble pride and spleen and indignation of the author bursts out with freedom in a hundred places, and serves fully to characterize the lofty spirit of the man

When I came to peruse that passage of M. Rousseau's Treatise which has occasioned all the persecution against him,[1] I was not in the least surprized that it gave offence He has not had the precaution to throw any veil over his sentiments; and as he scorns to dissemble his contempt of established opinions, he could not wonder that all the zealots were in arms against him. The liberty of the press is not so secured in any country, scarce even in this, as not to render such an open attack of popular prejudices somewhat dangerous

I own the truth of what your Ladyship remarks, that I need in no wise dread the precedent, could my affairs permit me to pay a visit to France, now that peace is happily established; and nothing could be a stronger inducement to me than the invitation with which your Ladyship has been pleased to honour me My friend, Mr Stuart,[2] who enjoyed the happiness of your con-

[1] The Confession of the Savoyard Vicar

[2] The reference this time is not to John Stewart the wine merchant but to Andrew Stuart of Torrance (died 1801), W.S , one of the guardians of the young Duke of Hamilton, and the lawyer who was chiefly responsible for conducting the Hamiltons' case in the Douglas Cause He had been in France in 1762, in connexion with this lawsuit, and on 16 Dec wrote from Paris to William Johnstone. 'When you have occasion to see our friend David Hume tell him that he is so much worshipt here that he must be void of all passions if he does not immediately take post for Paris In most houses where I am acquainted here one of y^e^ first questions is Do you know Mons^r^ Hume whom we all admire so much. I dined yesterday at Helvetius's where this same Mons^r^ Hume interrupted our conversation very much . . ' (MS , R.S E)

versation at Paris, and who informed me more fully of your partiality towards me, has extremely increased my desire of paying a visit to a city, the centre of the polite arts, and to a lady who is there the centre of politeness. I shall never lose sight of so agreeable a prospect; but as I cannot and would not propose, that such a visit would be for a short season, it will require some more arrangements than I can take of a sudden.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, Madam,
Your Ladyship's obedient and most humble servant,
DAVID HUME

* 201. *To* THOMAS REID [1]

[25 February, 1763]

By Dr Blair's [2] means I have been favoured with the perusal of your performance, which I have read with great pleasure and attention. It is certainly very rare, that a piece so deeply philosophical is wrote with so much spirit, and affords so much entertainment to the reader; tho I must still regret the disadvantages under which I read it, as I never had the whole performance at once before me, and could not be able fully to compare one part with another To this reason, chiefly, I ascribe some obscurities, which, in spite of your short analysis or abstract, still seem to hang over your system. For I must do you the justice to own, that when I enter into your ideas, no man appears to express himself with greater perspicuity than you do; a talent which, above all others, is requisite in that species of literature which you have cultivated There are some objections, which I would willingly propose, to the chapter 'Of Sight,' did I not suspect that they proceed from my not sufficiently understanding it, and I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, as Dr Blair tells me, that the former objections I made, had been derived chiefly from that cause. I shall therefore forbear till the whole can be before me, and shall not at present propose any farther difficulties to your reasonings. I shall only say, that if you have been able to clear up these

* Stewart, *Reid*, 417 ff, Burton, II. 153 f

[1] Thomas Reid (1710–96), at this time Professor of Philosophy at King's Coll, Aberdeen, appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, in succession to Adam Smith, 1764, author of *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* (the work here discussed by Hume), 1764, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, 1785, and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*, 1788

[2] Hugh Blair

abstruse and important subjects, instead of being mortified, I shall be so vain as to pretend to a share of the praise; and shall think that my errors, by having at least some coherence, had led you to make a more strict review of my principles, which were the common ones, and to perceive their futility

As I was desirous to be of some use to you, I kept a watchful eye all along over your style, but it is really so correct, and so good English, that I found not any thing worth the remarking. There is only one passage in this chapter, where you make use of the phrase, *hinder to do*, instead of *hinder from doing*, which is the English one, but I could not find the passage when I sought for it. You may judge how unexceptionable the whole appeared to me, when I could remark so small a blemish I beg my compliments to my friendly adversaries, Dr Campbell[1] and Dr Gerard,[2] and also to Dr Gregory,[3] whom I suspect to be of the same disposition, tho he has not openly declared himself such.[4]

[1] George Campbell (See note 1 on p 360 above).

[2] Alexander Gerard (1728–95), whose *Essay on Taste* Hume had seen through the press in 1759, at this time Professor of Divinity at Marischal Coll and minister of Greyfriars, Aberdeen, Moderator of the General Assembly, 1764, Professor of Divinity, King's Coll, Aberdeen, 1771 In 1760 he had published at Aberdeen *The Influence of the Pastoral Office on the Character examined with a view especially to Mr Hume's Representation of the Spirit of that Office*

[3] John Gregory (1724–73), Reid's cousin, at this time Professor of Medicine in Aberdeen, Professor of the Practice of Physic, Edinburgh, 1766 He was a less friendly adversary than the others mentioned, as his subsequent letters to James Beattie (see Forbes, *Beattie*, *passim*) show

[4] In replying to this letter, on 18 March 1763, Reid says 'In attempting to throw some new light upon these abstruse subjects, I wish to preserve the due mean betwixt confidence and despair But whether I have any success in this attempt or not, I shall always avow myself your Disciple in Metaphysicks. I have learned more from your writings in this kind than from all others put together Your system appears to me not onely coherent in all its parts, but likeways justly deduced from principles commonly received among Philosophers Principles, which I never thought of calling in question, untill the conclusions you draw from them in the Treatise of human Nature made me suspect them If these principles are solid your system must stand, and whether they are or not, can better be judged after you have brought to Light the whole system that grows out of them, than when the greater part of it was wrapped up in clouds and darkness I agree with you therefore that if this system shall ever be demolished, you have a just claim to a great share of the Praise, both because you have made it a distinct and determinate mark to be aimed at, and have furnished proper artillery for the purpose .

'Your Friendly adversaries Drs Campbell & Gerard as well as Dr

* 202 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I am at present two Letters in your Debt. I did not immediatly answer your first; because I did not conceive myself very capable of giving an Opinion with regard to it, and am sensible, that your Judgement is much more to be rely'd on in the question of the propriety of publishing the Octavo Edition of my History. However, since you are pleasd to ask my Sentiments, I should rather incline to think it best to publish it as soon as it is ready; as we may hope, that a cheap Edition may contribute to its Dispersion, and may forward its Reputation, which, I see, has not yet prevaild over all Prejudices But this matter I submit entirely to your better Judgement.

I was applyd to lately by Kincaid & Donaldson with regard to the Duodecimo Edition of my Essays.[1] I told them, that I did not believe they would come to a new Edition this twelvemonth,[2] and that if they wanted any Copies they might apply to you, who would afford them at the same price as to other Bookseller, but, I imagind, would not give them any cheaper. They said, that this would do for their Shop Sale, but they could not afford to furnish other Booksellers at that Rate; and if you would give them Encouragement by abating somewhat of the Price, they would take a considerable Number off your hand. I desird them to give me their proposals, which I offerd to transmit to you They said, that they would take a hundred Copies at 6 shillings a piece & a twelvemonths Credit Your ordinary Price they said, was 7 shillings I am sensible, Dr Sir, that they have no manner of Title to make such a Demand, or rather make it with the worst Grace imaginable, after having interferd with your Sale in London, and sold their Copies at the

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 147 (incomplete)

Gregory return their compliments to you respectfully A little Philosophical Society here of which all the three are members [and of which Reid was the founder], is much indebted to you for its entertainment Your company would, although we are all good Christians, be more acceptable than that of Saint Athanasius And since we cannot have you upon the bench, you are brought oftener than any other man to the bar, accused and defended with great zeal but without bitterness If you write no more in morals politicks or metaphysicks, I am affraid we shall be at a loss for subjects . .' (MS , R S E).

[1] Published in 1760, in 4 vols

[2] The next edit of the *Essays* is dated 1764, in 2 vols , 8vo

full Price to your Neighbours: But yet I own, that I wish you could think it proper to accept of this Offer. Such a considerable Number taken off your hand might enable you to bring the Book to a new Edition next Winter, when I propose to make some pretty considerable Improvements on it; and perhaps you might regain by this means, as much as you lose by this Diminution of the Price They affirm, that they sent very few Copies to London, and seem resolvd (but I shall not answer for the performance) never to send any more of any future Edition If you agree to the proposal, you may send down the Copies by the first Ship.

This Edition of my History seems to me very correct, and I desire you to give Mr Strahan thanks in my name for his Care in executing it. I shall speak to Dr Robertson on the Subject you mention.

I sympathize very heartily with your Distress and Mrs Millars I am glad, however, to find, that she has a greater Stock of Health & Strength than she was aware of, and I hope it will be able to bring her down to Scotland this Summer

I am in a good measure idle at present, but if I tire of this way of Life, as is probable, I shall certainly continue my History, and have no Thoughts of any other work But in this State of Affairs, I suppose your People of Rank & Quality woud throw the Door in my Face, because I am a Scotsman [1]

I reckon myself much beholden to Mr Ruffhead [2] for his Letter, and, as I conjecture from yours, for his favourable Opinion, expressed on other Occasions I beg of you to send him the enclosd. I am very sincerely Dear Sir

Yours
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
10 March 1763

[1] The popular rage against the Scots, carefully fostered by many of the Whigs for party purposes, and focusing on the Earl of Bute, was every day becoming more intense.

[2] Owen Ruffhead (1723–69), miscellaneous writer, editor of *The Statutes at Large from Magna Charta to 1763*, 9 vols , fol , London, 1762–5, and author of *The Life of Alexander Pope, from Original MSS* . . London, 1769 His letter to Hume (MS , R S.E) is a criticism of Hume's view of the English Constitution in Saxon times It was printed by Burton in *Eminent Persons*, 41 ff.

* 203 *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

Dear Sir

In this new Edition[1] I have corrected several Mistakes and Oversights, which had chiefly proceeded from the plaguy Prejudices of Whiggism, with which I was too much infected when I began this Work I corrected some of these Mistakes in a former Edition;[2] but being resolv'd to add to this Edition the Quotations & Authorities for the Reigns of James I & Charles I, I was oblig'd to run over again the most considerable Authors who had treated of these Reigns, and I happily discover'd some more Mistakes, which I have now corrected As I began the History with these two Reigns, I now find that they, above all the rest, have been corrupted with Whig Rancour, & that I really deserv'd the name of a Party Writer, and boasted without any Foundation of my Impartiality: But if you now do me the Honour to give this part of my Work a second Perusal, I am perswaded that you will no longer throw upon me this reproachful Epithet, and will acquit me of all Propensity to Whiggism If you still continue to upbraid me, I shall be oblig'd to retaliate on you, & cry, *Whig vous-même*. . .[3]

There are many other Improvements & Alterations throughout the whole; and I am glad that Millar has of himself made you an Offer of this Edition Without flattering you I must say, that there is nobody whom I more desire to see my Writings as correct as I can make them, and I was thinking to desire Mr Millar to make you this Offer.

But there is no End of correcting. In this new Edition, vol v p. 205, I have inserted a pretty curious Story of Sir George Markham,[4] which I took from Lord Lansdowne,[5] whom I

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II 144 ff

[1] That is, of *The Stuarts*, in 2 vols 4to, 1762, issued as vols v and vi of the complete *History*

[2] The 1759 edit in 2 vols 4to

[3] Here follow a number of detailed page references to illustrate the disappearance of 'the plaguy prejudices of Whiggism'.

[4] The story that Sir George Markham was fined £10,000 by the Star Chamber for alleged rudeness to a nobleman. It appears in the Collected edition, Ch LII.

[5] *A Vindication* [against Clarendon and Echard] *of Sir Richard Granville* [Charles I's general], by George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, in Granville's *Works*, vol I, pp 503–60, London, 1732

esteem'd a safe Authority for a Whig Story But I have since been shown Hobart's Reports,[1] which is infinitely more authentic than Lord Lansdowne, and the Story is there told so as entirely to justify the King & the Star Chamber [2] So that you may still reproach me that the villanous Leaven is not entirely purg'd off

I am engag'd in no Work at present But if I tire of Idleness, or more properly speaking, of reading for Amusement, I may probably continue my History My only Discouragement is, that I cannot hope to finish this Work in my Closet, but must apply to the Great for Papers & Intelligence, a thing I mortally abhor.

Is it not hard & tyrannical in you, more tyrannical than any Act of the Stuarts, not to allow me to publish my Dialogues?[3] Pray, do you not think that a proper Dedication may atone for what is exceptionable in them? I am become much of my friend Corbyn Morrice's [4] Mind, who says, that he writes all his Books for the sake of the Dedications

I am very glad to hear from Lord Minto, that you intend to pass a great part of the ensuing Summer in this Country Tho' you be now become a great Man,[5] I doubt not but I shoud receive very much Satisfaction from your Society & Conversation That is, if I be not jostled out by Suitors who will press in upon you.

Meanwhile, I am Dear Sir
Your affectionate Friend & Servant
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh,
12 March, 1763.

[1] Sir Henry Hobart *Reports in the Reigns of James I, with some few cases in the Reign of Elizabeth*, 5th edit , revised and corrected by E Chilton, London, fol , 1724

[2] Hume's footnote in Collected edit reads. 'This story is told differently in Hobart's Reports, p. 120. It there appears, that Markham was fined only £500, and very deservedly, for he gave the lie and wrote a challenge to Lord Darcy James was anxious to discourage the practice of duelling, which was then very prevalent'

[3] The *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*

[4] Corbyn Morris (died 1779), sometime Secretary for Customs and the Salt Duty in Scotland, Commissioner of Customs, 1763, an economist and pamphleteer

[5] Elliot was now Treasurer of the Chambers

* 204 *To* Adam Smith

Dear Smith

I was obligd to you both for your kind Letter and for the Opportunity which you afforded me of making Acquaintance with Mr Herbert, who appears to me a very promising young man [1] I set up a Chaise in May next, which will give me the Liberty of travelling about, and you may be sure a Journey to Glasgow will be one of the first I shall undertake. I intend to require with great Strictness an Account how you have been employing your Leizure, and I desire you to be ready for that purpose. Wo be to you, if the Ballance be against you. Your Friends here will also expect, that I shoud bring you with me It seems to me very long since I saw you I am Dr Smith

Yours most sincerely
David Hume

Edin[r] 28 March
1763
To Mr Professor Smith at Glasgow

† 205 *To* Andrew Millar

Edinr 28 March 1763

Dear Sir

I am extremely oblig'd to you for paying so much Attention to my Request; but I sincerely desire you much rather to follow your own Judgement, which is much more to be depended on I am very uncertain whether my last proposal of publishing the Octavo Edition this Season will contribute to the Credit of the Book. It is perhaps better not to glut the Market, and to wait till the Demand of the Public bring it out: Therefore I would not have venturd to propose my Opinion, if I had not thought, that you would very freely have taken upon you to follow your own Opinion and lay no more weight on my Desire than I did myself.

I never lose view of the Project of continuing my History I may perhaps very soon gather silently together the Books which will enable me to sketch out the Reigns of K William

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 148 f (incomplete)
† MS , R S E , Burton, II 147 f (incomplete)

[1] Adam Smith's letter, the earliest of his among the MSS , R S E , and dated 22 Feb 1763, is little more than a letter of introduction for Mr Henry Herbert, 'a young gentleman who is very well acquainted with your works'.

and Q. Anne, and shall finish them afterwards, together with that of George I, in London. But to tell you the Truth, I have an Aversion to appear in that Capital till I see that more Justice is done me with regard to the preceding Volumes. The languishing Sale of this Edition makes me conjecture that the time is not yet come, and the general Rage against the Scots is an additional Discouragement. I think the Scotch Minister[1] is obligd to make me some Compensation for this.

I am told, that Mr Ralph[2] is dead, who had certainly made a large Collection of Books and Pamphlets for his Work. I shoud be glad to know into whose hands they are fallen, and would purchase them, if they could be got at a reasonable Price.

Kincaid & Donaldson agree to your Proposal of paying the Money at 6 months Credit & of giving [a] bill for it. So that you may ship off the Copies to them. I am sorry to see so many of the Quartos on hand, and to be sure you cannot print a new Edition till they be more diminishd. I shoud be pleas'd to know how many of the Octavos you have, after these hundred Copies are taken off your hand.

I spoke some time ago to Dr Robertson about Mr Orr's[3] Degree. He told me that he would write you soon, which I suppose he has done.

Your Index maker has committed a Mistake. In all the Passages quoted from the Reign of Elizabeth, he always marks the Page as it stood in the first Edition, where that Volume was printed to make one with the preceding.

I hear Dr Armstrong has sent you over a most violent Renounciation of Wilkes's Friendship.[4] Wilkes is indeed very

[1] Lord Bute. He resigned in April.

[2] James Ralph (? 1705–62), an American, and originally a protégé of Benjamin Franklin, with whom he came to England in 1724, a Grub Street hack, pilloried in the *Dunciad*, also a political agent, and, as such, in receipt of pensions (see Namier, *Structure of Politics, passim*), author of *Night*, a poem, 1728, and *The History of England during the Reigns of K. William, Queen Anne, and King George I, with an Introductory Review of the Reigns of the Royal Brothers, Charles and James.* . vol. 1, 1744, vol. II (to the death of William III), 1746.

[3] John Orr, Archdeacon of Ferns, Ireland, received the degree of D.D. from Edinburgh University on 4 Sept. 1763.

[4] John Armstrong and John Wilkes were good friends for years, and the Wilkes MSS. in the British Museum contain many letters from Armstrong. In 1761–3 a coolness arose between them, principally on account of Wilkes's rather cavalier treatment of Armstrong's poem *Day*, which Wilkes printed

blameable in indulging himself so much in national Reflections, which are low, vulgar, & ungenerous, and come with a bad Grace from him, who conversd so much with our Countrymen My Compliments to Mrs Millar, who, I hope, will favour us with a visit this Summer. I am Dr Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

* 206 *To* JAMES OSWALD OF DUNNIKIER

Dear Sir,

I had a letter from Sir Harry Erskine last post, who tells me, that you have met with unsurmountable difficulties in that affair of my half-pay,[1] and that we must despair of success. The difficulties, however, are no other than what I knew and desired Mure to inform you of, tho' he has probably forgot There are no precedents for a Depute Judge-Advocate having half-pay. This we found on examining the matter at the end of the former war; but, at the same time, we found, that no Judge-Advocate had ever been refused half-pay, because no one had ever been entitled to it; that office had always been supplied from among the officers of the Army, who consequently could never claim half-pay as Judge-Advocate. But in reality, every one who has ever received half-pay upon the King's commission, is a precedent for the Judge-Advocate, the Commissary of Stores, the Commissary of Musters, the Director of the Hospital, the Physician, the Surgeon, the Chaplain The general principle is (and it is founded on a Vote of the House of Commons) that whoever bears the King's Commission in a military station is entitled to half-pay; and there cannot possibly be a reason why the Judge-Advocate should be the only exception. If I be the first Judge-Advocate who was not an officer of the Army, or had not some other office, I am also the first entitled to half-pay; and consequently ought first to obtain it.

I remember Jemmy Pringle[2] was made Controller of the

* MS , R S E (copy only), Oswald, 76 ff , Burton, ii. 149 (incomplete)

after he had revised it, but also in some measure because of Wilkes's anti-Scottish campaign. Armstrong may have written to Millar in the spring of 1763, violently renouncing Wilkes's friendship, but his formal letter to Wilkes himself, doing so, was not written till 17 Sept. (See letter printed in full in *D.N.B.*, article, 'John Armstrong'.)

[1] The claim now dated back some sixteen years

[2] James Pringle, brother of Sir John Pringle, was a London surgeon of some eminence in his day

Hospitals in Flanders during the former war. It was an office newly created; but he obtained half-pay on the general principle, without any precedent

John Mackenzie[1] was surgeon to the staff on Gen[l] S[t] Clair's expedition. There was no precedent for any one in that office obtaining half-pay; yet he got it, and got it above twelve years after the expedition was finished So that he surmounted both the objections that lie against me and he surmounted them by no greater interest than that of Lord Fortrose.[2] If I fail, I must be worse supported than is likely to be the fate of any man whom you call your friend.

I believe it will be allowed to be singular and not a little remarkable, if I should be the only commissioned officer since the Revolution, who has not obtained half-pay, which however will be the case if I be disappointed

I shall add, that it is the only thing in my life I ever asked. It is the only thing I ever shall ask, and consequently it is the only thing I ever shall obtain. Those who assist me in procuring it do me a great favour; and I very willingly stand obliged to my friends for their good offices· But of the Government and Ministry, I ask it as my due I imagined, that after Lord Bute's consent was obtained, all difficulties had been surmounted.

Pray whom does the affair now depend on? Is it the Secretary at War? Who is he, and who does he belong to?[3] If I knew his connexions, I might probably be able by some means to facilitate your application, tho' to tell you the truth, I have the most extreme reluctance to go beyond you, and ask this, or any favour of any other man Yet I doubt not, if Lord Shelburne be connected with the Secretary at War, but he would, of himself, second your applications. Or perhaps Elliot, or Wood,[4] or some other of our friends I own, that I sometimes feel so

[1] Nothing more is known of him that is here stated

[2] Kenneth Mackenzie (? 1718–61), styled by courtesy Lord Fortrose, M.P, Inverness Burghs, 1741–7, and Ross-shire, 1747–61. But for the attainder of his father, 5th Earl of Seaforth, he would have succeeded to this earldom in 1740

[3] The Secretary-at-War at this time was Welbore Ellis (1713–1802), afterwards Lord Mendip To say with any certainty to whom he belonged would have been difficult, but he began his political career as an adherent of Henry Fox, and as late as May 1762 was drawing Secret-Service money from the Duke of Newcastle, to pass on to a certain Mr Bryer (Namier, *Structure of Politics*, II. 566)

[4] Robert Wood, Under-Secretary of State

much indignation at being obstructed, and in danger of being refused in this trifle, that I am inclined to throw up altogether, and to turn my back on those barbarians (your great men, I mean) with disdain, and as I can now be more indifferent about their favours, I believe it were my best course. But still, if you think the matter feasible, we shall make this single trial, and if we fail, *spes et fortuna, valete*

I am Dear Oswald
Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh,
3d April, 1763

* 207 *To* DAVID MALLET

Dear Sir

You were never worse informd in your Life [1] Not only I have never wrote a Line of the English History since the Revolution, but I have not read one Page with a View to it, and have but a distant Prospect of ever undertaking it One of my greatest Inducements to think of it was your former Letter, from which I had reason to hope, that we shoud so soon see your History of the Duke of Marlborough, and shou'd receive so many new Lights with regard to K William's & Q Anne's Reigns. I did indeed imagine, that it woud have been in the Press before this time You have certainly every Inducement to the Publication of that Work Not only the Peace is concluded, which you thought necessary to the procuring some farther Materials, but Faction is in a manner extinguished, at least the Factions of Whig and Tory, and Truth may now hope for a favourable Reception from the Public

I am sensible, that there passd many extraordinary Events during the latter End of Q Anne's Reign, especially in the Councils & Cabals of the Whigs I have heard several particulars of that kind, very well attested, which yet have never come to the Knowledge of the Public But I believe the History of all Periods is somewhat imperfect, and that many important Particulars are for ever buryd in Oblivion Besides why may not you & I hope to get authentic Vouchers and Documents of these Facts; you especially, who have resided in London, who have

* MS in possession of Colonel John Murray, hitherto unpublished

[1] The letter to which this is an answer is not among the MSS , R S E

taken Journeys to Holland & to France for that Purpose, who have convers'd with so many Persons engag'd in the Events, and who have employ'd Yourself so many Years upon one Period I always laid my Account with your going before me in that Road: You were too far advanced to run any risque of being overtaken And I expected, that, as I shoud lose the Honour of the first Discovery, I shoud at least be spard a good deal of the Trouble attending the Research I wonder indeed at your Dilatoriness, where every inducement of Reputation & Profit contributes to impell you· And I own, that, if it were in my Power to stimulate you, by pretending, tho' contrary to the Truth, that I were engag'd in the Work, I shoud be tempted to make use of that Artifice in order to rowse you from your Lethargy and Indolence

Meanwhile, instead of abusing you, as I am inclind to do, for your Indolence, I recollect, that I have much greater Reason to thank you for the Pains you have taken on my Account. You cou'd not possibly have laid me under a more sensible Obligation, than by running over these Volumes of my History, & by marking any Errors, whether of Expression or Thought, which occurd in them. I am extremely impatient to have this Copy in my hands, and shall be much beholden to you, if you will send it me by the first Opportunity, or if none offer soon, you will be so good as to send it to Mr Millar, who will convey it to me, either by the Waggon, or by the first Ship, which carries down a Parcel of his to the Edinburgh Booksellers I am Dear Sir

Your most obliged humble Servant,
David Hume

Edinburgh
7 April 1763

* 208. *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I had a Letter from Mr Mallet, in which he tells me, that he has run over carefully the two Volumes of my History last publishd, and has wrote all his Remarks, as well on the Language as Matter on the Margin. He said, that he woud find an Opportunity to send them to me I replyd to him, that I was extremely obligd to him; (as I certainly am) and that if he sent them to you, you woud soon find an Opportunity of conveying them to me I wish you wou'd speak to him on that Subject, as you have Occasion to meet with him, and wou'd send the

* MS, R S E, Burton, II 143 f.

Books carefully to me by the first Parcel you send to Edinburgh I shoud desire you also to give him a new Copy in place of this which he has sacrific'd, but if there be only a word here & there, I can efface them, after transcribing them into my own Copy, and can afterwards restore the Book as good as ever.

In the same Letter, he complains much of a Report, that I was writing the English History since the Revolution; which he says, he cannot believe, because it would be a very invidious Task to him I answerd him, that by his former Letter I imagind his History was just ready for the Press That I had not wrote a Line of the History of that Period, but if I undertake it, one great Inducement woud be the hopes of seeing his Volumes publishd before me by which means, I could hope for much Light & great Materials, that as he was near twenty Years advancd before me, it was ridiculous to fear that I could overtake him, and that I was glad of the Report he mentiond, if it would prove a Spur to his Industry I find Mr Mallet woud fain be like the Dog in the Manger, neither eat himself, nor allow others to eat I shoud have a Breach with him, & might expect all ill Offices from him, if I pursue my Plan· But this would be a frivolous Consideration, where his Anger would be so ill founded

As soon as the Octavo Edition of my History is finishd, please send me a Copy of it I should be pleasd to run it over, and make an Errata to it I am Dear Sir

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME [1]

Edin[r]
21 April 1763
To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller

* 209 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Edinburgh, 3 July, 1763

Madam,

Being engaged in a party to a remote corner of the country,[2] I was informed very late of the visit, with which your Ladyship

* *Priv Corr*, 67 ff

[1] Written on the back of this autograph in what looks like Sir John Pringle's handwriting is 'Dr P presents his compts to Mr H *and acquaints him that* Madame Boufflers arrivd in town within these few days, & he hears would be happy to see Mr H (The passage in italics is in Andrew Millar's handwriting)

[2] To Knaresborough and Harrogate Gilbert Elliot was of the party, and apparently Sir Harry and Lady Erskine Writing to his wife in May, Elliot says 'Hume is not yet arrived' (*Border Elliots*, 382)

has been pleased to favour this island,[1] and after Lord Elibank[2] was so good as to give me intelligence of it, I delayed for some time paying my respects to your Ladyship by letter, in hopes that I might possibly be able to do it in person, and thereby to gratify that desire by which I have long been possessed, of making myself known to a Lady so universally valued, and who has done me so much honour, by giving me marks of her attention But the reasons which detain me in this country are so powerful, that I find I must lay aside for the present so flattering a project, and must reserve that happiness to a time, which I shall always keep in my eye, when I may be able to pay my respects to your Ladyship at Paris Meanwhile, it gives me pleasure to hear that the English nation have shown themselves sensible of the honour you have done them by this visit, and have endeavoured to express their regard in the best manner which the customs and manners of the country would permit I am only afraid, that, to a person acquainted with the sociable and conversible parties of France, the showy and dazzling crowds of London assemblies would afford but an indifferent entertainment, and that the love of retreat and solitude, with which the English are reproached, never appears more conspicuously, than when they draw together a multitude of five hundred persons I was favoured, some time ago, with a letter from M. Rousseau,[3] dated at Neufchâtel, and also one from

[1] Madame de Boufflers arrived in London in the end of April, and spent some weeks there, sightseeing, and being entertained by Lady Hervey, Lord Holdernesse, Horace Walpole, &c She breakfasted with Walpole at Strawberry Hill on 17 May, was shown his printing-press, and received from it a set of complimentary verses of his composition (Walpole, *Letters*, v 328).

[2] Lord Elibank wrote to Hume on 11 May 1763 'My dear Friend, Be not surprised that my chief errand to Scotland at this time was to have some Conversation with you, when I assure you from Madame de Boufflers, that her only errand to England, where I had the happiness to attend her from Paris, was the hopes of meeting you at London You cannot in Decency neglect the opportunity of gratifying this flattering Curiosity, perhaps passion, of the most amiable of God's Creation Let me see you, or hear from you, if you go south, having ten thousand interesting things to say from Helvetius, Turgot, Mr Montigni, &c &c &c I shall only add, that no author ever yet attained to that degree of Reputation in his own lifetime that you are now in possession of at Paris, and that none of your disciples or admirers is more sincerely so, than My Dear David your old friend and servt

ELIBANK'

(MS, R S E)

[3] Presumably the letter of 19 Feb, referred to in note 1 on p. 365 above, and given in Appendix G below

Lord Marischal[1] with regard to him It is with great concern I find, that Neufchâtel is not the place which he would choose for his retreat, that the King of Prussia's authority is scarce able to protect him against the bigots, and that the philosopher persists in his usual maxims, of refusing all the supplies, with which the monarch intended to gratify him At the same time, both Lord Marischal and M Rousseau speak very doubtfully of any intention which the latter may have, of seeking his retreat in this island

I am afraid, that the liberty which we enjoy here, is counterbalanced by so many inconveniences, as to discourage him from any project of settling among us The chief inconvenience I can foresee is in our language, with which, I doubt, he is entirely unacquainted, and without which he could scarce find a tolerable society any where but in London, a place which may probably be too expensive for him In many respects, this town would suit him better· there is here a very good society of men of letters, who would be ambitious of his acquaintance, and though living is not so cheap as in the provincial places of France, it is more reasonable than at London. But I am sorry to find, that the people, whose company he would like best, have not the familiar use of the French tongue, and though he is a lover of solitude, it would be agreeable for him, and probably necessary, to have a few, with whom he could unbend his mind, and dissipate his cares and anxieties Even to be acquainted with the language of the common people, is a great relief in every country, and supplies many scenes of observation and amusement to a person of a philosophical turn

Nothing could make me happier than to contribute any way to the convenience and amusements of his retreat, and I even ventured to mention to Lord Marischal, that I had an appartment in my house, which was not occupied, and which I would think myself happy, if so illustrious a fugitive would be pleased to accept of I dared not to proceed any farther with a person of his turn; especially as the situation of my house in the midst of a city, joined to the circumstances of our climate, which is not favourable, made me doubtful how far such an offer, even if accepted, might in the issue prove agreeable to him Your Ladyship, by passing some time in England, will be enabled to judge what advice it would be proper to give him, and surely no case could more strongly interest a person of your generosity

[1] The Earl Marischal's letter is not among the MSS , R S E

and humanity than that of M. Rousseau, whose genius and virtue, attended with such bad health and harassed with such violent persecution, seem peculiarly to challenge attention.

A considerable time ago, I used the freedom to send to Lord Elibank a letter which I had done myself the honour to write to your Ladyship in answer to one with which you have favoured me. My Lord was then at London, and sent it under cover to his brother, Mr Murray,[1] but he tells me that it has miscarried

I mention this circumstance, that your Ladyship may not think I could possibly be so much wanting in the duty which I owe you. The present comes under cover of M Delarochette,[2] whose acquaintance I had the happiness to enjoy during the short stay which he made in this country, and who was so good as to promise that he would have it safely delivered to you.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, Madam,
Your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,
DAVID HUME

*210 *To* ADAM SMITH

Dear Smith

To-day is the grand Question decided by our Judges, whether they will admit of any farther Proof with regard to the Douglas Affair, or whether they will rest contented with the Proofs already produc'd [3] Their Partiality is palpable and astonishing;

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 150.

[1] The Hon Alexander Murray (see Appendix F)

[2] I do not know who this was

[3] The Douglas Cause, to which frequent references are made in later letters, was *the* cause of the eighteenth century in Scotland When Archibald, first and last Duke of Douglas, died in 1761, almost the whole of his estates were claimed by the Duke of Hamilton, a minor, whose guardians were the Dowager Duchess of Hamilton (afterwards Duchess of Argyll), the Earl of Galloway, William Mure of Caldwell, and Andrew Stuart of Torrance, W S This claim was opposed on behalf of Archibald James Edward Steuart, nephew of the late Duke, who was alleged to have been born, the elder of twin boys, in Paris, in July 1748 He was duly served heir to the estates and assumed the name of Douglas, but as many declined to believe that he was really the son of the late Duke's sister, the late Lady Jane Douglas, who was in her fifty-first year at the time of his birth, the Hamilton trustees and others brought actions in the Court of Session In 1763 the Court decided to hear further evidence, and from 7th to 14th July 1767 they heard the case itself Seven judges voted on each side, and the Lord President, Robert Dundas of Arniston, gave his casting vote in favour of the Hamiltons On appeal to the House of Lords, however, this decision was reversed in 1769

'No person who did not live at the time this cause was pending,' says

yet few people think, that they will dare to refuse enquiring into Facts so remarkable and so strongly attested. They are at present sitting, but I hope to tell you the Issue in a Postscript.[1] Our friend, Johnstone,[2] has wrote the most-super-excellent-est Paper in the World, which he has promis'd to send to you this Evening in Franks Please to deliver the enclosd to Colonel Barrè [3] I am Dear Smith

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

Edinburgh
21 July 1763

* 211 *To* ADAM SMITH

Ed[r] 9th Augt 1763

My dear Friend

I have got an Invitation, accompany'd with great Prospects and Expectations, from Lord Hartford,[4] if I woud accompany him, tho' at first without any Character, in his Embassy to Paris I hesitated much on the Acceptance of this Offer, tho' in Appearance very inviting, and I thought it ridiculous, at my Years, to be entering on a new Scene, and to put myself in the Lists as a Candidate of Fortune But I reflected, that I had in a manner abjur'd all literary Occupations, that I resolvd to give up my future Life entirely to Amusements, that there coud not

* MS , R S E , Burton, ii 157 f

Somerville (*Life and Times*, 112), 'can form any conception of the agitation, the anxiety, the polemical spirit, which it excited among the inhabitants of the metropolis, and, indeed, far and wide throughout the country ' On the whole, the people supported Douglas, the landed gentry and the nobility, the Hamiltons Hume was an ardent supporter of the latter, the more so as two of his best friends, William Mure and Andrew Stuart, were so deeply concerned in the cause as Hamilton trustees

[1] This refers only to the decision to hear further evidence

[2] William Johnstone. afterwards Pulteney His 'most-super-excellent-est Paper' cannot be traced He was one of the advocates employed on the Hamilton side in the Cause, and had been to France with Andrew Stuart in this connexion

[3] Isaac Barré (1726–1802), M P for Chipping Wycombe, a violent speaker, a political adherent of Lord Shelburne, with whom he was dismissed in Dec 1763, Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 1766–8 There are two letters from him to Hume among the MSS., R.S E.

[4] Francis Seymour Conway (1718–94), 2nd Baron Conway, created Earl of Hertford, 1750, and Marquess, 1793, Ambassador to France, 1763–5, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1765–6, Master of the Horse, 1766, Lord Chamberlain, 1766–82. He was first cousin to Horace Walpole.

be a better Pastime than such a Journey, especially with a Man of Lord Hertford's Character, and that it wou'd be easy to prevent my Acceptance from having the least Appearance of Dependance For these Reasons, and by the Advice of every Friend, whom I consulted, I at last agreed to accompany his Lordship, and I set out to morrow for London I am a little hurry'd in my Preparations But I coud not depart without bidding you Adieu, my good Friend, and without acquainting you with the Reasons of so sudden a Movement. I have not great Expectations of revisiting this Country soon, but I hope it will not be impossible but we may meet abroad, which will be a great Satisfaction to me I am dear Smith

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

To Mr Professor Smith at Glasgow

* 212. *To* BARON MURE OF CALDWELL[1]

My dear Baron

As I am not sure where you are nor whether this Direction be right, I am oblig'd to speak to you with reserve, both of public Affairs & of my own Of the latter, I shall only say, that, notwithstanding of my first Reluctance, I am entirely reconcild to my present Situation, and have a great Prepossession or rather indeed a great Esteem & Affection for the Person & Family, whom I am to accompany to France The Prospect of my being Secretary to the Embassy is neither very distant nor is it immediate,[2] but Lord Hertford will certainly, before our Departure, obtain a Settlement for me for Life, which at any Events will improve my Fortune, and is a great Pledge of his Friendship and Regard. I have insulted Elliot, S[ir] Harry, Oswald & all our Friends of that Administration: The former said to me, that my Situation was, taking all its Circumstances, the most

* MS in possession of William Mure, Esq , London, R S E (copy only), Burton, II 158 ff , *Caldwell Papers*, II I 190 f

[1] William Mure of Caldwell was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland in 1761, and resigned his seat in Parliament So long as Lord Bute, and his brother, Stuart-Mackenzie, remained in power, Mure was their confidential adviser and manager in Scottish affairs

[2] About the same time as Lord Hertford was appointed Ambassador, Charles, afterwards Sir Charles, Bunbury (1740–1821) was appointed Secretary to the Embassy But Lord Hertford declined to have him, and so the official Secretary remained in England and drew the salary (£1,000 a year) while Hume went to France with no official status

wonderful Event in the World I was now a Person clean & white as the driven Snow,[1] and that, were I to be proposd for the See of Lambeth, no Objections could henceforth be made to me What makes the Matter more extraordinary, is that the Idea first came into my Patron's Head without the Suggestion of any one Mortal

You must have heard of the late most astonishing Events with regard to public Affairs [2] Yesterday Lord Bute had a pretty large Company dining with him, to whom he gave an Account of the whole Transaction & desird them to publish it. One of them, a Friend of mine, as soon as he went home, took it down in writing of which he gave me a Copy, & which I transmit to you. He is a military Man & his Style is not elegant, but I am sure, from another certain Authority, that the Account is in the main just, only I have reason to think that Lord Halifax [3] was proscribd along with the rest At least, he said so yesterday to a Friend of mine I wish this high Spirit of his M: may be supported But *Femme qui ecoute et ville qui parle sont bientot rendues* Lord Bute goes abroad very soon Some pretend, that the present Administration is more enragd against him than is the Opposition, on account of his taking this important Step without consulting them Never in any History was there so curious a Scene; nor was there ever so formidable a Demagogue as this Man Lord Sandwich,[4] it is said, will be Secretary (for some Weeks) Our Friend Wood is so at present Many of the leading Men in the Opposition were left out on Mr Pitt's Plan; which it is thought will breed Dissensions among them.

I dind yesterday with Lord Chesterfield along with Collonel Irwine.[5] The Collonel made an Apology for our arriving so late

[1] An allusion to Lord Hertford's noted character for piety

[2] See next Letter

[3] George Montagu-Dunk (1716–71), 2nd Earl of Halifax, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1762; Secretary of State, Northern Department, 1762–5, and again 1771, K G , 1764 It was he who ordered the arrest of John Wilkes on a General Warrant in May 1763

[4] John Montagu (1718–92), 4th Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1744–8, 1763, and 1771–82, Secretary of State, Southern Department, 1763–5, and Northern Department, 1770–1.

[5] John Irwine (1728–88), a protégé of Lord Chesterfield, Lieut -Col , 5th Foot, 1752, Col Commanding 74th Foot, 1761, Maj -General, and M P , East Grinstead, 1762, Governor of Gibraltar, 1766–8, a prominent figure in society, and at Court, who ruined himself through his extravagant habits There are four letters from him, and one from his 2nd wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Barry, to Hume, among the MSS., R S.E.

on account of his being detaind at Court. At Court, said my Lord, I shoud be glad to know, what Place that is.

Be so good as to mark my affectionate Regard to M^rs^ Mure & to your Sisters, and believe me to be with the greatest Sincerity

Dear Mure
Yours
D. H.

Lisle Street
1 Sep^t^ 1763

PS We set out in a fortnight or three Weeks, so I shall not expect to hear from you.

PS I left poor Blacklocke as a Legacy upon you which you was so good as to accept But by some Letters I have since receivd, I am much afraid any Settlement in the Church would be equally unhappy for him. Please consult with George Clerk[1] on that head.

