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“Loose Bits of Paper” and “Uncorrect Thoughts”: Hume’s Early Memoranda in Context

EMILIO MAZZA AND GIANLUCA MORI

Abstract: Hume’s early memoranda continue to excite different and contradictory interpretations as to their dating, sources, and relation to the *Treatise*, the *Essays* and the *Dialogues*. Our interpretation is based on a double hypothesis: they are notes taken from other notes, rather than current reading notes, and many of them, as to their content, precede the composition of the *Treatise*. We compare Hume’s notes with their declared or hidden sources and we analyse Hume’s quotations from two of his favourite philosophical authors: Dubos and Bayle. The memoranda are revealed to be notes deemed worth transcribing, later to be put aside or to be developed. Most of them show the breadth of Hume’s youthful interests: history, politics and economics, as well as metaphysics and religion in the early eighteenth century.

What are the Early Memoranda?¹ When were they written? What are their sources? What is their purpose and their relation to Hume’s works? These questions, usually addressed separately, are in fact tightly interwoven: they require an articulated response that embraces them all. Our response could be summarised as follows: far from being current reading notes, or even less the exhaustive diary of Hume’s intellectual experience, the Early Memoranda are most likely second-tier texts, or—as James Harris recently conjectured—“notes taken from notes.”²

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More generally, the Memoranda, with some possible exceptions, are the result of a selection between those “loose bits of paper” and “uncorrect thoughts”³ which Hume began to scribble in the second half of the 1720s, commenting on others’ texts but also advancing his own views.

In the light of this hypothesis, the question of the dating should be considered anew and divided into two distinct sub-questions: 1) the dating of the material support, that is, the manuscript currently possessed by the National Library of Scotland; 2) the dating of the textual content and, therefore, its chronological position and status in Hume’s intellectual biography. In this perspective, we first investigated the direct or indirect sources (very often secret and, in a few cases, hardly decipherable) of the over 300 handwritten notes. This research is now almost complete and represents the first necessary step towards a new edition of Hume’s notes, replacing Mossner’s. Thus it will be possible to place the Memoranda in their original context: this is the aim of sections 3–5 of this paper. However, our main hypothesis is, as such, independent of the sources issue: it rests on some philological arguments which are listed and discussed in section 6. Sections 1–2 contain a brief history of the interpretations of the Memoranda and an equally concise discussion of their material dating. Finally, some tentative conclusions are to be found in section 7.

1. The State of the Question

John Hill Burton, in 1846, was the first to draw attention to Hume’s manuscript notes, which were bequeathed by Hume’s nephew David, along with other manuscripts, to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Burton calls them a “collection of memorandums”⁴ and gives 1740 as a possible date for their composition, observing that some of the manuscript notes were recast by Hume in his 1741 *Essays*. Only the “Natural philosophy” section “seem[s] to have been written at an earlier period than the rest of the collection.”⁵ This latter hypothesis arises quite spontaneously in Burton’s analysis and, in spite of its apparent arbitrariness, has implications which will prove plausible (although the “Natural Philosophy” section is not necessarily the most archaic).

One hundred years later, after Kemp Smith’s edition of the *Dialogues*,⁶ Ernest Campbell Mossner published a complete edition of Hume’s notes (1948), and baptised them officially: the Early Memoranda were born.⁷ Mossner calls them “Memoranda” following Burton (he had only to restore the Latin plural, as Greig and Beynon had already done before him),⁸ but also establishes an analogy with another series of Memoranda supposedly written by Hume between 1745 and 1759, which he had discovered at the National Library of Scotland and at the Huntington Library of San Marino, California (in 1979 these manuscripts were discarded as a late nineteenth-century forgery).⁹ And he calls them “early” as he

believes some of them to be prior to what he took to be Hume's later notes, and even to the *Treatise*.¹⁰ Working on these premises, Mossner makes two reckless moves which will influence the reception of the text: (1) he inverts the order of the three sections, beginning his edition with the sections entitled (by Hume) "Natural philosophy" and "Philosophy," followed by (what Mossner entitles) the "General" section, which is the first in the original manuscript; (2) he proposes a brand new dating for each section: 1729–34 for "Natural philosophy" (9 notes); 1730–34 for "Philosophy" (40 notes), 1737–40 for "General" (269 notes).¹¹ Despite its undeniable deficiencies and some misreadings,¹² Mossner's edition is still the only one available, and every study on the Memoranda refers to it.¹³

It took several decades before Hume's notes began to receive further historical attention. In 1977, J. P. Pittion insists on their (supposed) reliance on French-speaking periodicals of the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ L. Kreimendahl, more than twenty years later, presents Bayle as the main source of the philosophical notes (which is certainly true, but with some important exceptions).¹⁵ The real turning point came only in 2000, when M. A. Stewart, for the first time, tried to investigate the material history of the Memoranda—now no longer considered to be as "early" as Mossner had thought.¹⁶ In fact, Stewart believes that the earliest notes contained in the manuscript are "coterminous" with the end of Hume's work on the three books of the *Treatise*, although the rest might have been added in the following years.¹⁷ Mossner's dating thus begins to waver. Basing his conclusions on a careful graphological investigation—and at the same time clearing the field of Kemp Smith's precarious analysis of the watermarks and types of paper¹⁸—Stewart places the Memoranda between the *Treatise* and the first *Enquiry*.¹⁹ In a subsequent essay he gives a more precise dating "for a significant part" of the initial section of the manuscript: "circa 1740."²⁰ Stewart's work is by far the most accomplished attempt to shed light on the history of the Memoranda and stands as a milestone in the long standing debate on Hume's manuscript notes.

The most recent contribution on the Memoranda is that of Tatsuya Sakamoto (2011).²¹ Supported by a systematic study of the relations between the Memoranda and Hume's published works (from the first edition of the *Essays* to the second *Enquiry*²² and the *Natural History of Religion*), Sakamoto pushes the dating beyond the boundaries fixed by Stewart. According to Sakamoto, Hume began to write the Memoranda as late as in 1747, as a preparation for his essays on political economy, then he interrupted them at around note 160 of the initial section, and took them up again in 1749, going on for a couple of years until the publishing of the *Political Discourses* in 1752.²³ In support of his thesis, Sakamoto quotes a 1751 letter where Hume writes that he has not yet read Strabo. Given that a passage of Strabo is quoted in the Memoranda, Sakamoto concludes that the Memoranda are, at least in part, posterior to 1751.²⁴ But this historical syllogism was soon refuted because of the intrinsic weakness of its *minor* premise: it is true that Hume quotes Strabo

in the Memoranda, but, as Jon Charles Miller has shown,²⁵ this quotation is drawn from Bayle, with whose work Hume was familiar since at least the early 1730s.²⁶

2. Material Dating

Once the sources of the different notes are identified and their relation with Hume's later works is taken into account, the material dating of the Memoranda can be established with sufficient certainty. This is especially true for the initial section. Mossner named it "General," while Stewart prefers to consider it "untitled." We follow Stewart, even though, as he rightly remarks, the section lacks one or more initial pages and, therefore, originally might well have had a title. Within the "untitled" section various *termini post quem* and *termini ante quem* can be established. This plurality of chronological pointers derives from the fact that, since it bears witness to various writing sessions, the manuscript could have been composed over a long period of time. Each *terminus post quem* is valid only for the note in which it is to be found and for the following ones; conversely, each *terminus ante quem* only applies to the note which contains it and to those that precede it.

A general *terminus post quem* of the "untitled" section up to note [A 52]²⁷ is the beginning of 1737, when the Appendix to the 1736 volume of the *London Magazine* and the Supplement to the 1736 *Gentleman's Magazine* were issued. Both magazines publish the two parliamentary reports which are the (secret) source of notes [A 3] and [A 12], and it is impossible to determine which one was actually used by Hume.²⁸ The same reports were published again in the issue of the *Historical Register* for May–August 1737;²⁹ this latter periodical is explicitly quoted in other notes and it is possibly the real source here. This would affect the *terminus post quem*, which should be postponed to late summer, or early autumn 1737. The explicit quotation in note [A 52] of a text taken from vol. 11 of Rollin's *Histoire ancienne* (a work also quoted by Hume in Book 2 of the *Treatise*) confirms the dating, since this volume was published in France around April 1737.³⁰ From note [A 65] onwards, the *terminus post quem* is provided by Dutot's *Réflexions politiques*, published anonymously in the spring of 1738 (Mossner wrongly dates it 1728). The *Réflexions* are cited many times in the "untitled" section, but without any reference to the name of their author, probably unknown to Hume at the time (just as it was to Voltaire).³¹ As far as we have been able to establish, Dutot's *Réflexions* are the most recent source for the whole of the Memoranda.

Concerning the *terminus ante quem*, we must refer to the five matches which can be found between the Memoranda and the *Essays* published by Hume in the summer of 1741 (four of them have been identified by Sakamoto).³² We believe that this is sufficient ground for assuming that the Memoranda precede the *Essays*. Sakamoto's conjecture that the former are taken from the latter is suggestive but does not fit with many clues, including those which we will mention in the

following two paragraphs. The first edition of the *Essays* may be considered as a general *terminus ante quem* for at least the first 142 notes of the "untitled" section.

However, other temporal references can be exploited in order to obtain a more accurate dating. The first one is to be found in note [A 66], where the "Empress of Russia" is said to have "lately" assembled a "Militia of 50,000 Men." Hume refers undoubtedly to the events of August 1733 mentioned by the *Gentleman's Magazine* among the "Foreign Advices" for that month: "From Warsaw, that the troops of the Czarina, to the number of 50,000 men, had enter'd Poland, under the command of General Leslie."³³ The Empress and Autocrat of all the Russias, Anna, died on 28 October 1740, and this could be a *terminus ante quem* for this note and for the preceding ones (as we shall see, this reference to the Russian Empress could even be much closer to the date of the event mentioned in it).

The second and possibly more interesting temporal marker is to be found in two different notes ([A 52] and [A 109]) where Hume mentions an unspecified "late war." In both cases, it is an allusion to the War of the Spanish Succession (1704–1714), and at least in one case ([A 52]) Hume himself spontaneously inserts this reference, without taking it from his source (again Rollin's *Histoire ancienne*, 1737). The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1714, marked the beginning of a quarter century period of (substantial) peace for Great Britain, with the possible exception of the brief War of the Quadruple Alliance of 1718–20 and the Anglo-Spanish War of 1727–29 (in which, however, there was no formal declaration of war on the British side). This period ended on 19 October 1739, when Walpole officially declared war on Spain (the so-called "War of Jenkins' ear"). This was a key event in the political history of eighteenth-century Great Britain, and Hume could hardly have missed it (in the so-called *Hume Library* there is an entire collection of pamphlets related to the "Spanish war" dating from 1737 to 1739).³⁴ We may therefore conclude that—very probably—at least the first 109 notes of the Memoranda were written before October 1739.³⁵

3. The "Memoranda" and Their Context

A material dating of notes [A 1–64] between autumn 1737 and October 1739 (and of notes [A 65–109] between summer 1738 and October 1739) would apparently confirm Mossner's hypothesis for the "untitled" section (1737–40) and is not incompatible with Stewart's graphological dating at "circa 1740." On the other hand, contrary to Mossner's first reckless conjecture, it is quite obvious that the actual order of the text in the manuscript is the original one: first comes the "untitled" section, followed by "Natural Philosophy" and "Philosophy." As Stewart conclusively pointed out, the final verso of the "untitled" section "has offsetting both to and from the 'Natural Philosophy' leaf," therefore there is no reason to suppose that the original order was different.³⁶

However, much remains to be understood about the Memoranda and their origin. Many readers and scholars who wrote before Stewart's highly valuable efforts to establish a graphological dating spontaneously suggested that the Memoranda contain something archaic, dating back to the *Treatise* period and even before that. What can have been the basis of such intuitions? A possible answer lies in a consistent series of notes in the "untitled" section which seem tightly linked to apparently current events. The news-value of these notes, the instant picture they deliver of their historical and political context, clashes not only with a dating at around 1740, but also with a late 1730s schedule: their most obvious context, with reasonable approximation, is that of the years 1727–34. In all the Memoranda there is no mention of historical events which occurred after 1734, and an important set of sources are concentrated in the last years of the 1720s and in the first years of the following decade (leaving aside the Greek and Latin classics which prevail in the second half of the "untitled" section). These sources consist mainly in periodicals, pamphlets, and books deeply connected to the immediate contingency of the British political and economic debate of those years. Hume does not seem to peruse one book or another as a historian: he seems rather to react to contemporary events and debates. Rather than library items, the sources of these notes are often what one would expect to find in a bookshop (some notes could even come just from a hearsay).