* 213 *To* Adam Smith

My dear Smith

The Settlement, which I had made in Scotland, was so much to my Mind, I had indeed struck Root so heartily, that it was with the outmost [*sic*] Reluctance I could think of transplanting myself, and I began to approach towards that Age, in which these Experiments become no longer practicable with Safety. I own, that, on my arrival in London, I found every Circumstance more inviting than I had reason to expect, particularly the Characters of Lord & Lady Hertford, who are allowd to be the two Persons the most unexceptionable among all the English Nobility. Even that Circumstance of Lord Hertford's Character, his great Piety, ought to make my Connexions with him more agreeable, both because it is not attended with any thing sour & rigid, and because I draw the more Honour from his Choice, while he overlookd so many seeming Objections which lay against me on that head. My Fortune also receives a great Addition during Life from the Connexion; besides many Openings to Ambition, were I so simple as to be exposd to Temptation from that Passion. But notwithstanding all these Considera-

* MS, R S E, Burton, II 160 ff

[1] George Clerk of Penicuik (died 1784), Commissioner of Customs, grandfather of Clerk-Maxwell, the physicist

tions, shall I tell you the Truth? I repine at my Loss of Ease & Leizure & Retirement & Independance, and it is not without a Sigh I look backwards nor without Reluctance that I cast my Eye forwards Is this Sentiment an Instinct which admonishes me of the Situation most proper & suitable to me? Or is it a momentary Disgust, the Effect of low Spirits, which Company & Amusement & a better State of Health will soon dissipate & remove? I must wait with Patience, till I see the Decision of this Question

I find, that one View of Lord Hertford in engaging me to go along with him, is that he thinks I may be useful to Lord Beauchamp [1] in his Studies. That young Nobleman is generally spoke of as very amiable & very promising: But I remember, tho' faintly, to have heard from you something to the contrary, which you had from that severe Critic, Mr Herbert.[2] I shoud be obligd to you for informing me of it. I have not yet seen My Lord Beauchamp, who is at this time in Paris. We shall not leave London these three Weeks.

You have, no doubt, heard of the strange Jumble among our Ministers, and of the Negotiation open'd with Mr Pit Never Story was told with such contrary Circumstances as that of his secret Conference with the King, and of the Terms demanded by that popular Leader The general Outlines of the whole Story seem to be these Lord Bute disgusted with the Ministers, who had almost universally conspird to neglect him, and suspecting their bottom to be too narrow, had, before Lord Egremont's [3] Death, opend a Negotiation with Mr Pit, by means of Lord Shelburn, who employ'd Colcraft, the Agent.[4] Mr Pit says, that he always declard it highly improper, that he shoud be brought to the King, before all Terms were settled on such a Footing as to render it impossible for them to separate without agreeing. He accordingly thought they were settled

[1] Francis Seymour Conway, afterwards Ingram-Seymour (1743–1822), Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of Lord Hertford, whom he succeeded as 2nd Marquis, 1794

[2] See note 1 on p 381 above

[3] Sir Charles Wyndham (1710–63), 4th Bart , succeeded as 2nd Earl of Egremont, 1750, Secretary of State, Southern Department, 1763

[4] John Calcraft (1726–72), political and army agent, originally a protégé of Henry Fox, deserted to Pitt, 1763, M.P Calne, 1766–8, and Rochester, 1768–72 On 15 Aug 1763, in an interview lasting three hours, he tried, but in vain, to bring about an understanding between Pitt and the Duke of Bedford

His first Conference with the King confirm'd him in that Opinion, and he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire [1] to come to Town in order to place himself at the head of the Treasury: The Duke of Newcastle [2] said at his Table, on Sunday was a Fortnight, that the Ministry was settled But when Mr Pit came to the King that Afternoon, he found him entirely chang'd, and every thing was retracted, that had been agreed on. This is his Story. The other Party says, that he rose in his Terms and wanted to impose the most exorbitant Conditions on his Sovereign. I suppose, that the first Conference pass'd chiefly in generals, and that Mr Pit would then be extremely humble & submissive & polite & dutiful in his Expressions But when he came to particulars, they did not seem to correspond to these Appearances. At least, this is the best Account I can devise of the Matter, consistent with the Honour of both Parties

You woud see the present Ministry by the Papers It is pretended, that they are enragd against Lord Bute for negotiating without their Knowledge or Consent, and that the other Party are no less displeasd with him for not finishing the Treaty with them That Nobleman declard his Resolution of going abroad a week or two ago· Now, he is determind to pass the Winter in London Our Countrymen are visibly hurt in this Justle of Parties, which I believe to be far from the Intentions of Lord Bute

Lord Shelburne resignd because he found himself obnoxious on account of his Share in the Negotiation I see you are much displeasd with that Nobleman but he always speaks of you with regard. I hear that your Pupil, Mr Fitzmaurice,[3] makes a very good figure at Paris

It is generally thought, that Mr Pit has gaind Credit & Force by this Negotiation It turns the Eyes of the Public towards him It shows that the King can overlook personal Resentment against him & L Temple.[4] It gains him the Con-

[1] William Cavendish (1720–64), 4th Duke of Devonshire, Master of the Horse, 1751–5, Lord Lieut of Ireland, 1755–6, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1756–7, K G , 1756, Lord Chamberlain, 1757–62

[2] Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), 1st Duke of Newcastle, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1754–6 and 1757–62

[3] The Hon Thomas Fitzmaurice, Lord Shelburne's brother. He had been sent to Glasgow mainly to study law under Professor John Millar (1735–1801).

[4] Richard (1711–79), 2nd Earl Temple, brother of George Grenville and brother-in-law of Pitt, Lord Privy Seal, 1757–61

fidence of his own Party, who see that he was negotiating for the whole of them And puts People in mind of the French Rhyme Ville qui parle & femme qui ecoute &c

You wou'd hear, that the Case of the Douglas is now made clear even in the Eyes the most blinded & most prejudiced,[1] which I am glad of, on account of our Friends I am Dear Smith

Yours most sincerely
DAVID HUME

Lisle Street Leicester Fields
13 Sept 1763

* 214 *To the* REV ALEXANDER CARLYLE OF INVERESK

Dear Doctor

The Case of poor Blacklocke[2] gives me great Distress; and so much the more, as, I am afraid, it is not in the Power of any human Being to relieve him. His unhappiness seems to proceed from the Infirmity of his Body and the Delicacy, not to say, Weakness of his Mind He has wrote to me Letters, full of the Bitterest Anguish, on account of the Treatment he meets with from his Parishioners· I believe it is not good; but it is impossible not to think it exaggerated by his Imagination; and I am of your Opinion, that the same Persecution, partly real, partly imaginary, woud follow him in every other Settlement. I had concerted with Baron Mure a very likely Scheme for his Removal, but to what purpose wou'd this Serve, if the same Complaints must return in his new Situation? I agree with you, that a small Pension, could it be obtain'd, might bestow on him some Degree of Tranquillity; but how to obtain it, I profess I do not know, as I suppose you will readily believe. That Door was never very wide for men of Letters, and is become still narrower than ever

Please make my Compliments to Dr Wight[3] By the bye, I

* MS , R S E ; Burton, II 164 ff (incomplete)

[1] Probably an allusion (cf next Letter) to the discovery of some new evidence strengthening the Hamilton side in the Douglas Cause

[2] Thomas Blacklock, the blind poet, was presented in 1762 to the parish of Kirkcudbright But his parishioners declined to have him, on account of his blindness, and behaved to him very roughly Two years of litigation in church courts followed, and Blacklock was worsted He spent the rest of his life in Edinburgh, where he took boarders and pupils

[3] William Wight (1730–82), a relation and a very particular friend of

din'd at the French Ambassador's with a foreign Gentleman, who told me, that he had met with you & Dr Wight last Summer in Yorkshire [1] He had taken down your Names very carefully in his Pocket Book, and he said you were *des braves gens*, which I readily agreed to

We leave this Place in about three Weeks, and I shall probably pass some Years at Paris in a Situation, which will, or certainly ought to be very agreeable to me The chief Circumstance is, that nothing can be more estimable than the Character, nor more amiable than the Manners of both Lord & Lady Hertford, and I also hear Lord Beauchamp, who is now at Paris, spoke of as the most promising young Nobleman in England My Fortune receives a certain & great Addition. I go to a Place of the World which I have always admird the most; and it is not easy to imagine a Reception better than I have reason to expect What then can be wanting to my Happiness? I hope, nothing; or if any thing, it will only be an Age & Temper better adapted to Vanity & Dissipation

I beg of you to embrace Mrs Carlysle in my Name, and to assure her of my sincere Respects I write no Politics, having now become a Politician Please address yourself to John Hume for Information on that head. Let him explain to you his Patron's [2] Situation!!!! Pray is there any body such an Idiot at present as to be a Partizan of the Douglas? I am dear Dr

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Lisle Street Leicester Fields
15 Sept[r] 1763

*215. *To the* REV HUGH BLAIR

Dear Sir,

I live in a place where I have the pleasure of frequently hearing justice done to your Dissertation,[3] but never heard it mentioned in a company where some one person or other did

* Laing, *Hist of Scot*, IV 496 ff, Burton, I 465 ff

Carlyle's; formerly a Presbyterian minister in Dublin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Glasgow, 1762–78, in succession to William Rouet, Professor of Divinity, Glasgow, 1778–82

[1] Carlyle (*Autobog*, 440) mentions having met 'an Hanoverian nobleman' at Harrogate in the summer of 1763

[2] Lord Bute

[3] *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, 1763

not express his doubts with regard to the authenticity of the Poems, which are its subject; and I often hear them totally rejected with disdain and indignation, as a palpable and most impudent forgery This opinion has indeed become very prevalent among the men of letters in London, and I can foresee, that in a few years the poems, if they continue to stand on their present footing, will be thrown aside, and will fall into final oblivion It is in vain to say, that their beauty will support them, independent of their authenticity No, that beauty is not so much to the general taste as to ensure you of this event; and if people be once disgusted with the idea of a forgery, they are thence apt to entertain a more disadvantageous notion of the excellency of the production itself The absurd pride and caprice of Macpherson himself, who scorns, as he pretends, to satisfy any body, that doubts his veracity, has tended much to confirm this general scepticism and I must own, for my own part, that, though I have had many particular reasons to believe these poems genuine, more than it is possible for any Englishman of letters to have, yet I am not entirely without my scruples on that head You think that the internal proofs in favour of the poems are very convincing, so they are; but there are also internal reasons against them, particularly from the manners, notwithstanding all the art, with which you have endeavoured to throw a varnish on that circumstance and the preservation of such long, and such connected poems by oral tradition alone, during a course of fourteen centuries, is so much out of the ordinary course of human affairs, that it requires the strongest reasons to make us believe it. My present purpose therefore is, to apply to you in the name of all the men of letters of this, and I may say of all other centuries, to establish this capital point, and to give us proof that these poems are, I do not say so ancient as the age of Severus, but that they were not forged within these five years by James Macpherson These proofs must not be arguments, but testimonies People's ears are fortified against the former; the latter may yet find their way, before the poems are consigned to total oblivion Now the testimonies may, in my opinion, be of two kinds Macpherson pretends that there is an ancient manuscript of part of Fingal in the family, I think, of Clanronald Get that fact ascertained by more than one person of credit, let these persons be acquainted with the Galic; let them compare the original and the translation; and let them testify the fidelity of the latter.

But the chief point in which it will be necessary for you to exert yourself, will be to get positive testimony from many different hands, that such poems are vulgarly recited in the Highlands, and have there been long the entertainment of the people This testimony must be as particular as it is positive: it will not be sufficient, that a Highland gentleman or clergyman say or write to you that he has heard such poems nobody questions, that there are traditional poems in that part of the country where the names of Ossian and Fingal, and Oscar and Gaul, are mentioned in every stanza. The only doubt is whether these poems have any farther resemblance to the poems published by Macpherson. I was told by Burke, a very ingenious Irish gentleman, the author of a tract on the Sublime and Beautiful, that on the first publication of Macpherson's book, all the Irish cried out, *we know all these poems, we have always heard them from our infancy.* But when he asked more particular questions, he could never learn, that any one had ever heard, or could repeat the original of any one paragraph of the pretended translation This generality then, must be carefully guarded against, as being of no authority

Your connexions among your brethren of the clergy, may here be of great use to you You may easily learn the names of all ministers of that country, who understand the language of it You may write to them, expressing the doubts that have arisen, and desiring them to send for such of the bards as remain, and make them rehearse their ancient poems Let the clergymen have the translation in their hands, and let them write back to you, and inform you, that they heard such a one (naming him) living in such a place, rehearse the original of such a passage, from such a page to such a page of the English translation, which appeared exact and faithful If you give to the public a sufficient number of such testimonies, you may prevail But I venture to foretell to you, that nothing less will serve the purpose; nothing less will so much as command the attention of the public

Becket tells me, that he is to give us a new edition of your Dissertation, accompanied with some remarks on Temora, here is a favourable opportunity for you to execute this purpose You have a just and laudable zeal for the credit of these poems; they are, if genuine, one of the greatest curiosities in all respects, that ever was discovered in the commonwealth of letters, and the child is, in a manner, become yours by adoption, as

Macpherson has totally abandoned all care of it These motives call upon you to exert yourself; and I think it were suitable to your candour, and most satisfactory also to the reader, to publish all the answers to all the letters you write, even though some of these answers should make somewhat against your own opinion in this affair. We shall always be the more assured that no arguments are strained beyond their proper force, and no contrary arguments suppressed, where such an entire communication is made to us Becket joins me heartily in this application, and he owns to me, that the believers in the authenticity of the poems diminish every day among the men of sense and reflection. Nothing less than what I propose, can throw the balance on the other side. I depart from hence in about three weeks, and should be glad to hear your resolution before that time

This journey to Paris is likely to contribute much to my entertainment, and will certainly tend much to improve my fortune. so that I have no reason to repent, that I have allowed myself to be dragged from my retreat I shall henceforth converse with authors, but shall not probably for some time have much leisure to peruse them: which is not perhaps the way of knowing them most to their advantage I carried only four books along with me, a Virgil, a Horace, a Tasso, and a Tacitus I could have wished also to carry my Homer, but I found him too bulky I own that in common decency, I ought to have left my *Horace* behind me, and that I ought to be ashamed to look him in the face. For I am sensible that at my years no temptation would have seduced *him* from his retreat; nor would he ever have been induced to enter so late into the path of ambition. But I deny that I enter into the path of ambition I only walk into the green fields of amusement, and I affirm, that external amusement becomes more and more necessary as one advances in years, and can find less supplies from his own passions or imagination

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
DAVID HUME

Lisle Street, Leicester Fields
19 September 1763

* 216 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

London, 22 September, 1763.

Madam,

I believe I ought to esteem myself extremely obliged to Lord Hertford, as upon many other accounts, so particularly for rousing me from a state of indolence and sloth, which I falsely dignified with the name of philosophy For, to tell the truth, this lethargy was growing so strong upon me, that I at first declined his Lordship's invitation to attend him in his embassy to France, though that invitation was both honourable and advantageous for me, and though it came from the most amiable nobleman of the Court of England But I now find, after his repeated applications have again embarked me in the world, that it is better for a man to keep in the midst of society; and I am particularly pleased with a scene of life, which will approach me near to your Ladyship, and give me an opportunity of cultivating the friendship of a person so much esteemed and so universally celebrated I now give you warning, Madam, that your declarations in my favour have been so frequent and public, both in France and England, that you are bound in honour to maintain them, and that you cannot with a good grace retract upon a personal acquaintance the advantageous terms in which you have so often been pleased to speak of me There is only one circumstance which can possibly excuse your displeasure against me, if I should be wanting in my regard and attachment towards you, since such a conduct must prove me a man not to be bound either by merit or obligation.

To show your Ladyship that I pretend to have some interest with you, I intended as soon as I had the honour of seeing you, to employ my good offices in endeavouring to remove a displeasure which M Rousseau imagines you had contracted against him Lord Marischal, some weeks ago, showed me a letter from him, in which he implores my Lord's intercession for that purpose, on the supposition, that this nobleman would meet you at London before your departure M Rousseau said, that he knew not how to make advances to any person, and that you was even the only one whom he could run after, when he found you was deserting him.

I understand by Lord Marischal that you was displeased with our savage philosopher for refusing in so peremptory a manner

* *Priv. Corr.*, 70 ff.

the advantages offered him by the King of Prussia; and my Lord devolved over to me the task of giving you satisfaction on that head. But I find that your Ladyship, by previously forgiving this one caprice more in a man, who is so little regulated by the common rules of conduct, has deprived me of all merit in my intercession I wish your Ladyship could persuade M de Guerchy[1] to come to his station here in London, that I might the sooner have an opportunity of throwing myself at your feet, and of assuring you of the regard with which I am,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME

*217. *To the* REV HUGH BLAIR

My dear Sir,

I am very glad you have undertaken the task which I used the freedom to recommend to you[2] Nothing less than what you propose will serve the purpose You need expect no assistance from Macpherson, who flew into a passion when I told him of the letter I had wrote to you But you must not mind so strange and heteroclite a mortal, than whom I have scarce ever known a man more perverse and unamiable. He will probably depart for Florida with Governor Johnstone,[3] and I would advise him to travel among the Chickisaws or Cherokees, in order to tame him and civilize him[4]

I should be much pleased to hear of the success of your labours Your method of directing to me is under cover to the Earl of Hertford, Northumberland House, London, any letters that come to me under that direction, will be sent over to me at Paris

* Laing, *Hist of Scot*, iv 500 f, Burton, i 470 f

[1] Claude-Louis-François de Regnier (1715–67), Comte de Guerchy, French Ambassador to England, 1763–7 He was very popular in London

[2] Blair wrote to Hume on 29 Sept [1763], saying 'I have already therefore entered upon the task you prescribe me [see Letter 214 above], though I foresee it may give me some trouble' (MS, R S E) He adds that the chief trouble will probably be caused by Macpherson *himself* 'Capricious as he is I would not willingly hurt or disoblige him'

[3] Commodore George Johnstone (1730–87), 4th son of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, Governor of West Florida, 1763–7, a violent, truculent fellow, noted for his duels There is one letter from him to Hume among the MSS., R S E

[4] Macpherson went to Florida as Johnstone's secretary, but quarrelled with his chief, and returned in 1766

I beg my compliments to Robertson and Jardine —I am very sorry to hear of the state of Fergusson's health —John Hume went to the country yesterday with Lord Bute —I was introduced the other day to that noble lord, at his desire —I believe him a very good man, a better man than a politician

Since writing the above, I have been in company with Mrs Montague,[1] a lady of great distinction in this place, and a zealous partizan of Ossian I told her of your intention, and even used the freedom to read your letter to her She was extremely pleased with your project, and the rather as the Duc de Nivernois,[2] she said, had talked to her much on that subject last winter, and desired, if possible, to get collected some proofs of the authenticity of these poems, which he proposed to lay before the Academie des Belles Lettres at Paris —You see then, that you are upon a great stage in this enquiry, and that many people have their eyes upon you. This is a new motive for rendering your proofs as complete as possible I cannot conceive any objection, which a man, even of the gravest character, could have to your publication of his letters, which will only attest a plain fact, known to him Such scruples, if they occur, you must endeavour to remove For on this trial of yours will the judgment of the public finally depend

Lord Bathe,[3] who was in the company, agreed with me, that such documents of authenticity are entirely necessary and indispensable

Please to write to me as soon as you make any advances, that I may have something to say on the subject to the literati of Paris I beg my compliments to all those who bear that character at Edinburgh. I cannot but look upon them as my friends I am Yours sincerely,

DAVID HUME.

6th October 1763

[1] Elizabeth Montagu (*née* Robinson) (1720–1800), the most famous of the blue-stockings, author of *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear*, 1769 Her assemblies in London were the English equivalent of the French *salon*

[2] Louis-Jules-Barbon Mancini-Mazarini, duc de Nivernais (1716–98), sometime French Ambassador at Berlin and Rome When the Duke of Bedford was sent to France in Sept 1762 to discuss peace, the Duc de Nivernais was sent to London for the same purpose He translated Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*, to which Mrs Montagu had contributed

[3] William Pulteney (1682–1764), 1st Earl of Bath, sometime colleague and then bitter opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, a man of great wealth, a brilliant speaker, a scholar, and a wit

* 218 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I send you enclosd my Letter to Algarotti,[1] which has been too long deferrd, & which you will be so good as to transmit to his Friend, Mr Hollis.[2]

I returnd Burns eclesiastical Law[3] two or three Days after you sent it me At least my Man affirms he deliverd it into your Shop, and I fancy you will find upon Enquiry it is there

I have been oblig'd to Mr Strange[4] for a Present of all his Prints He is a very worthy Man whom I value much, and therefore I desire you would send him a Copy of this new Edition of my History in Boards His Wife lives in Castle Street

My Copy has already gone to Paris But I shall desire you to send me four or five Copies more to that Place, and shall write you Directions to that Purpose I desire my Compliments to Mrs Millar with great Sincerity, and am

Yours

D H

8 Oct[r] 1763

After my Departure, my Direction is under Cover to Lord Hertford at Northumberland House in the Strand London All Letters so directed will be sent to us

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller

† 219 *To* Charles Jenkinson[5]

Sir

I have been told by Lord Hertford, that the King has been graciously pleas'd to favour me with a Pension of two hundred

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 134 n (incomplete)

† B M Addit MSS 38201, Liverpool Papers, XII, fol 185, hitherto unpublished

[1] The Italian man of letters (see note 3 on p 239 above).

[2] Probably Thomas Hollis (1720–74), known as 'the Republican', a man of letters, a traveller, and a collector, editor of Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*, 1764, and his *Letters concerning Toleration*, 1765

[3] Richard Burn *Ecclesiastical Law*, 2 vols , 4to, London, 1760–5

[4] Robert, afterwards Sir Robert, Strange (born *Strang*) (1721–92), the engraver, an Orcadian, studied in Paris under Le Bas, left England in 1760, after a misunderstanding with the Prince of Wales, in which Allan Ramsay was involved, returned 1765, and after many rebuffs received Court favour, knighted 1787

[5] Charles Jenkinson (1727–1808), created 1st Earl of Liverpool, 1796, Under-Secretary of State, 1761, Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1763, sometime leader of 'the King's Friends' in the House of Commons

pounds a Year without Deductions. I set out for Paris with his Lordship to morrow,[1] and I desire you will be so good as to pay the Money, as it becomes due, to Messrs Coutts and Company, Bankers in the Strand

I am Sir

London
12 October 1763

Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

To Charles Jenkinson Esq[r] Secretary to the Treasury.

* 220. *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Mr Hume's Compliments to Mr Strahan· He sets out [to] morrow for France,[2] but wishes to put Mr Strahan in Mind, of what he promisd, to correspond with him at Paris His Direction is under Cover to Lord Hertford, Northumberland House in the Strand

Wednesday

Mr Worral [3] had a Laws of Jamaica [4]

Oct 14, 1763

† 221 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Paris, 19 October, 1763 [5]

Madam,

It was with much regret I received the letter with which your Ladyship was pleased to honour me [6] Your Ladyship was

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 40 † *Priv Corr*, 73 f.

[1] But see next Letter

[2] Apparently they did set out for France on Thursday, 15 Oct. The fact is confirmed by Walpole (*Letters*, v 378)

[3] There were two brothers Worral, John and Thomas, booksellers at Temple Bar

[4] *The Jamaica Laws from 1681 to 1737*, fol, London, 1739

[5] If this date is correct, Lord Hertford's party must have made the journey from London to Paris in record time, for later in the letter Hume, who left London on the 15th, says that he has been two days in Paris Horace Walpole left London on Monday, 9 Sept 1765, spent 7½ hours on the crossing from Dover to Boulogne, and reached Paris on the evening of Friday the 13th (*Letters*, vi 290–3).

[6] Writing, in Miss Becquet's hand, from L'Isle Adam on 16 Oct, Mme de Boufflers says 'Scarce recover'd from the measles I cannot Sir write myself, am oblig'd to use another hand, the same reason prevents my being at Paris on your arrival as was my intention, it gives me great concern to be hinder'd from giving you that proof of my esteem and regard, & doing myself the honour of being the first in the Kingdom who pays what is due to so illustrious a man . .' (MS, R.S.E)

the first person to whom I had proposed to pay my respects at Paris; and I found myself disappointed, for some time, of so flattering an expectation; but I was still more afflicted on account of your bad health, which had detained you in the country.

I had however the pleasure soon after to meet with your good friend, M Dusson,[1] who assured me, that you had never been in any danger, and that you was now in a fair way of recovery

We both agreed however that the consequences of your distemper were sometimes troublesome, and required care and attention to prevent them, and it is in order to recommend that attention I give you the present trouble. I have as yet had but two days' experience of this city; but have great reason already to praise the politeness and hospitality, for which it is so famous. A more quiet manner of sliding through life would perhaps suit better my habits and turn of mind; but it is impossible not to be grateful to persons that show such a desire of pleasing one, and making him happy

With great regard, Madam,
Your most obedient humble servant,
DAVID HUME

* 222 *To* ADAM SMITH

My dear Smith

I have been three days at Paris and two at Fontainbleau; and have every where met with the most extraordinary Honours which the most exorbitant Vanity cou'd wish or desire The Compliments of Dukes and Marischals of France and foreign Ambassadors go for nothing with me at present· I retain a Relish for no kind of Flattery but that which comes from the Ladies All the Courtiers, who stood around when I was introduc'd to Me de Pompadour,[2] assurd me that she was never heard [?] to say so much to any Man, and her Brother, . . . [words obliterated] But I forget already, that I am to scorn all the Civilities . Howevei, even Me Pompadour's Civilities

* MS , R S E., *Lit Gazette*, 1821, pp 648 ff , Burton, ii 168 ff

[1] Victor-Timoléon, Comte d'Usson, afterwards French Ambassador to Sweden He and his wife had been in London earlier in the year along with Mme de Boufflers

[2] Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour (1721–64), mistress of Louis XV

were, if possible, exceeded by those of the Dutchess de Choiseul,[1] the Wife of the Favourite and prime Minister, and one of the Lady[*sic*] of the most distinguish'd Merit in France Not contented with the very obliging things she said to me on my first Introduction, she sent to call me from the other End of the Room, in order to repeat them and to enter into a short Conversation with me. And not contented with that, she sent the Danish Ambassador after me to assure me, that what she said was not from Politeness, but that she seriously desir'd to be in Friendship & Correspondence with me There is not a Courtier in France, who wou'd not have been transported with Joy, to have had the half of these obliging things said to him, by either of these great Ladies; but what may appear more extraordinary, both of them, as far as I could conjecture, have read with some Care all my Writings that have been translated into French, that is, almost all my Writings. The King said nothing particular to me, when I was introduced to him; and (can you imagine it) I was become so silly as to be a little mortify'd by it, till they told me, that he never says any thing to any body, the first time he sees them The Dauphin,[2] as I am told from all hands, declares himself on every Occasion very strongly in my favour, and many people assure me, that I have reason to be proud of his Judgement, even were he an Individual I have scarce seen any of the Geniuses of Paris, who, I think, have in general great Merit, as Men of Letters But every body is forward to tell me the high Panegyrics I receive from [them,] and you may believe that . [words obliterated] Approbation which has procur'd me all these Civilities from the Courtiers

I know you are ready to ask me, my dear Friend, if all this does not make me very happy· No, I feel little or no Difference As this is the first Letter I write to my Friends at home, I have

[1] Louise-Honorine Crozat du Châtel (1736–1801), m , 1750, Étienne François de Choiseul-Stainville (1719–85), duc de Choiseul, Minister for War He became Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1766, but was disgraced and exiled in 1770 through the intrigues of Mme du Barri Mme de Choiseul, generally addressed and referred to as 'grand'maman' in the letters of Mme du Deffand, was perhaps the most charming of all the ladies at the French Court Hume, like Horace Walpole, admired her very much, and she in turn continued to like Hume There are one small note in her handwriting (addressed to Mme du Deffand) and one or two notes written on her behalf to Hume, among the MSS , R S E

[2] Louis (1729–65), son of Louis XV, and father of Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X In marked contrast to his father, he was serious-minded and religious.

amus'd myself (and hope I have amus'd you) by giving you a very abridg'd Account of these Transactions· But can I ever forget, that it is the very same Species, that wou'd scarce show me common Civilities a very few Years ago at Edinburgh, who now receive me with such Applauses at Paris? I assure you I reap more internal Satisfaction from the very amiable Manners & Character of the Family in which I live (I mean Lord & Lady Hertford & Lord Beauchamp) than from all these external Vanities; and it is that domestic Enjoyment which must be considerd as the agreeable Circumstance in my Situation. During the two last days in particular, that I have been at Fontainebleau, I have sufferd (the Expression is not improper) as much Flattery as almost any man has ever done in the same time But there are few days in my Life, when I have been in good Health, that I would not rather pass over again Mr Neville,[1] our Minister, an honest worthy English Gentleman, who carry'd me about, was astonishd at the Civilities I met with, and has assurd me, that, on his Return, he will not fail to inform the King of England and the English Ministry of all these particulars But enough of all these Follies You see I trust to your Friendship, that you will forgive me, and to your Discretion, that you will keep my Secret

I had almost forgot in these Effusions, shall I say of my Misanthropy or my Vanity, to mention the Subject which first put my Pen in my hand The Baron d'Holbac,[2] whom I saw at Paris, told me, that there was one under his Eye that was translating your Theory of moral Sentiments,[3] and desird me to inform you of it Mr Fitzmaurice, your old Friend, interests himself strongly in this Undertaking Both of them wish to know, if you propose to make any Alterations on the Work, and desire you to inform me of your Intentions in that particular Please direct to me under Cover to the Earl of Hertford at

[1] Richard Neville Aldworth Neville (1717–93), M P Reading, 1747, Under-Secretary of State, Southern Department, 1748–51, 4 Sept 1762, appointed Secretary to Duke of Bedford's embassy to France He conveyed the definitive Peace of Paris to London on 15 Feb 1763, and then returned to Paris to act as Minister Plenipotentiary till Lord Hertford's arrival On return to England again he dropped out of public life

[2] Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach (1723–89), a man of German origin and great wealth, chiefly remembered now as the friend of Diderot, author of *Système de la nature*, 1770 His house was the chief rendezvous of the *philosophes* and of distinguished foreigners visiting Paris

[3] A French translation appeared in 2 vols , 12mo, in 1764

Northumberland House, London. Letters so directed will be sent to us at Paris. I desire my Compliments to all Friends.

I am My Dear Smith Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Fontainebleau
28 Oct[r] 1763

*223 *To* ADAM FERGUSON

Fontainebleau, 9 Nov, 1763

Dear Ferguson,

I have now passed four days at Paris, and about a fortnight in the Court at Fontainebleau, amidst a people who, from the Royal Family downwards, seem to have it much at heart to persuade me, by every expression of esteem, that they consider me as one of the greatest geniuses in the world I am convinced that Louis XIV never, in any three weeks of his life, suffered so much flattery: I say suffered, for it really confounds and embarrasses me, and makes me look sheepish Lord Hertford has told them, they will chase me out of France, *à coup des complimens et des louanges*. Our friend, General Clerk,[1] came to this place after I had passed a week in it; and the first thing he said to me was, that he was sure I had never passed so many days with so little satisfaction. I asked him how he had happened to guess so well. He said, because he knew me, and knew the French I really wish often for the plain roughness of the *Poker*,[2] and particularly the sharpness of Dr Jardine, to

* *Lit Gazette*, 1828, p 683, Burton, II 172 ff

[1] Robert Clerk (? 1724–97), joined 32nd Foot, 1743, Col, 1762, Maj-Gen, 1772, Lieut-Gen, 1777, Gen, 1793 'This was a very singular man, of a very ingenious and active intellect, though he had broke short in his education by entering at an early age into the army . He applied his warlike ideas to colloquial intercourse, and attacked your opinions as he would do a redoubt or a castle, not by sap and mine, but by open storm I must confess, that of all the men who had so much understanding, he was the most disagreeable person to converse with whom I ever knew' (Alex Carlyle, *Autobiog*, 451 f)

[2] The Poker Club in Edinburgh, founded by Ferguson in 1762 'This club consisted of all the literati of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, most of whom had been members of the Select Society, except very few indeed who adhered to the enemies of militia, together with a great many country gentlemen, who, though not always resident in town, yet were zealous friends to a Scotch militia, and warm in their resentment on its being refused to us, and an invidious line drawn between Scotland and England The establishment was frugal and moderate, as that of all clubs for a public

correct and qualify so much lusciousness However, I meet sometimes with incidents that please me, because they contain no mixture of French complaisance or exaggeration. Yesterday I dined at the Duc de Praslin's, the Secretary of State.[1] After we had risen from dinner, I went into a corner to converse with somebody; when I saw enter the room a tall gentleman, a little elderly, with a riband and star, who immediately called out to the Duchesse de Praslin, 'Hé, Madame la Duchesse, que je suis content, j'ai vu Monsieur Hume à la cour aujourd'hui' Upon inquiry, I was told he was a man of quality, esteemed one of the cleverest and most sensible about the Court

In two or three days we return to Paris, where I hope to live more at my ease, and shall pass my time with really great men; for there are such at present amongst the literati of France Certainly there is something perverse, either in the structure of our mind, or in the incidents of life My present situation ought naturally to appear an object of envy, for besides those circumstances of an universal good reception from all ranks of people, nothing can be more amiable than the character of the family with whom I live, and nothing can be more friendly than their behaviour to me My fortune has already received a considerable increase by a pension procured me by Lord Hertford, and settled, as they tell me, for life Mr Bunbury has been told that he must not go to Paris, which my Lord considers as a sure prelude to my being soon Secretary to the Embassy; an office which will expose me to little expense, and bring me a thousand a year increase of revenue, and puts me in the road to all the

purpose ought to be We met at our old landlord's of the Diversorium, now near the Cross, the dinner on the table soon after two o'clock, at one shilling a head, the wine to be confined to sherry and claret, and the reckoning to be called at six o'clock After the first fifteen, who were chosen by nomination, the members were to be chosen by ballot, two black balls to exclude the candidate There was to be a new preses chosen at every meeting. William Johnstone Esq., now Sir William Pulteney, was chosen secretary of the club, with a charge of all publications that might be thought necessary by him, and two other members with whom he was to consult In a laughing humour, Andrew Crosbie [the original of Scott's Counsellor Pleydell in *Guy Mannering*] was chosen Assassin, in case any officer of that sort should be needed, but David Hume was added as his Assessor, without whose assent nothing should be done, so that between *plus* and *minus* there was likely to be *no* bloodshed' (Carlyle, *Autobiog*, 420).

[1] César-Gabriel de Choiseul, comte de Choiseul, duc de Praslin (1712–85), a cousin of the duc de Choiseul, with whom he was banished from Court in 1770 He was Minister for Foreign Affairs till 1766, when Choiseul took over from him, leaving him the Colonies and a few other offices

great foreign employments Yet I am sensible that I set out too late, and that I am misplaced, and I wish, twice or thrice a day, for my easy chair and my retreat in James's Court. Never think, dear Ferguson, that as long as you are master of your own fireside and your own time, you can be unhappy, or that any other circumstance can make an addition to your enjoyment

When I think of my own house, you may believe I often reflect on Josey,[1] who, I am afraid, will be more a loser by my absence than I shall ever be a gainer by it, I mean in point of his education I beg of you to have some inspection over him, and as often as my sister shall send to you to ask your advice, that you will be sure to give it I am afraid that there occurs a difficulty at present about entering him to the Greek. He is too far advanced by his learning for the class in the High School to which he is put, and yet he is too young to go to the College· for this reason I thought that he might learn something of the Greek before he finished his Latin course, as is the practice in England, and accordingly Murray[2] in Musselburgh gave him some lessons in that language I propose that he should continue on the same footing in Edinburgh, but I am at a loss how it may be done A master to himself alone would not give him any emulation, and were he put to any other school for this purpose, the hours would interfere with those of the High School Be so good as to speak to Mathison,[3] and then give your opinion to my sister

Please remember me to Mr and Mrs Adams[4] I saw Willy

[1] Joseph Home (died 1832), eldest son of David Hume's brother, John Home of Ninewells. Hume appears to have taken over the responsibility for this boy's education, for in a long letter, dated from Edinburgh 26 Nov 1763, Ferguson makes certain educational proposals and asks for Hume's approval of them, no mention being made of the boy's father (MS , R S E)

[2] The head master of Musselburgh School, appointed by Alexander Carlyle

[3] Alexander Matheson, Rector of Edinburgh High School, 1759–68

[4] Almost certainly Mr and Mrs *John* Adam There were four Adam brothers, John (died 1792), Robert (1728–92), James (died 1794), and William, sons of William Adam (died 1748), a Fifeshire and Edinburgh architect and builder, who built Hopetoun House John, the eldest brother, remained in Scotland and carried on the Fifeshire and Edinburgh business, in close association with Robert and James, whose head-quarters were in London Robert was certainly the most brilliant of the four, it was he who designed Edinburgh University and the Register House James is generally credited with the design of Portland Place About William hardly anything is known

a moment at Fontainebleau. he had arrived a quarter of an hour after Jemmy left it, whom I did not see. These two brothers have been hunting one another in vain through all France, but I hope they have met at last in Paris.

When you favour me with a letter, put it under cover to the Earl of Hertford, and direct it to him at Northumberland House, in the Strand; letters so directed come to us with the greatest safety. Make my compliments to Baron Mure, and Mrs Mure, and all that family I shall write to the Baron soon Tell Dr Blair that I have conversed here twice or thrice with the Duchesse d'Aiguillon,[1] who has been amusing herself with translating passages of Ossian, and I have assured her that the authenticity of those poems is to be proved soon beyond all contradiction Andrew Stuart is here at present. I meet with nobody here that doubts of the justice of his cause. I hope your fine judges will at last be ashamed of their scandalous partiality. I should be glad to hear of all friends

I am, dear Ferguson, with great sincerity and without flattery,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
DAVID HUME

P.S

I beg you to keep the follies of the above letter to yourself I had a letter from Lord Marischal [2] to-day, who tells me, that he is to pass the winter at Edinburgh Wait often on him· you will like him extremely carry all our friends to him, and endeavour to make him pass his time as agreeably as possible.

[1] Anne-Charlotte de Crussol de Florensac (died 1772), duchesse-douairière d'Aiguillon, friend of Mme du Deffand, Lady Hervey, and Horace Walpole Translating English poems seems to have been one of her hobbies Mme du Deffand, writing to Walpole on 30 Nov 1766, says 'Je soupai l'autre jour chez Mme d'Aiguillon, elle nous lut la traduction de la *Lettre d'Héloise* de Pope, et d'un chant du poeme de *Salomon* de Prior; elle écrit admirablement bien, j'en étais réellement dans l'enthousiasme dites-le à Milady Hervey, je ne serais pas fachée que cela revint à Mme d'Aiguillon' (*Lettres de Mme du D à Hor Walpole*, 1 176)

[2] The Earl Marischal had gone to Aberdeenshire to dispose of his estates, which he did, pretty cheaply His letter to Hume, dated from Touch, 28 Oct 1763, is a characteristic document, which begins in English, changes into French in the middle of a sentence, and continues in French (see Appendix D below)

* 224. *To* ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN

My dear Sir,

I believe I shall write you a very short letter, and yet have a great deal to say. I have not absolutely leisure to look about me what between business and company, what between receiving and returning civilities, between the commerce of the great and the learned, it is scarce possible for me to think of an absent friend . [1]

I reconcile myself daily to this course of life, and nothing leads more to familiarise me to a scene so different from that to which I had so long been accustomed, than the amiable manners and the cordial friendship of the family with whom I live I find, likewise, the use of the French tongue gradually returns to me, though I am still somewhat awkward in returning a compliment.[2] The scene which passed to-day really pleased without embarassing me I attended Lord Hertford to Versailles in order to be presented to the Dauphiness [3] and the young Princes, the only part of the royal family whom we had not yet seen. When I was presented to the Duc de Berry,[4] a child of ten years of age, he said to me, 'Monsieur, vous avez beaucoup de réputation dans ce pays-ci votre nom est très bien connu, et c'est avec beaucoup de plaisir que je vous vois' Immediately upon which his brother the Comte de Provence,[5] who is two years younger, advanced to me and said, with great presence of mind, 'Monsieur, il y a longtems que vous êtes attendu dans ce pays-ci avec beaucoup d'impatience je compte avoir bien du plaisir quand je pourrai lire votre belle histoire'. But what is more remarkable, when we were carried to make our bows to the Comte d'Artois,[6] who is about five years of age, and to a young Madame of between two and three,[7] the infant prince

* Campbell, *Lord Chancellors*, Ch CLXIV

[1] Here, Campbell says, follows a list of books purchased for Wedderburn in Paris and sent to him in London

[2] Hume is said to have been charmingly vain of his French—but without reason. All authorities, English and French, agree that he spoke it very badly.

[3] Marie-Josephe of Saxony (1731–67), la Dauphine

[4] Afterwards Louis XVI [5] Afterwards Louis XVIII

[6] Afterwards Charles X

[7] Marie-Adélaide-Clotilde-Xavière (died 1802), m, 1775, Charles Emmanuel, Prince of Piedmont, afterwards King of Sardinia

likewise advanced to me in order to make me his harangue, in which, though it was not very distinct, I heard him mumble the word *Histoire*, and some other terms of panegyric With him ended the civilities of the royal family of France towards me; and I may say it did not end till their power of speech failed them· for the Princess was too young to be able to articulate a compliment You may see, by this instance alone, what you could not fail to remark in many other instances, how much greater honour is paid to Letters in France than in England. I do not mean with regard to me alone, whom some factious barbarians, under the appellation of Whigs, are fond to decry; but with regard to every other person And the effects are visible by the different state of Letters in the two countries

I am, dear Wedderburn, Yours sincerely,

Paris, 23d Nov. 1763 DAVID HUME.