Though certainly not exhaustive, the following examples patently show how the historical and political context of the years 1727–34 may represent the common background of many notes of the "untitled" section.

3.1

[A 35] *About 18,000 Hogsheads of Sugar exported every year from England.*

This note does not mention any source and bears no clear temporal markers, but seems to refer to the current situation, or rather to the consolidated data of the recent past ("every year"). British merchants could not export sugar directly from the American colonies to the European markets, but they had first to import it to the mother country and then re-export it, paying duties and thus arriving on the market with non-competitive prices. This situation had already been denounced by William Petty at the end of the seventeenth century,³⁷ but became more and more dramatic in the early 1730s because of the ever-increasing competition from the French.³⁸ A substantial collapse of British sugar exports followed very quickly. On the contrary, note [A 35] considers as current and stable a pre-crisis figure, probably extracted from the statistics provided in February 1732 by the House of Commons, which show an average of 17,910 hogsheads per year from 1727 to 1731.³⁹ After 1734, the yearly sugar exports sank from 18,000 hogsheads to around 5,000 per year, as appears from several pamphlets by John Ashley (one of which

is to be found in the *Hume Library*)⁴⁰ and were never to get back to the previous levels before 1743.⁴¹ The early 1730s background of this note is confirmed by a (well known) biographical detail: in the first months of 1734 Hume was working for a sugar importer in Bristol, where he could gather information about the sugar market and its trends.⁴²

3.2

[A 51] The East India Company have desir’d to have China raw Silk put upon the same Footing as to Duty with the Italian, but have been refus’d.

The East India Company had been engaged since the late 1720s in the opening of a new trade route for the import of raw silk from China but was discouraged by taxation, which was more than double (or nearly three times) that imposed on Italian silk.⁴³ The request for tax relief mentioned by Hume in note [A 51] was linked to the Company’s decision, recorded in its Dispatch Book before December 1730, to place a large order of raw silk from China.⁴⁴ As noticed by Hume, the request was not received favourably by Parliament. After 1732 the East India Company gave up its plans to import silk from China, temporarily retiring from a market deemed unprofitable (the requested tax relief was to be obtained only in 1749).⁴⁵ This note, one of the few written in the past tense, sounds like a comment on a recent event given by a direct witness: its content can be dated in the early 1730s.

3.3

[A 48] In all the British Leeward Islands the Muster-Roll exceeded 2500 Men a few years ago, & yet there are 20,000 Blacks in Antigua alone.

The statistics considered by Hume for the whole of the Leeward Islands correspond to the 1720 census (“a few years ago”), while those referring to the black population of Antigua are close to the censuses of 1720 and 1724 (respectively 19,186 and 19,800) and are compatible with the 1729 census (22,611). The 1734 figure is larger (24,408) and is probably not taken into account here.⁴⁶ Once again, Hume seems to rely on pre-1734 data.

3.4

[A 14] The Charter Governments in America almost entirely independent of England. Those North of Virginia interfere most with us in Manufactures which proceeds from the Resemblance of Soil & Climate.

[A 36] Exports to our Southern Colonys above double those to our Northern.

[A 42] *The French Sugar Colonys supply'd entirely with Provisions from our Northern Colonys.*

The context of this group of notes is given by the high-spirited controversies of 1732–33 concerning the disparity in the balance of trade between Great Britain and, respectively, its northern and southern colonies. Hume is particularly sensitive to the independentist drift of the northern colonies, increasingly self-sufficient and scarcely available to trade with the motherland. British exports to southern colonies were in fact at the time double those to northern ones, as documented by a parliamentary report of 1732 published by the *Historical Register* (which is probably Hume's source for note [A 36]).⁴⁷ Relying on the information provided in 1733 by the same periodical, Hume observes in note [A 14] that the northern colonies “interfere” with motherland productions, because of analogous climate and soil conditions with those of Great Britain. Finally, reconnecting with the issue of sugar exports, Hume seems to refer to remarks by an anonymous pamphleteer who noted (in 1732) that the Northern colonies were supplying the French colonies instead of the motherland (see note [A 42]).⁴⁸

3.5

[A 22] *The Protests in the House of Lords 1729 say, that the French had a much greater Share in the Galleons than the English.*

[A 23] *From 1729 to 1730 imported of Corn into Ireland to the Value of 274.000 ascrib'd to the Want of a Drawback: by the Irish House of Commons.*

[A 28] *The Exchange to Holland always against us. Craftsman [1728–29].*

[A 29] *Our Exports no Rule to judge of our Trade. Masters enter more than they export to perswade others that their Ship is near full. Id. [Craftsman, 1728–29]*

[A 31] *Tonnage of Shipping encreas'd; but may arise from our Imports. Id. [Craftsman, 1728–29]*

[A 49] *The French fish on the Coasts of Newfoundland in the Winters which gives them an advantage above us.*

[A 50] *Our Bustle about the Ostend Company the cause of the Great Progress of the French Company.*

After 1727, with the exclusion of the Ostend Company,⁴⁹ definitively confirmed in 1731 by the Treaty of Vienna, France gained an important position on the main trade routes (as remarked by Hume in note [A 50]). This was the occasion for some cries of dismay about the state of British trade, such as those of Joshua Gee in a well-known *pamphlet* of 1729 (most likely owned by Hume).⁵⁰ In 1752, when “twenty years have since elapsed,” Hume still remembers the panic triggered by Gee.⁵¹

This group of notes is fresh testimony of the late 1720s/early 1730s climate, when a commercial and financial crisis seemed to loom on the horizon. The principal topics are the following: 1) the decay of British trade, hardly masked, according to the *Craftsman* (1728–29), by the apparent increase in maritime traffic and exports (see notes [A 28–29], and [A 31]); 2) the numerical predominance of French galleons compared to the British, recorded with alarm by the Lords in 1729 (cf. note [A 22]); 3) the increasing activity of French fishing vessels in the Newfoundland area (cf. note [A 49]), which was also one of the themes of Gee’s 1729 pamphlet;⁵² 4) the need for support for wheat exports to Ireland (confirmed by the statistics for the years 1729–30) and the demand for some drawback (cf. note [A 23]). The years 1729–32 are the historical background of all these notes, which are extracted from typical contemporary sources: pamphlets, periodicals, parliamentary reports.

3.6

[A 30] *There is commonly coin’d in England 500.000 Pound in Gold; every year; & brought into Europe three Millions. Id. [Craftsman, 1728–29]*

[A 32] *Above 40. Millions of Pieces of Eight come to Europe every year. Id.*

Monetary issues had always been present in Hume’s agenda, if it is true that he was curious about the word “circulation” since his childhood.⁵³ In note [A 30] he quantifies the gold coined “every year” in England and the amount given are closer to the yearly average that can be obtained from Philips’s 1726 tables (more than 400,000 £ per year from 1701 to 1724)⁵⁴ than to the data supplied by *The Political State of Great Britain* in September 1734 (around 280,000 £ per year from 1727 to 1734).⁵⁵ In the same note, Hume mentions the massive arrivals of gold from Brazil and gives the relative figure, as provided by the *Craftsman* of 1728–29. According to note [A 32] “above 40 millions of Pieces of Eight” come into Europe from the Americas every year. That figure is certainly hyperbolic, although compatible with information gathered in 1729–30 or shortly after (35,800,000 is the maximum assessment proposed by recent historians for 1729).⁵⁶ On the contrary, between 1731 and 1741, the “return” of pieces of eight to Europe underwent a slump from about 15 million average per year to just over half.⁵⁷ When, in the 1752 essay “Of Money,” Hume estimates the value in British pounds of the total yearly imports of precious metals into Europe, the amounts are much lower, even though they had returned to higher levels compared to the 1731–41 period: “7 million pound” (1 pound corresponds in value, roughly, to around 2.5–3.5 “pieces of eight”), which become “6 millions” in the 1753 edition of the same essay.⁵⁸ As we know from a recently discovered letter to Adam Smith, who, in turn, mentions the latter data in *Wealth of Nations*,⁵⁹ Hume had obtained this “account” through Zinzendorf

(and this might be read as confirmation that he was not always using data coming directly from printed sources).⁶⁰

3.7

[A 18] *The East-India Trade brings about 300,000 a year into the Customs.*

[A 44] *The gross Produce of the English Customs 3 Millions a year; the neat Produce 1,800,000.*

[A 59] *The English Excises amount to 600.000 £ per annum.*

The issue of indirect taxes such as customs and excises, and their importance for the public revenue, is often debated in the early 1730s. Concerning the duties paid by the East-India Company, note [A 18] relies tacitly on the *Historical Register* for the year 1727,⁶¹ while note [A 44] provides, for the total “produce” of the customs, gross and net data compatible with the years 1724–33 (but the average net amount is in excess, valid only for the years 1723–24, or for 1733).⁶² On the contrary, the general figure for the excise provided in note [A 59] is rather obsolete. Hume is perhaps basing himself on the data provided by Davenant many years earlier for the excise on beer and ale (unless there is an error of transcription here).⁶³ No mention is made in the Memoranda—and this could be another argument, though *ex silentio*, for an early 1730s origin of the “untitled” section—of the most serious crisis linked to the issue of fiscal policy in the first half of the eighteenth century: the so-called *Excise crisis* of 1733–34, or the attempt by Walpole, doomed to failure, to establish a new excise on domestic sales of imported goods such as tobacco and wine, in exchange for the abatement of customs on these products (many pamphlets referring to the excise crisis are to be found in the *Hume Library*).⁶⁴

3.8

[A 45] *Eleven hundred tuns of French Wine imported yearly into London.*

[A 53] *The Wine imported into Britain yearly 20.000 Tun.*

Imports of wine are a key economic indicator since they have a strong impact on public revenue due to customs.⁶⁵ The overall figure (20,000 tuns per year) for imports of European wines provided in note [A 53] is broadly compatible with the years 1717–1736 and is not useful for the dating of the Memoranda.⁶⁶ On the contrary, the volume of French wine imports (1,100 tuns per year) mentioned in note [A 45] corresponds exactly to the 1720–31 average (1,152 tuns per year)⁶⁷ and suggests an early 1730s dating at least for this note. The imports from France had risen to 20,000 tuns before the 1690–96 war, then they had fallen to zero because of the war and had begun to rise slightly again after the Peace of Utrecht, only to fall back again way below 1,000 tuns after 1731 (the average for the 1732–41 decade

is 641 tuns per year).⁶⁸ As Hume acknowledges in 1752: "We lost the *French* market for our woollen manufactures, and transferr'd the commerce of wine to *Spain* and *Portugal*, where we buy much worse liquor at a higher price."⁶⁹

3.9

[A 10] *Every French Seaman and Soldier costs 15 Sous a day upon an Average; every Soldier in English Pay costs a Shilling. In King William[s] War the French had 600.000 Men in Pay by Sea & Land.*

[A 24] *100.000 £ sufficient to maintain 10.000 French or German Forces. Pulteney.*

[A 25] *A Regiment of Horse thrice the Expence of a Regiment of Foot.*

[A 63] *A Soldier cloath'd at 27 Shillings a year. The King allows 36 Shillings.*