P S I daily reconcile myself more to this place, and expect soon to be a Parisian. I have so often changed my places of abode, that I am come to think that, as far as regards happiness, there is no great difference among them But yet, if there is a preference to be given, this city seems entitled to it

*225 *To* WILLIAM ROBERTSON

Paris, 1 December, 1763

Dear Robertson,

Among other agreeable circumstances, which attend me at Paris, I must mention that of having a lady for a translator, a woman of merit, the widow of an advocate [1] She was before very poor, and known but to few, but this work has got her

* Stewart, *Robertson*, 169 ff , Burton, ii 176 ff

[1] Octavie Guichard, Madame Belot (died 1805) Left a young widow with an income of only 60 livres a year, she sold her annuity for 1,200 livres and spent the money in learning English Her first book was *Reflexions d'une provinciale sur le discours de J -Jacques Rousseau touchant l'inégalité des conditions*, 1756, her second, *Mélanges de littérature angloise*, 2 parts, 1759 (which included a translation of Garth's *Dispensary*) Her Hume translations were *Histoire de la Maison de Tudor, sur le Trône d'Angleterre, Par M David Hume, Traduite de l'Anglois, Par Madame B****, Amsterdam, 2 vols , 4to, 1763, and *Histoire de la Maison de Plantagenet, sur le Trône d'Angleterre, Depuis l'Invasion de Jules César, jusqu'à l'avénement de Henry VII Par M David Hume, Traduite de l'Anglois Par Madame B****, Amsterdam, 2 vols , 4to, 1765 She also translated Johnson's *Rasselas*, 1768 In Dec 1765 she married Jean-Baptiste-François Durey de Meinières, Président de Meinières (born 1705), who had some time before established her in his house in order that she might have the use of his fine library

reputation, and procured her a pension from the Court, which sets her at her ease She tells me, that she has got a habit of industry, and would continue, if I could point out to her any other English book she could undertake, without running the risk of being anticipated by any other translator. Your *History of Scotland* is translated, and is in the press; but I recommended to her your *History of Charles V*, and promised to write to you, in order to know when it would be printed, and to desire you to send over the sheets from London as they came from the press· I should put them into her hands, and she would by that means have the start of every other translator My two volumes last published are at present in the press She has a very easy natural style sometimes she mistakes the sense,[1] but I now correct her manuscript, and should be happy to render you the same service, if my leisure permit me, as I hope it will.

Do you ask me about my course of life? I can only say, that I eat nothing but ambrosia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe nothing but incense, and tread on nothing but flowers Every man I meet, and still more every lady, would think they were wanting in the most indispensable duty, if they did not make me a long and elaborate harangue in my praise. What happened last week, when I had the honour of being presented to the Dauphin's children at Versailles, is one of the most curious scenes I have yet passed through. The Duc de B. the eldest, a boy of ten years old, stepped forth, and told me how many friends and admirers I had in this country, and that he reckoned himself in the number, from the pleasure he had received from the reading of many passages in my works When he had finished, his brother, the Count de P , who is two years younger, began his discourse, and informed me, that I had been long and impatiently expected in France, and that he himself expected soon to have great satisfaction from the reading of my fine History. But what is more curious, when I was carried thence to the Count d'A , who is but four years of age, I heard him

[1] Grimm says of Mme Belot's translation of *The Tudors* ['Elle] ne prend point dans le public, et . on lui reproche déjà un style lourd, froid, et lâche (*Corr Litt* , III 331), and of *The Plantagenets* [Le style de Mme Belot] 'plat et bourgeois rend cette lecture pénible et dégoûtante M Hume dit quelque part "Ce gouvernement ne ressemblait pas mal à l'aristocratie polonaise" et Mme Belot traduit "Ce gouvernement ressemblait assez à une aristocratie polie" On a dit que M Hume avait revu lui-même les épreuves de cette traduction, et son séjour à Paris pouvait rendre la chose vraisemblable, mais cela n'est pas vrai' (ibid , IV 403)

mumble something, which, tho he had forgot it in the way, I conjectured from some scattered words, to have been also a panegyric dictated to him Nothing could more surprise my friends, the Parisian philosophers, than this incident. . . .[1]

It is conjectured that this honour was paid me by express order from the Dauphin, who, indeed, is not on any occasion, sparing in my praise.

All this attention and panegyric was at first oppressive to me, but now it sits more easy. I have recovered, in some measure, the use of the language, and am falling into friendships, which are very agreeable; much more so than silly, distant admiration They now begin to banter me, and tell droll stories of me, which they have either observed themselves, or have heard from others, so that you see I am beginning to be at home. It is probable, that this place will be long my home. I feel little inclination to the factious barbarians of London, and have ever desired to remain in the place where I am planted How much more so, when it is the best place in the world! I could here live in great abundance on the half of my income, for there is no place where money is so little requisite to a man who is distinguished either by his birth or by personal qualities I could run out, you see, in a panegyric on the people, but you would suspect, that this was a mutual convention between us However, I cannot forbear observing, on what a different footing learning and the learned are here, from what they are among the factious barbarians above-mentioned

I have here met with a prodigious historical curiosity, the Memoirs of King James II in fourteen volumes, all wrote with his own hand, and kept in the Scots College[2] I have looked into it, and have made great discoveries It will be all communicated to me; and I have had an offer of access to the Secretary of State's office, if I want to know the despatches of any French minister that resided in London But these matters are much out of my head I beg of you to visit Lord Marischal, who will be pleased with your company I have little paper remaining, and less time; and therefore conclude abruptly, by assuring you that I am,

Dear Doctor, Yours sincerely,
DAVID HUME.

[1] Apparently Stewart omitted a passage here

[2] Several books purporting to be extracts from these Memoirs have been published, but the MSS themselves seem to have been destroyed during the French Revolution.

* 226 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I have here fallen upon a great Treasure, as I believe, of historical Knowledge, which is, 15 Volumes of the late K. James's Memoirs wrote all with his own hand I shall be able to make use of them for improving & correcting many Passages of my History, in case of a new Edition, which however I fancy will not be soon. I am glad to see public Affairs likely to settle in favour of Government No body ever led a more dissipated Life than I do here. Please send to Mr Stewart [1] in Buckingham Street six Copies of the new Edition of my History, and two of the last large Paper Quarto, all in Sheets Make them carefully up in a Parcel He is to send them to me I shall be your Debtor for the Quartos I shoud be glad to hear from you My Direction is at the English Ambassadors. Excuse my Hurry. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Millar I am very sincerly

Dear Sir
Your most humble Servant
David Hume

Paris
1 Dec[r] 1763

* 227. *To the* Rev Hugh Blair

[Paris, ? December, 1763]

Dear Dr

I write every thing in haste, except on public Affairs, which are the only serious Matters I have Leizure to mind: So excuse this Letter if it prove a Scrawl. I approve very much of your Plan for ascertaining the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems, and I doubt not of your Success I do not think you can publish all the Letters you receive, which no body woud read. A Summary of them will do better, but endeavour to be as particular, as you can, with regard to Names of Persons and Passages: For the Force of your Argument will lie there I have met here with Enthusiasts for Ossian's Poetry; but there are also several Critics who are of my Opinion, that, tho' great Beauties, they are also

* MS, R S E, Burton, II 179 f
† MS, R S E, Burton, II 180 ff (incomplete)
[1] John Stewart, the wine merchant.

greater Curiosities, and that they are a little tedious by reason of their Uniformity

You desire to know the particulars of my Reception here & my Course of Life. I own I write little upon this Subject, and always with some Desire of Secrecy, both because I wish to have such Intelligence convey'd by others rather than myself and because I am somewhat indifferent whether it be convey'd or not. However, I wrote some Circumstances to Robertson, which I allow him to communicate to you I suppose, this, like all other violent Modes, will pass, and in the mean while, the Hurry & Dissipation, attending it, gives me more pain than Pleasure Never was there a stronger Instance of the Vanity of human Wishes. But this Embarassment proceeds chiefly from my own Fault, and from a vain Anxiety to give no Offence nor Displeasure to any body.

The Men of Letters here are really very agreeable; all of them Men of the World, living in entire or almost entire Harmony among themselves, and quite irreproachable in their Morals It woud give you & Jardine & Robertson great Satisfaction to find that there is not a single Deist among them. Those whose Persons & Conversation I like best are d'Alembert,[1] Buffon,[2] Marmontel,[3] Diderot,[4] Duclos,[5] Helvetius,[6] and old President Henaut,[7] who, tho' now decaying, retains that amiable

[1] Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–83), Diderot's chief associate in the *Encyclopédie* until 1759, when he withdrew from the enterprise, a mathematician, frail of body and shrill of voice, precise in his ways, a great contrast to the exuberant and impulsive Diderot, for years the devoted friend and companion of Mlle de Lespinasse Hume seems to have got closer to d'Alembert than to any other of the French men of letters, and left him a legacy of £200

[2] Jean-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–88), author of the *Histoire naturelle* He was at first associated with the encyclopaedists in their work, but withdrew when he found that they had fallen out of favour with the Court, and when, as he thought, they failed to pay him enough deference

[3] Jean-François Marmontel (1723–99), author of *Bélisaire*, *Les Incas*, and *Mémoires*, &c , called by Mme du Deffand 'le protégé et l'âme damnée de d'Alembert' (*Lettres à Walpole*, 1 210 f)

[4] Denis Diderot (1713–84), unquestionably the greatest in this list, editor of the *Encyclopédie*, and author of a great part of it and of *Le Neveu de Rameau*, *La religieuse*, &c

[5] Charles Pinot Duclos

[6] Claude-Adrien Helvétius He gathered much the same people about him as d'Holbach, but being himself consumed with literary ambition, was much less successful as a host—'car il faisait continuellement son livre en société (Morellet, *Mémoires*, 141)

[7] President Charles-Jean-François Hénault (1685–1770), sometime

Character, which made him once the Delight of all France. He had always the best Cook & the best Company in Paris. But, tho' I know you will laugh at me, as they do, I must confess, that I am more carry'd away from their Society than I shoud be, by the great Ladies, with whom I became acquainted at my first Introduction to Court, and whom my Connexions with the English Ambassador will not allow me entirely to drop

Nothing can be more easy & agreeable than my Situation with Lord Hertford, who is a man of strict Honour, an amiable Temper, a good Understanding, and an elegant Person & Behaviour He takes very much in this Place He has got an Opinion, very well founded, that the more Acquaintance I make, & the greater Intimacies I form with the French, the more I am enabled to be of Service to him So he exacts no Attendance from me; and is well pleasd to find me carryd into all kinds of Company He tells me, that if he did not meet me by Chance in third Places, we shoud go out of Acquaintance. Thus you see my present Plan of life sketcht out, but it is unsuitable to my Age & Temper, and I am determin'd to retrench, and to abandon the fine Folks before they abandon me

I am glad to find by Yours & my Sisters that you are my Tenant. You have got an excellent House for its Size [1] It was perfectly clean of Vermine when I left it, and I hope you will find it so I woud advise you not to put a Bed in the little Closet near the Kitchen It wou'd be stuffing to a Servant & woud certainly encourage Bugs. The Garret is neatly fitted up for a Man-Servant; and the other Closet will suffice for two Maids. Never put a Fire in the South Room with the red Paper. It is so warm of itself, that all last Winter, which was a very severe one, I lay with a single Blanket, and frequently, upon coming in at Midnight, starving with Cold, have sat down & read for an hour, as if I had a Stove in the Room The Fires of your Neighbours will save you the Expence of a fire in that Room You have an excellent Cellar for Wine, but there is a little Inconvenience about having your Coals and small Beer in it at the same time, which my Sister woud explain to you.

You think it inconvenient to take this House only for an Interim. Alas! my Prospects of being home are very distant &

'Président au Parlement' and then Superintendent of the Household of the Queen, Marie Leczinska Mme du Deffand began by being his mistress and remained always his friend

[1] The house in James's Court

very uncertain I am afraid I might say worse. My Connexions with Lord Hertford must probably last for some Years, after which, I shall be rich enough to live in Paris or London as I please, or to retire to a Provincial town in France or to Bath or God knows whither. I like to keep my House in case of Accidents, and therefore neither choose to sell it, nor let a lease of it, but there is no great Chance for your being disturbd in it for some time. Please send the enclosd to my Sister I am, Dear Doctor

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

P.S

Pray, do you not all pay Court to Lord Mareschal? Do you imagine, that you ever saw so excellent a Man? Or that you have any Chance for seeing his equal, if he were gone?[1]

To The Reverend Dr Blair Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh
Free Hertford

* 228. *To* COLONEL JAMES EDMONSTOUNE [2]

Paris, 9 January, 1764.

Dear Edmonstoune,

I was fully settled, and, as I thought, for life, at Edinburgh; had bought a very pretty little house, which I had repaired and furnished to my fancy, had purchased a chaise, and fixed everything about my family on such a footing as to continue there the rest of my days. But while I was in this situation, which was far from disagreeable, I received a letter from my friend Mr Wood, wrote by direction from Lord Hertford, by which

* Burton, II 182 ff

[1] According to Ramsay of Ochtertyre, confirmed by the Earl Marischal's own letters to Hume, and by a letter of Alison Cockburn's to Hume (MS , R S E , Burton, *Eminent Persons*, 120 ff), the Earl Marischal did not quite hit it off with the majority of people he met in Scotland during this visit.

[2] Edmonstoune, who was a cousin of the Earl of Bute, had been appointed travelling governor to Lord Mountstuart, Lord Bute's eldest son, and was now in Geneva with him From there he wrote to Hume on 30 Dec 1763: 'My dear Historian Pray tell me what are you doing at Paris Are you on a visit, or in a publick capacity. Has the King done himself the Honour to give you a pension I have heard all this, and likeways that you are the Darling of the Fair, and that they all learn English for no other Reason than to read you Are you to pay [a visit] to Voltaire I shall not trouble you with a long epistle now that you are a man of Business. I am my dear Philosopher Your affectionate friend and servant [unsigned]' (MS , R S E).

I was invited to attend his Lordship in his embassy to Paris, and to perform the functions of Secretary to the Embassy. I had never seen Lord Hertford, tho I had heard an excellent character of him; but as I thought myself too old to enter on a new scene of life, and found myself settled to my mind, I at first refused the invitation, but on its being urged more home to me, I came up to London, where I found that Mr Bunbury, a gentleman of considerable fortune, and married to the Duke of Richmond's sister,[1] had already been appointed Secretary; but was so disagreeable to the Ambassador, that he was resolved never to see, or do business with his Secretary, and therefore desired I should attend him, in order to perform the functions. He also thought himself certain that Bunbury could not possibly continue in the situation, but in order to make me more secure, he procured me a pension of £200 a year for life, from the King. As I became every day better acquainted with my Lord, I liked him every day better; and I do not believe there is in the world a man of more probity or humanity, endowed with a very good understanding, and adorned with very elegant manners and behaviour My Lady is also a person of great merit, and nothing can be more amiable than my Lord Beauchamp. so that you see I have every domestic means of happiness; and the good reception I have met with at Paris, particularly, as you observe, by the ladies, renders my present course of life, tho somewhat too hurried and dissipated, as amusing as I could wish. My Lord appears zealously my friend, and has urged the matter so home, in my favour, to the King and the ministers, that he has obtained a promise, that I shall soon have the appointments and commission of Secretary to the Embassy, which is about £1000 a year added to what I already possess: so that you see, dear Edmonstoune, I am in the high road to riches; and as there is no instance of a Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, that has not been advanced to the most considerable employments, I am at the same time in the high road to dignities. You must know, that Lord Hertford has so high a character

[1] Lady Sarah Lennox (1745–1826), 7th d of 2nd Duke of Richmond She would doubtless have been Queen of England, had the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III, not been so much under the dominion of his mother and Lord Bute He fell in love with her, but she was not regarded as a suitable match for the heir to the throne—and he obediently withdrew his affections In 1762 she married Bunbury, who divorced her in 1776 In 1782 she married the Hon George Napier, by whom she became the mother of Sir Charles and Sir William Napier.

for piety, that his taking me by the hand is a kind of regeneration to me, and all past offences are now wiped off. But all these views are trifling to one of my age and temper The material point is (if anything can be material) that I keep my health and humour as entire as I possessed them at five-and-twenty. I am sorry to hear, dear Edmonstoune, that the case is not the same with you, at least with regard to the former, and perhaps somewhat with regard to the latter. Your situation is no doubt tiresome, and somewhat disagreeable What is the fancy of sending one of the first noblemen in the kingdom to pass years in a country town? Why do you not go forward to Italy, or back to Paris? When I arrived here, all M. Voltaire's friends told me of the regard he always expressed for me, that some advances on my part were due to his age, and would be well taken I accordingly wrote him a letter,[1] in which I expressed the esteem which are [2] undoubtedly due to his talents; and among other things I said, that if I were not confined to Paris by public business, I should have a great ambition to pay him a visit at Geneva This is the foundation of the report you mention, but I am absolutely confined to Paris and the Court, and cannot on any account leave them so much as for three days.

* 229. *To* Richard Aldworth Neville [3]

Paris, March 14, 1764.

Manifold have been the persecutions, dear Sir, which the unhappy Jews, in several ages, have suffered from the misguided zeal of the Christians, but there has at last arisen a Jew capable of avenging his injured nation, and striking terror into their proud oppressors, this formidable Jew is Monsr de Pinto, and the unhappy Christian, who is chiefly exposed to all the effects of his cruelty, is your humble servant He says, that you promised to mention him to me, I do not remember that you did he says, that he has done the most signal services to

* *Bedford Corr*, iii. 257 f

[1] This letter does not appear to be extant, but Voltaire received it, for, writing to the Comte d'Argental on 19 Nov 1763, he says 'Mes chers anges, j'écrivais à M Hume, lorsque j'ai été prévenu par sa lettre Je lui envoie ces *Remarques sur l'Histoire générale*, que vous n'avez pas désapprouvées'

[2] Burton says '*Sic* in MS', but he was an unreliable transcriber

[3] See note 1 on p 409 above

England, while the Duke of Bedford was Ambassador here, I do not question it, but they are unknown to me he says, that he is poor, and must have a pension for his reward; I wish he may obtain it, but I cannot assist him he sends me letters, which I transmit to you, but I cannot oblige you to answer them: he says, that Lord Hertford must get justice done him, if the Duke of Bedford neglects him; I do not believe that the Duke of Bedford neglects anybody that has done him service. he grows angry; I exhort him to patience.

This, dear Sir, is a very abridged account of the dialogue which passes every day between M Pinto and me, that is, every day when he can break in upon me, and lay hold of me. when he catches Lord Hertford, he is very copious on the same subject; but when he seizes poor Lord Beauchamp, his Lordship has good reason to curse the day he was born mild and gentle, and made incapable of doing or saying a harsh thing

But to be serious with regard to the man, I imagine, from what he tells me, and from a letter of yours which he showed me, that he had endeavoured to be useful to the Duke of Bedford and you during the negotiations of the peace. perhaps he was useful in some particulars, but to what extent you best know, and I am certain, that you neither forget nor neglect him, tho you have not answered his multiplied letters I should not think, that it at all lay upon me to solicit you in his behalf, or even to write to you about him, had I not been forced by his constant teazing, which I could no otherwise get rid of If the Duke of Bedford thinks him entitled to no reward, you would do this family a great service by telling him so at once: if the Duke intends to do him service, he would be very happy to have the encouragement of some hint in his favour. I only beg of you to excuse my meddling at all in this affair, which, I am sensible, does not belong to me, and which I should have avoided, had it not been in this manner extorted from me.[1]

I am, &c.

DAVID HUME

[1] 'The information with which M de Pinto furnished the Duke [of Bedford] consisted chiefly of extracts from the papers of the celebrated Dupleix, who after having ruled the Carnatic with absolute sway was living in abject poverty in Paris, by which it appeared that territories of the annual value of £70,000 had been ceded to the French East India Company on the 1st of July 1749 (or about a fortnight before the commencement of hostilities), on such terms as left no doubt of the connexion between the session and the hostilities These territories, of which the Company had long

* 230. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I have a Commission from a Gentleman here to send him over my History and other Writings in the Octavo Edition: Also Cay's Abridgement of the Statutes [1] and Coke's Institutes.[2] With a book call'd Le Glaneur d'histoire naturelle par George Edward en trois volume [*sic*] Quarto [3] It is sold by Nourse & Dodesley, and is a Continuation of a Work publishd in two Volumes Quarto You may add a Copy of John Home's Douglas and of this new Book, burnd by Order of the House of Commons [4] I shall take care that you be pay'd this Account. You will easily find a Method of conveying these Books to me. By some surprizing Negligence in Mr Stuart [5] I have never yet got the Copies I wrote for of my History.

I shoud be glad to know how your new Method of publishing Volume by Volume [6] has succeeded, and in general how the

* MS , R S E ,·Burton, II 200 (incomplete)

been dispossessed, would of course have been restored to it under the words of the Treaty Such a result was obviously a gross injustice on the English Company, and the scruples of the Duke to press their case further being at once removed, he renewed his application to the duc de Choiseul for the alteration of the epoch Finding the French ministers obstinate in their refusal, he frankly told them that he would return home in twelve hours, and lay the whole affair before Parliament, unless he gained his point ' They then agreed (*Bedford Corr* , III 184 n) On the representations of the Duke, de Pinto subsequently received a pension of £500 per annum from the East India Company (ibid , III 258 n) See also Letter 250 below

[1] John Cay *Abridgment of the Statutes in Force and of General Use, from Magna Charta to the I Geo III inclusive*, 2nd edit , 2 vols , fol , London, 1762

[2] Sir Edward Coke *The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, or a Commentary upon Littleton*, 1st edit , fol , 1628, 12th edit., fol , 1738.

[3] George Edwards wrote two books that were often bound up together, viz. 1 *A Natural History of uncommon Birds and of some rare and undescribed Animals*, 4 Parts, 1743–51, and 2 *Gleanings of Natural History*, 3 Parts, 1758–64

[4] A tract called *Droit le Roy*, by Timothy Brecknock, who was hanged in 1786 Writing to Lord Hertford on 24 Feb. 1764, Horace Walpole says 'The events of the week have been, a complaint made by Lord Lyttelton in your House, of a book called *Droit le Roy*, a tract written in the highest strain of prerogative, and drawn from all the old obsolete law-books on that question. The ministers met this complaint with much affected indignation, and even on the complaint being communicated to us, took it up themselves, and both Houses have ordered the book to be burned by the hangman' (*Letters*, VI 21)

[5] John Stewart (see Letter 226 above)

[6] That is, of the 8vo edit of the complete *History*

Sale has gone on this Winter; and what Share of the Edition is disposd of I have liv'd such a Life of Dissipation as not to be able to think of any serious Occupation. But I begin to tire of that Course of Life I have however run over K. James's Memoirs, and have pickd up some curious Passages, which it is needless to speak of, till we have Occasion for a new Edition, which I suppose is very distant. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Millar, whom I advise to take a Journey to Paris I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Paris
18 March 1764

P S. Please write to me under Cover to Lord Hertford, and send the Letter to Northumberland house in the Strand.

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand Londres

* 231 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir

I have long expected to hear from you and to learn your Sentiments of English Politics, according to the Promise you made me on parting: Perhaps, you have as long expected to hear from me; and thus while we stand upon Ceremony, our Correspondence is never likely to begin. But I have now broke the Ice, and it will be your Fault, if our Commerce of Letters does not continue

I have been on the Watch this Winter for any Publication, which might answer in an English Translation, and have even fix'd a Correspondence with one of the Licencers of the Press to give me early Intelligence, but there has nothing appeard, which I thought woud answer, except Voltaire's Treatise of Toleration,[1] of which only a very few stolen copies came here, and it was impossible for me to procure one

Are you acquainted with the Merit of Madame Riccoboni's [2]

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 41 ff

[1] *Traité sur la Tolérance à l'occasion de la mort de Jean Calas*, 1763 Writing to d'Alembert on 13 Dec 1763, Voltaire says that his Geneva publishers, 'les pauvres Cramer ont été obligés de faire faire à leurs paquets le tour de l'Europe pour arriver à Paris'.

[2] Marie-Jeanne Laboras de Mézières (1714–92), Mme Riccoboni, wife of an actor, and for some time an actress herself, friend and correspondent of Garrick, author of *Les Lettres de Fanny Butler*, *Ernestine*, and *Lettres de Milord Rivers*, besides the other novels mentioned in the text She fell on evil days and died in great poverty

Novels? She is the Author of Lady Juliette Catesby, and others which have been very well receivd both in France and England; and are indeed wrote with great Elegance and Decency. She has just now in the Press a Novel, wrote upon English Manners, from which great Success is expected.[1] Woud you think it worthy of being translated? I coud get from her some Sheets of it, which I woud send you by a Courier, and which woud secure you the Property· The rest I woud send by any Traveller, of whom Numbers set out every day

As she is a Woman of Merit, but poor, any small Present, proportiond to the Success of the Work, I shall only mention in general, and shall leave the Amount of it to your own Discretion afterwards.

Please to direct to me, under Cover to the Earl of Hertford, and send your Letters to Northumberland House in the Strand.

I am Dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant

DAVID HUME.

Paris, 20 March, 1764

P S

Pray inform me, if you can, of the Reason of this continued low Price of Stocks· They say, that Money is as scarce in private Transactions. But what is the Reason of that, after the Peace has been establishd for above a twelve month?

Since I wrote the above, I have procurd the two first printed Sheets, from Mad[e] Riccoboni They will secure you the Property, if you think proper to have them translated, which I think they very much deserve. The whole will make two small Volumes.

These are the proof Sheets corrected The Translator must follow the Corrections on the Margins. What do you think of a French Edition also of the Original?

* 232 *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

My dear Sir

I believe I need not inform you how little I have been always inclin'd to solhcit the Great, or even my Friends, for any thing that regards my own Fortune I may venture to say, that,

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II. 189 ff

[1] *L'histoire de Miss Jenny Revel, écrite et envoyée par elle à Milady Comtesse de Roscommon*

hitherto, I have never once made any Applications of this Nature, and you may wonder that now, at my Years, when the greatest Part of Life is past, and I may esteem myself, in other Respects, pretty much at my Ease, I shoud submit to prefer Requests which I declin'd at an Age when Ambition ought naturally to be stronger, and when my Circumstances much more powerfully calld for Assistance But the Step I take at present is at Lord Hertford's Desire, who, being determin'd to make it a Point that I shoud have the Credentials & Appointments of Secretary to the Embassy, expressd his Wish that I shoud also apply to all my own Friends on the same Subject My Obligations to him are so great, that, even were I more reluctant, I coud not have declin'd Compliance, and surely I can have but small Reluctance to apply to you, one of my best Friends, with whom I have long liv'd in a Course of Intimacy & good Correspondence

I remember that the last time I had the Pleasure of seeing you, you said, that I no doubt wonder'd how it happen'd, that while the Prime Minister & Favourite,[1] who inclin'd to be a Maecenas, & who bore me no ill Will, was surrounded by all my most particular Friends,[2] I shoud never have experienc'd any good Effects from their Credit I own that I never was surprizd; not from any Diffidence of them, but from some obvious Objections Now all these Objections are remov'd by Lord Hertford's Friendship Nobody, henceforth, need be afraid to patronise me, either as a Scotsman or a Deist This Circumstance encourages me in my present Application to my Friends

Surely it is impossible to give them a juster & more plausible Cause to support than mine? I do the Functions here of Secretary to the Embassy. Is it not scandalous that another shoud live in London & draw the Sallary?

Is it for the Credit of Government, that such Abuses shoud appear to foreign Nations? Is it good Policy to send an Ambassador to the most important of all foreign Employments, & yet declare that he has so little Credit at home, as not to have the Choice of his own Secretary?

I shall not say that the Partiality I meet with here will make these Abuses more remark'd, than if another Person, less known,

[1] The Earl of Bute

[2] Elliot himself, Sir Harry Erskine, William Mure, John Home, Adam Ferguson, James Edmonstoune—all these were closely connected with Lord Bute

were concern'd But surely the Government puts me in a Situation which ought to render me entirely useless to Lord Hertford, by refusing me a Character which shoud have appear'd necessary, in order to gain me Admittance into Company.

Allow me to inform you of another Circumstance, which renders my prevailing in this Point the most material Step to my future Fortune. When I came to London, & found, contrary to Lord Hertford's Opinion, that Mr Bunbury was likely to keep his Appointments, I declin'd going abroad, unless something certain was fix'd in my Favour My Lord said, that he woud obtain me, from the Public, a Settlement of 200 a Year for Life, or woud give me as much from his private Fortune. He apply'd to the King, who agreed, to Mr Grenville,[1] who also consented Two days before we came off, my Pension was fix'd on the most precarious Footing of all Pensions, by a simple Order from the Treasury to their Secretary. Yet Mr Grenville told my Lord, that this was equivalent to a Settlement for Life. My Lord believes so still, but I well know the contrary, tho' I said nothing, perhaps from a foolish Delicacy, as the time of our Departure so near approach'd, & it was difficult then to correct the Blunder Were I to return to England, on my present Footing, I shou'd regard this Pension as absolutely insignificant, not worth two Years Purchase, and never coud form any Plan on the Supposition of its Duration. But had I obtain'd the Rank & Character of Secretary to the Embassy, there are certain Pensions annex'd, by Custom, to certain Employments; and I believe I might more depend upon it

You see then how materially my Interests are concern'd. I have wrote to others of my Friends, Sir Harry, Oswald, & John Hume, in the same Style, that an Effort may be made, all at once, in my Favour I own that, notwithstanding all the plausible Appearances, my Hopes of Success are but moderate I have been accustom'd to meet with nothing but Insults & Indignities from my native Country. But if it continue so, *ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem habebis.*

I am My Dear Sir
Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME[2]

Paris
27 March 1764

[1] George Grenville, who was then Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer

[2] Elliot answered this letter from London on 25 April 1764 (see Appendix C below)

* 233. *To* Baron Mure of Caldwell

My dear Baron

I am very much hurry'd and a little out of humour; so you need expect nothing but Business from me I shall take another more serene day, when I have more leizure, to write you of Vanities and Gallantries, which I see you have your heart set upon I immediately sent Lord Mareschal's Letter to Mons[r] Meuron, and desird to have a Conversation with him [1] He came and he appeard to me a genteel young Man in his Person, and modest and sensible in his Behaviour I found, that he livd at present in the House of a Swiss Banker with whom I am acquainted I went to the Banker, who spoke well of his Conduct and Morals I had a second Conversation with the young Man, and was confirmd in my former Opinion of him I find, that he is much inclind to come to you, but he desird time to see and consult his Father, without whose Consent and Approbation, he is resolvd to take no Resolution. I fancy you will have him and that he will serve the purposes intended.[2] He seems to speak French with a good Accent I told him, that I did not believe you was in any hurry about his coming to a Resolution, and this I conjectured from the great Youth of your Son,[3] who coud not stand much in need of a Tutor for some time

Your Cousin, Hutchy Mure's [4] Son, came here a few days ago I introduc'd him to Lord Hertford, who told him the same thing, that I did, that Paris is the worst Place in the World for a young Man to learn the Language or get into good Company Their own young Men, of the best Families, are not at Mr Mure's Age admitted into Company. If a Lady keeps a

* MS. in possession of Mrs Reginald Mure, Oxford, *Nineteenth Century and After*, xcviii (1925) 294 *f*

[1] Baron Mure wanted a Swiss to act as tutor to his two sons, William and James, and spoke to the Earl Marischal about it The latter wrote to Hume from Edinburgh on 23 Feb 1764, enclosing an open letter to a M de Meuron, son of a Councillor of State in Neuchâtel, inviting him to accept the appointment (MS., R S E).

[2] Samuel de Meuron went to the Mures, and stayed with them for two years He afterwards returned to Neuchâtel, and became, like his father, a Councillor of State

[3] The two boys for whom the tutor was required were still only 9 and 6 years of age

[4] Hutchison Mure of Saxham Hall, Suffolk, uncle of Baron Mure, was a merchant in London

Correspondence with any one, that is not approaching to thirty, she conceals it carefully, and woud be ashamd to produce as her Gallant a Boy of one or two and twenty, who is not yet supposd to be formd for rational Conversation. We old Gallants, you may believe, all support this Topic; and cry out Shame upon any Lady that favours a young, giddy Debauchee Indeed, I never almost meet with any such in Company

If all places were not almost alike for Happiness and Enjoyment, I shoud say that I pass my time better here than I have done any where else My chief Grievance is, that I allowd myself at first to be hurry'd into too great a Variety of Company, and find a Difficulty to withdraw and confine myself to one Society, without which there is no real Enjoyment My Connexions with the Ambassador led me to be connected also with Ministers of State and foreign Ministers· I naturally sought and obtaind Connexions with the learned And I was violently carry'd, both by their Civilities and my own Inclination to form Connexions with the Fair, without whose Society I never coud in any place pass my time agreeably and who are the Life and Spring of every thing at Paris I have cut off however all Visits with the Young and Brilliant, and require at least that a Lady be past thirty, before I enter into Correspondence with her Society is certainly on a very agreeable Footing in this part of the World; and there are particularly more Women of Sense and Taste and Knowledge than any where else You woud take them all for Vestals by the Decency of their Behaviour in Company Scarce a double Entendre ever to be heard; scarce a free Joke· What lies below this Veil is not commonly supposd to be so pure But behold! I have exceeded my Resolution, and have fallen into a Discourse of Gallantry before I was aware I will answer none of your Letters for the future, unless Mrs Mure has a Share in them, to show you how much I am improvd My Direction is under Cover to Lord Hertford at Northumberland House. I am Dear Baron

Ever yours
DAVID HUME.[1]

Paris 28 March 1764

[1] Replying to this letter from Caldwell on 12 May, Mure says ' . I perceive you are become not only a fine man of Fashion, but have even acquired all the Delicacy of a fine Lady You take fits of being *out of humour* and find a *serene day* necessary to write a common letter A pretty private

* 234 *To* William Strahan

Mr Hume's Compliments to Mr Strahan. He sent him the two first Sheets of this Work, which he hopes Mr Strahan receivd.[1] In case he has not, Mr Hume recommends it to Mr Strahan to be translated into English It is a work of Mad[e] de Riccoboni, so well known by the Letters of Lady Juliette Catesby. Mr Hume will send over the other Sheets as they come from the Press. He desires Mr Strahan to write to him His Direction is under Cover to Lord Hertford at Northumberland House in the Strand

Paris, 1 of April, 1764

This Sheet may come to Mr Strahan's hand before the two others. As this goes by a Messenger, the other by General Clerk.

† 235. *To* William Strahan

Dear Sir

I receivd Yours, for which I am much obligd to you. It gave me great Insight into the Affairs you mention [2]

I am desird by some People here to enquire how many Presses there may be in London I suppose it must be an Affair more of Conjecture than of exact Calculation.[3]

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 45
† MS. at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 46 f

secretary indeed The more private the better, say I, if that is the case Lord what will this world turn to But this is treading on tender ground I was at London when a man was fined in £100 for taking your Name in vain

'I'm obliged to you for the trouble you have taken about my man I think he may take his passage in a Tobacco or a Wine Ship directly to Scotland for if he were to come the whole way by land, (as you may remember a late Historian mentions one of our old English kings to have done) it might be rather expensive But pray direct all that matter with regard to him, entirely as you think proper. Dont you approve of my scheme in general, for my Boys I like it because tis somewhat new, and I suppose you will, because tis somewhat frenchified . .' (MS , R S E ; *Caldwell Papers*, II 1 252)

[1] See Letter 231 above

[2] This letter of Strahan's is not among the MSS , R S E , but it obviously dealt with the political situation in England

[3] Replying on 10 July 1764, Strahan says 'It is not easy to say how many Presses there are in London, but as near as I can guess they are from 150 to 200—150 is pretty near the truth, I mean such as are constantly employed' (MS , R S E)

I send you over three other Sheets. The Work seems to be very fine The Author cannot exactly tell how many Pages each Volume will contain; but two Volumes of such large Print in 12°, must make but a small Book

I am Yours sincerely
D. H.

Paris, 18 April, 1764

P.S

Since I wrote the above, I have again seen Madame Riccoboni, who tells me that she is now near a Certainty with regard to the Size of her Work. It will be 4 Volumes in twelves of about 240 pages each [1] The Dutch Ambassador has desird me to procure him the enclosd Medicine The whole must not be bought nor sent at a time. Send only so many as may make a small Packet, which a Courier may carry. Pack them up carefully under Cover to Lord Hertford, and send them to Northumberland House in the Strand Pardon this Trouble.

* 236 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

All the Discoveries I made in K. James's Memoirs make against himself and his Brother, and he is surely a good enough Witness on that Side But I believe him also a man of Veracity, and I shoud have put Trust in any Matter of Fact, that he told from his own Knowlege But this it is needless for us to talk any more about, since I suppose you have got Copies enough of my History already printed to last for your Lifetime and mine [2] I shall certainly never think of adding another Line to it. I am too much your Friend to think of it [3]

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 200 f (incomplete)

[1] In the same letter Strahan says that Mme Riccoboni's book is almost all translated and printed It was published by Becket and de Hondt in 1764 under the title *The History of Miss Jenny Salisbury, addressed to the Countess of Roscommon*

[2] Replying to this letter on 24 April 1764, Millar says 'I have just reprinted y^r *Tudors* in small 4to and I believe I shall the Stewarts in that seize soon when those facts y^o mention of Charles II and James II may be inserted' (MS , R S E)

[3] After expressing his astonishment at this statement Millar says· 'Sure this cannot be the great Philosopher Mr Hume, y^r dissipation has I fancy made you idle, but this I am sure of you can in no Instance of y^r life be of the Title of use to me as by continuing y^r history and I think also to the Public . . . but I know y^r Pride is hurt that *certain* people I had allmost called them

I am much vexd at that dear and rare Edition of Coke's Institutes which you sent me [1] I must either pay you the half of it from my own Pocket or send it back to you I never desird any other than a common & ordinary Edition of a common Book· This amounts to a sum not easily commanded by a French Lawyer

If you be sending any Cargos of Books to Paris, I wish you woud send in Sheets half a dozen Copies of the new Edition of my Essays I beg my sincere Compliments to Mrs Millar I saw a few days ago Mrs Mallet, who seems to be going upon a strange Project of living alone in a Hermitage, in the midst of the Forrest of Fontainebleau.[2] I pass my time very agreeably here, tho' somewhat too much dissipated for one of my Years & Humour

I am Dear Sir
Yours Sincerely
DAVID HUME.

Paris
18 April 1764

* 237 *To the* REV. HUGH BLAIR

My dear Sir

Before I was favourd with Yours, I had seen Coll Lesly,[3] who waited on me, as is usual with the British, who come to Paris I returnd his Visit, and introduc'd him to the Ambassador, who askd him to dinner, among seven or eight of his Countrymen You will be surpriz'd, perhaps, when I tell you, that this is the utmost of the Civilities, which it will ever be possible for me to show Mr Lesly; for as to the ridiculous Idea of Foreigners, that I might introduce him to the good Company of Paris, nothing

* MS, R S E, *Lit Gazette*, 1821, p 712 (incomplete), Burton, II 193 ff. (incomplete).

fools that has thought of another person for writing that History *de novo* But I would dispise such and go on as you originaly intended as I am perswaded the Person employed would gladly decline the invidious Task imposed on him'

[1] Millar had sent him an edition costing £6 16*s* 6*d*.

[2] Millar's comment on this is 'The Woman is wrong in the Head'

[3] Alexander Leslie (1731–94), 2nd son of Alexander, 5th Earl of Leven and 4th of Melville, younger brother of David (1722–1802), 6th Earl of Leven and 5th of Melville, Lieut -Col, 56th Foot, 1766, A D C to George III, 1775

can be more impracticable. I know not one Family to which I coud present such a man, silent, grave, awkward, speaking ill the Language, not distinguishd by any Exploit or Science or Art: Were the French Houses open to such People as these, they woud be very little agreeable, considering the immense Concourse of Strangers to this Place But it is quite otherwise· No people are more scrupulous of receiving Persons unknown, and I shoud soon lose all Credit with them, were I to prostitute my Recommendations of this Nature Your Recommendations have great Weight with me, but if I be not mistaken, I have often seen Coll Lesly's Face in Edinburgh It is a little late, he has bethought himself of being *ambitious*, as you say, of being introduced to my Acquaintance The only Favour I can do him is, to advise him, as soon as he has seen Paris, to go to a Provincial Town, where People are less shy of admitting new Acquaintance, and are less delicate Judges of Behaviour It is almost out of the Memory of Man, that any British has been here on a Footing of Familiarity with the good Company, except My Lord Holderness,[1] who had a good Stock of Acquaintance to begin with, speaks the Language like a Native, has very insinuating Manners, was presented under the Character of an old Secretary of State, and spent, as is said, ten thousand Pounds this Winter, to obtain that Object of Vanity. Him indeed I met every where in the best Company; but as to others, Lords, Earls, Marquesses and Dukes, they went about to Plays, Operas, & Bawdy-houses. No body minded them, they kept Company with one another, and it wou'd have been ridiculous to think of bringing them into French Company I may add General Clerk, who was lik'd and esteemd by several People of Merit, which he ow'd to his great Cleverness & Ingenuity, and to his surprizing Courage in introducing himself[2] I enter into this Detail with you, that People, with whom I am much more connected than with the Leven Family, may not at any time be surprizd, that I am able to do so little for them in this way, and may not form false Ideas of the Hospitality of the French Nation But I fancy there will not arrive at Paris

[1] Robert Darcy (1718–78), 4th Earl of Holdernesse, Ambassador at Venice, 1744–6, Minister at The Hague, 1749–51, Secretary of State, 1751–61, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1765, Governor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV), 1771–6 He was a frequent visitor to Paris, and a great admirer of Mme de Boufflers

[2] Cf. statement of Carlyle, note 1 on p 410 above

many People, who will have great Claims of past Civilities to plead with me

What you tell me of John Adams gives me great Consolation [1] I had heard the alarming News of his Connexions with Fairholm, and things were put in the worst Light I was just ready to write to Ferguson to get from him a just State of the Case; but if he has 15 or 18 000 Pounds remaining, his Industry will recover him, and he may go on, in his usual way of Beneficence and Generosity. That Family is one of the few to whose Civilities I have been much beholden, and I retain a lively Sense of them.

Our Friend, I mean, your Friend, Lord Kaims had much provokd Voltaire [2] who never forgives, & never thinks any Enemy below his Notice He has accordingly sent to the Gazette Literaire an Article with regard to the Elements of Criticism, which turns that Book extremely into Ridicule, with a good deal of Wit. I tryd to have it suppress'd before it was printed, but the Authors of that Gazette told me, that they durst neither suppress nor alter any thing that came from Voltaire. I suppose his Lordship holds that satiric Wit as cheap as he does all the rest of the human Race, and will not be in the least mortify'd by his Censure

The Taste for Literature is neither decayd nor depravd here, as with the Barbarians who inhabit the Banks of the Thames. Some People who had read your Dissertation, affirmd to me, that it was the finest Piece of Criticism incomparably to be found in the English Tongue I know not if you have read the Poetique de Marmontel. It is worth your Perusal Voltaire has publish'd an Edition of Corneille, and his Notes, & Dissertations contain many fine things. There is a Book publishd in Holland in two Volumes Octavo calld *De la Nature* [3] It is Prolix and in many parts whimsical, but contains some of the

[1] In Blair's letter of 6 April 1764, to which this is an answer, he spoke of the Fairholmes' bankruptcy, in which the Adam brothers had been heavily involved, but adds that John Adam (or, as he and Hume call him, Adams) has £15- or £18,000 left Adam and Thomas Fairholme were a private banking firm in Edinburgh. They failed in March.

[2] Kames, in his *Elements of Criticism*, passed several strictures on Voltaire as a writer, with the result here stated by Hume In later editions Kames inserted a footnote apologizing

[3] It was by Jean-Baptiste-Réné Robinet (1735–1820), and was first published in 1761 It made some noise at the time, for the main idea in it was that all nature was really animate and endowed with reproductive power. Robinet was one of Hume's translators. (See Appendix B below)

boldest Reasonings to be found in Print There is a Miscellany in three Volumes Duodecimo publishd here, where there are many good Pieces [1] It is perhaps more amusing to me, than it will be to you; as there is scarce a Poem in it, whose Author I do not know, or the Person to whom it is addressd.

It is very silly to form distant Schemes: But I am fix'd at Paris for some time, and to judge by Probabilities, for Life. My Income wou'd suffice me to live at Ease, and a younger Brother of the best Family woud not think himself ill provided for, if he had such a Revenue. Lodgings, a Coach, and Cloaths are all I need; and tho' I have enterd late into this Scene of Life, I am almost as much at my ease, as if I had been educated in it from my Infancy However, Sickness or the Infirmities of Age, which I may soon expect, may probably make me think of a Retreat. But whether that will be better found in Paris or elsewhere, Time must determine I forbid myself all Resolution on that head

I shall indulge myself in a Folly, which I hope you will make a discreet Use of. It is the telling you of an Incident, which may appear silly, but which gave more Pleasure than perhaps any other I had ever met with I was carry'd about six Weeks ago to a Masquerade by Lord Hertford· We went both unmaskd; and we had scarce enterd the room, when a Lady in mask, came up to me and exclaimd, *Ha, Mons^r Hume vous faites bien de venir ici a visage decouvert Que vous serez comblé ce soir d'honnetetes et des politesses! Vous verrez, par des preuves peu equivoques, jusqu'a quel point vous etes cheri en France* This Prologue was not a little encouraging; but as we advanc'd thro' the Hall, it is difficult to imagine the Caresses, Civilities and Panegyrics which pourd on me from all Sides. You wou'd have thought, that every one had taken Advantage of his Mask to speak his mind with Impunity. I cou'd observe, that the Ladies were rather the most liberal on this Occasion, but what gave me chief Pleasure was to find, that most of the Elogiums bestowd on me, turnd on my personal Character, my Naivety & Simplicity of Manners, the Candour & Mildness of my Disposition &c *Non sunt mihi cornea fibra* I shall not deny, that my Heart felt a sensible Satisfaction from this general Effusion of good will; and Lord Hertford was much pleas'd and even surpriz'd; tho', he said, he thought that he had known

[1] Possibly *Élite de poésies fugitives*, 3 vols, 12mo, 1764, edited by Blin de Sainmore and Luneau de Boisgermain.

before upon what Footing I stood with the good Company of Paris

I allow you to communicate this Story to Dr Jardine I hope it will refute all his idle Notions, that I have no turn for Gallantry & Gaiety, that I am on a bad footing with the Ladies, that my turn of Conversation can never be agreeable to them, that I never can have any Pretensions to their Favours &c &c &c A Man in Vogue will always have something to pretend to with the fair Sex [1]

Do you not think it happy for me to retain such a Taste for Idleness & Follies at my Years, especially since I have come into a Country where the Follies are so much more agreeable than elsewhere? I coud only wish that some of my old Friends were to participate with me of these Amusements, tho' I know none of them that can on occasion be so thoroughly idle as myself

Between Ourselves, I know not whether I ought to rejoice at Ferguson's getting the Class of moral Philosophy. [2] He succeeded perfectly in his former Department, to speak in the ministerial Style But I am glad that Russel is provided for to his mind.

I am perswaded you will find great Comfort in my House, which in every respect is agreeable. I beg of you and Mrs Blair (to whom I desire my Compliments) that you woud sometimes pay some Attention to my Sister, who is the Person that suffers most by my Absence [3] I am Dear Sir

Yours very sincerely
DAVID HUME.

Paris
26 April 1764

To The Reverend Dr Hugh Blair at Edinburgh
Free Hertford[4]

[1] As a result of this communication, Jardine wrote a long and pleasant letter to Hume on [?] Aug 1764 (see Appendix C below)

[2] In his letter of 6 April, Blair says 'In our College, we are making a great improvement In consequence of a Bargain made with Ja Russel, Bruce the Professor of the Law of Nature & Nations goes out, Balfour of Pilrig moves into his place, Fergusson into the Chair of Moral Philosophy, and Russel into that of Natural Is not this clever?'

[3] Catherine Home had moved into another house on the same stair in James's Court

[4] The address as well as the frank is in Hertford's handwriting

* 238 *To* Colonel James Edmonstoune

[Paris, April 1764]

Dear Edmonstoune,

I was just projecting to write a long letter to you, and another to Mr Vivian,[1] when your last obliging epistle came to hand [2] I immediately put pen to paper, to assure you that the report is entirely groundless, and that I have not lost, nor ever could have lost, a shilling by Fairholm's bankruptcy. Poor John Adams is very deeply engaged with him, but I had a letter last post from Dr Blair, which informs me that he will yet be able to save fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds I am glad to give you also this piece of intelligence.

What! do you know that Lord Bute is again all-powerful, or rather that he was always so, but is now acknowledged for such by all the world?[3] Let this be a new motive for Mr Vivian to adhere to the ecclesiastical profession, in which he may have so good a patron, for civil employments for men of letters can scarcely be found all is occupied by men of business, or by parliamentary interest

It is putting too great a respect on the vulgar, and on their superstitions, to pique one's self on sincerity with regard to them Did ever one make it a point of honour to speak truth to children or madmen? If the thing were worthy being treated gravely, I should tell him, that the Pythian oracle, with the approbation of Xenophon, advised every one to worship the gods—*νομω πολεως* [4] I wish it were still in my power to be a hypocrite in this particular The common duties of society usually require it; and the ecclesiastical profession only adds a little more to an innocent dissimulation, or rather simulation, without which it is impossible to pass through the world. Am

* Burton, II 187 ff

[1] This is in answer to a letter of Edmonstoune's from Geneva, dated 26 March [1764], asking Hume to advise Mr Vivian whether to remain in holy orders or not (see extracts from letter in Appendix C below). Who this Mr Vivian was, and whether he was the same person as the one mentioned in Letter 177 above, I do not know

[2] This letter is not among the MSS , R S E.

[3] Horace Walpole's letters to Lord Hertford about this time are full of references to Lord Bute's unofficial return to power and to backstairs influence Hume probably derived many of his ideas about contemporary English politics from these letters

[4] 'For the good of the state.'

I a liar, because I order my servant to say, I am not at home, when I do not desire to see company?

How could you imagine that I was Under-Secretary to Lord Hertford, or that I could ever be prevailed on to accept of such a character? I am not Secretary at all, but do the business of Secretary to the Embassy without any character. Bunbury has the commission and appointments a young man of three or four and twenty, somewhat vain and ignorant, whom Lord Hertford refused to accept of, as thinking he would be of no use to him The King gave me a pension of £200 a year for life, to engage me to attend his Lordship My Lord is very impatient to have me Secretary to the Embassy, and writes very earnest letters to that purpose to the ministers, and, among the rest, to Lord Bute. He engaged me, somewhat against my will, to write also to such of my friends as had credit with that favourite, Oswald, Elliot, Sir Harry, and John Hume The King has promised that my Lord Hertford shall soon be satisfied in this particular; and yet, I know not how, I suspect that some obstacle will yet interpose, tho nothing can be more scandalous, than for a man to enjoy the revenue of an office, which is exercised by another. Mr Bunbury has great interest, being married to a sister of the Duke of Richmond, and sister-in-law to Lord Holland The appointments of this office are above £1000 a year, and the expense attending it nothing, and it leads to all the great employments I wait the issue with patience, and even with indifference At my years, and with my fortune, a man with a little common sense, without philosophy, may be indifferent about what happens

I am, dear Edmonstoune,
Yours sincerely,
DAVID HUME.

*239 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Paris, 15 May, 1764

I shall not tell you, Madam, whether or not I regret very much your absence,[1] or feel a great blank on account of my not seeing you from time to time You will believe in this matter as you please. what I can say will pass for nothing; you

* *Priv Corr*, 79.

[1] She had probably gone with the Prince de Conti to his country house at L'Isle Adam

may judge upon the evidence before you I am afraid that, as I sit down at present to write to you without any subject, you willl conjecture that I think of you often, and that the pleasure of your society, (shall I say, of your friendship?) is not easily made up by other connexions or conversation.

But I write to you not so entirely without a subject as you may perhaps imagine. I must inform you, Madam, not in the style of a *petit ministre*, as you used to call me sometimes, but in that of a man who lives in the *grand monde*, that the journey to St. Hubert [1] is fixed for this evening, and all the Ladies named by the King, who are to attend him on this critical occasion. Try your sagacity to guess them, and I shall name them afterwards, they are four; Madame de Mirepoix,[2] Madame de Grammont,[3] D'Aiguilly,[4] and De Chateau Renaut [5] The two last are not supposed to be of any consequence,[6] and Madame de Chateau-Renaut has declined the journey on account of her health What glory for you, and by consequence for me, if this piece of important intelligence reaches your hands before it comes to those of the French Ambassador in Holland! There was an idle story spread about in Paris before you left it, and I suppose that you have before-hand known the falsity of it—it was, that Madame de Mirepoix had wrote to the King, offering graciously to occupy the apartment, and consequently to accept of the credit of the deceased favourite,[7] and that his Majesty was very much offended with the proposal. An old courtier, well informed (for I must talk mysteriously) told me to-day the foundation of this rumour, which, he said, he knew as certainly as if he had been present at the whole transaction The lady wrote a letter to the King, without mentioning a

[1] One of Louis XV's 'maisons de plaisance'

[2] Anne-Marguerite-Gabrielle de Beauvau-Craon (born 1705), sister of the Prince de Beauvau, widow (i) (1734) of Jacques-Henri de Lorraine, Prince de Lixin, and (ii) (1739) of Pierre-Louis de Levis de Lomagne (1702–57), duc de Mirepoix, maréchal de France She was one of the *Dames d'honneur* of the Queen, and a great intriguer at Court

[3] Béatrix de Choiseul-Stainville (1730–94), sister of the duc de Choiseul, and wife (1759) of Antoine-Antonin, duc de Gramont She had great influence over her brother, who paid far too much attention to her and not very much to his wife

[4] Almost certainly a misprint for 'D'Aiguillon'.

[5] Anne-Julie de Montmorency (1704–78), widow (1739) of Emmanuel Rousselet, marquis de Châteaurenaud

[6] Both being rather old

[7] Mme de Pompadour died on 15 April 1764

word of the matter, either to her brother [1] or sister in law,[2] or any soul living This letter contained, first a condolence for their loss of a common friend, secondly, assurances of attachment both from duty and inclination, thirdly, (but I know not if it was divided so regularly like a sermon) some regret that her age would thenceforth deprive her of the pleasure which she had always felt of paying her court to His Majesty. she begged at the same time, that if in any future time she had any application to make, not in her own behalf, for she neither expected nor desired any thing, but in behalf of her friends, she might be allowed to address herself immediately to His Majesty, without having recourse to any of his ministers.

Next day the King said to the Prince de Beauvau, who was in waiting, *Here is an answer to the Maréchale· pray deliver it to her* The Prince, not looking at the address, replied, *Is it to the Maréchale de Luxembourg,*[3] *Sir? No*, replied the King, *to your sister*. He accordingly carried it to her, not without expressing some marks of surprize at this secret transaction. The lady immediately told him that he should know the whole of the matter She read to him a copy of her own letter, and then opened the King's before him It contained, after a proper return of the compliments, an expression of the pleasure which he always reaped from her company; and he opposed himself

[1] Charles-Juste de Beauvau-Craon (1720–93), Prince de Beauvau, maréchal de France His relations with his sister were none too friendly

[2] Marie-Sylvie de Rohan-Chabot, widow (1761) of J -B -Louis de Clermont d'Amboise, and wife (1764) of the Prince de Beauvau Mme de Genlis says of her 'Elle étoit, à mon avis, la femme la plus distinguée de la société, par l'esprit, le ton, les manières, et l'air franc et ouvert qui lui étoit particulier . . . Elle avoit épousé par amour M de Beauvau; et jamais dans le monde un mari et une femme n'ont eu un maintien d'amour conjugal, de meilleur goût et plus parfait' (*Mémoires*, 1 312 f)

[3] Madeleine-Angélique de Neufville (1707–86), widow (1747) of Joseph-Marie, duc de Boufflers, and wife (1750) of Charles-François-Frédéric de Montmorency, duc de Luxembourg, maréchal de France (died 1764). She is perhaps most generally remembered now as the protector and fanatical admirer of Rousseau Describing her in 1766, Horace Walpole says 'She has been very handsome, very abandoned, and very mischievous Her beauty is gone, her lovers are gone, and she thinks the devil is coming This dejection has softened her into being rather agreeable, for she has wit and good breeding, but you would swear, by the restlessness of her person and the horrors she cannot conceal, that she had signed the compact, and expected to be called upon in a week for the performance' (*Letters*, VI 408 f) Mme du Deffand called her 'ma meilleure amie' (*Lettres à Walpole*, III 534, 555), and this despite Mme de Luxembourg's worship of 'l'Idole' (Mme de Boufflers)

at the same time to the notion, that her age would thenceforth deprive him of that satisfaction: but as to the other point, he kept a profound silence, which, I suppose, does not imply consent. For silence has that privilege only where a gentleman addresses himself to a lady. But, Madam, I have another circumstance more interesting to inform you of: I mean, a circumstance more interesting to me and your friends in Paris. I am just now told, that Lord Holdernesse has bespoke two dinners at the Hotel de Brancas,[1] one on the 15th, and the other on the 16th of June. This is such a base piece of treachery, so contrary to all good faith, to all compact and agreement by which we delivered you into his hands, that I cannot exclaim sufficiently against it. Is such a precious trust to be dallied with in this manner? Are days or even hours and minutes of no consequence in these matters? What may be dreaded from a man, who can sport with the most sacred ties, by which a person of honour can be bound? In short, Madam, I suspect no less than an *enlèvement* in the case. My only comfort is, that, as both France and England are so deeply interested to wrest his prey from him, he will find protection no where but among the Turks or Tartars; and these are too distant to be of any service to him. Be only assured, dear Madam, and with the greatest seriousness, though at the end of a foolish letter, that were he to carry you farther, my wishes for your welfare would still follow you, and that nothing can diminish, and scarce augment, my respectful attachment towards you.

*240 *To* Andrew Millar

Dear Sir

I was very much surprizd with what you tell me, that you had made a new Edition in Quarto of my History of the Tudors, and might probably do the same with that of the Stuarts.[2] I imagind that the Octavo Edition woud for a long time supercede the Necessity of any Quarto Edition, and I wonder that of the Antient History did not first become requisite. You were in the wrong to make any Edition without informing me; because I left in Scotland a Copy very fully corrected, with a few

* MS, R S E, Burton, II 201 f (incomplete)

[1] The British Embassy, and therefore Hume's own quarters, were in the Hôtel de Brancas, rue de l'Université

[2] See note 2 on p 433 above

Alterations, which ought to have been follow'd I shall write to my Sister to send it you, and I desire you may follow it in all future Editions, if there be any such I shall send you from hence, the Alterations, which my Perusal of K. James's Memoirs has occasioned They are not many; but some of them, one in particular, is of Importance [1] I have some Scruple of inserting it on your account, till the Sale of the other Editions be pretty considerably advanc'd You have not yet informed me how many you may have upon hand I suppose a very considerable Number

Father Gordon of the Scots College,[2] who has an exact Memory of K James's Memoirs, was so kind as to peruse anew my History during the Commonwealth, & the Reigns of the two Brothers; and he markd all the Passages of Fact, where they differd from the Memoirs They were surprizingly few, which gave me some Satisfaction, because, as I told you, I take that Prince's Authority for a plain Fact to be very good

I never see Mr Wilkes [3] here but at Chapel, where he is a most regular, & devout, and edifying, and pious Attendant I take him to be entirely regenerate. He told me last Sunday, that you had given him a Copy of my Dissertations, with the two which I had suppressd, [4] and that he forseeing Danger from the Sale of his Library, had wrote to you to find out that Copy and to tear out the two obnoxious Dissertations? Pray how stands that Fact? It was imprudent in you to intrust him with that Copy It was very prudent in him to use that Precaution· Yet I do not naturally suspect you of Imprudence, nor him of Prudence I must hear a little farther before I pronounce [5]

[1] So far as I know Hume never made any considerable change in his *History of the Stuarts* as the result of his perusal of King James's Memoirs He refers to them here and there in notes to the later editions, but that is all

[2] The Scots College in Paris was by this time almost deserted as a seminary for the training of priests, and Father Gordon was at loggerheads with the Scottish bishops, whose attempts to control his work he resented He engaged later in a paper war with Bishop Hay

[3] John Wilkes went to France in Dec 1763, and, having failed to return, when summoned by the House of Commons to appear before them, was declared an outlaw [4] The essays *On Suicide* and *Immortality*

[5] Millar, replying on 5 June 1764, says 'I take Mr Wilkes to be the same man he was, acting a part He has forgot the story of the *two* Dissertations The fact is upon importunity I lent to him the only copy I preserved and for years never could recollect he had it till his Books came to be sold Upon this I went imediatly to the gentleman that directed the sale, told him the fact & reclaimed the two dissertations w^c^ were my property. Mr Coates who was the Person imediatly delivered me the volume and so soon as I got home I tore them out and burnt them that I might not lend them to

I heard lately of & from Ruat,[1] who is well and will be here in a Month or two: He is at present at Berlin I hear good of his Pupil,[2] which will give Satisfaction to our Friend

I have not yet receiv'd the last Parcel of my Books, but expect them in a few days I beg my sincere Respects to Mrs Millar; and I am Dear Sir

Your most faithful Servant

Paris
23 May 1764

DAVID HUME

* 241 *To the* ABBÉ LE BLANC

Sir

I delayd sending you the Books which I receivd a few days ago, intending every day to call upon you and to endeavour making myself Amends for my Misfortune in meeting with you so seldom I shall lay hold of every Opportunity with Pleasure that may bring us together, and particularly shall give you warning the first day I go to Chatillon,[3] that I may have the Honour of conveying you thither. The Price of Edwards [4] is stated to me at six Guineas with seven Shillings for Box, Package, Freight & Carriage from London. I think it dear, but it seems to be well ornamented. I am

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Hotel de Brancas
rue de l'Universite
15 of June 1764

DAVID HUME

A Monsieur Monsieur L'Abbé le Blanc Historiographe des batimens du Roi rue neuve des bons enfans

* B M MSS, Egerton 21, *Englische Studien* Band 63, Heft 3 (1929); hitherto unpublished in England

any for the future Two days after Mr Coats sent me a note for the volume as Mr Wilkes had desired it sh[d] be sent to him to Paris. I ret[d] the volume but told him the two dissertations I had tore out of the volume and burnt, being my Property This is the Truth of the matter and nothing but the truth It was certainly imprudent for me to lend them to him' (MS, R S E) The essays were printed in English and published in London for the first time as *Two Essays* in 1777, without author's or publisher's name, and were openly ascribed to Hume for the first time in an edition published in London in 1783 (See also Appendix B)

[1] William Rouet

[2] Lord Hope, eldest son of John, 3rd Earl of Hopetoun He was in a poor state of health, and died early in 1765

[3] The country house of Trudaine de Montigny was at Châtillon

[4] *The Gleanings of Natural History*

* 242. *To* Baron Mure of Caldwell

My Dear Baron

Since I was favourd with Yours, I saw your young Man,[1] (who sends you the enclos'd) and as he intends to set out for Edinburgh about the End of the Month, and I shall set out with the Ambassador for Compiegne in a few days, I thought proper to give him 100 Crowns for the Expences of his Journey, according to your Direction It amounts to 13 Pounds some odd Shillings. I drew upon Jemmy Coutts for it, and desird him to place it to your Account I desird Meuron to go to Dunkirk and there wait for a Ship either for Newcastle or Leith I hope you will be content with him: At least, I like his Looks & Behaviour. Your Project is good: The French Language is very useful; and if not acquird when one is young, never is thoroughly learn'd.

A few days ago I din'd with the Dutchess of Perth,[2] which was the first time I had seen that venerable old Lady, who is really a very sensible Woman. Part of our Conversation run upon the Douglas Affair. That Lady, as well as all the Company, as well as every body of common Sense here, shows her entire Conviction of that Imposture, and there was present, a Gentleman, an old Friend of yours, a Person of very good Understanding and of undoubted Honour, who laid open to us a Scene of such deliberate Dishonesty on the Part of her Grace of Douglas[3] & her Partizans as was somewhat new & surprizing. I suppose it is all known to poor Andrew,[4] whom I heartily love & pity Tis certain, that the Imposture is as

* MS in the possession of William Mure, Esq , London, MS , R S E (copy only), Burton, II 203 ff , Caldwell Papers, II, 1 253 ff

[1] Samuel de Meuron

[2] Lady Jean Gordon (*c* 1683–1773), m (1706) James Drummond (*c* 1673–1720), 2nd titular Duke of Perth She had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle from Feb to Nov 1746

[3] Peggy Douglas (died 1774), d of James Douglas of Mains, m (1758) Archibald, 1st Duke of Douglas. She was about 43 years of age when she married, and had already gained a reputation for great freedom of speech and manners—which increased She ardently espoused the cause of Lady Jane Douglas and her son, Archibald Steuart, and is generally believed to have persuaded the Duke to recognize him as the heir Needless to say, she had no love for Baron Mure On one occasion in Paris she said to Mure's cousin, Sir James Steuart of Coltness 'Ah! that Baron Mure! If I catch him, I'll mak' him as barren a muir as ony in Scotland' (*Caldwell Papers*, 1 37)

[4] Andrew Stuart.

well known to her Grace & her Friends as to any body; and Hay,[1] the Pretender's old Secretary, the only Man of common honesty among them, confessd to this Gentleman, that he has frequently been shockd with their Practices, and has run away from them to keep out of the way of such Infamy, tho' he had afterwards the Weakness to yield to their Sollicitations. Carnegy[2] knows the Roguery as well as all the rest; tho' I did not hear any thing of his Scruples. Lord Beauchamp and Dr Trail,[3] our Chaplain, passd four Months last Summer at Rheims, where this Affair was much the Subject of Conversation Except one Curate, they did not meet with a Person, that was not convinc'd of the Imposture Monsr de Puysieulx,[4] whose Country Seat is in the Neighbourhood, told me the same thing Can any thing be more scandalous and more extraordinary than Frank Garden's[5] Behaviour? Can any thing be more scandalous & more ordinary than Burnet's?[6] I am afraid, that notwithstanding the palpable Justice of your Cause, it is yet uncertain whether you will prevail

I continue to live here in a manner amusing enough, and which gives me no time to be tir'd of any Scene What between public Business, the Company of the learned and that of the Great, especially of the Ladies, I find all my time fill'd up, and have no time to open a Book, except it be some Books newly publishd, which may be the Subject of Conversation I am well enough pleasd with this Change of Life, and a Satiety of Study had beforehand prepard the way for it. However, time runs off in one Course of Life as well as of another; and all things appear so much alike, that I am afraid of falling into to total Stoicism and Indifference about every thing For Instance, I seem every

[1] John Hay of Restalrig (died 1784), W S 1726, joined Prince Charles Edward, 1745, succeeded Murray of Broughton as Prince's Secretary, attainted, 1746

[2] I do not know who this was

[3] James Trail (died 1789), a Scotsman, accompanied Lord Hertford to Ireland in 1765, and was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, 1765

[4] Louis-Philoxène Brulart (1702–71), marquis de Puisieulx, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1745–51

[5] Francis Garden (1721–93), admitted advocate, 1744, raised to the Bench as Lord Gardenstone, 1764 He was one of the advocates on the Douglas side Many stories are told of his convivial ways and eccentric habits—especially of his fondness for pigs, one of which he encouraged to sleep in his bedroom, and sometimes on his bed

[6] James Burnet, afterwards Lord Monboddo. He was also one of the advocates on the Douglas side

moment to be touching on the time, when I am to receive my Credential Letters of Secretary to the Embassy with a thousand a Year of Appointments The King has promisd it, all the Ministers have promisd it· Lord Hertford earnestly sollicits it: The plainest Common Sense & Justice seem to require [it]: Yet have I been in this Condition above six Months, and I never trouble my head about the Matter, and have rather laid my Account that there is to be no such thing

Please to express my most profound Respects to M^rs^ Mure, & my Sense of the Honour she did me·[1] If I have Leizure before the Courier goes off, I shall write her, & give her some Account of my Adventures· But I woud not show her so little Marks of my Attention as to write her only in a Postscript. I am Dear Baron

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Paris
22 June 1764

* 243 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Compiègne, 6 July, 1764

I know not how it came into my head, dear Madam, that you was to write to me first, after my arrival in this place; whether because you said so, or because I wished it, or because I thought it requisite, in order to assure me that I was not troublesome by my frequent and long letters Certain it is, that I have had a great inclination for some days past to pay my addresses to you, but have restrained myself, from reason, as I imagined, but really I believe from pride and humour, surely the most misplaced in the world But it has happened very luckily, that the Maréchale de Mirepoix has given me a commission for you, which saves my countenance, and affords me a plausible pretence for writing, and I believe really, without giving myself too great airs of fortitude, that, were it not for so great a handle, I could have held out two or three days longer at the least For you must not imagine, but I make advantage of the ten leagues of interval that lie between us, and feel

* *Priv. Corr*., 83 ff, Burton, II 205 f (incomplete)

[1] Mrs Mure had added a rambling postscript to her husband's letter of 12 May 1764

already some progress in the noble resolution I have formed of forgetting you entirely before the end of summer.

But if I succeed in this project, I shall have all the glory to myself, and shall owe nothing to the pleasure and amusements of the Court

We live in a kind of solitude and retirement at Compiegne; at least I do, who, having nothing but a few general acquaintance at Court, and not caring to make more, have given myself up almost entirely to study and retreat. You cannot imagine, Madam, with what pleasure I return as it were to my natural element, and what satisfaction I enjoy in reading and musing, and sauntering, amid the agreeable scenes that surround me But yes, you can easily enough imagine it, you have yourself formed the same resolution you are determined this summer to tie the broken thread of your studies and literary amusements. If you have been so happy as to execute your purpose, you are almost in the same state as myself, and are at present wandering along the banks of the same beautiful river, perhaps with the same books in your hand, a Racine, I suppose, or a Virgil, and despise all other pleasure and amusement. Alas! why am I not so near you, that I could see you for half an hour a day, and confer with you on these subjects?

But this ejaculation, methinks, does not lead me directly in my purposed road, of forgetting you. It is a short digression, which is soon over. and that I may return to the right path, I shall give you some account of the state of the Court, I mean, the exterior face of it, for I know no more, and if I did, I am become so great a politician, that nothing should make me reveal it. The King divides his evenings every week after the following manner. one he gives to the public, when he sups at the grand convent [1] two he passes with his own family two in a society of men and to make himself amends, two he passes with ladies, Madame de Grammont, usually, Madame de Mirepoix, and Madame de Beauvau This last Princess passed three evenings in this manner at the Hermitage immediately before her departure, which was on Monday last. I think her absence a great loss to that society: I am so presumptuous as to think it one to myself I found her as obliging and as friendly as if she had never conversed with kings, and never were a politician. I really doubt much of her talent for politics. Pray what is your opinion? Is she qualified, otherwise than by

[1] *Sic* in *Priv Corr*, but Hume almost certainly wrote 'au grand couvert'.

having great sense and an agreeable conversation, to make progress in the road to favour? And are not these qualities rather an encumbrance to her? I have met her once or twice, with another lady, in whose favour I am much prepossessed she seems agreeable, well behaved, judicious, a great reader, speaks as if she had sentiment, and was superior to the vulgar train of amusements I should have been willing, notwithstanding my present love of solitude, to have cultivated an acquaintance with her, but she did not say any thing so obliging to me as to give me encouragement Would you conjecture that I mean the Countess of Tessé?[1] I know not whether you are acquainted with that lady But I shall never have done with this idle train of conversation, and therefore, to cut things short, I kiss your hands most humbly and devoutly, and bid you Adieu.

P S.

I had almost forgot the Maréchale's commission It is, that she is to be at Paris on Tuesday next, in order to stay till Sunday. she would be glad to see you there, especially as I told her, that you intended to be in town about the same time, for the same purpose, of paying a visit to the Maréchale de Luxembourg

* 244 *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Compiègne, 14 July, 1764

I shall venture to say, dear Madam, that no letter, which even you have ever wrote, conveyed more satisfaction than did that with which you favoured me.[2] What pleasure to receive testimonies and assurances of good-will from a person whom we highly value, and whose sentiments are of such importance to us! You could not possibly have done an action more charitable, than to speak to me in so friendly a manner. You have thereby supplied me for a long time with matter for the most agreeable musing; and I shall henceforth, I hope, bid

* *Priv Corr*, 86 ff

[1] Adrienne-Catherine de Noailles (born 1741), sister of the duc d'Ayen, m (1755) Réné-Mans de Froulay, comte de Tessé

[2] Her letter is dated 6 July, but was probably not all written on that day The least interesting part of it (a long criticism of John Home's *Douglas*) was printed by Burton in *Eminent Persons*, 223 ff For the rest, which is much more intimate and much more important for an understanding of Hume's relations with her, see Appendix E below

defiance to all returns of diffidence and jealousy. I confess with shame, that I am but too subject to this sentiment, even in friendship I never doubt of my friend's probity or honour; but often of his attachment to me, and sometimes, as I have afterwards found, without reason If such was my disposition even in youth, you may judge that, having arrived at a time of life when I can less expect to please, I must be more subject to inroads of suspicion. Common sense requires that I should keep at a distance from all attachments that can imply passion. But it must surely be the height of folly, to lay myself at the mercy of a person whose situation seems calculated to inspire doubt, and who, being so little at her own disposal, could not be able, even if willing, to seek such remedies as might appease that tormenting sentiment.

Should I meet with one, in any future time, (for to be sure I know of none such at present) who was endowed with graces and charms beyond all expression, whose character and understanding were equally an object of esteem, as her person was of tenderness, I ought to fly her company, to avoid all connexion with her, even such as might bear the name of friendship; and to endeavour to forget her as soon as possible I know not if it would be prudent even to bid her adieu surely, it would be highly imprudent to receive from her any testimonies of friendship and regard But who, in that situation, could have resolution to reject them? Who would not drink up the poison with joy and satisfaction?

But let us return, dear Madam, from imaginary suppositions to our real selves I am much pleased that your leisure allows you to betake yourself to your old occupation of reading, and that your relish for it still remains entire [1] I have frequently, in the course of my life, met with interruptions, from business and dissipation; yet always returned to my closet with pleasure I have no other prospect for easing the burthen of old age than in these enjoyments, and if I sometimes join the chimerical project of relaxing the severities of study, by the society of a person dear to me, and who could have indulgence for me, I consider it a pleasing dream, in which I can repose no confidence. My only comfort is, that I am myself a person free as the air we breathe, and that, wherever such a blessing might present itself, I could there fix my habitation

[1] In the same letter she tells Hume that she has been reading his *Essays*, Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, and Plutarch's *Lives*

You tell me, that, though you are still exposed to the attacks of melancholy, it is of the softer kind, and such as you would not desire to be rid of I shall not, any farther than you allow me, indulge my conjectures You were offended at my former ones, and I wish they may be false. But it is impossible for my thoughts not to return often to a subject, in which I am so deeply interested. If there are any obstacles to your happiness, I should wish they were of a nature that could be removed; and that they admitted of some other remedy than the one you sometimes mention, on which I cannot think without terror. I feel the reflection this instant, as the stroke of a poniard at my heart, and the tear at present starts in my eye when it recurs to me Is it necessary that my sympathy too should furnish you with arms against me?[1]

But I perceive, dear Madam, or shall I say, my amiable pupil, that while I am answering the second part of your letter, I have entirely forgot the first; which yet surely is not of a nature wholly indifferent to me

It gives me a sensible uneasiness that my friend's performance has not gained your approbation I am more sorry on his account, than because you condemn my judgment, which I am sensible may easily be warped by friendship and partiality. I acknowledge too, that most of your objections, and indeed all of them, are well-founded I could add some others, which a more frequent perusal of the piece has suggested to me I always disliked the character of Glenalvon, as being that of such a finished and black villain as either is not in nature, or requires very little genius in the poet to have imagined Such a personage seems only to be a gross artifice in the writer, when the plot requires an incident, which he knows not how to introduce naturally. Glenalvon is a kind of *Diabolus ex machina*; more blameable than the *Deus ex machina*, which the ancient critics condemned as an unartificial manner of unravelling a plot. But though I allow all these objections, and more which would occur to you on a second perusal, I cannot still but flatter myself that the tragedy of *Douglas* is a work of merit, from the sensible pathetic which runs through the whole. The value of a theatrical piece can less be determined by an analysis of its conduct, than by the ascendant which it gains over the heart, and by the strokes of nature which are interspersed through it. But I am afraid that it has not affected you to the degree I could

[1] Mme de Boufflers had more than once threatened to commit suicide.

wish, even in this particular, and that you have not found in it any such beauties as can compensate for its defects

If such be your judgment on a second perusal (for you must allow me to appeal from your first judgment to your second, and I shall surely never think of any other appeal), if such, I say, be the case, I can do nothing but acquiesce Your nation, your sex, and, above all, the peculiar delicacy of your taste, give you a title to pronounce on these subjects

I can even kiss the hand, with pleasure and passion, which signs the verdict against me· I could only have kissed it with more pleasure, had it acquitted my friend.

Allow me, dear Madam, before I bid you adieu (since it is necessary to come to that at last), to ask you, whether you do not come to Paris about the middle of August, and stay there for some time My question proceeds not merely from curiosity. I could wish to enjoy your company, before the return of winter recalls us to our former dissipations

* 245 *To the* Earl of Hardwicke [1]

My Lord Compiegne 23 July 1764

Soon after my Arrival in Paris, my Curiosity carry'd me to inspect King James's Memoirs, which are containd in 13 or 14 thin folio Volumes, all wrote with his own hand, but not digested into any exact Form of Narration Some Passages are more compleat than others; and one of the most compleat is the Account of the Negociations, preceding the second Dutch War; a Passage of History, which to me always appear'd obscure and involved in great Difficulties. Father Gordon, the Principal of the Scots College, a very obliging, communicative Man, made however some Difficulty of allowing me to peruse this Passage; but upon my informing him, that I had apply'd to the Secretary of State, and expected to have an Allowance for inspecting the French Records, where the Treaty between Charles II & Louis 14 woud certainly appear; he drop'd all Scruple and communicated to me the whole Manuscript I must speak of it, My Lord, from Memory; because I left at Paris, the Extracts which Father Gordon allowd me to make.

The Treaty was concluded in the End of 1669 or beginning

* B M Addit MSS. 35350 (Hardwicke Papers), *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England.

[1] Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke.

of 1670 (for the Memoirs do not mark very distinctly the time) and Lord Arundel of Wardour [1] was the Person, who secretly sign'd it, in a Journey, which he made to Paris for the Purpose The Restoration of the Catholic Religion in England; and a Confederacy against Holland were the two chief Articles Lewis pay'd Charles 200 000 Pounds a Year, and oblig'd himself to furnish him with 6000 Men in case of any Insurrection Holland was to be divided pretty much in the manner mentiond by L'Abbé Primi.[2] England was to have Zealand & the Sea Ports, the rest was to be shar'd out between the French King and the Prince of Orange. There is no mention of establishing arbitrary Power in England, but the King probably thought that Event a necessary Consequence The Scheme of Charles & his Brother was, that this great Project shoud begin with the Change of Religion in England; but Lewis had no such View; and he therefore sent over the Duchess of Orleans, who perswaded the King to begin with the Ruin of the Dutch Commonwealth; after which the Confederates were to impose their Religion upon England· The Duke of York always oppos'd this Alteration of the original Plan

I must own, My Lord, that I see from these Memoirs, that I have in one particular somewhat mistaken K Charles's Character I thought that his careless negligent Temper had renderd him incapable of Bigotry; and that he had floated all his Life between Deism & Popery. But I find, that Lord Halifax better knew his Sentiments, when he says, that the King only affected Irreligion in order to cover his Zeal for the Catholic Religion. His Brother informs us, that when this Negotiation was set on foot, the King calld together his secret Council, and spoke with such Ardor of restoring the true Religion that Tears came into his Eyes

I was somewhat surprizd to find, that the two Brothers thought, at that time, that the Church of England & the Cavaliers had such a Propensity to Popery, that the smallest Inducement woud engage them to embrace it And on this Disposition, they chiefly trusted for Success in their Enterprizes They were probably much mistaken For no Writings of that Age, inform us of any such Propensity.

[1] Henry Arundell (? 1607–94), 3rd Baron Arundell of Wardour, Lord Privy Seal, 1687–8

[2] Visconti Primi (died 1714), author of *Mémoires de la Cour de Louis XIV*, in Italian and French, 1682

I shall probably take soon Advantage of a new Edition of my History to correct my Mistakes in this particular,[1] and in a few others of no great Moment Mean-while, I am happy in having an Opportunity of gratifying your Lordship's Curiosity, and of expressing my Sense of your obliging Deportment to me, when engag'd in writing the Reign of Elizabeth.[2] I shall think myself very fortunate, if your Lordship will afford me frequent Opportunities of the same kind I cannot at present answer your Question with regard to the Gallery of Fortifications, but as soon as I get to Paris, I shall make Enquirys, and shall inform your Lordship. I have the Honour to be My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient
& most humble Servant
DAVID HUME

PS

Lord Hertford desires me to present his Respects to your Lordship[3]

* 246. *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Compiègne, 29 of July, 1764

You had great reason, dear Madam, to say that your letter would give me pleasure, for surely I never felt more than I

* *Priv Corr*, 90 ff

[1] In point of fact, Hume made very little change in the relevant passages Speaking of Charles II's conferences with his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, he says in the 1st edit 'By her artifices and caresses, she prevailed on Charles to relinquish the most settled maxims of honor and policy, and to finish his engagements with Lewis for the destruction of Holland No particular articles seem here to have been signed, or even agreed upon Neither of the princes had the least claims on that republic, and they could therefore regulate their pretensions only by the future success of their arms And as to the scheme, which Charles is with so good reason supposed to have entertained, of employing the French power, or at least the terror of it, for enlarging his authority at home, it was of such a nature as must depend upon incidents, and, for the present, it sufficed, if he conjoined his interests intimately with France, and obtained the general assurances of support, in case of any opposition or insurrection

'But Lewis well knew Charles's character, and ' (*Stuarts*, II 203 f)

In the revised edit, Hume says 'By her artifices and caresses, she prevailed on Charles to relinquish the most settled maxims of honor and policy, and to finish his engagements with Louis for the destruction of Holland, as well as for the subsequent change of religion in England

'But Louis well knew Charles's character, and .' (Coll edit, Ch 65)

[2] See Letter 156 above Lord Hardwicke was then Lord Royston

[3] Lord Hardwicke's answer to this letter, dated 1 Aug 1764, was printed by Burton, *Eminent Persons*, 108 f

received from it.[1] What amiable, what unaffected, what natural expressions of good-will and friendship! I can only deserve them by my sincere attachment to you, and if that will give me a title, I am fully possessed of it. Still, I am uneasy (you will wonder that I can now have any complaint), but I am uneasy, that, notwithstanding all you can say, I should not have the prospect of passing much of my time with you Our connexions and course of life led us into very different roads. but my comfort is, that these may alter my regard for you is unalterable: I shall firmly believe the same of your indulgence towards me.