[A 67] *Ships formerly lasted 27 Years in the English Navy; now only 13.*

Ever since the Glorious Revolution a wide debate was taking place on the pros and cons, and the cost, of a standing army. In a 1697 pamphlet, probably possessed by Hume, John Trenchard argues against the maintenance of a stable military force, a position shared by many writers of the Williamite years.⁷⁰ The *Craftsman* (that is, Bolingbroke and Pulteney) had returned to the same question in the late 1720s. Note [A 25], in which Hume evaluates the cost of a cavalry regiment with respect to a regiment of infantry, finds its secret source in the 1729 *Craftsman Extraordinary*, a special issue (also probably owned by Hume)⁷¹ of the same periodical. Hume was later to pronounce himself in favour of a Standing Army, but at the same time he remained opposed to mercenary armies and strongly asserted the necessity of a civic militia.⁷² In the Memoranda, he is also interested in: 1) the daily cost of a soldier and a sailor in France and in Great Britain (the source for the French army is Boulainviller's 1727 *Mémoire* presented to the Duke of Orléans, see note [A 10]); 2) a comparison between the military expenses of Great Britain and those of France and the German states (this is taken from a speech of Pulteney published in the *Historical Register* for 1732 and quoted in note [A 24]); 3) the annual cost of clothes for each soldier (the cost of equipment had been fixed by warrant for the first time in 1729, see note [A 63]); 4) the current average interval of time between the building of a ship and its major renewal (the data given by Hume in note [A 67] is "13 years," corresponding to the average for the years 1700–1734).⁷³ Again, the general context of these notes is that of the late 1720s and early 1730s.

3.10

[A 66] *The Empress of Russia lately rais'd a Militia of 50,000 Men at one in 10 [5?]*⁷⁴

Without any doubt this note refers to the army gathered by Empress Anna in the summer of 1733, at the beginning of the War of Polish Succession. Hume writes that this event had occurred “lately” and this term is an important clue. In 1735–36, indeed, a new conflict between Russia and Turkey broke out and the Empress removed to Asia some of her troops which had been stationed in Poland, declaring her intention not to interfere in Polish events once the succession to the throne of Stanislaw Leszczyński had been averted.⁷⁵ In any case, the “50,000 men” mentioned in note [A 66] are not really a “militia,” in the strict sense of the term, but, for the most part, regular troops.⁷⁶ No reference to a “militia” is indeed to be found in the possible sources of this note.⁷⁷ This makes one suspect that Hume’s annotations do not necessarily proceed from printed texts but may also derive from information received from oral sources, though possibly dependent, in turn, on contemporary printed texts.

4. L’Abbé de Boze/Dubos

One question chiefly intrigues the readers of the Memoranda: their relation to the *Treatise*. In this regard, the two main authors to be considered are Jean-Baptiste Dubos and Pierre Bayle. They both appear in the section “Philosophy,” which is, if not a Baylean, an almost entirely francophone section.⁷⁸ However, while Bayle’s influence on the *Treatise* has often been noticed (but mainly for the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* alone), Dubos’s case is less obvious and requires reassessment.⁷⁹

Discussing the Memoranda, Mossner remarks that “the early pre-*Treatise* influence of Dubos upon Hume . . . seems curiously to have gone unnoticed.”⁸⁰ More cautiously, Stewart maintains that “Of Tragedy” and “The Standard of Taste” reflect “an old familiarity with the work of Dubos.”⁸¹ Can this familiarity be connected with the first three notes of the section “Philosophy,” and tell us something about the time of their composition?

After the first note, which is seemingly ascribed to Juvenal, Dubos appears: he is “L’Abbe de Boze” (misread as “L’Abbé de Bosse” in Mossner’s edition).⁸² The *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* were published anonymously in Paris by Jean Mariette in 1719. Only in 1740 did they become *Réflexions* “Par M. l’Abbé du Bos.”⁸³ Hume seems to have possessed the anonymous 1732 Utrecht edition;⁸⁴ yet the author had been revealed since 1722 by one of the first reviews: “M. l’Abbé de Bos.”⁸⁵ In the 1741 essay “Of the Independency of Parliament,” the defender of the ancients is called by Hume “l’Abbe de Bos.”⁸⁶ Why then do the Memoranda call him “de Boze”?

Possibly because in 1728 Herman Uytwerf, an Amsterdam publisher who had printed in 1722 a new edition of Bayle’s *Continuation des pensées diverses*, published a work by Jonathan Richardson, father and son, entitled *Traité De la Peinture, Et de la Sculpture*, which contains the French translation of Richardson’s writings on

painting: *An Essay On the theory of Painting, An Essay On the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting, An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur, and An Account Of Some of the Statues*.⁸⁷ In the French version of the *Account*, the Richardsons assert: "il y a un Auteur François anonyme, mais qu'on croit être l'Abbé de Boze, qui a fait un Livre intitulé, *Réflexions Critiques*."⁸⁸ But in the original English version the first part of this passage goes like this: "a late Anonymous French Author (but who is said to be the *Abbé de Bosse*)."⁸⁹ In short, between the 1722 English edition and the 1728 French translation, "de Bosse" becomes "de Boze."

Are names the marks of things? One thing is certain: Hume uses the form "de Boze" only in the Memoranda, and "de Bos" only in 1741. They both seem to be "early" forms, connected with his early interest in criticism. Ten years later, after the English translation of the *Réflexions*,⁹⁰ in his *Political Discourses* Hume prefers "du Bos,"⁹¹ and in "Of Tragedy," he switches to "Dubos."⁹²

The first note of the section "Philosophy," which is not explicitly ascribed to Dubos, is drawn from the beginning of the *Réflexions*, as Mossner correctly suggests:⁹³ "[C 1] Notwithstanding the Cruelty of their gladiatorian Spectacles, the Romans shew many Signs of Humanity. 'Twas regarded as a Piece of Cruelty to burn a Slave with a hot Iron for stealing Table Linnen. Juv. Sat. 14." The note is a paraphrase⁹⁴ of a passage that occurs in the section "Of the attraction of Spectacles proper to excite in us a great emotion. Of Gladiators," which immediately follows, as we shall see, some pages recalled by Hume at the end of the second book of the *Treatise*.