I set out in a few hours for Villers-Cotterets, to pass a day or two there. You will guess some part of my conversation with Madame de Barbantane[2] Poor Tiepolo, the Venetian Ambassador, left us a few days ago he seems to me in a very dangerous state of health. I asked him if he did not leave France with regret Yes, said he, I leave many persons there with regret, but above all one lady, whom I esteem the most accomplished in it, and whom I was just beginning to make acquaintance with· I regret that I had not seized sooner the opportunities of cultivating her friendship I believe him quite sincere in this declaration, nor do I suspect that he talked so in order to flatter me The Prince de Conti passed two days here, and I was twice at his door to pay my court to him; but had not the good fortune to find him at home.

The Duke of York writes, that he is to be in France the latter end of August, in order to pass two or three months with us His lodgings are already hired in Paris His company will do us a great deal of honour, but honour is not to be bought

[1] For Mme de Boufflers's letter of 21 July see Appendix E below

[2] Charlotte-Françoise-Elizabeth-Catherine du Mesnildot de Vierville, m (1753) Joseph-Pierre-Balthazar-Hilaire de Puget, marquis de Barbentane She had been one of the *dames d'honneur* of the duchesse d'Orléans, and according to Bezenval and other contemporaries had a rather bad reputation, even at a time when no reputation was very good But Mme de Genlis contradicts the statements in Bezenval She says 'On disoit que Madame de Barbantane avoit eu une jolie figure, il ne lui en restoit rien à cet époque, elle avoit le nez d'un rouge éclatant, une tournure commune, et un maintien sec et affecté On louoit ses mœurs et son esprit, en trouvant généralement qu'elle n'avoit aucun naturel Elle se déclara mon ennemie dès notre première entrevue, elle l'a toujours été depuis, ainsi je ne dirai rien de son caractère, je dois à cet égard me recuser' (*Mémoires*, ii 144) If the number of letters which Hume and she exchanged is any indication, he was only less friendly with her than with Mme de Boufflers. The country seat of the duc d'Orléans was at Villers-Cotterets, some 25 kilometres from Compiègne.

without some sacrifices I hope his Royal Highness is of your acquaintance, and that he will choose me for his conductor when he waits upon you I kiss your hands, my dear, my amiable friend, with the greatest devotion and most sincere affection Among other obligations, which I owe you, without number, you have saved me from a total indifference towards every thing in human life. I was falling very fast into that state of mind, and it is perhaps worse than even the inquietudes of the most unfortunate passion how much, then, is it inferior to the sweetness of your commerce and friendship! I bid you again adieu

* 247. *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

[3, 4, or 5 August 1764.][1]

I could never yet accuse myself, dear Madam, of hypocrisy or dissimulation, and I was surely guilty of these vices in the highest degree, if I wrote you a letter, which carried with it any marks of indifference [2] What I *said* in particular, I cannot entirely recollect, but I well remember in general what I *felt*, which was a great regard and attachment to you, not increased indeed (for that was scarce possible) but rendered more agreeable to myself, from the marks you had given me of your friendship and confidence. I adhere to these, I will never, but with my life, be persuaded to part with the hold which you have been pleased to afford me. you may cut me to pieces, limb by limb, but like those pertinacious animals of my country, I shall expire still attached to you, and you will in vain attempt to get free. For this reason, Madam, I set at defiance all those menaces, which you obliquely throw out against me Do you seriously think, that it is at present in your power to determine whether

* *Priv. Corr*, 94 ff

[1] Hume went to Villers-Cotterets on Sunday, 29 July, and returned to Compiègne on Tuesday, 31 Mme de Boufflers wrote to him on 30 July, but her letter was unaccountably delayed This letter by Hume is the answer to it, and must have been written on Friday the 3rd, Saturday the 4th, or Sunday the 5th, had it been written later than Sunday he would presumably not have spoken of his having gone to Villers-Cotterets 'last Sunday'

[2] Answering Letter 246 on 30 July, Mme de Boufflers says: '. Votre lettre m'est arrivée ce matin, mais penses-vous que j'en suis contente? Vous me repondes deux pages, quand je vous en ecris huit!' For other extracts from her letter see Appendix E below.

I shall be your friend or not? In every thing else your authority over me is without control. But with all your ingenuity, you will scarce contrive to use me so ill, that I shall not still better bear it: and after all, you will find yourself obliged, from pity, or generosity, or friendship, to take me back into your service. At least, this will probably be the case, till you find one who loves you more sincerely and values you more highly, which with all your merit, I fancy it will not be easy for you to do I know, that I am here furnishing you with arms against myself· you may be tempted to tyrannize over me, in order to try how far I will practise my doctrine of passive obedience but I hope also that you will hold this soliloquy to yourself. This poor fellow, I see, is resolved never to leave me. let me take compassion on him, and endeavour to render our intercourse as agreeable to him and as little burdensome to myself as possible If you fall, Madam, into this way of thinking, as you must at last, I ask no farther, and all your menaces will vanish into smoke.

Good God! how much am I fallen from the airs which I at first gave myself! You may remember, that a little after our *personal* acquaintance, I told you, that you was obliged *à soutenir la gageure*, and could not in decency find fault with me, however I should think proper to behave myself Now, I throw myself at your feet, and give you nothing but marks of patience and long-suffering and submission But I own, that matters are at present upon a more proper and more natural footing, and long may they remain so

I went to Villers-Cotterets, as I told you, on Sunday last, and I stayed till Tuesday Madame de Vierville [1] arrived on Monday evening, whom I questioned about the manner of life at Staure [2] Nothing could be more ravishing, more delightful than her description of it, and of the person who inspired gaiety and amenity into all around her And can you treat me with contempt because I am willing to be that person's slave? For, let me tell you, there is an expression in your letter against slavery, which I take a little to myself, as said against me; but I still maintain

> Nunquam libertas gratior extat
> Quam sub rege pio [3]

[1] Mother of the marquise de Barbentane.
[2] *Sic* in printed text. Possibly a misprint for 'St Maur'
[3] Claudian, *Stil*, III 114 f

Pray, go to your Latin dictionary to interpret this passage. you will find that *regina*, if it would agree with the measure, would suit much better with the sense.

What can I say, dear Madam, to the *arrangement* which you are pleased to communicate to me?[1] Can I think of it without satisfaction, and without vexation? I shall be in Paris on the 11th or 12th of the month, perhaps a day sooner or a day later. I shall watch the opportunity, and endeavour that you shall not pass without my paying my respects to you. The party you propose after that, does me great honour, and still greater pleasure But, in the present state of our affairs, I cannot promise that it will be possible for me to be above a day absent And, to add to my embarrassments, there is just now arrived in France a very ancient and very intimate friend of mine, Mr Elliot,[2] who is wholly a stranger there, and whom I cannot entirely neglect He is justly regarded as one of the ablest and most considerable men among us, he was my friend long before I knew anything of the name of Boufflers, except that of the famous and virtuous Maréchal of the last reign. Is it not strange, that I should think my attention to him an incumbrance on the present occasion? I know not by what accident I did not receive your letter till yesterday I will not begin a new sheet, lest I be tempted to give you eight pages. Adieu, adieu

* 248. *To the* Earl of Hardwicke

Compiegne 8 of Augst 1764

My Lord

I am very happy, that my Letter gave some Satisfaction to your Lordship I carryd both Lord Holderness and Lord

* B M Addit MSS. 35350 (Hardwicke Papers), *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] Mme de Boufflers begins her letter of 30 July by saying 'Voicy quels sont mes arrangemens Je seray a Paris, jeudi 2, j'iray a Montmorency le lendemain, pour y demeurer jusqu'au douze Si M^{e} la M^{le} [de Luxembourg] y reste, le douze je partiray pour St Martin avec M^{e} la C^{tesse} de la Marche, et M le Prince de Conty Ce voyage durera dix jours Vous y pourrez venir si vous voulez, et je souhaite que vous le puissiez M le Prince de Conty n'a pas scu que vous l'eussiez cherché, et il ne croyoit pas que vous fussiez a Compiegne, sans quoy, il vous auroit prié de venir souper avec luy' (MS., R S E).

[2] Gilbert Elliot He left London on 23 July, and went straight to Compiègne, along with Lord March ('Old Q ') They were at once presented at Court (*Border Elliots*, 383)

Holland to the Scots College, and show'd them some remarkable Passages in K James's Memoirs I believe, that Lady Holderness [1] was also there, tho' I had not the Honour to accompany her. Father Gordon tells me, that there is in the same place a great Collection of Letters wrote by K James after the Revolution, and some of them by Persons, whom, from their Character & Professions, we shoud little suspect of that Correspondence It will not give much Surprize, that Lord Marlborough [2] is one of the Number Father Gordon thinks, that it will not be difficult, after the Death of the old Gentleman at Rome,[3] to procure his Son's [4] Consent to the Publication of the whole, which may be of use to throw Light on the English History. I found nothing remarkable in the Memoirs with regard to the popish Plot The Duke treats of the whole as a gross Imposture & Forgery of Oates & the other Evidences, assisted by the Knavery of Shaftesbury & the blind Zeal of the other Whig Leaders I believe there is little doubt that this is the real State of the Case

The Duke of York says, that his Brother, a little before his Death, had determind, at the Perswasion of Lord Sunderland,[5] to send him to Scotland, and to make some considerable Alterations He also says, that after he went to France he discoverd, that that Nobleman, while in his Service, had secretly receivd Pensions both from Lewis & the Prince of Orange, so that he had found means to be at once a Traitor to three Princes. For it is not to be imagin'd that he servd any of them with Fidelity.

Besides this Book of Memoirs, there is a long Letter of Advice or Instructions of the King to his Son for the future Government of his Kingdoms. It is a very silly Performance, which I do not think to be the Case with the Memoirs That Prince's arbitrary Principles appear strongly in the Instructions He represents particularly the pernicious Effects of the Habeas Corpus Bill But the greatest Part of those Instructions is employd to warn his Son against the Allurements of Women, particularly the Court Ladies, whom he calls a *dangerous kind*

[1] Marie Doublet (died 1801), a Dutchwoman, m (1743) Robert Darcy, 4th Earl of Holdernesse
[2] John Churchill (1650–1722), 1st Duke of Marlborough
[3] James Francis Edward Stuart, 'the Old Pretender' He died in 1766.
[4] Charles Edward Stuart, 'the Young Pretender'
[5] Robert Spencer (1640–1702), 2nd Earl of Sunderland

of Cattle He owns, that, in his Youth, he was much led astray by them, but he seems to expect that the warning given to his Son will preserve that Prince's Youth from a like Danger

Your Lordship's Offer to communicate Lights for the Correction of such Errors as I may have fallen into in my History, is extremely obliging I know how great Advantage I might reap from your Lordships extensive Knowledge and sound Judgement But it is unfortunate, that my present Situation shoud make it impossible for me to avail myself of them I have always sought Truth, I am sure without Interest, and I hope, without Partiality What gives me some Security in the latter particular is, that I had several Prepossessions of my own to correct during the Course of my Work I found in particular, that the two first Princes of the House of Stuart, if their Administration be compard with that of their Predecessors, were not exposd to so much blame as Party Zeal has commonly thrown upon them and as I myself believed to be the Case This Representation of Matters was as much contrary to my former pre-conceiv'd Opinions as to my Interest But I am so sick of all those Disputes and so full of Contempt towards all factious Judgements and indeed towards the Prejudices of what is call'd the Public, that I repent heartily my ever having committed any thing to Print Had I a Son I shou'd warn him as carefully against the dangerous Allurements of Literature as K James did his Son against those of Women, tho' if his Inclination was as strong as mine in my Youth, it is likely, that the warning woud be to as little Purpose in the one Case as it usually is in the other I shall be in Paris in a few Days, where I shall be proud to obey your Lordships Commands in any particular I have the Honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordships
most obedient & most humble Servant
DAVID HUME

* 249 *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Paris, 18 of August, 1764

You will never be able, Madam, to imagine the disagreeable situation in which I passed several days of this week, and still less will you be able to conjecture the cause.[1] About an hour

* *Priv Corr*, 97 ff

[1] Here begins the rather obscure and involved story of Hume's quarrel with the Hon Alexander Murray and his elder brother, Lord Elibank (see Appendix F below)

after I had sent off my last pacquet,[1] a friend of mine entered my room, who informed me, with a certainty which admitted of no doubt, that you, dear Madam, you (this word cannot be too frequently repeated, in order to give emphasis to the sentence and augment surprise), that you, I say, had occasioned all the quarrel between Mr Murray and me, by telling him of the bad opinion I had of him and his lawsuit, &c &c My friend said, that he knew this not only by Mr Murray's inability to name any other person, whom I had endeavoured to prepossess against him, but also by circumstances of conversations between you and me, which Mr Murray repeated, and which, indeed, had some foundation in reality Thus you, who of all human creatures are the least *tracassière*, are here the author of a fray; you, who have created me so many new friends, are here robbing me of my ancient ones Have you ever had any experience of the situation of our mind, when we are very angry with the person whom we passionately love? You have, surely. can any thing be more tormenting and more absurd? How many projects of revenge, which we fondly cherish, and then fly from with horror! How many images of tenderness, which pride and indignation make us instantly regret! I thought of means, by which I might mortify and punish a person, who had behaved so treacherously towards me, for this epithet I thought your conduct richly merited· but I then reflected; is this the person for whose welfare I would sacrifice my existence; and can I now think of taking pleasure in her pain and uneasiness? I was in this state of mind when I received yours [2] The very sight of your handwriting, I own, began the cure. but the perusal of those soft and obliging and amicable expressions, which you employ, penetrated me to the soul; and I saw a new world around me Those circumstances of conduct, which I had before clothed in so many black colours, and from which I drew so many strange inferences, now appeared only a trivial indiscretion, which I was glad you could sometimes be guilty of, in order to excuse much greater of my own Accept of my penitence, Madam, for sentiments, which, though confined within my own bosom, I regard no less as violations of my

[1] This packet contained Murray's undated letter to Hume (see Appendix F) and the draft of Hume's lost letter to Lord Elibank If, as seems likely, there was also a letter from Hume to Mme de Boufflers, this letter also is not extant

[2] The letter of which the postscript is dated 'ce 15' (see Appendix F).

duty towards you· accept also my thanks, for taking me so soon from a state of mind, in which my folly might have otherwise long detained me

I was now in such a fit of joy and alacrity, that I instantly sat down and wrote to Mr Murray; desiring an interview with him, assuring him that I never meant him any prejudice, and, in short, employing every expression that may soften and gain him. If I can help it, there shall no traces remain of the ill you have done me I hate it less because it is an ill, than because it is so dissimilar to the hand which sent it I also effaced from my letter to his brother, that passage, which appears a little contemptuous to your friend. I knew it would not disoblige his brother, but I conjectured that it had displeased you

I beseech you, dear Madam, continue to like me a little: for otherwise I shall not be able in a little time to endure myself.

*250 *To* [?]

[Summer 1764][1]

Since receiving your Favour I have carefully perus'd all the dispatches that pass'd between the English Ministers and the Duke of Bedford during his Graces Residence at Paris in the years 1762 and 1763 I find that the paper you mention of the East India Company dated the 3^{d} of Dec^{r} 1762 with the Letter of the Chairman to Mr Wood[2] was transmitted on the 6^{t} by the Earl of Egremont[3] to the Duke of Bedford The Plan, therefore of a new Epoch, namely the first of January 1749 instead of the commencement of hostilities in that year (the Epoch said by the Preliminaries) came originally from the East India Comp^{y} and from the English Ministers But notwithstanding this fact I find that Mr Pinto's merits towards the Company are very considerable, as they have always been represented by the Duke of Bedford, and by Mr Neville For in the Letter from the Chairman to Mr Wood, no other reason is assign'd for the Change of Epoch but the danger of Dispute or Ambiguity

* MS , R S E , a draft not in Hume's handwriting, but corrected by him here and there, hitherto unpublished It was probably addressed to some one in the Secretary of State's office at home

[1] A guess The letter is evidently answering the answer to Letter 229 above

[2] Under-Secretary of State at the time

[3] Secretary of State at the time

concerning the time of the Commencement of Hostilities The Directors thought with great Appearance of reason that if they had discoverd the real state of the Case to the Ministry, the Secret might have taken Air, and come to the knowledge of the Enemy, who in that Case wou'd undoubtedly have adher'd with Firmness to the Epoch Established by the preliminaries But tho' the reserve was founded on very plausible grounds, the necessary Consequence was that the Duke of Bedford finding the french Ministers exclaim against all Innovation in the preliminaries despair'd at first of obtaining the point, and not being apprized of its Importance, thought that he would be oblig'd to sign the Treaty, without making any Alteration in this particular. In this Critical moment, The Duke consulted Mr Pinto, who had, it seems some Connexions in India and having very lately perus'd Dupleix's Memoirs was perfectly well acquainted with the State of Affairs in that part of the World He first told his Grace, that Hostilities between the Companies did not commence till the 15th July 1749, and that, therefore, had the Epoch fixed by the Preliminaries been follow'd in the definitive treaty, all the Acquisitions of the french E I Company, preceding that date must have been restor'd to them But on the first of July in the same year, the Subah of the Carnatic (if I remember right) had made to that Company very large Grants to the annual Amot as Mr Pinto calculates them of £700,000 all which if the Epoch was changed, must become the property of the English Company The Duke of Bedford now sensible of the Importance of the dispute, which was unknown to the french Ministers, insisted Strenuously on the Change of Epoch & prevaild This is Mr Pinto's real merit as I apprehend it He did not point out the new Epoch, but he discover'd its Importance and prefer'd the Interests of England in a very Material point to those of France At the same time the Duke of Bedford's vigilance deserves great praise, for seeking & finding the best Intelligence from all Quarters and for knowing how to profit by it

I have the honor to be with great regard Sir

Your most obedt hble Sert

David Hume

* 251. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Dear Sir

I do not know whether I can heartily congratulate you on your withdrawing so much from Business I shall wait till you have had a twelvemonths Experience of your new Scene of Life. Your plan for passing your time seems very agreeable both for Health and Amusement; and as you reserve still a share in Business, you are not likely to fall into absolute Inactivity, which, after a Life of such Industry, woud not probably have suited your Temper. But you have had before your Eyes so many Examples of industrious Men, who have quitted Business from a fond Love of Ease, and have tir'd of Ease from their former Habits of Business, that you are not likely to fall into the same Error.

It is certain, that nothing cou'd be a greater Inducement to me to continue my History, than your desiring so earnestly I shoud do so. I have so great Reason to be satisfyd with your Conduct towards me, that I wish very much to gratify you in every thing that is practicable, and there want not other Motives to make me embrace that Resolution For tho' I think I have Reason to complain of the Blindness of Party, which has made the Public do Justice to me very slowly and with great Reluctance, yet I find, that I obtain support from many impartial People, and hope, that I shall every day have more reason to be satisfy'd in that particular. But in my present Situation, it is impossible for me to undertake such a Work; and I cannot break off from Lord Hertford, as long as he is pleas'd to think me useful to him I shall not however lose sight of this Object, and any materials, that cast up in this Country, shall be carefully collected by me

I am glad you are satisfy'd with the publication of the new Edition of my Essays [1] I shall be oblig'd to you, if you will inform yourself exactly how many Copies are now sold both of that Edition and of the Octavo Edition of my History I think both these Editions very correct

I did little more than see your Friends, Mr Buchannan [2] & Mr Wilson,[3] at Paris, and present them to Lord Hertford We

* MS., R S E , Burton, ii 231 ff. (incomplete).

[1] The 1764 edit , in 2 vols , 8vo

[2] I do not know who Mr. Buchanan was.

[3] Probably David Wilson (died 1777), bookseller in the Strand.

returnd not from Compiegne till a few days before they left Paris. I am sorry that I am oblig'd to return this other Copy of Coke's Institutes.[1] It is all in the Saxon Character which no body can read in France. I woud not have you send any other Copy.

Rouet has not yet arrivd at Paris, tho' we expect him every day. I hear good things said of his Pupil Lord Hope, which gives me Pleasure I am glad that Rouet will have Credit by him. I think the Dutchess of Douglas has chosen well in making Mallet one of her Commissioners I have no good Opinion of that Cause Mrs Mallet has retir'd into the Forrest of Fontainebleau with a Macgregor I fancy she is angry with me, and thought herself neglected by me while in Paris I heard of her thrusting herself every where into Companies, who endeavourd to avoid her; and I was afraid she woud have laid hold of me to enlarge her Acquaintance among the French

I have not yet executed your Commission with Mons[r] le Roy,[2] but shall not forget it.

I am very glad that Mrs Millar is so good as to remember me. I shall regard it as one agreeable Circumstance, attending my return to England, that you & she will have Leizure to give more of your Company to your Friends, and I shall always be proud to be rankd in the Number.

The lowness of Stocks surely proceeds not from any Apprehension of War. Never was a general Peace establishd in Europe with more Likelihood of its Continuance. But I fancy your Stocks are become at last too weighty, to the Conviction of all the World What must happen, if we go on at the same Rate, during another War? I am with great Sincerity

Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID HUME

Paris
3[d] Sept[r] 1764

[1] See Letter 236 above

[2] Julian-David Leroy (1724–1803), architect, author of *Les ruines des plus beaux monumens de la Grèce*, 2 tomes in 1 vol., fol., Paris, 1758, 2nd edit., 1770 From a later letter of Millar's, dated 25 Feb. 1765, it would appear that he had commissioned Hume to obtain a copy of this book for Robert Wood, author of the *Ruins of Palmyra*, &c In the later letter he offers to exchange 20, 30, or 40 sets of Leroy's book for an equal number of Wood's *Ruins of Balbec*, if Leroy and the French bookseller will agree

Dear Sir

* 252 *To* [James Bindley?] [1]

I receiv'd Yours when I was at Compiegne. As soon as I came to Paris, I saw the Count de Broglie[2] and M^lle^ Robert,[3] who were very well satisfy'd with your Proceedings They both said, that I shoud be entirely Master of the Terms, but you may easily imagine, that I will not take upon me to determine in an arbitrary manner with regard to other People's Property My Opinion is, that, as soon as you can come to a Determination both with regard to the Extent of the Property and the Probability of Success, you shou'd offer them at once such a Sum as you think the Object is worth, and leave it at once either to their Acceptance or Refusal.

I beg my Compliments to Mrs Bindley. All this Family are well and join in their Compliments to you I am

Dr Sir

Paris 5^th^ of Sept 1764

Your most obedient humble Servant

David Hume

† 253. *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Paris, 22 Sept 1764

As soon as I receivd Yours from Brussels,[4] I set on foot my Enquiries I spoke to Abbé Hooke,[5] to Père Gordon,[6] to

* MS. in Nat Lib Scot, 2 1. 15, fo 62, hitherto unpublished.

† MS at Minto House, Burton, II 235 ff

[1] This is a conjecture James Bindley (1737–1818) was appointed Commissioner of Stamp Duties in 1765, and remained in this appointment for the rest of his life He was a great collector of rare books, engravings, and medals, read the proofs of Nichols's *Lit Anecdotes*, and *Illustrations*, and in 1775 published *A Collection of the Statutes now in force relating to the Stamp Duties* It is only on the internal evidence that I suppose this letter to have been addressed to him, there is no other evidence that Hume knew him.

[2] Charles-François (1719–81), comte de Broglie, called by d'Argenson 'un petit coq hargneux et monté sur ses ergots' (*Mémoires et Journal*, IX 338) He had been French minister at Dresden, and in 1770 was one of the 'triumvirate' against Choiseul [3] I do not know who this was

[4] One of Elliot's reasons for visiting Paris in 1764 was to arrange about a school for his two sons, Gilbert (1751–1814), afterwards Governor-General of India and 1st Earl of Minto, and Hugh (1752–1830), afterwards British Ambassador at Berlin He saw some possible establishments, but had to leave Paris before he could complete his arrangements Writing to Hume from Brussels on 15 Sept. 1764, he says 'I desire you woud take this important business into your hands & settle it for me entirely, I will send them over the moment you desire me, & consigned to whom you direct, the sooner the better You will settle all other particulars as you find proper' (MS, R S E, Burton, II 234)

[5] I do not know who this was [6] Of the Scots College, probably.

Clairaut,[1] to Madame du Pre, and to others, with a View of finding some proper Settlement for your young Gentleman Every body told me, as they did you, of the Difficulty of succeeding in my Scheme, and nothing yet has been offer'd me, that I woud advise you to accept of I went to Madame Anson's,[2] and found that Family a very decent, sensible kind of People I came in upon them about seven o'clock, and found a Company of eight or nine Persons assembl'd, whose Aspects pleasd me very much The only Objection that occur'd to me with regard to this Family, is the Quarter of the Town, which is not only so unfashionable, that my Coachman was astonish'd when I order'd him to drive thither, but, what is worse, it is far from all Walks & Places of Exercise However, it is near the University; and, consequently, it is in that Quarter where all the Youth of France are educated If nothing better present itself, I shall conclude a Bargain with this Family for a thousand Crowns a Year, without firing or washing, according to the Terms proposd to you, which they said they coud not depart from The Misfortune is, that I must go to Fontainebleau in about a fortnight, and, consequently, am straiten'd in my time of Enquiry But, in all Cases, I shall certainly conclude with some body before my Departure We stay six Weeks at Fontainebleau, during which time, if you send your Sons to Paris, I shall take a Journey thither to receive them, and to settle them. In all Cases, they must come immediatly to the Hotel de Brancas, where they will not want Friends

I do not like the talking Man more than you do, and a flattering Letter I have since receivd from him, does not augment my good Opinion. I went to Monsieur Bastide, he who proposd the Scheme for ten thousand Livres a Year He seems to be a genteel, well bred Man, lives in a very good House in an excellent Quarter of the Town, is well spoke of by D'Alembert & others, and has with him two very agreeable Boys, Russian Princes, who speak French very well. I shoud have given him the Preference, had it not been the Price He asks ten thousand Livres a Year for your two Sons and their Governor, without supplying them either with Cloaths or Masters You know his ten thousand a piece included all

[1] Alexis-Claude Clairaut (1713–65), mathematician, author of *Théorie de la figure de la terre*, 1743, *Eléments d'algèbre*, 1746, &c

[2] Elliot had begun negotiations with Mme Anson

Expence. If you can resolve to go so far in point of Expence, it is the best Place that occurs, or is likely to occur.

Since I wrote the above, I went to see Mademoiselle L'Espinasse, D'Alembert's Mistress, who is really one of the most sensible Women in Paris [1] She told me that there coud not be a worthier, honester, better Man, than Bastide. I told her that I had entertaind the same Opinion of him; but was afraid his Head-piece was none of the best She own'd that he did not excel on that Side; and a Proof of it was, that he had wrote several Books, all of which were below middling On my return home, I found the enclosd Letter from him.[2] I have promisd him an Answer by the Return of the Post from England. On the whole, the chief Advantage, as it appears to me, which his House will have above Anson's, consists in the Air & Situation. It lies on the Skirts of the Town, in an open Street near the Rampart, but five thousand Livres a Year Difference is paying too dear for the Advantage

I cannot imagine what you mean by saying that I am on a Precipice [3] I shall foretell to you the Result of my present

[1] Julie-Jeanne-Eléonore de Lespinasse (1732–76), illegitimate daughter of Mme d'Albon, whose legitimate daughter had married Mme du Deffand's brother. Mme du Deffand took her as companion in 1752, but in 1763, finding that she was holding a separate *salon* of her own for an hour or so before the elder lady appeared, dismissed her But Mlle de Lespinasse had made so many friends that she was able to set up a *salon* of her own, and to draw off to it, and away from Mme du Deffand, many of the latter's regular visitors, chief among them d'Alembert After a dangerous illness in the summer of 1765, during which she nursed him, d'Alembert moved permanently to her house, but though he was deeply in love with her for years, it is practically certain that she never was his mistress Michelet calls her 'trois fois plus Rousseau que Rousseau' (*Histoire de France au XVIII^me^ siècle*, III 119)

[2] There is another, highly complimentary but otherwise unimportant letter from him among the MSS , R S E

[3] In the letter from Brussels, Elliot says 'Before I conclude, allow me in friendship also, to tell you, I think I see you at present upon the very brink of a precipiece. One cannot too much clear their mind of all little prejudices, but partiality to ones country is not a prejudice Love the French as much as you will, many of the Individuals are surely the proper objects of affection, but above all continue still an Englishman You know better than any body, that the active powers of our mind are much too limited, to be usefully employed in any pursuit more general than the service of that portion of mankind which we call our country General benevolence, & private friendship will attend a generous mind, & a feeling heart, into every country But political attachment confines itself to one

Mon fils sur les humains, que ton ame attendrie,
Habite l'univers, mais aime sa Patrie '

Situation almost with as great Certainty as it is possible to employ with regard to any future Event As soon as Lord Hertford's Embassy ends, which probably may not continue long, some Zealot, whom I never saw, & never coud offend, finding me without Protection, will instantly fly, with Alacrity, to strike off that Pension which the King & the Ministry, before I woud consent to accept of my present Situation, promisd shoud be for Life I shall be oblig'd to leave Paris, which I confess I shall turn my Back to with Regret. I shall go to Thoulouse,[1] or Montauban, or some Provincial Town in the South of France, where I shall spend, contented, the rest of my Life, with more Money, under a finer Sky, & in better Company than I was born to enjoy

From what human Motive or Consideration can I prefer living in England to that in foreign Countries? I believe, taking the Continent of Europe, from Peterburg to Lisbon, & from Bergen to Naples, there is not one that ever heard my Name, who has not heard of it with Advantage, both in point of Morals & Genius I do not believe there is one Englishman in fifty, who, if he heard that I had broke my Neck to night, woud not be rejoic'd with it Some hate me because I am not a Tory, some because I am not a Whig, some because I am not a Christian, and all because I am a Scotsman Can you seriously talk of my continuing an Englishman? Am I, or are you, an Englishman? Will they allow us to be so? Do they not treat with Derision our Pretensions to that Name, and with Hatred our just Pretensions to surpass & to govern them? I am a Citizen of the World, but if I were to adopt any Country, it woud be that in which I live at present, and from which I am determin'd never to depart, unless a War drive me into Swisserland or Italy.

I must now inform you what pass'd with regard to my Affair [2] at L'Ile Adam My Friend [3] show'd me a Letter, which she had very lately receiv'd from Lord Tavistock,[4] by which it appeard he had fallen into great Friendship, and bore a great Regard to Lady Sarah Bunbury I instantly forbid her to write to

[1] Adam Smith was in Toulouse at this time with the Duke of Buccleuch.

[2] The application for the Secretaryship of the Embassy

[3] Mme de Boufflers, who had promised to use her influence with the Duke of Bedford, and who did ultimately write to the Duke pressing Hume's case

[4] Francis Russell (1739–67), Marquis of Tavistock, eldest son of the Duke of Bedford

England a Line about my Affair. I bear too great a Respect to her, to expose her to ask a Favour, where there was so little Probability of Success. Thus have vanish'd the last hopes of my obtaining Justice in this point. Here is surely a new Ground of Attachment to England

* 254. *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Hotel de Brancas, 30 Sept 1764

After acknowledging that I receiv'd both your Letters, that from Brussels, and that from Calais, I shou'd be asham'd to appear before you with so late a Letter This day sennight, Lord March [1] & Selwin [2] appointed to go off I sent March a very long Letter for you,[3] and enjoin'd him, as he liv'd next Door to you, to deliver it the Instant he arriv'd, and having thus done my Duty, I went very contentedly to L'Ile Adam, where I remain'd for four Days On my return to Paris, I was much surprizd to hear that March, after his Post Horses were yok'd, had chang'd his Mind, and was still in Paris [4] When I appeard alarmed at this Piece of Intelligence, I was told that he had sent off an Express to London with Letters, which composd my Mind Next day I saw him, and he fairly confess'd, that from Forgetfulness, he had not sent off my Letter I begg'd him to send it me. He promisd it, delay'd it, promisd again, and now at last owns that he has lost it, which gives me great Vexation, both on your Account, and my own. For I spoke to you with great Freedom, and am infinitely uneasy lest my Letter shoud fall into bad hands [5] When I rail at March, I get no other Reply than, *God damn you. If your Letter was of Consequence, why the Devil did you trust it to such a foolish Fellow as me?* I am therefore oblig'd, in a great Hurry, to give you some

* MS. at Minto House, Burton, II 240 ff

[1] William Douglas (1725–1810), 3rd Earl of March, and (1778) 4th Duke of Queensberry, Lord of the Bedchamber, 1760–89, Vice-Admiral of Scotland, 1767–76, First Lord of Police, 1776–82, a rake, a well-known man about town, and a patron of the turf and the opera, 'Old Q.' of romantic memory

[2] George Augustus Selwyn (1719–91), the wit, friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole

[3] The preceding letter

[4] And in Paris he and Selwyn remained till the following April

[5] Letters 252, 253, and 255 all reached Elliot on the same day—24 Oct 1764 Letter 254 reached him on or about 19 Oct 1764

imperfect Account of what I have done. I went to Ansons, who seem a discreet, sober Set of People I came in upon a mix'd Company, whose Looks pleasd me. The only Objection is the Quarter of the Town, which is straiten'd. But it is near the University, & consequently where all the Youth of France are educated I do not like the talking Man more than you, and a very flattering Letter he wrote me, helps farther to disgust me. La Bastide, the 10,000 Livres man, I went to see He seems a genteel agreeable Man, & is well spoke of He lives in an agreeable House, & in a good Air, & has two young Russian Princes with him, who speak very good French He offers to take your two Boys & Preceptor for 8000 Livres on the whole, but without paying either Cloaths or Master I suppose you woud not choose to pay 5000 Livres a Year, merely for the Advantage of a better Air I have heard a very good Character of one Erivot, Professor of Rhetoric in the Collège de Beavais, who offers to take them, they woud live in the House with him alone; but he proposes that they shoud go to all the Classes of the University, where they woud make Acquaintance with French Boys, and nobody would ever ask Questions about their Religion But as I heard you declare against their going to the University (which yet I shoud highly approve of), I cannot make any Bargain with Erivot. The misfortune is, I go to Fontainebleau to morrow sennight, and must conclude a Bargain without hearing from you, by this fine Trick Lord March has play'd me It is probable, therefore, it will be with Anson, because you yourself did not disapprove of that Plan; and I shoud be afraid to depart from it considerably, without your Authority. If you give me Information in time, I shall come from Fontainebleau to settle your Boys In any Case make them come immediatly to the Hotel de Brancas, where they will not want Friends if any of the Family be in Town.

Since I wrote the above, one of my numerous Scouts came to me, and told me, that within a Gunshot of the Hotel de Brancas, there was to be found all I coud wish, and more than I coud have imagind. It is calld La Pension Militaire I immediatly went to see it. I found there an excellent airy House, with an open Garden belonging to it. It is the last House but one in Paris; has a Prospect & Access into the large open space of the Invalides, & from thence into the Fields The Number of boys is limited to thirty five, whom I saw in the Court, in a blue Uniform with a narrow silver Lace: They left off their

Play, and made me a Bow with the best Grace in the World, as I pass'd. I was carry'd to their Master, the Abbé Choquart, who appeard to me a sensible, judicious, sedate Man, agreeable to the Character I had receivd of him He carry'd me through the Boys' Apartments, which were cleanly, light, spacious, & each lay in a small Bed apart I saw a large Collection of Instruments for experimental Philosophy I saw an ingenious Machine for teaching Chronology There were Plans of Fortification While I was considering these, I heard a Drum beat in the Court· It was the hour for assembling the Boys for their military Exercises. I went down. They had now all got on their Belts, and had their Muskets in their hands. They went thro' all the Prussian Exercise with the best Air & greatest Regularity imaginable Almost all were about your Sons' Age; a Year or two more or less They are the Youth of the best Quality in France. a Nephew of M de Choiseul two Nephews of M. de Beringhen [1] In short of the first Families Their Air & Manner seem to bespeak it The Master askd only about thirteen hundred Livres a Year for each of your Boys, five hundred for the Preceptor. He supplies them with all Masters, except those of Dancing, Music, & Designing For these they have Masters that come in, who take only eight Livres a month, tho' they require from others three Louis d'ors. There is a riding Master belonging to the House. Your Sons need never go to Mass unless they please, and nobody shall ever talk to them about Religion The Master only requires, that you shoud write him a Letter, which he will read to every body, by which you desire . . .[2]

*255 *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Hotel de Brancas, 30 Sept 1764

I have wrote you a long Letter to London, a short one to Harrowgate,[3] and now I write to you to Minto, not to lose time You must have a little implicit Faith. Without asking

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II. 244.

[1] Henri-Camille (1693–1770) marquis de Beringhen, 'premier écuyer' to Louis XV.

[2] The rest of the autograph is lost

[3] Elliot left his wife at Knaresborough when he went to France, on returning, he rejoined her there, and then both went on to Scotland (*Border Elliots*, 383 and 389)

farther Questions give instantly Orders that your Sons be sent to me, and that they come instantly to the Hotel de Brancas. Within less than a Gunshot of this, I have found a Place which has all Advantages beyond what your Imagination coud suggest. It is almost directly opposite to my Friend the Maréchale de Mirepoix's, by whose Advice I act. I tell you this, lest your Opinion of my Discretion be not the highest in the World There are there about thirty Boys of the best Families in France The House is spacious, airy, clean Has a Garden Opens into the Fields The Board costs only thirteen hundred Livres a Year for each Boy, five hundred for the Tutor: The Boys have almost all Masters for this Sum. I have concluded the Bargain for a Quarter. The Payment runs on from the first of October, because the Course of Studies begins then. There will be no Questions about Religion or the Mass I have been more particular in my Letter to London. Nothing was ever so fortunate for your Purpose

* 256. *To* Gilbert Elliot of Minto

Hotel de Brancas, 9 Oct 1764

I go to Fontainebleau to day: My Lady & Lord Beauchamp go also Mr Trail, the Chaplain, & Mr Larpent,[1] My Lord's Secretary, follow in a few days All these Arrangements are unexpected, but the Consequence is, that there will be nobody in the Hotel de Brancas for some Weeks But this need not retard a Moment your sending the young Gentlemen. I have spoke to the Master of the Academy, who says that the Moment they arrive they shall be settled as well as if all their Kindred were there I have sent the enclos'd Letter to him, which the Gentleman who attends them may deliver immediatly on his Arrival in Paris. Vive valeque

† 257 *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Fontainebleau, 12 October, 1764.

Lord Beauchamp, who leaves us on Monday next, was mentioning to-day his great desire of being well recommended

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II 244 f

† *Priv Corr*, 109 f

[1] Apparently a son of John Larpent, who was one of the Chief Clerks in the Secretary of State's Office in London.

to M Chauvelin,[1] the French Ambassador at Turin Upon which I recollected your connexions with that minister, and as I knew your inclination to oblige every body, particularly Lord Beauchamp, (and shall I add, myself?) I easily yielded to his Lordship's solicitations, who desired me to procure a letter of recommendation, with which he should think himself so highly honoured My Lord added, that he knew it was too great freedom for him to desire from the Countess de la Marche[2] any letter to her Court; but if her Highness, on any occasion, would mention him as a person who had the honour to be known to her, he was sensible of the advantages that he might reap from it, and would be ever grateful for the favour.

My Lord desires me to accompany this application with some expressions of his great regard to you, and of his sincere acknowledgments for the many civilities which he has received from you during his stay in France. He seemed to regret, on this occasion, his own giddiness, which had not permitted him to cultivate sufficiently a friendship, on which he set so high a value, and he promised himself great satisfaction on his return, by making himself amends for this negligence.

These regrets put me in mind of those expressed to me for the same cause by poor Tiepolo, the Venetian Ambassador, whose death you have probably heard of I thank Heaven, my conscience will always be clear from all remorse of this nature; both because I shall never, I hope, be obliged to leave the place where you dwell, and because I cannot reproach myself with a neglect of marking my sentiments towards you

You see, my dear Madam, that while I am making application to you in favour of another, I would not entirely forget myself. I beg a share in your remembrance Believe me (and surely you do believe me), that no one can bear you a more tender and more sincere friendship, or desire more earnestly a return of like sentiments on your part This long absence convinces me more fully than ever before, that no society can make me compensation for the loss of yours, and that my attachment to you is not of a light or common nature

[1] Bernard-Louis (died 1773), marquis de Chauvelin, French Ambassador at Genoa, 1751, and at Turin, 1754–65

[2] Fortunée-Marie d'Este (1731–1803), daughter of François-Marie d'Este, Duke of Modena, m. (1759) Louis-François-Joseph de Bourbon (1734–1814), comte de la Marche, eldest son of the Prince of Conti

P.S.

Though this letter should not reach you in time, so as to allow your answer to reach this place, before My Lord's departure, be pleased still to write; because your letter can be sent after him Be so good also to put the Chevalier Lorenzi [1] in mind of his promise, to give My Lord letters to his friends in Florence.

* 258 *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Fontainebleau, 31 October, 1764

This late incident, which commonly is of such moment with your sex, seems so little to affect your situation either as to happiness or misery, that I might have spared you the trouble of receiving my compliments upon it but being glad of taking any opportunity to express my most sincere wishes for your welfare, I would not neglect an occasion which custom has authorised.[2]

Receive, then, with your usual, I cannot say, with your constant, goodness, the prayers of one of your most devoted friends and servants. I hope that every change of situation will turn out to your advantage In vain would I assume somewhat of the dignity of anger, when you neglect me I find that this wish still returns upon me with equal ardour.

I hear by M. Berlue,[3] that you are to be in Paris on Saturday I shall be there about that day se'nnight I hope that your etiquette, which allows you to receive relations and particular friends, opens a wide-enough door for my admission.[4]

* *Priv Corr*, III

[1] Brother of the comte de Lorenzi, who was for many years French Minister at Florence They were Italians, and the Chevalier's blunders in speech and deportment were famous Grimm collected them and set them down under the heading *Lorenziana* (*Corr litt*, VI 31 and 57, and V 325 f.) Rousseau calls him 'le sigisbée, ou plutot le complaisant de madame de Boufflers' (*Confessions*, III, Part II, Bk XI, p 119)

[2] The incident, on which Hume here offers his 'compliments', is the death of Mme de Boufflers's husband

[3] I suspect this is a misprint for 'Balue' M la Balue was a distinguished Paris banker at the time

[4] Mme de Boufflers replied to this letter on 'ce vendredi' [2 Nov 1764] as follows

'Je n'ay point de tort avec vous mon cher Maitre, et je ne merite pas les reproches indirects que vous me faites J'ay eté malade, et j'ay eu un chagrin extrement vif qui m'a oté le courage d'ecrire d'agir de penser

'La mort de Mr de Boufflers m'obligera de me vaincre pour penser a mes

* 259 *To* Lord Elibank [1]

My Lord

In reply to the Letter with which your Lordship has honourd me [2] I shall endeavour to be as clear and as concise as possible. Your Lordship shou'd never have heard of the short & slight Disgust between your Brother and me, had he not told Sir James Macdonald,[3] that you was in such a Passion against me on account of my Conduct towards him, that you intended instantly to compose a Pamphlet against me on the Subject of Q Mary and to publish it as a full Revenge upon me. You see that he insinuates the same thing in his Letter, and he says that you was *formerly my Friend* But this whole Story, I have now Reason to see, was without Foundation, both from the Tenor of your Lordship's present Letter and from a Letter of Yours,[4] deliverd to me by Mons[r] Calvet,[5] and which is wrote in the usual friendly Strain, that had so long subsisted between us But not doubting at that time of Mr Murray's Story, I dreaded the Consequence of a Pamphlet compos'd and publishd by one of your Lordship's Temper, in a Fit of Rage, on a Subject where you are naturally heated. I knew that it woud be full of Expressions of the utmost Acrimony, which you yourself coud not forgive, even were I dispos'd to do so, and I may now add, that this last Letter proves you to be an excellent Proficient in that Style I wrote my Letter, in a Spirit of Cordiality and Amity, that I might prevent a Rupture, most disagreeable to me. I

* MS , R S.E , Burton, II 257 ff I think this is only the rough draft of the letter Hume sent

affaires Le premier effort que je fais est en votre faveur Me voicy a Paris jusqu'a jeudi Si vous pouviez faire une course pour me venir voir je vous en serois obligée Au reste quoique je ne vous aye pas fait reponse, je n'en [ay] pas eté moins exacte a executer votre commission pour mylord Beauchamp et surement mes negligences ne doivent point vous faire soupçonner mon amitié' (MS , R S E , *Eminent Persons*, 231)

[1] See Appendix F below.

[2] Not extant

[3] Sir James Macdonald (1741–66), 8th Bart of Sleat, Isle of Skye, the direct descendant of the Lords of the Isles He was educated at Eton, and was much liked, and much respected for his mental accomplishments, being in this respect a marked contrast to his younger brother Alexander, 9th Bart , whose meagre entertainment of Johnson and Boswell on their Highland tour roused their indignation James Macdonald was in Paris in the autumn and winter of 1764 There are three letters from him to Hume among the MSS , R S E

[4] Not extant

[5] I do not know who this was

have no Objection to the publishing any thing in opposition to my Opinions On the contrary, there is nothing I desire more than these Discussions. I was far from threatening your Lordship with the Loss of my Friendship, which I was sensible cou'd never be of any Consequence to you: I only fortold, with infinite Regreat, that if you wrote against me, in a Heat, without allowing your Temper to compose itself, it woud be impossible for us to be any longer Friends I employ'd every pathetic, every engaging Sentiment and Expression to induce your Lordship to embrace this way of thinking I shall venture to say, that you have never in your Life receiv'd a more friendly & more obliging Letter. I leave your Lordship to judge of the Return it has met with.

I compos'd my Letter with great Care, because I set a Value on your Lordships Friendship I was so much satisfy'd with it myself, that I read it to a Friend, who told me that it woud be impossible for your Lordship to resist so many mollifying Expressions, and that they wou'd certainly bring you back to our usual State of Friendship Under what Power of Fascination have your Eyes lain, when you cou'd see every thing in a Light so directly opposite?

I come now to the other Ground of your Complaint, my Indifference in the Case of Mr Murray. When I arriv'd in Paris, the first Question he askd me was, whether Lord Bute or Mr Stuart Mackenzie [1] had recommended him to Lord Hertford, that he might be receivd in the Ambassador's House, like other British Subjects I askd my Lord, who told me, that neither of these Persons had ever mentiond Mr Murray to him: He wishd they had, he desird to show all manner of Civilities to Mr Murray· But he was afraid, that a Person against whom a Public Proclamation had been issu'd and who had openly liv'd so many Years with the Pretender, coud not be receivd in his House, unless he had previously receivd some Assurances, that the Matter woud give no Offence I told this to Mr Murray He was entirely satisfyd He only said, that he woud write again to Mr Stuart Mackenzie, who never wrote to Lord Hertford. In this Affair then Mr Murray receivd all the Favour, which he either desird or expected

[1] The Hon James Stuart-Mackenzie (died 1800), younger brother of the Earl of Bute, British Envoy at Turin, 1759, Lord Privy Seal for Scotland, 1763–5; deprived of this office, contrary to a promise given by George III, 1765, restored to it, but without power, 1766.

But perhaps your Lordship means, that I ought to have befriended him in his Law-suit with Mrs Blake, I suppose, by taking his Part in Company. But who told you, that I did not? I have frequently desird People in general to suspend their Judgement For as to any particular Justification of him, I was not capable of it, because I was & still am ignorant of all particulars of his Story Whence coud I learn them? From himself or from his Antagonist or from both? I assure your Lordship, that I was otherwise employd, and more to my Satisfaction, than in unravelling an intricate Story, which the Parliament of Paris coud not clear up in much less than two Years, and which, it is pretended, they have not cleard up at last

But I need say no more on this head, since your Brother, a few days after I wrote you, sent me a Letter, in which he askd Pardon for his former Letter, acknowledgd his Error, and desird a Return of my Friendship [1] His only Ground of Quarrel indeed was a small Neghgence in returning his Visits; an Offence, which operating on a Man of his Vanity, has engagd him to do all this Mischief

I have said, that your Lordship never receivd a Letter more friendly & obliging than my former Letter. I hope you will also acknowlege that this is wrote with sufficient Temper & Moderation. Adieu.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Regard & Consideration

My Lord
Your Lordship's most obedient & most humble
Servant
DAVID HUME

Fontainebleau
3d of Nov 1764

* 260 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Le Roy wants Cc in Letter Press [2]

Dear Sir

Above two Months ago, I sent over by Dr Huck,[3] who lives in Chidley Court, Pall Mall, all the Sheets wanting in your

* MS , R S E , hitherto unpublished

[1] See Letter VI in Appendix F below

[2] This note is not in Hume's hand

[3] Richard Huck (afterwards Huck-Saunders) (1720–85), a physician After being for many years an army surgeon and serving in America, he

Copies of Le Roy's Plans of Athens, and I desird him to deliver them to you Before he got to London, he had forgot, and imagin'd that I had desird him to deliver them to David Wilson.[1] Dr Huck lately wrote me, desiring me to put that Matter right You will please to send to him or to call upon him, and he will deliver you the Sheets. Make my Compliments to him and let him know, that, if I do not write to him myself, it is only to save him trouble

One of the Copies you sent me of the Octavo Edition of my History wants the two first Sheets of Q. Elizabeth's Reign, which you will please to send me, directed under Cover to Lord Hertford in Northumberland House

Do not make any new Edition of the Stuarts without consulting me I shoud be glad to know how many Copies are dispos'd of, both of the Octavo Edition of my History and of my Essays. I beg my Compliments to Mrs Millar I saw Rouet at Fontainebleau in good Health and Spirits, where we rememberd you & Mrs Millar. He goes with Lord Hope to the South of France, for the Recovery of My Lord's Health, which is not entirely good I am Yours most sincerely

DAVID HUME

Paris. 14 Nov^{r}
1764
To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London
Angleterre

* 261 *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

Paris, 17 Novr 1764

Dear Sir

Besides a Letter giving an Account of my Arrangement with L'Abbé Choquart for your Boys, there was put into the Post the same day another Letter of mine to you, which was intended to have gone by Lord March, which he mislay'd for eight days, and which was afterwards put into the Post, tho' wrote only with a View to its going by a private & secure hand I wish it may not be lost· I am a little anxious on that head You must know that March & Selwyn were once settled in their Post

* MS at Minto House, Burton, ii 261 ff (incomplete)

retired from the army in 1762, and made a Continental tour He then settled in London, and built up a good practice.

[1] Bookseller in the Strand

Chaise, to return for England; but chang'd their Mind in that critical Moment.

I can now tell you the Outlines of my Arrangement with Abbé Choquart in case my Letter shou'd not be found You are to pay about 12 or 13 00 Livres a Year for each of your Boys; 500 for the Tutor: You are not oblig'd to keep them above a Quarter. The first Quarter begun on the first of October. I was oblig'd to agree to this Article, because the Master told me, that other People were solliciting for the vacant Places, and as I expected my Letter might reach you in London, I thought the Difference of a few days not worth minding The Ambiguity between 12 or 1300 Livres a Year depends upon the Masters you choose for your Boys You see then that this Pension is scarce more expensive than that at Anson's; tho' there is no manner of Comparison of the Places But Mr Liston[1] tells me that he has been oblig'd to hire some Furniture, which is some Addition, but not a considerable one, to the Expence

As soon as I came from Fontainebleau, I went to the Pension militaire, so it is calld, where I had first a Conversation with the Abbé I found him exceedingly pleasd with your Boys. He told me that whenever his two young Pupils arriv'd, he calld together all the French Gentlemen, who are to the Number of thirty or thirty two, and he made them an Harangue: He there said to them, that they were all Men of Quality, to be educated to the honourable Profession of Arms, that all their Wars woud probably be with England, that France & that Kingdom were Rome & Carthage, whose Rivality, more properly than Animosity, never allow'd long Intervals of Peace, that the Chance of Arms might make them Prisoners of Arms to Messrs Elliots, in which Case it woud be a Happiness to them to meet a private Friend in a public Enemy, that he knew many Instances of People whose Lives were sav'd by such fortunate Events, and it therefore became them, from Views of Prudence, and from the Generosity for which the French Nation was so renown'd, to give the best Treatment to the young Strangers, whose Friendship might probably endure and be serviceable to them thro' Life· He added, that the Effect of this Harangue was such, that,

[1] Robert, afterwards Sir Robert, Liston (1742–1836), tutor to the young Elliots. He had been tutor for a time in Edinburgh to Hume's nephew, Joseph, and in 1768 Hume tried to get him appointed Professor at the University of Parma (see Letters 417, 418 below) He afterwards entered the Diplomatic Service, and had a distinguished career When he retired in 1821 he was the *doyen* of the Diplomatic Corps in Europe

as soon as he presented your Boys to their Companions, they all flew to them and embrac'd them, and have ever since continu'd to pay them all Courtship & Regard, and to show them every Mark of Preference. Every one is ambitious to acquire the Friendship of the two young Englishmen, who have already formd Connexions more intimate than ever he observ'd among his other Pupils. *Ce que j'admire*, added he, *dans vos jeunes amis est qu'ils ont non seulement de l'esprit, mais de l'ame· Ils sont veritablement attendris des temoignages d'amitié qu'on leur rende Ils meritent d'etre aimés, parce qu'ils sçavent aimer*

When I came next to converse with your Boys, I found all this Representation exactly just I believe they never pass'd fourteen days in their Life so happily as they did the last What I find strikes them much is the high Titles of their Companions There is not one, says Hugh, that is not a Marquess, or Count, or Chevalier at least. They are indeed all of them of the best Families in France, a Nephew of M de Choiseul, two Nephews of M de Beringhen, &c &c They are frequently drawn out, and disciplin'd after the Prussian manner I saw them go thro' their Exercises with the greatest Exactness and best Air. The Abbé remarkd to me, that the marching about, and wheeling, and moving under Arms, is better than all the dancing Schools in the World to give a noble Carriage to Youth. Gilbert is such a Proficient, that the Master is thinking already of advancing him to the first Rank, if not of making him a Corporal All this is excellent for Hugh, and if Gilbert's Head be a little fill'd with military Ideas, this Inconvenience will easily be corrected, as far as it ought to be corrected

The Abbé tells me, that in the short time they have been with him, their Accent is sensibly corrected, and he is perswaded that, in three Months time, it will not be possible to distinguish them from Frenchmen They are never to hear Mass, but to attend at the Ambassador's Chapel every Sunday Such is the general Account I have to give you Their Preceptor will be more particular, and I shall visit them from time to time

I am very much pleasd with Mrs Murray's [1] favourable Remembrance of me Please tell her that I was always incapable of any other Views, than of being serviceable to her Family. Tho' it is somewhat probable that I shall never in my Life have the pleasure of seeing her, I shall be always glad to preserve or recover her good Opinion

[1] Mrs. Elliot-Murray

* 262. *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Wednesday, 28 of November, 1764

You may believe, that ever since my return to Paris, I have kept my eyes and ears open with regard to everything that concerns your affair [1] I find it is the general opinion of all those who think themselves the best informed, that a resolution is taken in your favour, and that the resolution will probably have place But you do not expect surely, that so great an event will pass without censure It would ill become my friendship to flatter you on this head. The envy and jealousy of the world alone account for a repugnance in many. no body has been more generally known than you, both of late and in your early youth. Will so numerous an acquaintance be pleased to see you pass, from being their equal, to be so much their superior? Will they bear your uniting the decisive elevation of rank to the elevation of genius, which they feel, and which they would in vain contest? Be assured, that she is really and sincerely your friend, who can willingly yield you so great advantages [2]

But tho I hear some murmurs of this kind, I have likewise the consolation to meet with several who entertain opposite sentiments I was told of a man of superior sense, nowise connected with you, who maintained in a public company, that, if the report was true, nothing could give him a higher idea of the laudable and noble principles of your friend. The execution

* *Priv Corr*, 112 f, Burton, II 246 f

[1] Mme de Boufflers's husband being now dead, she hoped and expected that the Prince of Conti would marry her—which would have made her fifth lady in the land in order of precedence

[2] The 1st Duchess of Northumberland notes in her diary under the date, Nov 2, 1764 'At the latter end of the year the news of Paris was that the Prince of Conti was certainly to marry Mme de Boufflers whom I had before seen in England People thought it very extraordinary in every way, as the Princes of the Blood very seldom marry women so much their inferiors and still more extraordinary that any man should marry a woman who was once his mistress and who [*sic*] he had quitted as such, for the last seven years It is true his friendship has always appeared to continue in the strongest manner, but it is seldom people marry for friendship. However, at last prudence prevailed, and, as the Prince of Conti as Grand Prieur de Malta would have lost £15,000 sterling a year of his income and the palace in which he resided (Le Temple) by his marriage, he and the lady agreed it to be better to live on upon the foot of friendship as they have continued to do ever since' (*The Diaries of a Duchess*, 60 f) The £15,000 is an exaggeration; as Grand Prieur the Prince received 50,000 livres p a

of his purpose, he said, could not only be justified, but seemed a justice due to you. The capital point is to interpose as few delays as possible Time must create obstacles, and can remove none While the matter seems in suspense, many will declare themselves with violence against you, and will render themselves irreconcilable enemies by such declarations. They might be the first to pay court to you, had no leisure been allowed them to display their envy and malignity

On the whole, I am fully persuaded, from what I hear and see, that the matter will end as we wish But in all cases, I foresee, that, let the event be what it will, you will reap from it much honour and much vexation Alas! dear Madam, the former is never a compensation for the latter especially to you, whose delicate frame, already shaken by an incident, of much less importance surely, is ill calculated to bear such violent agitations. Pardon these sentiments if you think them mean They are dictated by my friendship for you I am indeed so mean as to wish you alive and healthy and gay in any fortune. A fine consolation for us truly, to see the epithet of princess inscribed on your grave, while we reflect that it contains what was the most amiable in the world! I propose to pay my respects to you the beginning of next week

*263 *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

10 December, 1764

It is needless to inform you, how much you employed my thoughts in this great crisis of your fortune, of your health, of your life itself You could perceive, by undoubted signs, that I partook sincerely of the violent anxieties, by which I found you agitated, and that, after having endeavoured in vain to appease the tumult of your passions, I was at last necessitated myself, to take part in your distress [1] My sympathy is not abated

* *Priv Corr*, 114 ff, Burton, 247 ff

[1] The following unpublished note, in the handwriting of Lydia Becquet, is among the MSS, R S E

'The Countess of Bouffler's compliments to Mr Hume, has passed the night but indifferently is not well enough to go out to day, hopes the pleasure of seeing him if he can spare a moment any part of it
'Wednesy'

I conjecture that this was written on Wed, 5 Dec 1764, that Hume went to call that day; and that an affecting scene took place

by absence. I find myself incapable almost of other occupation or amusement

You still recur to my memory. The chief relief I have is in writing to you, and throwing together some thoughts, which occur to me, on your subject

They are mostly the same which occurred in conversation, and which I have already suggested to you They will acquire no additional authority at present in writing, except by convincing you that they are the result of my most mature reflections.

Of all your friends, I, as a foreigner, am perhaps the least capable of giving you advice on so delicate a subject I only challenge the preference, in the warmth of my affection and esteem towards you, and I am, as a foreigner, the farther removed from all suspicion of separate interests and regards.

I cannot too often repeat, what I inculcated on you with great earnestness, that, even if your friend should fix his resolution on the side least favourable to you, you ought to receive his determination without the least resentment You know that princes, more than other men, are born slaves to prejudices, and that this tax is imposed on them, as a species of retaliation by the public This prince in particular is in every view so eminent, that he owes some account of his conduct to Europe in general, to France, and to his family, the most illustrious in the world. It is expected, that men in his station shall not be actuated by private regards. It is expected, that with them friendship, affection, sympathy shall be absorbed in ambition, and in the desire of supporting their rank in the world; and if they fail in this duty, they will meet with blame from a great part of the public Can you be surprized, that a person covetous of honour, should be moved by these considerations? If he neglected them, would not your grateful heart suggest to you, that he had taken an extraordinary step in your favour? And can you with any grace complain, that an extraordinary event has not happened, merely because you wished for it, and found it desirable?

I am fully sensible, Madam, of the force of those arguments which you urged, not to justify your resentment, of which you declared you would ever be exempted, but to maintain the reasonableness of your expectations I am fully sensible of the regard, the sacred regard, due to a long and sincere attachment, which, passing from love to friendship, lost nothing of its warmth, and acquired only the additional merit of reason and

constancy This regard, I own, is really honourable and virtuous, and may safely be opposed to the maxims of an imaginary honour, which, depending upon modes and prejudices, will always be regarded by great minds as a secondary consideration. I shall add, what your modesty would not allow you to surmise, or even perhaps to think, that an extraordinary step, taken in favour of extraordinary merit, will always justify itself, and will appear but an ordinary tribute Allow me to do you this justice in your present melancholy situation I know I am exempt from flattery I believe I am exempt from partiality The zeal and fervour which move me, are the effects, not the causes of my judgment

But, my dear friend, the consideration, which is the most interesting, the most affecting, the most alarming, is the immediate danger of your health and life,[1] from the violent situation into which fortune has now thrown you You continued long to live, with tolerable tranquillity, tho exposed to many vexations, in a state little befitting your worth and merit, and you still comforted yourself by reflecting, that you could not change it, without withdrawing from a friendship dearer to you than life itself. You still could flatter yourself, that the person, for whose sake you made this sacrifice, if he had it in his power, would, at any price, repair your honour, and fortify his connexions with you The unexpected death of M. de Boufflers has put an end to these illusions It has at once brought you within reach of honour and felicity. and has thrown a poison on your former state, by rendering it still less honourable than before.

You cannot say, Madam, that I do not feel, and with the most pungent sensation, the cruelty of your situation. I am sensible too, that time will scarcely bring any remedy to this evil.

The loss of a friend, of a dignity, of fortune, admits of consolation, if not from reason, at least from oblivion; and these sorrows are not eternal But while you maintain your present connexions, your hopes, still kept alive, will still enliven your natural desire of that state to which you aspire, and your

[1] In an undated note which was almost certainly written about this time, Mme de Boufflers says·

'Ma sante est reellement tres bonne et mon ame en apparence fort tranquille Voila la verité, puisque vous voulez que je vous la dise Je ne vous parle pas de mon amitié parce que quoiqu'elle soit tres sincere, je ne pourrois en parler que froidement dans ma situation presente qui absorbe tout mon etre' (MS , R S E , unpublished)

disgust towards that state in which you will find yourself. I foresee that your lively passions, continually agitated, will tear in pieces your tender frame. melancholy and a broken constitution may then prove your lot, and the remedy, which could now preserve your health and peace of mind, may come too late to restore them.

What advice, then, can I give you, in a situation so interesting? The measure which I recommend to you requires courage, but I dread, that nothing else will be able to prevent the consequences, so justly apprehended It is, in a word, that after employing every gentle art to prevent a rupture, you should gradually diminish your connexion with the Prince, should be less assiduous in your visits, should make fewer and shorter journeys to his country seats, and should betake yourself to a private, and sociable, and independent life at Paris By this change in your plan of living, you cut off at once the expectations of that dignity, to which you aspire, you are no longer agitated with hopes and fears, your temper insensibly recovers its former tone, your health returns, your relish for a simple and private life gains ground every day, and you become sensible, at last, that you have made a good exchange of tranquillity for grandeur Even the dignity of your character, in the eyes of the world, recovers its lustre, while men see the just price you set upon your liberty; and that, however the passions of youth may have seduced you, you will not now sacrifice all your time, where you are not deemed worthy of every honour.

And why should you think with reluctance on a private life at Paris? It is the situation for which I thought you best fitted, ever since I had the happiness of your acquaintance. The inexpressible and delicate graces of your character and conversation, like the soft notes of a lute, are lost amid the tumult of company, in which I commonly saw you engaged A more select society would know to set a juster value upon your merit Men of sense, and taste, and letters, would accustom themselves to frequent your house Every elegant society would court your company. And tho all great alterations in the habits of living may at first appear disagreeable, the mind is soon reconciled to its new situation, especially if more congenial and natural to it I should not dare to mention my own resolutions on this occasion, if I did not flatter myself, that your friendship gives them some small importance in your eyes Being a foreigner,

I dare less answer for my plans of life, which may lead me far from this country, but if I could dispose of my fate, nothing could be so much my choice as to live where I might cultivate your friendship Your taste for travelling might also afford you a plausible pretence for putting this plan in execution. a journey to Italy would loosen your connexions here and if it were delayed some time, I could, with some probability expect to have the felicity of attending you thither

* 264. *To* Madame Belot [1]

I ask you, Madam, ten thousand Pardons, but neither for my Neglect nor Forgetfulness For I am not capable of either with regard to you: But for my Idleness and Dissipation, Business and Occupation [2] For there is part of all, as the Cause, why I have not waited on you But I wrote you a Letter (which I am afraid you have not receiv'd) in which I told you of my Consultation with Mons[r] Duclos, and the Reasons why I coud not enter into the Affair between you and M[de] Geoffrin [3] I also recommended Mons[r] Helvetius as the most proper Person, to set all to Rights I found, that you had previously entertaind the same Idea, since that Gentleman told me that he had been so fortunate as to succeed in his Negotiation I can now only say, that your Behaviour, in the Eyes of all the World has done you Honour; and I congratulate you on it I will not send you

* B M MSS Egerton 21, fol 210 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] See note on p. 415 above

[2] This letter is an answer to one from Mme Belot, dated 15 Dec 1764, in which she says

'Je vous ai attendu Monsieur les quatres jours que je vous avois indiqués, et les deux que vous m'aviés flaté de l'honneur de vous voir

'Comme j'avois eu celui de vous instruire du petit orage que votre estampe élevoit entre deux femmes, il est a propos de vous apprendre que le calme est rétabli

'Apres avoir eu lebon cœur de vouloir m'obliger, M[de] Geoffrin a eu le bon esprit de convenir de la méprise sur le moyen qu'elle avoit choisi, et cet aveu, ses demarches franches et polies, ne laissent dans mon souvenir que ce qui peut lui faire honneur

'Je vous rends la liberté de me négliger. Je vous supplie seulement d'avoir la bonté de me renvoyer, sous envelope, le manuscript d'*Emma* que vous avez eu la complaisance d'emporter pour le parcourir.

'J'ai l'honneur d'être très sincerement Monsieur Votre très humble et très obeissante servante G. Belot' (MS, R S E)

[3] Nothing more is known of the 'orage' between Mme Belot and Mme Geoffrin than appears from the above letter of the former

your Manuscript, but will wait on you with it I believe I told you that I woud not have my Print prefixd to the Sale Volumes of my History [1] Pray, order your Bookseller to send a Copy of these two Volumes to Mad[e] Geoffrin [2] on their first Publication. I know not what to say as to the binding Perhaps, she has the other Volumes differently bound Do you not think it were best for me to send her all the Volumes handsomely bound, as the best Return of her Gallantry towards me [3]

I have the honour to be with great Truth, Madam
Your most obedient humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Hotel de Brancas
16 of Decr [1764]
A Madame Madame Belot chez le President Meinieres rue Poissonniere au dela le boulevard

* 265. *To the* EARL OF HARDWICKE

Paris 22 Decr 1764.

My Lord

This Letter will be deliver'd to your Lordship by Monsieur de Brequigny,[4] the Gentleman sent over by the King of France to search out such Papers in England, as may have a Reference to the History of this Country. As I knew, that your Lordship is both willing and more able than any man in England to render Service to all ingenious, inquisitive Men, such as he is, I was surprizd to find that he had never had the Honour to be presented to you I hope, that your Lordship will excuse the

* B M Addit MSS 35350 (Hardwicke Papers), II, fol 16 f, *Englische Studien*, Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] But it was so affixed And a very pleasant engraving it is

[2] Marie-Thérèse Rodet (1699–1777), m (1713) François Geoffrin (died 1749) As a 'salonnière', she was the chief rival and 'ennemie' of Mme du Deffand, the patroness of Marmontel, Morellet, and many others, and the particular friend of Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, King of Poland (1764–73), whom she called her son, and whom she visited in Warsaw in 1766 There are five letters from her to Hume among the MSS, R S E

[3] See note 2 to Letter 270 below, and Appendix C

[4] Louis-Georges-Oudard Feudrix de Bréquigny (1716–95), of the Académie Française and the Académie des Inscriptions, a celebrated scholar and archivist, editor of *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae et alia Monumenta ad res Francicas spectantia*, 3 vols, fol, 1791, and of other learned works He left for England in Jan 1765 and remained there some three years, working among immense piles of official documents

Liberty I now take in giving him a Letter of Recommendation, or rather of Introduction to your Lordship. The Merits and Character of the Gentleman are so well known as to need no Recommendation

I have the Honour to be My Lord
Your Lordships most obedient and most
humble Servant
DAVID HUME

Earl of Hardwicke

* 266 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir,

I see sometimes Mad^e^ Riccoboni, who is extremely surpriz'd, that Mr Becket answers none of her Letters, sends her none of the Copies which she bespoke, informs her nothing of the Success of her Book, and in short takes no manner of Notice of her [1] I beseech you make him write, or write yourself for him, if he continues obstinately negligent I owe Mr Becket three Pounds, which I shall either pay him in London, or pay M^de^ Riccoboni for him, in case the Success of her book has been such, as to entitle her to any Recompence. You or Becket may write her in English Her Direction is *Rue Poisonniere au dela le boulevard* I am somewhat in a hurry, which will apologize for the Shortness of my Letter I am always much oblig'd to you, when you have Leizure to write to me, being very sincerely Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Paris, 28 of Decr 1764

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 47 f

[1] Apparently *Miss Jenny* had no success in the English translation Strahan, answering this letter on 11 Jan 1765, says 'Mme Riccoboni's book does not sell at all Of course we [i e Becket and himself] must be the losers' (MS , R S E) Relations between the author and her English publisher continued bad, for she writes to Garrick on 31 Aug 1765 'J'ai remis à Mr Foley [the Paris banker] la petite somme dont j'étois redevable à Mr Becket Remerciez-le bien pour moi, I charge you Je ne lui écris point, dans la crainte qu'il ne se fasse lire ma lettre par son traducteur, qui y trouveroit une foule de malédictions contre lui Jenny est pitoyable, une traduction lâche, froide, pleine de contresens, de répétitions, de plates épithètes, *snowy hands, the fountain of love,* fy, eh, fy! rien de plus long, de plus maussade, ce n'est ni mon style ni mes idées' (*Garrick Corr* , II 457)

* 267. *To* ANDREW MILLAR

Paris 14 of Jany 1765

Dear Sir

I am much obligd to you for your last Letter, which is very friendly, and I shall not fail to pay the proper Attention to it.[1] The Truth is, as I intend to continue my History, I coud not possibly have taken a more proper Step than to pay a Visit to this Country, and to make Acquaintance here For as France and England are so intermix'd in all Transactions since the Revolution, the History of one Country must throw Light upon the other; and I am now in a Situation to have Access to all the Families, which have Papers relative to public Affairs transacted in the End of the last & beginning of this Century One Reason why I was anxious to know the Sale of my History, was, that I might judge, whether I coud expect equal Access and Information in England· The Rage and Prejudice of Parties frighten me, and above all, this Rage against the Scots which is so dishonourable and indeed so infamous to the English Nation. We hear, that it encreases every day without the least Appearance of Provocation on our part It has frequently made me resolve never in my Life to set foot on English Ground. I dread, if I shoud undertake a more modern History, the Impertinence & Ill-manners, to which it wou'd expose me; and I was willing to know from you, whether former Prejudices had so far subsided, as to ensure me of a good Reception You had wrote me a Letter from Kew, which I have never receiv'd Your present Account gives me Encouragement

If you have Occasion for a new Edition of my Essays, make it from the last in Octavo. I send you enclosd a Bill on Mr Coutts for 12 pounds four Shillings, which I think is the Ballance I owe you, after deducting the Price of Coke, which I sent back The enclosd is an Account of a Deficiency, which you will be so good as to supply. You sent me the Book imperfect. I beg sincerely my Compliments to Mrs Millar & am

Yours
D H.

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 264 f (incomplete)

[1] Millar's letter, dated from London, 26 Nov. 1764, is given in Appendix C below

* 268 *To* William Strahan

Paris, 26 of Jany 1765

Dear Sir

I receivd both your Letters, which gave me great Satisfaction [1] Your Accounts of things are the fullest and most candid I meet with; and if your Leizure allowd you, you coud not do me a greater Satisfaction, than to continue them, when any thing remarkable occurs. I think there is all the Probability that this will prove a quiet Session,[2] and there is a general Tranquillity establishd in Europe, so that we have nothing to do but cultivate Letters. There appears here a much greater Zeal of that kind than in England; but the best & most taking works of the French are generally publishd in Geneva or Holland, and are in London before they are in Paris So that I cannot have an Opportunity of serving you in the way I coud wish I am sorry, that the last Publication has not been successful.[3] I only saw the Beginning and judged from the Authors Character. The Beginning is much the best of the Work I have not lost view of continuing my History But as to the Point of my rising in Reputation, I doubt much of it The mad and wicked Rage against the Scots, I am told, continues and encreases, and the English are such a mobbish People as never to distinguish. Happily their Opinion gives me no great Concern I see in your Chronicle an Abridgement of a Treatise on the Constitution,[4] which Treatise seems to be nothing but an Abridgement of my History; yet I shall engage, that the Author has not nam'd me from the beginning to the end of his Performance On the

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 48 f

[1] Of 10 July 1764 and 11 Jan 1765 Both were full of information about the politics of the day in England They were printed (both incompletely) by Burton in *Eminent Persons*, 75 ff

[2] It was a singularly quiet session Writing to Mann on 26 March 1765, Horace Walpole says 'I don't remember the day when I was reduced to complain, in winter and Parliament-tide, of having nothing to say Yet it is this kind of nothing that has occasioned my long silence There has not been an event, from a debate to a wedding, capable of making a paragraph Such calms often forerun storms: the worst fits of the gout befall those who are not subject to little fevers' (*Letters*, VI 205) It was in this session, however, that the American Stamp Act was passed

[3] Mme Riccoboni's *Miss Jenny*, presumably

[4] *An Essay on the Constitution of England*, published by Becket and De Hondt Three columns of extracts from it are given in *The London Chronicle* for 10 Jan 1765

whole, I can have no Motive of Ambition or Love of Fame to continue my History· Money in my present Circumstances is no Temptation· If I execute that Work, as is probable, it must be for Amusement to myself, after I am tir'd of Idleness My Health and Spirits are as good at present as when I was five and twenty. Believe me Dear Sir with great Sincerity

Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant

DAVID HUME

My Compliments to Dr Franklin [1]

* 269. *To the* COMTESSE DE BOUFFLERS

Saturday Forenoon [Jan or Feb 1765] [2]

Since I saw you last, I am become less apprehensive of your weakness than of your force I see your health re-establishes itself every day, and hope it continues to do so. But I dread the vigour and vehemence of your resolutions Remember your promise, that you are to embrace no new measure without at least informing me I interest myself so much in your fortune, that you cannot think yourself fully entitled to dispose of what concerns me so intimately, altogether unknown to me I must ingenuously confess to you, that, the more I hear and reflect, the more I am inclined to justify your expectations and to give credit to your hopes I have read a great part of Les Lettres de la Montagne The book in my humble opinion will not do credit to M Rousseau, though it might to another. I disapprove particularly of the seditious purpose of the last letters, which have succeeded but too well at Geneva for the magistrates of that city, which the author had formerly celebrated with reason as one of the best governed in the world, are in mortal fear every hour of being massacred by the populace There is the character of a lady, which many people have applied to you. but though the picture be like, I do not believe it was meant for you If the

* *Priv Corr*, 119 f

[1] Benjamin Franklin had returned to England from America

[2] It is impossible to date this letter more accurately Rousseau's *Lettres de la Montagne*, mentioned in the text, were printed in Holland in the end of 1764 Writing to Malesherbes on 11 Nov 1764, Rousseau complains that the book has been forbidden entry to France, and to Duclos, on 2 Dec 1764, he says that the book is not yet public It was burnt at The Hague on 22 Jan 1765, and in Paris, by order of the Parlement, in the following April

book were not extremely scarce, I would endeavour to procure you a copy.

If you foresee at any time, that you are likely to be alone at Staure, I should certainly, if possible, wait on you, notwithstanding my resolution not to see you, till you should come nearer to us

* 270 *To* MADAME BELOT

Thursday Morning
[Feb or March 1765][1]

Madam

I was much surpriz'd to hear from the Baron d'Holbac, that the Printing of these two Volumes has been finishd these six Weeks, all to two Sheets, and that he suspected the Delay proceeded from some Difficulty with regard to the Police But if it is so, I think you wou'd have told me, and if it is not so, your Bookseller is certainly the most absurd and most negligent of all human Beings. I wish we cou'd fall on some method to rouze him from his Lethargy If the Difficulty lies with the Police, I might fall on some way to remove it. I now say to every body, that I do not believe the Book will be publishd till next winter, if, then. Pray, be so good as to inform me of the present State of the Case I have never seen any Printer or Bookseller of Yours to give Directions about Mde Geoffrins Copy [2] I am with great Truth & Sincerity Madam

Your most obedient humble Servt
DAVID HUME

A Madame Madame Belot chez le Presidént Meimeres rue poissoniere au dela le Boulevard a Paris

* B M MSS Egerton 21, fol 212 f , *Englische Studien,* Band 63, Heft 3 (1929), hitherto unpublished in England

[1] Mme Belot's translation of *The Plantagenets* seems, after many delays, to have been published in March or April 1765 Grimm comments on it in April (*Corr Lit* , I, iv 402 ff) Mme Belot herself writes to Hume on 15 March, imploring him to help her in getting an addition to her pension, and saying that a copy of *The Plantagenets* will be delivered the next day to Mme Geoffrin (MS , R S E)

[2] The delivery of a copy, sumptuously bound, to Mme Geoffrin elicited from her a very characteristic letter, dated 'ce Samedy matin'—i e , I conjecture, Saturday, 16 March 1765 (see Appendix C below)

* 271. *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Tuesday Morning [5 March 1765] [1]

On Saturday last, I called at poor Madam D'Arti's,[2] and received for answer at the door that she was better, and that there were great hopes of her recovery I did not hear of her death till Sunday evening I find it gives general concern, both to those who did know, and to those who did not know her. I came yesterday afternoon to tender my compliments to you and to the Prince of Conti, when I heard of your departure for the country If the Prince of Conti thinks of staying at L'Isle-Adam beyond this week, I shall certainly pay my respects there, to you and to His Highness. I beg of you to assure him, that I take sincerely a part in his afflictions, especially that for a person, whom I knew to be possessed of so much merit It is needless for me to inform you, how much every thing that interests you is and ever will be the object of my concern

† 272 *To the* Rev Hugh Blair, and others

Dear Doctor

I am in debt to all my Friends in Letters, and shall ever be so; but what strikes me chiefly with Remorse are my great & enormous Debts to the Clergy By this Neglect of my Protestant Pastors, you will begin to suspect that I am turning Papist But to acquit myself at once, allow me to write you a common Letter, and to address a few Words to every one of you

Dr Robertson

Your History has been very well translated here,[3] better than

* *Priv Corr*, 92 f

† MS, R S E, Burton, II 266 ff (incomplete)

[1] Or 23 April 1765 The date depends on when Mme d'Arty really died. Some authorities give 2 or 3 March, others, 21 April

[2] Marie-Anne-Louise Guillaume de Fontaine m Antoine-Alexis Paneau d'Arty, Secretary to the King and 'Directeur-Général des Aides' Soon after (i e about 1733) she became the mistress of the Prince de Conti If D'Argenson is to be believed, the Prince quarrelled violently with her in 1748 She ceased to be the Prince's mistress about 1751, and was succeeded by Mme de Boufflers, but it would seem that she remained on good terms with both her former lover and her successor Rousseau describes her as 'femme adorable autant par la douceur, par la bonté de son charmant caractère, que par l'agrément de son esprit et par l'inaltérable gaîté de son humeur' (*Confessions*, ed Ad van Bever, 1927, II 87).

[3] It was translated by the Abbé La Chapelle, who is described by Grimm

mine, as I am told Its Success has given me Occasion to promise your Acquaintance to several Persons of Distinction, the Duc de Nivernois, the Marquis de Puysieulx, President Hainaut, Baron d'Holbac &c. I wish you coud speak French tolerably. You would find this Place agreeable The Mareschal Broglio spoke of you to me with Esteem the other day.

Dr Jardine.

In order to refute all Calumnies, hear a short Story Not long ago, as I came into a Company, I heard D'Alembert exclaim, *Et verbum caro factum est* And the Word was made Flesh This was thought a very good Jest on my past & present Life, and was much repeated A Lady in telling the Story, said, *Et verbum carum factum est* When told of her Mistake, she wou'd not allow it to be one.

Dr Carlyle

I consulted with the Chevalier Macdonald (who by the bye is here in great Vogue, not for his Gallantries, like some others, who shall be nameless, but for his Parts & Knowlege) I say, I consulted with the Chevalier about writing a common Letter to Eglinton[1] in favour of Wilson[2] He told me, it woud be quite useless. Eglintone would give that Kirk and every thing else to the tenth Cousin of the tenth Cousin of a Voter in the Shire of Air, rather than to the most intimate Friend he has in the World Je baise les mains de M^de^ Carlisle avec tout l'empressement possible.

Dr Ferguson

Who by the bye, I believe is not a Doctor, tho' highly worthy from his Piety and Learning to be one: Then, Mr Ferguson I think I have nothing in particular to say to you, except that I am glad of the Change of your Class, because you desir'd it, and because it fitted Russell For otherwise I shou'd have lik'd better the other Science The News of your great Success in teaching has reach'd me in Paris and has given me Pleasure, but I fear for your Health, from all these sudden & violent

as 'ancien premier commis au bureau des affaires étrangères' (*Corr Lit*, I, iv 62 ff). The translation appeared in the spring of 1764, in 3 vols, 12mo Grimm gave it somewhat faint praise (loc cit)

[1] Alexander Montgomerie (1723–69), 10th Earl of Eglintoun, an early friend of James Boswell He was mortally wounded by a poacher in 1769.

[2] I conjecture that this Wilson must have been a young man who had acted as tutor to Hume's nephews and was now assistant to Carlyle in Inveresk Parish See also Letter 300 below.

Applications —— —— —— Ah! that you cou'd learn something, Dear Ferguson, of the courteous, and caressing and open manners of this Country I shou'd not then have been to learn for the first time (as I did lately from General Clerk) that you have not been altogether ungrateful to me, and that you bear me some good will, and that you sometimes regreat my Absence. Why shou'd your Method of living with me have borne so little the Appearance of those Sentiments?