The other two notes from Dubos are short and not very precise paraphrases concerning the education of a young man (of genius) who applies himself to arts and sciences, and his relation with the common world:

[C 2] Too careful & elaborate an Education prejudicial; because it learns one to trust to others for one's Judgement. L'Abbe de Boze.⁹⁵

[C 3] In a young Man, who applys himself to the Arts & Sciences, the Slowness with which he forms himself for the World is a good Sign. Id.⁹⁶

These notes are both drawn from Dubos's reflections on "the required time for men of genius to achieve that merit of which they are capable"⁹⁷ and "the studies and progress of painters and poets."⁹⁸ Since these reassuring observations seem to be connected to the apprehensive beginnings of a literary career, Mossner (reasonably) refers them to Hume's early personal experience before the *Treatise* and ascribes them to 1731–1733.⁹⁹ Yet they could belong to an earlier period, when Hume was inclined "almost equally to Books of Reasoning & Philosophy, & to Poetry & the polite Authors," but "not enclin'd to submit to any Authority" in philosophy and criticism.¹⁰⁰ In 1734 Hume maintains that in philosophy and

criticism “there is nothing yet establisht,” and that a certain boldness led him “to seek out some new Medium, by which Truth might be establisht,” and (before 1729) he devoted “much Study, & Reflection” to it.¹⁰¹ He also declares that he resolved to make human nature “the Source from which [he] wou’d derive every Truth in Criticism as well as Morality.”¹⁰² Dubos’s *Réflexions* would have been interesting reading for him: Dubos’s standard for establishing the truth in poetry was *senti-ment*, rather than reason.¹⁰³ And Mossner readily remarks: he was “a Hutchesonian before Hutcheson.”¹⁰⁴

In general, the attempts to trace the presence of Dubos in the *Treatise* are plausible;¹⁰⁵ yet, at the level of textual analysis, they reveal themselves to be either too general, or lacking solidity, or too dependent on interpretation of the texts rather than on the texts themselves.¹⁰⁶ In particular, scholars commonly refer to Dubos,¹⁰⁷ among others, in accounting for the passage where Hume maintains that it is “much more probable” that the “resemblance” and “great uniformity” in the “humours and turn of thinking of those of the same nation” arise from sympathy rather than from “any influence of the soil and climate” (T 2.1.11.2; SBN 316–17). Certainly, Hume is here referring (mainly) to Dubos.¹⁰⁸ Yet there is something more. Dubos explains why the “Nations living in different climates are so different in spirit and inclinations,”¹⁰⁹ and maintains that the “character of our spirit & our inclinations” much depend on the “qualities of our blood,” which depend on the “qualities of the air,” which depend on the “emanations of the earth.”¹¹⁰ Here he alerts the reader, who should “make a great difference between the facts that I have reported and the explications of these facts that I’ll venture to advance”: “Were the physical explications of these facts not good, my error in this point will not hinder the facts from being true and from always proving that the moral causes alone cannot decide the destiny of letters and arts. The effect will not be less certain because we have wrongly explained the cause.”¹¹¹

When Hume, who opposes sympathy to “soil and climate” in explaining the character of a nation, has to give an “easy reason” why two different ideas are “so often” confused, he answers that it is because of the “relations” between them; and then he establishes a “general maxim”: “wherever there is a close relation between two ideas, the mind is very apt to mistake them, and in all its discourses and reasonings to use one for the other” (T 1.2.5.19; SBN 60). The “phænomenon,” he observes, occurs “on so many occasions” and is “of such consequence” that we should examine its causes. Thus Hume first offers a “premise,” which recalls Dubos’s distinction between facts and explanations:

[W]e must distinguish exactly betwixt the phænomenon itself, and the causes, which I shall assign for it; and must not imagine from any uncertainty in the latter, that the former is also uncertain. The phænomenon may be real, tho’ my explication be chimerical. The falshood of the one

is no consequence of that of the other; tho' at the same time we may observe, that 'tis very natural for us to draw such a consequence; which is an evident instance of that very principle, which I endeavour to explain. (T 1.2.5.20; SBN 60)

Finally, he goes on to examine the causes of the principles of union between ideas (resemblance, contiguity and causation), displays "something specious and plausible," and makes an easy "imaginary dissection of the brain," which echoes Malebranche, Addison and Mandeville: "Upon our conception of any idea, the animal spirits run into all the contiguous traces, and rouze up the other ideas, that are related to it" (T 1.2.5.20; SBN 60).¹¹² However, if the "explication" is wrong, it does not mean that the phenomenon is unreal. Facts and explanations, phenomena and causes (or "explications"): Hume's premise is almost a translation of Dubos's premise.¹¹³ Dubos and Hume both offer a physical explanation, which for Hume is plausible though specious, since, according to his first maxim, if we "rest contented with experience" (T 1.2.5.21; SBN 60), the relation between two resembling ideas is enough to explain the mistaking of the one for the other.

There is another passage in the *Treatise* where Dubos appears, at least *a posteriori*. At the end of the second book of the *Treatise*, Hume accounts for the "method of thinking" of "those, who take a pleasure in declaiming against human nature" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352). They observe that "man is altogether insufficient to support himself"; that "when you loosen all the holds, which he has of external objects, he immediately drops down into the deepest melancholy and despair"; and that "from this . . . proceeds that continual search after amusement in gaming, in hunting, in business; by which we endeavour to forget ourselves, and excite our spirits from the languid state, into which they fall, when not sustain'd by some brisk and lively emotion" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352). Hume declares that he agrees "so far" with this way of thinking, even though he does not say that he shares the declaimers' "pleasure." The mind, he owns, is "insufficient, of itself, to its own entertainment" and "naturally seeks after foreign objects, which may produce a lively sensation, and agitate the spirits" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352–53): "on the appearance of such an object [the mind] awakes, as it were, from a dream: The blood flows with a new tide: The heart is elevated: And the whole man acquires a vigour, which he cannot command in his solitary and calm moments" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 353).

Who are these declaimers against human nature? As to their "method of thinking," scholars refer explicitly to Pascal (and indirectly to Dubos); as to their source, they refer to Voltaire.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Voltaire declares that "Pascal . . . writes against human Nature," and paints men as "miserable."¹¹⁵ And in the "Misery of Man," Pascal maintains that "it is an intolerable pain to be obliged to live with oneself and to think of oneself," and this is "the source of all the tumultuous occupations of men and of all that is called diversion or pastime".¹¹⁶ "Whence it

comes it to pass that so many men are delighted with gaming, hunting, and other diversions which occupy their whole soul.”¹¹⁷

In the last section of Book 2 (“Of curiosity, or the love of truth”), Hume recalls the subject. The passion of gaming, he observes, “affords a pleasure from the same principles as hunting and philosophy” (T 2.3.10.9; SBN 452). He also acknowledges that he is not the first to make this observation:

It has been remark’d, that the pleasure of gaming arises not from interest alone; since many leave a sure gain for this entertainment: Neither is it deriv’d from the game alone; since the same persons have no satisfaction, when they play for nothing; But proceeds from both these causes united, tho’ separately they have no effect. (T 2.3.10.9; SBN 452)

Again, Hume appeals to tradition (“it has been remark’d”). Who made the remark? Again scholars refer to Pascal.¹¹⁸ Pascal’s remarks on gaming are indeed very close to Hume’s.¹¹⁹ Hume goes on and, speaking in his own voice, gives an explanation of the traditional remark which recalls the theory of the section: as in hunting and gaming, the pleasure of philosophy (or discovery of truth) lies chiefly in the action of the mind and the attentive exercise of genius; the utility or importance of the aim (interest), and a certain success, are required to fix the attention and enjoy the exercise (cf. T 2.3.10.10; SBN 452). Finally he adds a more general reflection which recalls the declaimers’ view: “Human life is so tiresome a scene, and men generally are of such indolent dispositions, that whatever amuses them, tho’ by a passion mixt with pain, does in the main give them a sensible pleasure” (T 2.3.10.10; SBN 452). From this general reflection he also draws a particular consequence: “this pleasure is here encreas’d by the nature of the objects, which being sensible, and of a narrow compass, are enter’d into with facility, and are agreeable to the imagination” (T 2.3.10.10; SBN 452).

Human life represented as a “tiresome” scene; the “indolent dispositions” of men, who are pleased by whatever amuses them, even “a passion mixt with pain;” the “continual search after amusement in gaming, in hunting, in business;” and the pleasure of gaming which “arises not from interest alone. . . . Neither is it deriv’d from the game alone”: all this would lead us to think that Hume is speaking a Pascalian language, as he himself indirectly acknowledges.¹²⁰

Yet, some fifteen years later,¹²¹ after the *Political Discourses*, where Dubos is quoted and discussed, the Pascalian language is openly ascribed to Dubos, one of the “few critics, who have had some tincture of philosophy” (“Of Tragedy,” in *Essays* [Miller ed.], 217):

L’Abbe *Dubos*, in his reflections on poetry and painting, asserts, that nothing is in general so disagreeable to the mind as the languid, listless state

of indolence, into which it falls upon the removal of every passion and occupation. To get rid of this painful situation, it seeks every amusement and pursuit; business, gaming, shews, executions; whatever will rouse the passions, and take its attention from itself. No matter what the passion is: Let it be disagreeable, afflicting, melancholy, disordered; it is still better, than that insipid languor, which arises from perfect tranquillity and repose. It is impossible not to admit this account, as being, at least in part, satisfactory. ("Of Tragedy," 217)¹²²

In the *Treatise*, with regard to the declaimers' view, Hume allows: "to this method of thinking I so far agree, that . . ." (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352); here, with regard to Dubos's view, he acknowledges: "it is impossible not to admit this account, as being, at least in part, satisfactory" (there is a double restriction: "It is impossible not to" and "at least in part"). Passing from the *Treatise* (1739) to "Of Tragedy" (1757), "whatever amuses them, tho' by a passion mixt with pain" becomes "No matter what the passion is: Let it be disagreeable"; that "continual search after amusement in gaming, in hunting, in business" becomes "it seeks every amusement and pursuit; business, gaming, shews, executions"; "men generally are of such indolent dispositions" becomes "the languid, listless state of indolence, into which [the mind] falls upon the removal of every passion and occupation."

The Pascalian aspects of the *Treatise* seem to be a mixture of the *Pensées* and the *Réflexions* (which openly quote, correct and reformulate the *Pensées*),¹²³ where the "tiresome scene" appears in the first section: "Of the necessity of being occupied in order to escape weariness, & of the attraction which the passions have to men."¹²⁴ Dubos has no doubts:

The first manner of occupying one's self . . . is that of yielding to the impressions that the **foreign objects** make on us . . . It is the only resource of the greatest part of men against **weariness**; even those who can occupy themselves otherwise are obliged, not to fall in the **languor** which succeeds the duration of the same occupation, to give themselves to the employments and pleasures of the generality of mankind. The change of labour and pleasure **sets again the spirits in motion** . . . this change seems to restore a **new vigour** to the exhausted **imagination**. . . The passions that give them the most lively pleasures, also give them durable and painful pains; but men are much more dreadful of the **weariness which succeeds inaction**, and find an emotion that keeps them occupied in the motion of business and in the excitation of passions. . . . Once they have known inaction, as soon as they have compared what they suffered from the uneasiness of business, and the inquietude of passions, with the **weariness of indolence**, they soon regret that tumultuous state of which

they were so disgusted. . . . Thus we run by instinct after those **objects** that may **excite our passions**, even though these objects make on us impressions which are often attended with troubled nights and painful days.¹²⁵

In “Of Tragedy,” as well as in the *Treatise*, one feature of the tiresome scene is our languid state,¹²⁶ which “Of Tragedy” explicitly ascribes to Dubos. While there is no trace of it in Pascal, with one exception (“a languishing amusement”), languor flows abundantly throughout the *Réflexions*:

The mind, tired of being strained, relaxes itself: and a gloomy and **languishing** reverie, where it doesn’t enjoy of any precise object, is the only fruit of the efforts it made to occupy itself . . . the above-mentioned **state of languor** and misery . . . the **languor** which succeeds the duration of the same occupation . . . the agitation in which our passions keep us, even in solitude, is so lively that every other state is a state of **languor** when compared to this agitation.¹²⁷