Dr Blair

Many People who read English have got your Dissertation on Fingal, which they admire extremely A very good Critic told me lately, that it was incomparably the best Piece of Criticism in the English Language, a self-evident Truth, to me I met also with many Admirers of Fingal, but many also doubt of its Authenticity. The Chevalier Macdonald is of use to me, in supporting the Argument, from his personal Knowlege of Facts I cannot however but allow that the whole is strange, passing strange

You seem to wish, that I shou'd give you some general Accounts of this Country Shall I begin with the Points, in which it most differs from England, viz, the general Regard pay'd to Genius and Learning, the universal and professed, tho' decent, Gallantry of the Fair Sex, or the almost universal Contempt of all Religion, among both Sexes, and among all Ranks of Men? Or shall I mention the Points in which the French begin to concur with the English, their Love of Liberty for Instance? Or shall I give you some remarkable Anecdotes of the great Men, who, at present adorn French Literature? Perhaps you woud wish me to run over all these Topics successively Alas there is not one, that wou'd not fill several Sheets of Paper with curious Circumstances, and I am the most lazy Writer of Letters in the World However, I must say something on those heads And first of the first

There is a very remarkable Difference between London and Paris, of which I gave warning to Helvetius when he went over lately to England, and of which, he told me, on his Return he was fully sensible If a man have the Misfortune, in the former place, to attach himself to Letters, even if he succeeds, I know not with whom he is to live, nor how he is to pass his time in a suitable Society The little Company, there, that is worth conversing with, are cold & unsociable or are warmd only by Faction and Cabal, so that a Man, who plays no part in

public Affairs, becomes altogether insignificant and if he is not rich, he becomes even contemptible: Hence that Nation are relapsing fast into the deepest Stupidity, Christianity & Ignorance But in Paris, a man that distinguishes himself in Letters, meets immediatly with Regard & Attention I found immediatly on my landing here, the Effects of this Disposition Lord Beauchamp told me, that I must go instantly with him to the Dutchess de la Valiere's [1] When I excus'd myself on account of Dress, he told me, that he had her Orders, tho' I were in Boots I accordingly went with him in a travelling Frock, where I saw a very fine Lady reclining on a Sopha, who made me Speeches & Compliments without Bounds The Style of Panegyric was then taken up by a fat Gentleman, whom I cast my Eyes upon, and observd him to wear a Star of the richest Diamonds It was the Duke of Orleans [2] The Dutchess told me, she was engag'd to sup in President Hainaut's; but that she woud not part with me I must go along with her The good President receivd me with open Arms, and told me among other fine things that a few days before the Dauphin said to him &c &c &c. Such Instances of Attention I found very frequent and even daily You ask me, if they were not very agreeable? I answer, No Neither in Expectation, Possession, nor Recollection. I left that Fireside (where you probably sit at present) with the greatest Reluctance: After I came to London, my Uneasyness, as I heard more of the Prepossessions of the French Nation in my Favour, encreas'd; and nothing cou'd have given me greater Joy than any Accident that wou'd have broke off my Engagements: When I came to Paris, I repented heartily of having enter'd, at my Years, in such a Scene, and as I found, that Lord Hertford had entertain'd a good opinion & good Will for Andrew Stuart, I spoke to Wedderburn,[3] in order to contrive Expedients for substituting him in my Place Lord Hertford thought for some time, that I woud lose all Patience and woud run away from him. But the Facility of speaking French returnd gradually to me I formd many Acquaintance & some

[1] Anne-Julie-François de Crussol (1713–93), m (1732) Louis-César de la Baume le Blanc (1708–80), duc de la Vallière Horace Walpole says that she was still miraculously pretty in 1765 (*Letters*, VI 352)

[2] Louis-Philippe (1725–85), duc d'Orléans, one of the Princes of the Blood

[3] Alexander Wedderburn was in Paris in 1764, and caused a considerable flutter in the young heart of Geneviève de Malboissière, to whom it would seem Hume introduced him (see *Lettres de G de M. à Adélaïde Méliand*)

Friendships All the learned seemd to conspire in showing me Instances of Regard The great Ladies were not wanting to a Man so highly in Fashion: And having now contracted the Circle of my Acquaintance, I live tolerably at my Ease. I have even thoughts of settling at Paris for the rest of my Life, but I am sometimes frighten'd with the Idea, that it is not a Scene suited to the Languor of old Age and I then think of retiring to a provincial Town or returning to Edinburgh, or—but it is not worth while to form Projects about the Matter. D'Alembert and I talk very seriously of taking a Journey to Italy together, and if Lord Hertford leave France soon, this Journey may probably have place.

I begun this Letter about two months ago; but so monstrously indolent am I, that I have not had time to finish it I believe I had better send it off as it is Tell Robertson, that la Chappelle, his Translator, is very much out of Humour & with Reason, for never hearing from him I suppose some Letter has miscarry'd I am Dr Doctor

Paris 6 of April 1765 Yours sincerely DAVID HUME

[1]To the Reverend D[r] Hugh Blair at Edinburgh
Free Hertford

* 273. *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

My Dear Sir

I have always had the Pleasure of conversing, from time to time, with your Sons, with Mr Liston, and with the Abbé Choquart, and never found the least Reason to alter the good Opinion, which I had at first conceivd of that Academy, and of the Conduct of every one concern'd. But the Tenor of your last Letter made me apprehend, that you had discoverd some Ground of Suspicion;[2] and the more so, as Mr Larpent[3] told me,

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II 270 ff

[1] The address, as well as the frank, is in Lord Hertford's handwriting

[2] Writing on 25 March 1765, Elliot, after thanking Hume for his continued interest in the two boys, says 'As they have now been some time in France, I wish you would just let me know, whether my scheme succeeds, or if you think their continuance for some time longer will not be of prejudice to them, and render them too much french men Mr Liston writes me you have been very civil & kind to him I own I am more apprehensive of the consequences of a Paris life upon a young man of his age, than upon the boys, who are too young to enter into the full dissipation of a country, where not to be dissipated is hardly to have an existence ' (MS, R S E)

[3] See note 1 on p 474 above

that you had spoke to his Father, to desire him to require of his Son, that he shoud keep a watchful Eye over the Conduct of your Sons, and of Mr Liston, and inform him of all particulars. This it is impossible for Larpent to do, and indeed impossible for me to do, otherwise than by conversing with the Abbé Choquart & with your Sons apart. I have done this very carefully; and find Mr Liston's Conduct not only irreproachable, but laudable The Abbé tells me, that for the first three or four Months, he scarce ever stirr'd out of the House, but convers'd with him alone, and with the other Masters, till he came to such Perfection in the Language, as to be taken for a Languedocian, or a Frenchman of some Province [1] Since that time the Abbé tells me, he has made a few Acquaintance among his Countrymen, and goes out sometimes; but he uses this Liberty with great Moderation and on the whole, the Abbé praises him (and with great Reason, as appears to me) for his Reserve, his Modesty, his good Sense, his Sobriety, & his Virtue As to your Sons, he assures me, that tho' he has been employ'd nineteen Years in instructing Youth, he never knew any more happily formd, and they are the Favourites of the whole School The Boys themselves seem to be extremely happy in their present Situation. Gilbert speaks French amost like a Parisian, and Hugh follows fast after him This is an Advantage they have acquird, without interrupting the Course of their other Studies. The Sociableness of their Disposition has been calld forth, by living among Companions in a public School; and as they praise very much the Civility & good Humour of their fellow Students, they may themselves be the more confirmd in those Habits But, pray, come hither yourself & judge of the Matter

Two or three days ago, Lord Hertford wrote a very earnest Letter to Mr Greenville [2] in my Favour I know well that, if you find an Opportunity, you will second his Application The Saxon Minister at this Court told My Lord, that Mr Wroughton[3] was soon to leave Dresden My Lord has proposd that Bunbury be sent thither If he refuses, it will be a Proof that he is resolvd to undertake no public Service, but scandalously to live at

[1] Liston had a great gift for languages, and before his retirement from the Diplomatic Service spoke a great many fluently

[2] George Grenville, at this time Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer

[3] Thomas Wroughton, afterwards British Minister to Poland and to Sweden (died 1787)

home, and enjoy a large Sallary, which shoud belong to another. Surely if Mr Greenville bore me never so little Good-will, as a suppos'd Tory, he must allow this Reasoning to be unanswerable

You have now with you Sir James Macdonald, who is too good for you For I am afraid you will not know to value him. He leaves an universal Regreat behind him at Paris, among all who were acquainted with him, and in none more than myself. I am Dear Sir

Your faithful humble Servant,
DAVID HUME

Paris
14 April 1765

* 274 *To* ANDREW MILLAR

My dear Sir

† As soon as I heard of poor Mallet's Death,[1] my Curiosity was excited to know, whether he had really proceeded any length in his Work,[2] or whether, as many People imagine and as is somewhat my Opinion, he had never wrote a Line nor taken a Note with regard to it I beg you wou'd make some Enquiry upon that Subject The Widow will be able to inform you I shoud be glad to know whether any Lights coud be got from that Quarter for the Continuance of my Work

I shall be oblig'd to you, if you will send me a Copy stitchd of Fitz-Osborne's Letters [3] Please to put it up in a Packet directed to Lord Hertford, and send it to Lord Hallifax's Office I am very sincerely,

Dear Sir
Your most obedient Servant
DAVID HUME

Paris
4t of May 1765

To Mr Andrew Millar Bookseller in the Strand London

† 275. *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

Dear Sir

I went, on Wednesday last, to be present at the Examination of l'Abbé Choquart's School, with which I was very well

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 273 (incomplete)
† MS at Minto House, Burton, II 273 ff

[1] David Mallet died on 21 April
[2] The Life of Marlborough, which he had been paid to write
[3] *Letters on Several Subjects*, by Sir Thomas Fitzosborne [pseudonym of William Melmoth the Younger (1710–99)], 1748, 2nd vol , 1749

satisfy'd; especially for the part your young Folks had in it There were several People present who came to hear their Children & Relations; and when Gilbert was going thro' some Demonstrations of Geometry, with a very good Grace, I askd some who sat next me, whether they coud perceive him to be a Foreigner? They all declar'd that they coud not, and were very much surpriz'd when I told them that he had not yet been in the Country six Months. Hugh retains still a little of a foreign Accent, but it is wearing out gradually Mr Liston speaks so well as to be able to pass himself for a Gascon!

There was also one Circumstance of your young Gentlemen's Behaviour with which I was much pleasd, but whether you will take the Praise of it to yourself, or ascribe it partly to the Imitation of French Manners, I cannot determine. I arrivd a little before the Commencement of the Examination, and, walking into the Garden, I took Shelter, from the Heat, under some Trees Your young Gentlemen, as soon as they saw me, ran & brought me a Chair, which they plac'd carefully in the most shady Spot they coud find I doubt this Attention woud not be very common among mere English Schoolboys

Lord Hertford has receivd, from George Greenville, a final Answer to a very earnest, and very pressing Letter he had wrote in my Favour. Never was any Refusal so decisive, so cold, so positive, so determind Not the least Circumstance of Apology, of good Manners, or of Regard He even gives it as a Reason why I cannot be appointed, because Sir Charles Bunbury has never yet desird to change his Situation. In short, the Letter is so different from all Letters usually wrote on such Occasions, and so different from those which Mr Greenville was accustomd to write to Lord Hertford, that my Lord concludes there is some particular Reason of Coldness, tho' he cannot conjecture what it is. But there are also, in the Letter, some Expressions which mark the most extreme Animosity against me; Lord Hertford thinks, they will admit of another Sense, and desires me to write to you, in order to ask whether you have ever perceivd such Sentiments in that Gentleman. I know that I have affirmd, and, what is worse, have provd, that Q. Elizabeth's Maxims of Government were full as arbitrary as those of the Stuarts, I know that this Proposition, tho' now an undoubted & acknowleg'd Truth, is contrary to the Principles of sound Whiggery, I know also, that Mr Greenville, as a sound Whig, bore me no good Will on that account, but I did not really think his

Quarrel coud have gone to such an Extremity. You are sensible of the Consequences which I apprehended, and which you did not, last Summer, think so dangerous as I imagind. I have now, for the first time, explaind to My Lord the Nature of my Situation, which somewhat surprizd him, being so contrary to the Assurances given him by Mr Greenville But he told me that my Interest was secure, for that he thought himself oblig'd to make me Reparation from his private Fortune, for any Breach of Faith which I might apprehend from the Public. If this point were fix'd, it woud probably stop the Malignity of my Enemies, who will see that they can only do a small Ill to Lord Hertford, instead of a great one which they might intend against me. However, my Lord being desirous to know, from you, Mr Greenville's Sentiments, as far as you coud discover them, I am engag'd to enter into this Detail, which otherwise I might have desird to avoid

I am with great Sincerity My Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

Paris
12 May 1765.

* 276 *To* JAMES OSWALD OF DUNNIKIER

My dear Sir,

There is a gentleman here, an Abbé, and a man of letters, who is willing to enter into a commerce, or mutual exchange with me, on every point of political or commercial knowledge [1] He has a great deal of very exact information, with regard to everything that concerns these subjects, has great freedom of thought and speech, and has no connexions with any minister. As a sample, he has sent me the enclosed questions, which I could not exactly answer, and is willing to answer any of a like kind, which I could propose to him I thought I could not do better than transmit them to you, and as I know you will also have questions to ask, I shall also transmit them to him, and you may depend on his answer as just and solid I have left the margin large enough, to save you trouble I know you are the most

* MS , R S E (copy only), Oswald, 81 ff ; Burton, II 275 ff

[1] Almost certainly l'Abbé André Morellet (1727–1819), encyclopaedist and economist, a protégé of Mme Geoffrin, admitted to the Academy, 1785

industrious and the most indolent man of my acquaintance; the former in business, the latter in ceremony The present task I propose to you is of the former kind

You will hear that Sir Charles Bunbury is appointed Secretary for Ireland [1] Lord Hertford thinks it absolutely certain, that I am to succeed him, and I, too, think it very probable. My Lord throws up immediately, if this demand is not complied with, yet, notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, I shall not be wonderfully surprized in case of a disappointment. I know that I can depend on your good offices with Lord Halifax,[2] and with every other person on whom you have influence Lord Hertford writes this post to that noble lord The present advantages I possess are so great, that it seems almost extravagant to doubt of success, and yet, in general, it appears to me almost incomprehensible how it should happen, that I, a philosopher, a man of letters, nowise a courtier, of the most independent spirit, who has given offence to every sect, and every party, that I, I say, such as I have described myself, should obtain an employment of dignity, and a thousand a year This event is in general so strange, that I fancy, in the issue, it will not have place.

I am, dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

Paris
2d June, 1765

DAVID HUME.[3]

* 277 *To* WILLIAM STRAHAN

Dear Sir

There have some Transactions pass'd with you of late, which much excite our Curiosity at a Distance,[4] but I do not wish that

* MS at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 65

[1] This was only a rumour. It had been flying round for some months (see Horace Walpole, *Letters*, vi *passim*)

[2] Halifax, who was at this time Secretary of State for the Northern Department, does not seem to have had much opinion of Hertford Grenville notes in his Diary on 22 Sept 1764- ' Lord Halifax is discontented with Lord Hertford, says he is cold and insufficient, and wants to have him recalled. the King is by no means disposed to recall him, in which Mr Grenville entirely concurs in opinion with His Majesty . . Mr G has great difficulty in combating Lord Halifax's eagerness upon this subject, as well as many others' (*Grenville Papers*, II 514)

[3] Oswald replied on 13 June 1765. His letter is given in Appendix C below

[4] The Grenville Ministry was breaking up, and a very tangled political situation had arisen, with the King, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of

you woud write me your Opinion freely about them, unless you can get a private hand, by whom you can send your Letter.[1]

I shall be much oblígd to you, if you will be so good as to insert the following Article in the Chronicle, and give it about to the other Papers

'Paris On Tuesday the fourth of June, being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth day, the Earl of Hertford, Ambassador from England, invited all the English of Rank and Condition to this Place, to the Number of seventy Persons, who dind with him and celebrated that Solemnity The Company appeard very splendid, being almost all drest in new and rich Cloaths on this Occasion; the Entertainment was magnificent, and the usual Healths were drunk with great Loyalty and Alacrity by all present '[2]

I am sorry it is not allowd me to communicate to you any more interesting Intelligence, but be assurd of my Regard, and excuse my abrupt Conclusion, as I write in a Hurry

I am Dear Sir Yours most sincerely

Paris, 6th of June, 1765 DAVID HUME.

* 278 *To* JOHN HOME OF NINEWELLS

Dear Brother

I write you in a hurry, after a long public Dispatch, only to inform you, that I am now appointed Secretary to the Embassy with the usual Sallary of 1200 Pounds a Year This Intelligence came to Lord Hertford by the last Post, and this Point was obtain'd at the earnest and even obstinate Demand of his Lordship, after Sir Charles Bunbury was appointed Secretary for Ireland The English Ministry had intended, not to appoint another Secretary of the Embassy; who, they knew, woud not be receivd; but to suppress that Office altogether, from Views of Frugality[3] Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than to

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 251 and 279 (incomplete)

Bedford, Lord Temple, Lord Bute, Mr Grenville, and Mr Pitt as the chief actors Writing to Mann on 26 June 1765, Walpole says 'You have known your country, my dear Sir, in more perilous situations, but you never knew it in a more distracted one in time of peace than it is at present' (*Letters*, VI 257) The Rockingham Ministry was formed on 15 July 1765

[1] Letters entrusted to the Post Office were often opened and read

[2] It appeared in the *London Chronicle* on 13 June 1765

[3] George Grenville, writing to Lord Hertford from Downing St on 28 Jan 1764, in answer to an urgent request that Bunbury be *not* sent to Paris, says 'My best endeavours will always be employed with pleasure to prevent

owe so great a Favour to a Person, whom I love & esteem so cordially.

There is another Circumstance in this Affair very agreeable No body can do more Justice to the Merit of my Friend, the Countess de Boufflers, than the Duke and Dutchess of Bedford, who have indeed been essentially obligd to her in their Family Concerns She wrote the Duke about a fortnight ago, that the time was now come, and the only time that probably woud ever occur, of his showing his Friendship to her, by assisting me in my Applications, and she wou'd rest on this sole Circumstance all his Professions of regard to her He receiv'd her Letter while in the Country, but he wrote her back, that he woud immediatly hasten to Town, and if he had any Credit with the King or Ministry, her Sollicitations shoud be comply'd with He is not a Man that ever makes vain Professions, nor does he ever take a Refusal He woud find the Matter finishd, when he came to London; but it is a sensible Pleasure to me that I owe so great an Obligation, to a Person whom I love and esteem so sincerely as that Lady

I had great hopes all this Winter of seeing the Countess in a Station suitable to her Merit, and of paying my Respects to her as part of the royal Family. Several Accidents have disappointed us, and the various Turns of this Affair have more agitated me, than almost any Event, in which I was ever engag'd. She is to take a short Journey to England for her Health and Amusement I propose to accompany her to Calais Lord Holderness meets her at Dover The Duke of Bedford proposes to attend her on her return to Paris She sets out in a few days

I beg you to communicate this Piece of good Fortune to our Sister; and my other Friends My Compliments to Mrs Home. Write me soon, and as particularly as you can. Mr and Mrs Ker [1] left this Place two days ago. I think his Scheme chimeri-

anything that may be disagreeable to you, or that may in the least contribute to render your situation less pleasing or honourable to you I flatter myself that there are no thoughts of Mr Bunbury's going to Paris at present, and I should be sincerely glad if any other arrangement could be found for him, to put that matter out of doubt, in which case, though I know there will be competitors here to succeed him, yet I believe the King will avoid any further difficulty upon the subject by not appointing any other Secretary to the Embassy, in like manner as has been done both at St Petersburgh and the Hague' (*Grenville Papers*, II 257 f)

[1] Presumably friends from Scotland There is no further reference to them.

cal, but it is suitable to a man who was never contented with the Respect payd him in any Place Yours affectionately

DAVID HUME

Paris 24 of June 1765

To John Home of Ninewells Esq[r] at Ninewells near Berwick upon Tweed

* 279 *To* PRESIDENT HÉNAULT

Il ajoute beaucoup, Monsieur, a mon bonheur de voir que vous daignez y prendre quelque part [1] Continuez, je vous prie, vos bontés pour moi Je sente bien le prise de votre suffrage; et c'est par la seulement, au defaut d'autre merite, que je puis pretendre a tenir quelque place dans votre amitié J'ai l'honneur d'etre, avec l'estime la plus parfaite, Monsieur

Votre tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur

DAVID HUME

Ce mardi [25 juin 1765] [2]

Je compte d'aller diner au Val [3] jeudi avec M. L'Ambassadeur Si je reviens le soir a assez bonne heure, je ne manquerai pas de profiter de vos bontés

† 280 *To the* MARQUISE DE BARBENTANE

Paris, 1 July, 1765

I did indeed flatter myself, dear Madam, that you would take some part in my good fortune I thank you for the assurances

* MS in possession of Dr W K Dickson, Edinburgh, hitherto unpublished

† *Priv Corr*, 120 f

[1] Hénault's letter is as follows:

'Mille et mille félicitations, Monsieur, et mille encor aprés. Votre patrie vous a rendu justice C'est un beau miracle! Mais en augmentant votre bien estre elle n'a rien ajouté a votre célébrité Mettés moi toujours au nombre de vos admirateurs, car ce seroit une prétention que de vouloir etre distingué

'Je vous prie a souper pour jeudi

HENAULT' (MS, R S E, *Eminent Persons*, 291)

[2] Hénault's letter is dated 'Mardi 26', but he *must* have mistaken the day of the month

[3] Le Val, near Saint-Germain, was the country house of Marie-Anne-Françoise de Noailles, comtesse de la Marck

you have given me of it [1] They give me a sensible satisfaction, proportioned to the esteem and regard which I bear you. I have now got somewhat of a durable establishment in France; and shall have leisure to cultivate your friendship, with which, I hope, you will deign to favour me

Have you heard of the share which Madame de Boufflers had in this event? As soon as she heard that there was a vacancy, by means of the promotion of Sir Charles Bunbury, my predecessor, she wrote to the Duke of Bedford, intreating him, in the most earnest terms, to befriend me in my pretensions, and setting all my claims in the most favourable light. The Duke answered her, that he would soon be in London, and if he had any credit or authority with the ministry, her friend should not fail of success The Duke is not a man that ever promises in vain, nor is he a man that is ever to be refused, so that, from this interest alone, I was sure to have prevailed But happily the same post brought intelligence to the Ambassador, that the affair was already finished But do you not think, that I owe the same obligations to our friend? or will you tell me, that I seek only a pretence for indulging my inclinations?

I am sorry to inform you, that our friend left this place, full of the same sentiments, which she expressed to me in the most lively terms, and though her journey and a new scene and new company may occasion some dissipation, I foresee that, on her return, she will take up the matter precisely where she left off, and may perhaps feel her disagrecable situation more sensibly on account of the interval [2] I can hope for no event that will

[1] Mme de Barbentane wrote to Hume from Villers-Cotterets on 27 June 1765

'J'apprens Monsieur qu'enfin, on vient de vous donner, ce que vous eussiez dû se me semble avoir depuis lontems, recevez en mes plus sinceres Compliments, vous êtes peut être un des hommes du monde pour lequel cette grace est la moins interessante, mais c'est pour tous un grand bien, que de n'être pas obligée de s'occuper d'arrangement, et d'economie Croiez je vous prie Monsieur que je partage bien veritablement tout ce qui vous est agréable, et mesurez mes felicitations, sur le plaisir que vous éprouvez . ' (MS , R S E , unpublished)

[2] Mme de Barbentane, in the same letter, continues

'Nôtre amie est donc decidée a aller en Angleterre? j'en suis ravie Il est impossible que l'estime et l'amitié de gens qui ne lui doivent rien, ne la releve pas a ses propres ieux, et n'affoiblissent pas des idées si contraire a son bonheur J'imagine que vous aurez écrit en consequence de ce [dont] nous étions convenus, et je ne doute pas que vous n'aiez recommandé tout le secret nesesaire Plus ces esperances se detruissent, plus il est important de cacher jusqu'a quel point elle les a crues fondées .'

restore her peace of mind, except one, which is not likely to happen, and she herself is sensible of it. I have wrote in the terms, which the Prince desired; though I wonder he should expect a great effect from any thing that can be wrote or said by any body on that head. If he does not choose to apply the proper remedy, he need expect no cure Those ideas have made such deep impression on her, that nothing can efface them, not even her own efforts, which, she assures me, she has employed to the utmost I can readily believe her, if one could, at his wish, change his sentiments of things, I should have desired long ago, for the sake of my own tranquillity, not to have taken so sensible a part in her distress

I shall be at Compiegne on Saturday next, and shall soon after take advantage of the permission you give me to pay my respects to you at Villers-Cotterets I beg of you to make my compliments to Madame de Vierville, and I am, with the greatest regard,

Dear Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME

* 281. *To* GILBERT ELLIOT OF MINTO

My dear Sir

Not finding your young Gentlemen in Church last Sunday, I went to see them, where I found them both confin'd to the House with a light Fever, which has since turnd out the Measles in form, but with all the most favourable Symptoms. I find Mr Liston very attentive & very careful The young Gentlemen are attended by the Physician of the Academy I use the Freedom to tell Lady Hertford of the Method in which they are governd; and she tells me that she woud not act otherwise in the Care of her own Children, so that Mrs Murray, if you please to communicate to her this Intelligence, can have no Reason for Anxiety Gilbert has a greater Quantity than Hugh, and greater Strength to bear them

You know, I suppose, that I am appointed Secretary to the Embassy, tho' I have not yet receivd my credential Letter The present Confusions in the Court may perhaps retard them for some time, but Mr Greenville has informd the Ambassador that the Matter is concluded, and the King has given his Consent·

* MS at Minto House, Burton, II 280 ff.

So that in spite of Atheism & Deism, of Whiggism & Toryism, of Scoticism & Philosophy, I am now possess'd of an Office of Credit, and of 1200 Pounds a Year, without Dedication or Application, from the Favour alone of a Person, whom I can perfectly love & respect I find it has cost my Lord a very hard Pull; and when I consider the Matter alone, without viewing the Steps that led to it, I am sometimes inclind to be surprizd how it has happen'd

Shall I tell you another Circumstance that is not disagreeable to me, a certain Lady, who is at present in London, hearing there was some Delay, wrote in the most earnest Terms to the Duke of Bedford, desiring his Interest in my Favour. He answerd her he woud soon be in Town, and if he then possessd any Credit or Authority, she might depend upon the Success of her Friend You know that he is not a Man that makes vain Profession, nor is he a Man easy to be refusd If you guess the Lady, you will conclude that it will not cost me a great Effort to be grateful. The Share you have also been pleasd to take is not forgot, and strengthens our ancient Friendship. I am My Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Paris
3 July 1765

* 282 *To* JOHN HOME OF NINEWELLS

Compiegne 14 of July 1765

Dear Brother

There arrivd yesterday a Messenger from England with my Commission under the great Seal. My Appointments, as I told you, are 1200 a year I have also 300 pounds for my Equipage, and 300 Ounces of Plate for my Table This is the fair Side of the picture. The Misfortune is, that General Conway,[1] the

* MS , R S E., Burton, II. 284 ff.

[1] The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway (1719–95), younger brother of Lord Hertford, entered the army, 1741, Maj -Gen , 1756, in command of British Forces in Germany, 1761, Lieut -Gen , 1759, General, 1772, Field-Marshal, 1793, M P for various constituencies, 1741–84, dismissed from his regiment and his place at Court for parliamentary opposition, April 1764, restored, May 1765, Secretary of State, Southern Department, 1765–6, and Northern Department, 1766–8; Lieut -Gen of the Ordnance, 1767–72, married (1747) Caroline, widow of Charles, Earl of Ailesbury, and daughter of John, Duke of Argyll His cousin, Horace Walpole, idolized him, and in general

Ambassador's Brother, is Secretary of State· The Duke of Grafton,[1] his Nephew, is the other Secretary You still say, better and better Not at all My Lord Hertford goes for England in a few days, and leaves the Burthen of the Embassy upon me Still you say, Where is the harm of all this. You are come to Years of Discretion and can govern Yourself. Wait a little, Dear Brother Lord Hertford goes Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, and there is an End of the Ambassador, and probably of the Secretary

It is true, I can count upon Lord Hertford's Friendship as much as on any man's in the World. One day, last Spring, he came into my Room; and told me, that he heard of many People, who endeavourd, by their Caresses, to perswade me, that I ought to remain in France· But he hop'd, that I woud embrace no Scheme of Life, which wou'd ever seperate him and me He now lovd me as much as ever he esteemd me, and wishd we might pass our Lives together He had resolvd several times to have opend his Breast so far to me, but being a man of few words and no Professions, he had still delayd it; and he now found himself much relievd by this Declaration of his Desires and Intentions I know that Lord Hertford will not go to Ireland unless he be allowd to name the Secretary for that Kingdom Perhaps, he may think, his Son, Lord Beauchamp, too young for that Office In which Case, I may very probably expect it; and it is an Office of between 3 & 4000 a Year, and stands next in Dignity to all the great Offices of the State. In all Cases, the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland has many & great Things to give, of which I shou'd certainly expect one.

Still you say, this is all better and better. Not at all You know the Fluctuation of English Politics Perhaps, before you receive this, the whole present System is overturn'd Lord Hertford, who, while he remaind here, was a Man of no Party,

he was extremely popular He was handsome, with a pleasant voice, and gracious manners But he had far less ability than either Horace Walpole or Hume gave him credit for, he lacked initiative and the power of making decisions, and though conspicuous for his integrity at a time of political corruption, he must take rank as a statesman even below second-rate figures like George Grenville and the Marquis of Rockingham

[1] Augustus Henry Fitzroy (1735–1811), 3rd Duke of Grafton, Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, 1756–8, Secretary of State, Northern Department, 1765–6, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1766–70, K G , 1769, Lord Privy Seal, 1771–5, and March–Dec , 1782, immortalized by the vitriolic attacks of 'Junius'

is involvd with his Friends. All is turn'd topsy-turvy; and before next Winter, perhaps, I am at your Fireside without Office or Employment Here indeed I allow you to say; So much the better For I never had much Ambition, I mean, for Power & Dignities, and I am heartily cur'd of the little I had I believe a Fireside & a Book, the best things in the World for my Age & Disposition.

I write in some hurry. And therefore can only add, that, if the old Ministry return, I can look upon the Duke of Bedford alone as my Friend, by means of the Lady I mentiond to you. If the present Ministry stand, I have, by Lord Hertford's Means, many and great Friends, and the King, I have been well assurd, honours me particularly with his good Opinion In all Cases, it is a great Point for me to have obtaind this Commission, to a Place of so much Trust and Credit, and silences all Objections against me, whether they arose from Religion or Politics Direct your Letters to me as Secretaire d'Ambassade d'Angleterre a Paris I hate any thing that disturbs so agreeable a Settlement as I had obtaind before these great Events. My Compliments to Mrs Home & to Katy Keep this Letter to Yourself; but write part of it to our Sister

To John Home of Ninewells Esq[r] at Ninewells near Berwick upon Tweed

* 283. *To the* Marquise de Barbentane

Compiegne, 19 of July, 1765

I am much afraid, dear Madam, that it will not be in my power to pay my respects to you at Villers-Cotterets this season You have probably heard of our revolutions in England, that the Ambassador's brother is one Secretary of State, his nephew the other, and himself appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He has not yet accepted of that employment, and wishes to decline it; but he is obliged to set out for London in two days, which leaves the functions of the Embassy entirely upon me, and confines me to the Court. I regret very much my not seeing you on this occasion; and so much the more, because, if Lord Hertford goes to Ireland, I shall be obliged to accompany him, and may not afterwards have frequent opportunities of seeing you. I say this with much regret, dear Madam, on your account, on account of others of my friends, and on account of the

* *Priv Corr*, 123 f.

country in general, whose amiable and sociable manners made me wish never to leave it But all the ties of gratitude and friendship oblige me to attend the Ambassador, who desires to carry me along with him; and that the sacrifice may not have too much merit in it, he makes it extremely my interest to return with him· the office which he proposes to me, is very considerable for profit, and credit, and dignity But I assure you I still wish that all those projects may fail, and that my Lord and I may, both of us, remain in our present stations I am glad to think that there is a possibility it may be so

I had yesterday a letter from our friend in England,[1] who is as melancholy and disconsolate as ever She is even displeased that I had thrown a little gaiety into a letter which I wrote to her. I foresee that all the former disputes and vexations will return, never to have an end Before her arrival in London, Lord Holderness wrote me a very reasonable letter, in which he promises to conform himself, as far as possible, to the views suggested to him; but he did not expect that she would give him an opportunity, by opening the subject with him.[2] She leaves London the 25th of the month; so that I look for her at Compiègne in ten or twelve days. I beg my sincere compliments to Madame de Vierville

I have the honour to be,
Dear Madam,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
DAVID HUME.

* 284 *To the* REV HUGH BLAIR

Mr Hume desires to be remember'd by Dr Blair, and desires it very seriously. He was much satisfy'd with the Appendix to

* MS , R S E , Burton, II 286 f (incomplete)

[1] Possibly the following letter, the only date of which is 'ce 13', but which seems to have been written in England

'J'ay chargé le Mqs de Boufflers [Charles-Marc-Jean, marquis de Boufflers (1736–74), brother of the Chevalier de Boufflers, and no relation to the Countess] que j'ay recontré en chemin, allant a Compiegne, de vous dire mon arrivee Depuis je ne vous ay point ecrit parce que j'attendois de vos nouvelles Vous aves du recevoir une lettre de Sion hill [Lord Holdernesse's country-house] sur les changemens arrivez en Angleterre et sur ce qu'ils entrainent de facheux pour moy. Je reste icy jusqu'au 23 de ce mois et je n'espere pas de vous voir avant Adieu Je suis pire que je n'etois et votre prochain depart y contribue' (MS , R S E , unpublished)

[2] Lord Holdernesse's letter, dated from London on 2 July 1765, is given in Appendix C below

the critical Dissertation,[1] which he always admir'd extremely. Tell Dr Robertson that the Dauphin ask'd Mr Hume several Questions t'other day about him & his History That Prince seems a reasonable Man, but woud be the better of being *roasted* sometimes in the *Poker*[2] If they will elect him a Member, Mr Hume will propose it to him What does the Dr say at present to these great folding Doors opend to all the Chimeras of Ambition? Alas! they may be thrown open much wider, if possible None of these Chimeras will enter Philosophy with her severe Brows guards the Passage, while Indolence, in affright, is ready to throw herself out at the Window Mr Hume recommends himself to Ferguson and Jardine and John Adams, and Mrs Adams, and to all the Poker, and desires the Prayers of the Faithful for him on this Occasion

Compiegne 20th of July 1765

*285. *To* John Home of Ninewells

Dear Brother

You wou'd see by the News Papers, that Lord Hertford was come over, and that he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland You woud know of Course, that I am charg'd with the Affairs of England at this Court Before the Ambassador set out, he told me, that he woud not accept of the Lord Lieutenancy unless every thing was settled to his Mind, and among the rest, that he shoud have the naming of the Secretary to that Kingdom. He also told me that he intended that Office for me, in conjunction with his Son, Lord Beauchamp. My Sallary will be about 2000 a Year It is impossible, that any Revolutions at the English Court can at present affect this Destination, as the Irish Parliament must necessarily assemble about the Middle of October. This is an Office of Credit & Dignity, and the Secretary has always an unquestiond Claim, whenever his Term expires, of being provided for in a handsome Manner. Thus you see a splendid Fortune awaits me, yet you cannot imagine with what Regreat I leave this Country It is like Stepping out of Light into Darkness to exchange Paris for Dublin. The most

* MS , R S E , Hill, 70 n. (extracts only).

[1] Blair's *Critical Dissertation on Ossian*, 3rd edit , 1765, has an appendix containing some, though not very much, external evidence for the authenticity of the poems

[2] The Poker Club in Edinburgh (see note 2 on p 410 above)

agreeable Circumstance is the Friendship & Confidence of the Lord Lieutenant; and if the present Credit of that Family continue, as it is likely to do, I shall probably have it in my Power to do Service to my Friends, particularly to your young Folks For as to you and myself, it is long since we thought our Fortunes entirely made These Events we may now look upon as certain, yet in case of Accidents, to which all Events are subject, it will be better not to speak of them, till they be entirely finishd, which I shall probably be able to inform you of, in a few Posts When you hear that Lord Hertford's Successor, who will probably be the Duke of Richmond,[1] is set out for France, you will know pretty exactly the time of my Departure from this Country. I shall be but a short time in England. I shall remain all the Winter and Spring in Ireland, and no more, for two Years We hear that the King has a great Affection & Esteem for Lord Hertford, which is no wise surprizing.

Compiegne 4th of Augt
1765

To Angleterre John Home of Ninewells Esq at Ninewells near Berwick by London

* 286. *To* William Strahan

Compiegne, 4 of Augt 1765

Dear Sir

Your Letter[2] is the most satisfactory and most impartial Account of the present Transactions, which I have met with from any hand I give you thanks for it I had long entertain'd Hopes, that, being here in a foreign Employment, we lay much out of the Road of Faction; and that your Ministry in England might toss and tumble over one another, without affecting us;

* MS. at Barnbougle Castle, Hill, 69

[1] Charles Lennox (1735–1806), 3rd Duke of Richmond and, in France, duc d'Aubigny, entered the army, 1753, and saw service in the Seven Years War, Ambassador to Paris, 1765–6, Secretary of State, Southern Department, May–July 1766, m (1757) Lady Mary Bruce, only daughter of Charles, Earl of Ailesbury, and of Caroline, Countess of Ailesbury, who married (2) General Conway. As an Ambassador, Richmond was much less popular and, it would seem, much less effective, than Lord Hertford. Writing to Hume on 18 [Feb 1766] Mme de Boufflers says 'Le duc de Richmond est parti, brouillé avec tous les princes du sang Il s'est conduit d'une maniere fort etrange . Je ne doute pas que le roy d'Angleterre qui est juste ne desapprouve ses procedés' (MS , R S E , *Eminent Persons*, 236)

[2] Not extant among the MSS , R S E

but I see we are now involvd to a certain degree, and must run the Fate of the rest It is probable I shall be soon in England when I shall have an Opportunity of conversing with you and thanking you more fully. I am glad to hear better Accounts of Mr Millar.

Yours
D. H.

* 287. *To the* Rev. Hugh Blair

Dear Dr

I write to you somewhat in a hurry and chiefly to convey at present to convey [1] the enclosd Journal.[2] Insert the Passage with regard to Sir James in a new's Paper [1] without asking his Consent. I fancy you want one Journal with regard to you, which I must by being at Compiegne I shall send it you afterwards. All the Literati of my Friends, who understand English, think your Dissertation one of the finest Performances in our Language. A Gentleman of my Acquaintance has translated it for his own Satisfaction [3] He coud not publish it without publishing Ossian at the same time. My Scepticism extends no farther, nor ever did, than with regard to the extreme Antiquity of those Poems, and it is no more than Scepticism [4]

You may perhaps have heard of the rapid Whirl of my Fortune, backwards and forwards, of late I had scarce receivd my Commission as Secretary to the Embassy, when I knew, that that Situation, the most agreeable in which I coud have been placd, was not to last. Lord Hertford must go to Ireland; and resolvd to carry me over as Secretary to that Kingdom, in conjunct Commission with his Son. On his Arrival at London, he found the Cry so loud against this Promotion of a Scotsman,

* MS , R S E , Burton, II. 288 ff (incomplete)

[1] *Sic* in MS

[2] A copy of the *Gazette littéraire* for 1 Aug 1765, which gave a 20-page review of the 2nd edition of Blair's *Dissertation*, calling it 'ce morceau de critique excellent'.

[3] Possibly Turgot, who as early as 1760 translated some fragments of Ossian and published them, along with a *Lettre sur les poésies erses*, in the *Journal étranger*, then edited by Suard

[4] Writing to Hume on 1 July [1765], Blair says ' Have not I silenced all Infidelity & even scepticism concerning Fingal in the Appendix to my Dissertation? . I have converted even that Barbarian Sam Johnston by it, who as L. Elibank tells me owns himself now convinced Will you still have any scruples? I assure you, & you may assure all France, that they are genuine antical Highland poems; though the precise era of their antiquity I never attempted to fix' (MS , R S E).

that he was obligd to give it up, which he did the more easily as he knew my great Reluctance to that Office & Scene of Life. He has now got a Pension of 400 a Year settled on me; and as he has prepard an Apartment for me in the Castle of Dublin, I shall hurry thither, as soon as I leave France; and shall be afterwards free for the rest of my Life [1] I have not determin'd where I shall pass my latter days· This Place shoud be the most agreeable to me, but a man, who came late thither, and who is not supported by Family Connexions, may perhaps find himself misplac'd even in this Center of Letters and good Society. I have a Reluctance to think of living among the factious Barbarians of London, who will hate me because I am a Scotsman & am not a Whig, and despise me because I am a man of Letters. My Attachment to Edinburgh revives, as I turn my Face towards it. I have to day let your House to Nairne,[2] but on two Conditions; that you do not keep it, and that I do not reserve it for myself. I receivd yours by Masson [3] —As I am the only English Minister here at present, I live in a great Hurry of Business—We hear that our Friend, John,[4]

[1] Writing to Hume from London on 16 Aug 1765, Lord Hertford says· '. . The King has been pleased at my request to settle upon you £400 a year which you are to receive free from all deduction from the moment that you are no longer Secretary to the Embassy I proposed it should be done upon the establishment, but Lord Rockingham has told me after having represented upon it again and again that it could not be done at this time though it may hereafter because it would now open a scene of political writing or suspicion against him which he could not risk I am therefore forced though unwillingly to acquiesce

'The delicacy of that country [Ireland] is extreme, the difficulty in governing it considerable You will therefore I am persuaded place that confidence in my friendship as to have no doubt of my wishes and intention to do every thing in my power to oblige and satisfie you when I can do it without manifest inconvenience; In the mean time I am convinced it is a matter of indifference, and that the present increase of income will make you amends for a little delay The Duke of Richmond talks of going to Paris some time in October, so that you will hardly be at liberty till Novr, when I hope we shall see you at the Castle of Dublin where an apartment shall be ready for you . ' (MS , R S E , *Eminent Persons*, 113 f)

[2] There were several Nairnes in Edinburgh at this time, and it is impossible to say which was meant In any case the lease never seems to have been completed

[3] Arthur Masson, a teacher of languages in Edinburgh, whom Blair had recommended to Hume in Paris. He is best known now as the editor of *A Collection of English Prose and Verse for the Use of Schools*, which Burns used.

[4] John Home the poet On the death of Sir Harry Erskine he conceived the idea of standing for Parliament. As Hume says, the idea was 'wild and extravagant', and it came to nothing.

stands for poor Sir Harry's Burroughs, which seems to me a little wild and extravagant—I am told, that Lord Hertford's *Intentions in my Favour made a great Fray in London. The Princess Amelia* [1] *said, that she thought the Matter might be* easily accommodated Why cannot Lord Hertford says she make him a Bishop? The Lord Lieutenant has many good Bishoprics to dispose of

Paris 23^{d} of Aug^{t}
1765

You may be assurd that nothing was ever more esteemd & respected than the Chevalier Macdonald is here Is it possible, that he will be overlookd in London? Yes It is very possible

* 288. *To* Baron Mure of Caldwell

Paris 25 of Aug^{t} 1765

It is very strange, Dear Baron, that after writing you above seventeen or eighteen Letters at least, by the Post and by private hands, and by all sorts of Conveyance, I can get no Answer either from you or Mrs Mure or the Miss Mures or the Captain [2] or your Swiss Preceptor,[3] or from any one of those numerous Friends, whom I flatterd myself I had in your Family Are you become such great Folks, that you scorn to acknowlege an old Acquaintance? Or are you all become very indolent and averse to writing Letters? This is a Vice from which I am myself so remote, that I never can excuse it in another

If you saw Oswald, he woud tell you something about me: And if you see Dr Blair, he will tell you something farther: So I shall say nothing more upon a Subject, about which you seem to have so little concern

I ask at every body that comes over, if the geographical Situation of the Island is the same as before If it be, it is the only thing

* MS. in possession of Mrs Reginald Mure, Oxford, *Nineteenth Cent & After*, xcviii (1925) 296 f

[1] Princess Amelia Sophia Eleanora (1711–86), 2nd daughter of George II She died unmarried.

[2] Captain Alexander Mure (1700?–91), Baron Mure's uncle, who had been wounded at Fontenoy, had retired from the army, and now lived for the most part at Caldwell

[3] Samuel de Meuron

that yields not to this rapid Revolution and Whirl of Fortune
Please to send the enclosd to Miss Betty Sir James's Sister.[1]

Yours sincerely
DAVID HUME

Please turn over [2]

* 289. *To* JOHN HOME OF NINEWELLS

[Paris, August 1765]

Dear Brother

I am now to inform you of another pretty rapid Change in my Fortune. Lord Hertford, on his Arrival in London, found great Difficulty of executing his Intentions in my Favour. The Cry is loud against the Scots, and the present Ministry are unwilling to support any of our Countrymen, lest they bear the Reproach of being connected with Lord Bute. For this Reason Lord Hertford departed from his Project, which he did the more readily, as he knew I had a great Reluctance to the Office of Secretary for Ireland, which requires a Talent for speaking in public to which I was never accustomd I must also have kept a kind of open House, & have drunk & carousd with the Irish, a Course of living to which I am as little accustom'd The Duke of Bedford,[3] to whom I mentiond these Objections, thought them very solid I think myself at present much better provided for by a Pension of 400 a Year for Life, which Lord Hertford has procurd me He also writes me that an Apartment is fitting up for me in the Castle of Dublin: I shall go thither as soon as I can leave France, which will not be till the End of

* MS, R S E, *Lit Gazette*, 1821, pp 711 f, Burton, II 290 ff

[1] Elizabeth Steuart, sister of Sir James Steuart (1712–80), Bart, of Goodtrees and Coltness, and first cousin to Baron Mure Sir James Steuart was attainted for his share in 'the Forty-Five', remained abroad till 1763, and was then permitted to return home He was the author of *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, 2 vols, London, 1767. His sister accompanied him during part of his exile, and in 1762, when he was suddenly arrested by the French at Spa, on suspicion of being a British spy, she insisted on sharing his imprisonment A French family befriended her at this time, and on 9 May 1765 she wrote from Scotland to Hume, asking him to help them in getting a boy of the family made a priest (MS, R S E). What Hume did in the matter (if he did anything) is not known, but 'the enclosed to Miss Betty' is almost certainly his reply to her letter.

[2] *Sic* in MS, but there is nothing on the other side to turn over for.

[3] The Duke of Bedford was to escort Mme de Boufflers back to Paris Presumably he did so.

October or beginning of November, on the Arrival of the Duke of Richmond. Mean-while, I am *chargé* des affaires d'Angleterre a la cour de France,[1] which is the Title under which you must write to me, if you favour me with a Letter

Lord Hertford had another additional Project for my Advantage in Ireland. The Keeper of the black Rod is a very genteel Office which yields about 900 Pounds during the Session. He propos'd, as I cannot be present on the opening of the Parliament, to give that Office to another, who woud officiate and woud be content with 300. But I declind this Offer, not as unjust, but as savouring of Greediness & Rapacity.

Please to write all these particulars to Katy except the last & seal & send to her the enclosd I am charmd with the Accounts I hear of Josey from all hands Yours sincerely

DAVID HUME

There was a kind of Fray in London, as I am told, upon Lord Hertfords declaring his Intentions in my Favour The Princess Amelia said, that she thought the Affair might be easily accommodated· Why may not Lord Hertford give a Bishopric to Mr Hume

* 290 *To* ADAM SMITH [2]

Paris 5 Nov[r] 1765

Dear Smith

I have been whirled about lately in a strange Manner, but besides that none of the Revolutions have ever threatend me much, or been able to give me a Moment's Anxiety, all has ended very happily and to my wish . .[4] Nothing coud be more

* MS , R S E , *Lit Gazette*, 1821, pp 666 f , Burton, II 292 f (incomplete).

[1] For specimens of Hume's official correspondence in this capacity see Appendix I below.

[2] Adam Smith was in Toulouse with his pupil, the Duke of Buccleuch

[3] Hume wrote 'Nov', but this was obviously a mistake, for in the body of the letter he speaks of 'this Forenoon the fifth of September'

[4] He then tells of Lord Hertford's appointment to Ireland, the proposal to appoint him (Hume) Secretary, the objections raised against this proposal, and the pension of £400 a year. There is nothing in the passage which is not contained in Letters 287 and 289 above, except the suggestion that 'perhaps, the Zeal against the Deists enterd for a Share' into the opposition to his appointment as Secretary for Ireland

to my Mind. I have now Opulence & Liberty. The last formerly renderd me content Both together must do so, as far as the Encrease of Years will permit.

I stay here till the Arrival of the Duke of Richmond, which will be sometime in October; after which I must soon return to England. I shall set out thence in a Visit to Ireland. I decline all farther Engagements. Lord Hertford wrote me, that the Office of Usher to the House of Commons in Ireland commonly yielded 900 during a Session He coud get one to serve for 300 and destind the rest for me, if I pleas'd. But I have refusd this Emolument, because I woud not run into the Ways of the World and catch at Profit from all hands I am sure you approve of my Philosophy

As a new Vexation to temper my good Fortune, I am much in Perplexity about fixing the Place of my future Abode for Life Paris is the most agreeable Town in Europe, and suits me best; but it is a foreign Country London is the Capital of my own Country; but it never pleasd me much. Letters are there held in no honour Scotsmen are hated Superstition and Ignorance gain Ground daily. Edinburgh has many Objections & many Allurements. My present Mind, this Forenoon the fifth of September, is to return to France I am much pressd here to accept of Offers, which woud contribute to my agreeable Living, but might encroach on my Independance, by making me enter into Engagements with Princes & great Lords & Ladies Prav give me your Judgement [1]

I regreat much I shall not see you I have been looking for you every day these three Months Your Satisfaction in your Pupil gives me equal Satisfaction

You must direct to me under the Title of *Chargé des Affaires d'Angleterre a la Cour de France*, without anything farther.

I cannot by the Post enter into a Detail of our late strange Revolutions. But it is suspected, that the Accession of Mr Pit will be necessary to give Stability to the present Ministry

[1] If Smith gave his judgement then, his letter is not extant among the MSS , R S E , but later, he wrote from Paris to Andrew Millar 'Though I am very happy here, I long passionately to rejoin my old friends, and if I had once got fairly to your side of the water, I think I should never cross it again Recommend the same sober way of thinking to Hume He is light-headed, tell him, when he talks of coming to spend the remainder of his days here, or in France' (MS , R.S E , Millar passed this extract on to Hume)

The Duke of Richmond coud not appoint me Secretary He coud appoint none but his Brother,[1] without affronting Sir Charles Bunbury, his Brother in law, who had been rejected by Lord Hertford.

Yours most sincerely

DAVID HUME

* 291 *To* LORD GEORGE LENNOX [1]

Paris, 15 Sept. 1765

My Lord,

I sent over to the Duke of Richmond, by M. Changuion,[2] the passports for his horses and baggage, such as he desired them; and I suppose they have come safe to hand. I also sent over last post to M Secretary Conway another passport for his Grace's baggage, to prevent its being opened and searched till its arrival in Paris

I hear my Lord Duke has taken the Hotel de Brancas, in which Lord Hertford lived, but that the Count de Lauragais [3] would only consent that he should possess it till he could find another hotel It is certain that the Count intends to dispose of that house to the Prince of Condé,[4] who will probably purchase it as being extremely convenient for him Two days ago

* Cirencester MSS ; *Hist MSS Commission*, bocvi 687 f

[1] Lord George Henry Lennox (1737–1805), younger brother of the Duke of Richmond, entered the army, 1754, A.D C to the Duke of Cumberland, 1757, Secretary to the Embassy, Paris, 1765–6 Lady Sarah Bunbury, writing to Lady Susan O'Brien on 6 Nov 1766, says 'My two brothers and their wives are arrived in town from Paris, where I hear they behaved very ill, especially the Lennoxes, who shut themselves up, saw no French, kept late hours, and laugh'd at everybody' (Horace Walpole, *Letters*, Supplementary Vol III. 8–9 n). The French must have found the contrast between Lennox and Hume rather marked

[2] I conjecture, a courier attached to the Embassy. That the reference is to the Dutch bookseller of that name seems improbable

[3] Louis-Léon-Félicité (1733–1824), comte de Lauraguais, and afterwards duc de Brancas Mme du Deffand says of him ' il n'eut pas ce qui s'appelle le sens commun; pédanterie, extravagance, dissertations, galimatias, étalage de science, il n'omit rien pour se montrer le plus sot homme de France' (*Letters à Hor Walpole*, I 336) He had a passion for horse-racing, and in 1766 rode against Lord Forbes and was beaten (Walpole, *Letters*, vi 420 f)

[4] Louis-Joseph de Bourbon (1736–1818), prince de Condé.

I met with the Countess of Tolouse [1] in the country, and heard her say that she had taken the hotel of the late Sardinian Ambassador, and was to leave her own, which consequently will be to be disposed of. I am told it is an excellent house, situated in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and would suit my Lord Duke perfectly. I thought it proper to inform your Lordship of this incident, that you may communicate the matter to his Grace. I have also wrote to Sir John Lambert [2] to the same purpose, in case he has any powers or instructions to make an offer to the proprietor.

I must beg the favour of your Lordship that you would inform me beforehand, as near as possible, of his Grace's arrival, that I may not lose a moment in paying my respects to his Grace and your Lordship In particular, my Lord, I shall be very proud of having an opportunity to begin afresh my acquaintance with your Lordship, and of renewing a correspondence which, though interrupted by several years' absence, gave me formerly so much honour and satisfaction Meanwhile, I shall be proud to execute any commands which your Lordship or the Duke of Richmond shall be so good as to impose upon me.

* 292. *To* Lord George Lennox

Paris, 22 Sept 1765

My Lord,

Yesterday the Count de Lauregay came to me, and desired me to give him a list of all the Englishmen in Paris who were of a rank that entitled them to be received at the English Ambassador's. I asked him, to what purpose? He replied that as soon as the Duke of Richmond arrived, he intended to send about to all of them, to inform them, in his own name, that the Ambassador was in Paris, and lodged with him; and that he would make them very welcome to pay their respects to him in his house, that is the Count de Lauregay's

To this extravagance he added another; which was. he asked it as a favour of me that I would keep my apartment, even after

* Cirencester MSS , *Hist MSS. Commission*, lxvi 688 f

[1] Marie-Victoire-Sophie de Noailles (1688–1766), widow of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse (died 1737)

[2] Sir John Lambert (1728–99), 3rd Bart , banker in Paris

the Duke of Richmond's arrival. He said that it was sufficient if he made the Duke welcome to stay in his house for a little time, till he could provide himself of another, without dislodging his good friend; and that he would write on the door which led to my apartment, *l'hôtel de Hume*, that there might be no mistake in the limits between his Grace and me. After thanking him for this obliging offer, I told him that it was impossible for me to accept of it; for that I was to remove to-morrow, in order to lodge with a friend,[1] not in an *hotel garni*; and that I could not disoblige a person for whom I had a great regard, by complying with this new proposal.

I immediately took care to inform Mr Walpole[2] of this transaction, who thought it so important as to deserve the attention of my Lord Duke M de Guerchy, who came in upon the conversation, was of the same opinion, and Mr Walpole thought that as the Count de Lauregay had opened himself to me, I was a more proper person than he to convey intelligence of it to his Grace

The Count de Lauregay has a head so differently turned from that of all other mortals, that it is not easy to divine the reasons of his conduct Lady Hertford conjectures that he intends only to screw a higher rent from the Ambassador It is commonly reported that he has already let his house to the Duc de la Valiere,[3] and perhaps he wishes as soon as possible to put his new tenant in possession, and wants to disgust the Duke of Richmond, and hinder him from coming to his house However this may be, Mr Walpole thought that by all means I ought to convey to you this intelligence

There is another circumstance of which I can now assure you, that the King's journey to Fontainebleau, which used to take place on Oct. 2, is put off till an uncertain day, and it is thought at Court that it is very doubtful, by reason of the ill state of the Dauphin's health,[4] whether that journey will at all have place or not this season As this incident may have some effect on his Grace's journey, I also thought proper to inform you of it

[1] For the remainder of his stay in Paris Hume seems to have been at the Hôtel du parc royal, rue du Colombier Adam Smith and the Duke of Buccleuch went there also at the beginning of the next year

[2] Horace Walpole, who was in Paris at the time, living in the Hôtel du parc royal

[3] Louis-César de la Baume le Blanc (1708–80), duc de la Vallière

[4] The Dauphin was seriously ill, and died on 20 Dec of this year.

* 293. *To the* Comtesse de Boufflers

Paris, Thursday [September 1765].[1]

I passed the last evening in company with Gatti[2] at Madame de Rochefort's[3] Never was man in such agonies of despair. he has all the sensibility of an honest man, whose reputation is unjustly attacked, and who finds the world against him.[4] He talks of leaving the world, of flying instantly from Paris, of throwing up life· you would have been moved with compassion for him, and could not but have entertained a good opinion of his character. After all, what has he been guilty of? A mistake. Good God! reproach a physician with a mistake; as if they were not, all of them, in danger of a mistake, in every judgment which they form. I beseech you recall your usual generosity, and protect innocence, perhaps merit, opposed by calumny and prejudice. He has heard, dear Madam, that you are his enemy. I find that it is a sensible addition to his other distresses

Mademoiselle L'Espinasse is dangerously ill of the small pox. I am glad to find that D'Alembert forgets his philosophy on that occasion.

† 294. *To* Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Fontainebleau 22me d'Oct^bre^, 1765

Le Commerce de lettres, Monsieur, que notre ami commun, Milord Mareschal, m'avoit procuré avec vous, me satisfaisoit trop, pour que je n'eusse pas mis tous mes soins a le continuer.

* *Priv Corr*, 93 f

† MS. in Bibliothèque publique de Neuchâtel, *Priv Corr*, VI ff (incomplete and inaccurate), *Corr. gén de Rousseau*, XIV 217 f The MS of the English draft for this letter is in the possession of Mr Ross Hume of Ninewells (see facsimile).

[1] Perhaps October

[2] An Italian physician, a disciple of Cocchi, and in the service of the King of France He was one of the principal inoculators against small-pox in Paris at this time

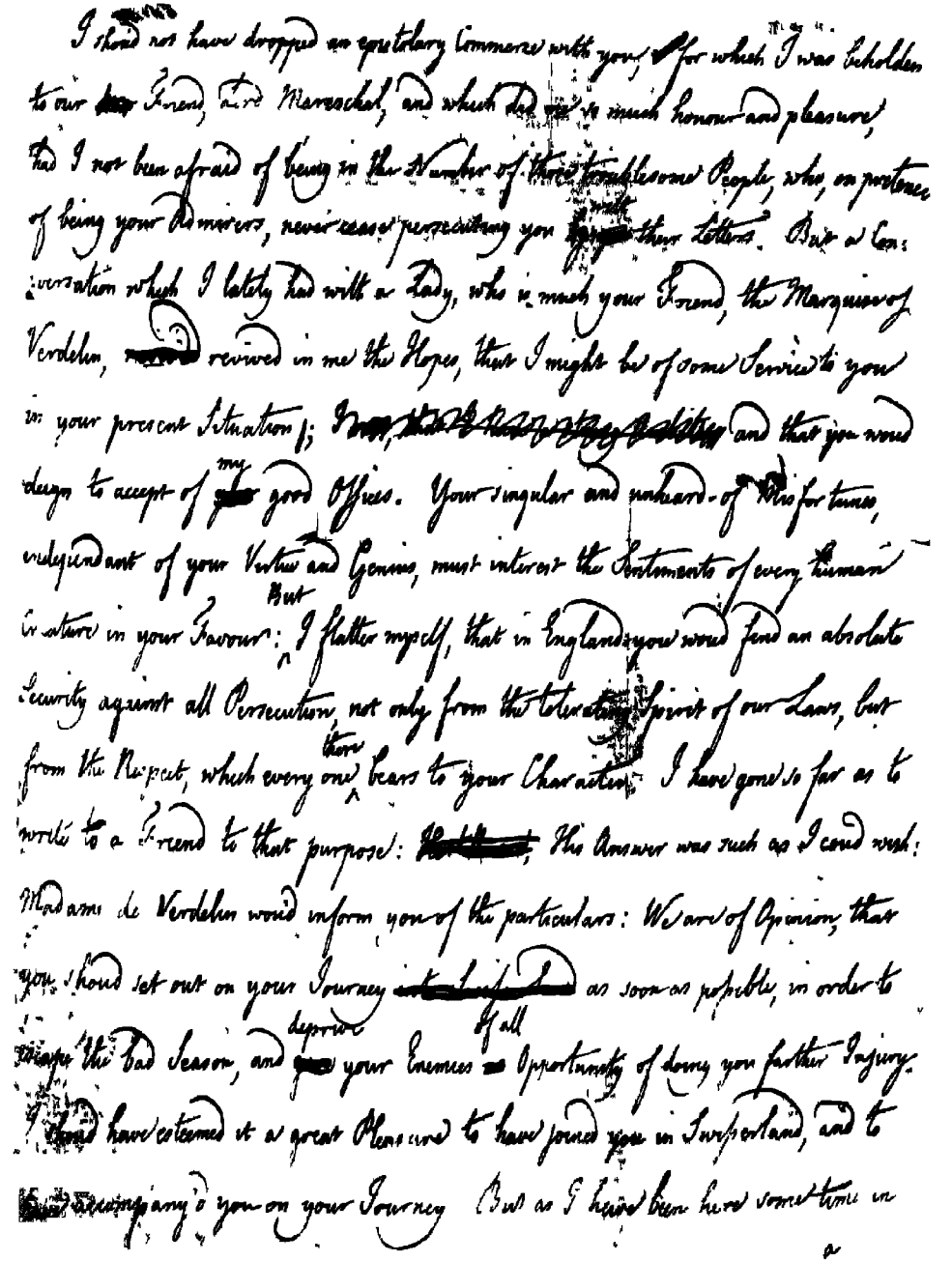
[3] Marie-Thérèse de Brancas (1716–82), m (1) (1736) Jean-Anne-Vincent de Larlan de Kercadio, comte de Rochefort, and (2) (1782) the duc de Nivernais.

[4] Grimm, writing in Sept 1765, says 'Il vient d'arriver ici une aventure assez fâcheuse à M. Gatti, médecin consultant du Roi Il avait inoculé madame la duchesse de Boufflers, il y a deux ans et demi Elle n'avait pas pris la petite vérole, mais comme elle avait eu un peu d'inflammation autour de la plaie, quoique sans fièvre, M Gatti avait cru pouvoir l'assurer qu'elle était à l'abri de la petite vérole. Elle vient de l'avoir naturellement, et cette légèreté du médecin retardera peut-être les progrès de l'inoculation en France Tous ceux qui n'étaient qu'à demi persuadés, reculeront leur

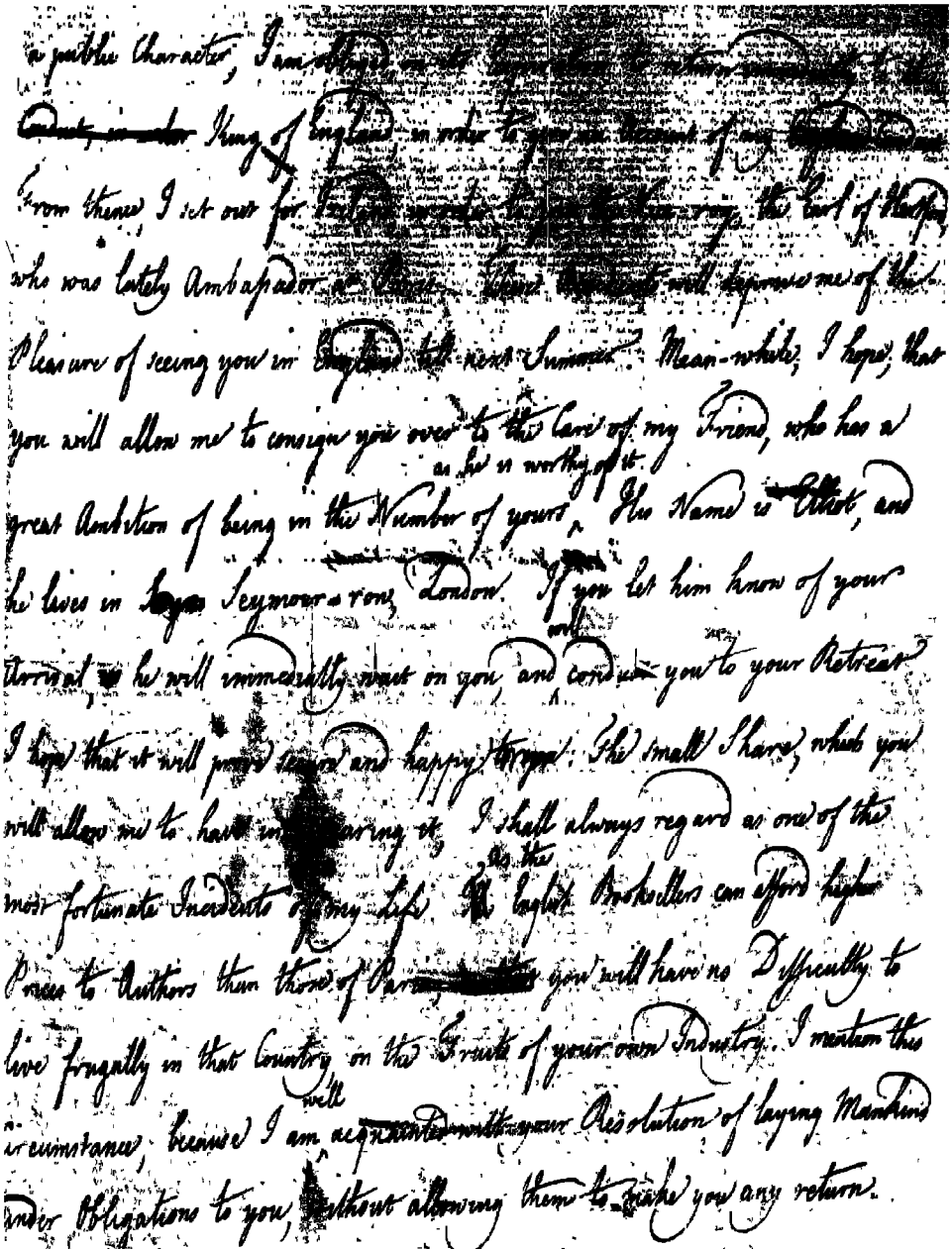
Mais j'ai craint d'etre du nombre de ces importuns, qui, sous le pretexte de leur admiration pour vous, ne cessent par leurs lettres de vous persecuter. Une conversation que j'ai eu dernierement avec Madame de Verdelin,[1] une dame de merite, qui est fort de vos amies, fait revivre en moi l'esperance d'adoucir votre situation presente, et je me flatte que vous daignerez accepter mes services. Vos malheurs, si constans, si singuliers, doivent, independement de votre vertu et de votre genie, interesser pour vous toute ame qui connoit l'humanité. Je crois pouvoir vous assurer que vous trouverez en Angleterre une entiere securité contre la persecution, non seulement par l'esprit tolerant de nos loix, mais aussi par le respect que chacun a déja pour votre caractere. Avant de vous parler sur ce projet, j'ai voulu en assurer l'execution. J'en ai ecrit a un de mes amis, et sa reponse est telle que je la souhaite. Mad^e^ de Verdelin vous auroit deja faite tous les details. Son avis et le mien est que vous commenciez votre voiage le plutot possible, tant pour eviter la mauvaise saison que pour oter a vos ennemis l'occasion de renouveller leurs injures. J'aurai trouvé un grand plaisir a vous aller joindre en Suisse, pour vous accompagner ensuite en votre route; mais aiant eté chargé ici des affaires d'Angleterre pendant quelque tems, je suis obligé de retourner immediatement a la cour de Londre pour en rendre compte. De la j'ira joindre le Comte de Hertford, ci-devant Ambassadeur en France, actuellement Vice-roi d'Irelande. La necessité de ce voiage me privera du plaisir de vous voir en Angleterre avant l'eté prochain. Jusque'la j'espere que vous me permettrez de vous commetre aux soins d'un ami, qui desire de devenir le votre, et que j'en crois digne. son nom est Elliot, il demeure a Londre dans Seymour-row. Si vous lui faites scavoir le moment de votre arrivée, il vous joindra immediatement, et vous con-

conversion. Quant à M. Gatti, cette aventure lui fera certainement grand tort, et j'en suis fâché, car c'est un homme d'esprit et de mérite, mais malheureusement il est un peu léger' (*Corr. Litt.*, I, v. 21 f.)

[1] Marie-Louise-Madeleine de Brémond d'Ars (died 1810), m. (1750) Bernard de Verdelin, marquis de Verdelin. For her relations with Rousseau while he lived at Montmorency see his *Confessions*, Bk. X. When Hume wrote this letter she had just returned from a visit to Rousseau at Motiers-Travers. Rousseau says 'Elle me pressa beaucoup de profiter de ce zèle [de Hume pour Rousseau], et d'écrire à M. Hume. Comme je n'avois pas naturellement de penchant pour l'Angleterre, et que je ne voulois prendre ce parti qu'à l'extrémité, je refusai d'écrire et de promettre, mais je la laissai la maîtresse de faire tout ce qu'elle jugeroit à propos pour maintenir Hume dans ses bonnes dispositions' (*Confessions*, Bk. XII (III. 116))



English draft of Hume's letter of 22 Oct 1765 to Rousseau (294) Autograph in possession of Mr. Ross Hume of Ninewells



English draft of Hume's letter of 22 Oct. 1765 to Rousseau (294) Autograph in possession of Mr Ross Hume of Ninewells

duira dans la retraite que nous avons choisie; J'espere que vous y trouverez la tranquillité et le bonheur Le peu de part que vous me permetrez de prendre, me rendra tres heureux, et je conterai cet evenement comme un des plus fortunez de ma vie Les Libraires de Londre offrent aux auteurs plus d'argent que ceux de Paris, ainsi vous pourrez sans peine y vivre frugalement du fruit de votre propre travail Je vous parle sur ce sujet, parceque je scait que vous voulez toujours que le genre humain vous doivent beaucoup, et ne jamais lui rien devoir. Je suis avec les sentimens de la plus haute estime, Monsieur Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

DAVID HUME

A Monsieur Monsieur Rousseau a lisle St pierre au Canton de Berne en Suisse[1]

* 295 *To the* REV HUGH BLAIR

Dear Doctor

After great wavering and uncertainty between Paris and Edinburgh (for I never allow'd London to enter into the Question) I have at last fix'd my Resolution to remain some time longer in Paris Perhaps, I may take a Trip to Rome next Autumn Had I return'd to Edinburgh, I was sensible that I shut myself up in a manner for Life, and I imagine, that I am even yet too young and healthy and in too good Spirits to come to that Determination If you please, therefore, you may continue in my House, which I am glad pleases you: If you leave it, as you thought you woud, Nairne [2] may have it for 35 pound, as we agreed: If he does not chuse it, it must be let to some other. Be so good as to inform my Sister of this, and at the same time, let her know, that I shall write her by the first Post

I must however be in London very soon, in order to give an Account of my Commission, to thank the King for his Goodness to me, and to settle the celebrated Rousseau, who has rejected Invitations from half of the Kings and Princes of Europe, in order to put himself under my Protection He has been at Paris about twelve days,[3] and lives in an Apartment prepard for him by the Prince of Conti, which he says gives him Uneasyness by reason of its Magnificence. As he was outlawd by the

* MS., R S E., Burton, II. 293 and 297 ff (incomplete)

[1] Rousseau fled from l'Île St Pierre on 25 Oct, and this letter did not reach him till he arrived in Strasbourg. From there he answered on 4 Dec, accepting Hume's invitation (see letter in Appendix G below)

[2] See Letter 287 above [3] He arrived on the 16th

Parliament, it behov'd him to have the King's Pass-port, which was at first offerd him under a feignd Name, but his Friends refusd it, because they knew, that he woud not submit even to that Falshood. You have heard that he was banishd from Neuf-chatel by Preachers, who excited the Mob to stone him. He told me, that a Trap was laid for him with as much Art as ever was employ'd against a Fox or a Poll cat In the night time a great enormous Stone was suspended above his Door, in such a manner that in opening it in the Morning the Stone must have fallen, and have crushd him to Death. A man passing bye early perceivd it, and calld in to him at the Window to be on his Guard He also told me, that last Spring, when he went about the Mountains, amusing himself with Botany, he came to a Village at some Distance from his own· A Woman met him; who, surpriz'd at his Armenian Dress (for he wears and is resolvd to wear that Habit during Life)[1] ask'd him what he was and what was his Name. On hearing it, she exclaimd; Are you that impious Rascal, Rousseau Had I known it, I shoud have waited for you at the End of the Wood with a Pistol in order to blow out your Brains. He added, that all the Women in Switzerland were in the same Dispositions; because the Preachers had told them, that he had wrote Books to prove that Women had no Souls He then turnd to M^dc^ de Boufflers, who was present, and said, Is it not strange, that I, who have wrote so much to decry the Morals and Conduct of the Parisian Ladies, shoud yet be belov'd by them. While the Swiss Women, whom I have so much extolld, woud willingly cut my Throat. We are fond of you, reply'd she, because we know, that, however you might rail, you are, at the bottom, fond *of us* to Distraction. But the Swiss Women hate you; because they are conscious that they have not merit to deserve your Attention

On leaving Neuf-chatel, he took Shelter in a little Island, about half a League in Circumference, in the midst of a Lake near Berne.[2] There livd in it only one German Peasant with his Wife and Sister: The Council of Berne, frightend for his Neighbourhood, on account of his democratical, more than his religious Principles, orderd him immediatly to withdraw from their State He wrote the Letter[3] of which I send you a Copy,

[1] He had assumed it on arriving in Switzerland from the Hermitage at Montmorency. [2] L'Île St Pierre, also known as L'Île de la Motte

[3] Rousseau's letter of 17 Oct 1765 to M de Graffenried, Baili at Nidau (*Œuvres*, 1826, xxiii. 208)

as it is very curious The Council in Answer re-iterated their Orders for him to be gone He then apply'd to me: I have made an Agreement with a French Gardener in Fulham for boarding him.[1] We set out together in a few days.

It is impossible to express or imagine the Enthusiasm of this Nation in his favour As I am suppos'd to have him in my Custody, all the World, especially the great Ladies teaze me to be introduc'd to him· I have had Rouleaus thrust into my hand, with earnest Applications, that I woud prevail on him to accept of them I am perswaded, that were I to open here a Subscription with his Consent, I shoud receive 50,000 Pounds in a fortnight. The second day after his Arrival, he slipt out early in the Morning to take a Walk in the Luxembourg Gardens. The thing was known soon after. I am strongly sollicited to prevail on him to take another Walk, and then to give warning to my Friends: Were the Public to be informd, he coud not fail to have many thousand Spectators [2] People may talk of antient Greece as they please; but no Nation was ever so fond of Genius as this, and no Person ever so much engag'd their Attention as Rousseau. Voltaire and every body else, are quite eclipsd by him. I am sensible, that my Connexions with him, add to my Importance at present Even his Maid, La Vasseur,[3] who is very homely and very awkward, is more talkd of than the Princess of Monaco [4] or the Countess of Egmont,[5] on account of her

[1] The arrangement was made by Elliot and John Stewart the wine merchant

[2] With this may be compared the more malicious account given by Grimm 'Le lendemain [de son arrivée à Paris] il s'est promené au Luxembourg en habit arménien, mais comme personne n'était prévenu, personne n'a profité du spectacle . Il s'est aussi promené tous les jours à une certaine heure sur le boulevart, dans la partie la plus proche de son logement Cette affectation de se montrer en public, sans nécessité, en dépit du décret de prise de corps, a choqué le ministère .. On lui a fait dire, par la police, de partir sans autre délai, s'il ne voulait pas être arrêté . ' (*Corr Litt*, I, v. 124). But Grimm was prejudiced against Rousseau

[3] Marie-Thérèse Le Vasseur (1721–1801), Rousseau's mistress and (if we can believe his own story) the mother of his abandoned children He married her in 1767

[4] Marie-Christine de Brignole (1737–1813), m. (1) (1757) Honoré-Camille-Léonor Grimaldi, Prince de Monaco, and (2) (1798) the Prince of Condé Writing to Lady Hervey on 14 Sept 1765, Horace Walpole says. 'I have seen Madame de Monaco, and think her very handsome, and extremely pleasing. The younger Madame d'Egmont, I hear, disputes the palm with her .. ' (*Letters*, vi. 296)

[5] Jeanne-Sophie-Elizabeth-Louise-Armande-Septimanie de Richelieu

Fidelity and Attachment towards him. His very Dog, who is no better than a Coly, has a Name and Reputation in the World

As to my Intercourse with him, I find him mild, and gentle and modest and good humourd; and he has more the Behaviour of a Man of the World than any of the Learned here, except M de Buffon who in his Figure and Air and Deportment answers your Idea of a Mareschal of France rather than that of a Philosopher. M Rousseau is of small Stature; and wou'd rather be ugly, had he not the finest Physiognomony[1] in the World, I mean, the most expressive Countenance His Modesty seems not to be good Manners, but Ignorance of his own Excellence As he writes and speaks and acts from the Impulse of Genius, more than from the Use of his ordinary Faculties, it is very likely that he forgets its Force, whenever it is laid asleep. I am well assurd, that at times he believes he has Inspirations from an immediate Communication with the Divinity: He falls sometimes into Ecstacies which retain him in the same Posture for Hours together Does not this Example solve the Difficulty of Socrates's Genius and of his Ecstacies? I think Rousseau in many things very much resembles Socrates· The Philosopher of Geneva seems only to have more Genius than he of Athens, who never wrote any thing; and less Sociableness and Temper Both of them were of very amorous Complexions. But a Comparison in this particular turns out much to the Advantage of my Friend· I call him such; for I hear from all hands that his Judgement and Affections are as strongly byass'd in my favour as mine are in his. I shall much regreat the leaving him in England. But even if a Pardon cou'd be procur'd for him here, he is resolvd, as he tells me, never to return, because he never will again be in the Power of any man I wish he may live unmolested in England I dread the Bigotry and Barbarism which prevail there

When he came to Paris, he seem'd resolv'd to stay till the 6^{t} or 7^{t} of next Month But at present the Concourse about him gives him so much Uneasiness, that he expresses the utmost Impatience to be gone. Many People here will have it, that this solitary Humour is all Affectation, in order to be more sought after; but I am sure that it is natural and unsurmountable I know, that two very agreeable Ladies breaking in upon

(1740–73), m (1756) Casimir Pignatelli d'Egmont, comte d'Egmont. She is to be distinguished from her mother-in-law, Henriette-Julie de Durfort (1696–1779), comtesse d'Egmont

[1] *Sic* in autograph

him, discomposd him so much, that he was not able to eat his dinner afterwards He is short sighted; and I have often observd, that while he was conversing with me in the outmost good humour (for he is naturally gay) if he heard the Door open, the greatest Agony appeard on his Countenance, from the Apprehension of a Visit, and his Distress did not leave him, unless the Person was a particular Friend His Armenian Dress is not affectation He has had an Infirmity from his Infancy, which makes Breeches inconvenient for him, and he told me, that when he was chacd into the Mountains of Switzerland he took up this new Dress, as it seemd indifferent what Habit he there wore I coud fill a Volume with curious Anecdotes regarding him, as I live in the same Society which he frequented while in Paris· But I must not exhaust your Patience My kind Compliments to Ferguson, Robertson, & all the Brethren. I am Dear D[r]

Yours sincerely and affectionately

DAVID HUME

Paris
28[th] of Dec[r]
1765

Please to write under Cover to James Coutts Esq[r] at London.

P S.

Be not surpriz'd that I am going to say in my Postscript, the direct contrary to what I said in my Letter There are four days of Interval between my writing the one and the other; and on this Subject of my future Abode, I have not, these four Months, risen and gone to bed in the same Mind When I meet with Proofs of Regard & Affection from those I love & esteem here, I swear to myself, that I shall never quit this Place An hour after, it occurs to me, that I have then for ever renouncd my native Country and all my antient Friends, and I start with Affright I never yet left any place but with regreat Judge what it is natural for me to feel on leaving Paris, and so many amiable People, with whom I am intimately connected, while it is in my power to pass my Life in the midst of them. Were I not indispensably oblig'd to go to London, I know that it woud be impossible for me to leave this Place; but it is very probable, that, being once there, and fairly escap'd from the Cave of Circe, I may reconcile myself again to the Abode of Ithaca I left Edinburgh with great Reluctance: To return to it, after having tripled my Revenue in less than three Years, can be no Hardship I must therefore fairly warn you to remove from

my House at Whitsunday: I have taken a House at Paris;[1] but I will have one also in Edinburgh; and shall deliberate in London which of them I shall occupy. I shall not go to Ireland. The Arrival of the Duke of Richmond was late, and this Engagement with M. Rousseau protracts my Return so long that it will not be worth while to go to Dublin Lord Hertford has been so good as to excuse me. You have heard of the great Fortune of Trail[2] who is I believe your Acquaintance and a very honest Fellow. Nothing is so agreeable to an irresolute Man, says the Cardinal de Retz,[3] as a measure which dispenses him from taking an immediate Resolution. I am exactly in the Case. I hope your resigning my House will be no Hardship to you.

Paris 1 of Jany 1766

*296 *To* Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Monsieur,

Le Moyne,[4] le celebre Sculpteur, s'est addressé à moi pour obtenir de vous la permission de faire votre buste en platre: Cette complaisance de votre part non seulement lui procurera du plaisir, mais du bonheur: Il en est bien digne, non seulement par son genie, mais par ses moeurs. Deux seances lui suffiront; la vivacité singuliere, et l'esprit original de l'artiste vous empecheront de vous ennuier avec lui Si vous n'avez pas pris une resolution generale de rejetter toute application de cette espece, Je me flatte que vous aurez la bonté de ceder a ses empressemens. J'ai l'honneur d'etre Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Ce dimanche matin David Hume

[Decembre 1765]

(A Monsieur Monsieur Rousseau a l'hotel de S[t] Simon dans la cour de Temple)

* MS in Bibliotheque publique de Neuchâtel, *Corr gén de Rousseau*, xiv. 336 f; hitherto unpublished in England

[1] In choosing it he had the assistance of Mme Geoffrin. But he did not tell Mme de Boufflers at the time, and she was hurt when she discovered it afterwards

[2] James Trail (See note 3 on p. 447 above) had just been appointed to the bishopric of Down and Connor.

[3] Jean-François-Paul de Gondi (1614–79), Cardinal de Retz

[4] Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–78), admitted to Academy of Painting and Sculpture, 1738, sculptor of the group representing the death of Hippolytus, now in the Louvre.