A second feature, in “Of Tragedy” as well as in the *Treatise*, is indolence,¹²⁸ which again “Of Tragedy” explicitly ascribes to Dubos. While the term does not appear in Pascal’s published text, “indolence” occurs in the *Réflexions*: “Once they have known inaction, as soon as they have compared what they suffered from the uneasiness of business, and the inquietude of passions, with the **weariness of indolence**, they soon regret that tumultuous state of which they were so disgusted.”¹²⁹

Even the role, which in the *Treatise* the declaimers against human nature (and Hume) ascribe to “external” and “foreign objects” (they produce a lively sensation, agitate the spirits and defend us from melancholy),¹³⁰ recalls Dubos rather than Pascal. While Pascal mentions only that the player “must form himself an object of passion, which excites his desire, his anger, his fear, his hope,”¹³¹ Dubos is more diffuse on these objects:

[T]he soul can be occupied in only two manners. It can yield to the impressions that the **foreign objects** make on her; and this is what we call to feel The first manner of occupying one’s self . . . is that of yielding to the impressions that the **foreign objects** make on us It is the only resource of the greatest part of men against weariness Thus we run by instinct after those **objects** that may **excite our passions**, even though these objects make on us impressions which are often attended with troubled nights and painful days.¹³²

There are strong echoes of Dubos in Hume’s sentence “whatever amuses them, tho’ by a passion mixt with pain, does in the main give them a sensible pleasure”

(T 2.3.10.10; SBN 452). "The passions that give them the most lively pleasures," the *Réflexions* remark, "also give them durable and painful troubles."¹³³ In general, men "suffer much more to live without passions, than the passions themselves can make them suffer."¹³⁴

Dubos's remarks, which are so close to Hume's *Treatise*, all come from the section "Of the necessity of being occupied in order to escape weariness, & of the attraction which the passions have to men," which precedes the section "Of the attraction of Spectacles proper to excite in us a great emotion. Of Gladiators," containing Hume's early note on the humanity of the (sometimes cruel) Romans. In Dubos's *Réflexions* the distance between the passage on the Romans, which is transcribed in the first note of the section "Philosophy" of the Memoranda, and those on weariness, which are discussed in the second Book of the *Treatise*, is only two pages.

As in the first note of the Memoranda, in his essay "Of the Populousness of Antient Nations," Hume quotes "L'Abbe du Bos" (an "ingenious critic"), who quotes Juvenal in order to prove that in modern times Italy is warmer than in ancient times ("Of the Populousness," 449). In a footnote Hume makes his double reference: to Dubos and to Juvenal ("Of the Populousness," 448 n.228, 449 n.229). In 1752 Hume was still translating from the original French and still using his 1719 or 1732 edition:¹³⁵ in 1733, Dubos added three lines from Juvenal's satire, which are not in Hume's 1752 quotation.¹³⁶ Is this another sign that Hume read Dubos's *Réflexions* before 1733, and that the remarks of the Memoranda, which are drawn from the *Réflexions*, must be ascribed to the late 1720s?¹³⁷ This seems to us to be the obvious conclusion.

5. Baile/Bayle

In a letter of 1732, Hume thanks his friend Michael Ramsay "for [his] trouble about Baile," hoping that "it is a book [Ramsay himself] will find diversion and improvement in." The quotation is not easy to decode.¹³⁸ "Baile," for sure, points here to a book. But which book? May the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, in four volumes *in folio*, be considered "a book"?¹³⁹ The *Œuvres diverses*, which are the second best candidate, also come in four (or five) volumes *in folio*. As to the original (and also multivolume) editions of Bayle's single works, Hume never seems to have owned or consulted them. In the whole of Hume's writings, no explicit quotation of the *Œuvres diverses* is to be found, but the Memoranda bring new evidence that he was familiar with them quite early. The third volume of the *Œuvres diverses* (1727), in particular, is the source of at least one note in the "Philosophy" section: note [C 4] is an English translation (or paraphrase) of a marginal text which is to be found only in the *Œuvres diverses* version of Bayle's *Continuation des pensées diverses*.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, given that *all* other Baylean notes in the "Philosophy" section, except

those coming from the *Dictionnaire*, are taken from works contained in the same volume 3 of the *Œuvres diverses* (the *Pensées diverses*, the *Continuation des pensées diverses* and the *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial*), one might also imagine that this volume could be the “book” mentioned by Hume in his letter to Ramsay, in which the latter was also supposed to find “diversion and improvement.”¹⁴¹ In any case, the quotation taken from volume 3 of the *Œuvres diverses* makes 1727 the most certain *terminus post quem* for the “Philosophy” section (Dubos’s *Réflexions* are published for the first time in 1719 and, as we saw, it is impossible to decide whether Hume, after 1728 and before 1733, uses the 1719 or the 1732 edition). We might add that this date (1727) should be taken quite strictly, given that each volume of the *Œuvres diverses*, as soon as it was published, was immediately sent by the publisher Thomas Johnson to the Edinburgh professor Charles Mackie (since 1722 the two were among the most active promoters of this edition).¹⁴²

A (partially) different solution for the puzzle could arise from a closer look at the publishing history of the *Œuvres diverses*. This 4-volume edition had been on sale since 1722 on a subscription basis. A first partial print, reserved to subscribers,¹⁴³ of volume 1 and part 1 of volume 2, was published in 1725 (even though the “privilège” was to be given only in the autumn of the following year).¹⁴⁴ In 1727, the two parts of volume 3 (sometimes bound separately) were printed with a new title page embellished with an engraving by Bernard Picart: the booksellers could sell them both to subscribers and to common buyers and, at this date, the latter could also buy the first two volumes (to which was then prefixed the same 1727 title page as volume 3).¹⁴⁵ The interesting detail to highlight here is that, if the record published in the *Hume Library* is correct, and if Bayle’s *Œuvres diverses* were acquired by Hume (as is highly probable) and not by his nephew, Hume owned precisely the print version dated “1725,”¹⁴⁶ and that means either that he was among the subscribers or that in some other way he obtained two of the very first copies of volumes 1–2. Be that as it may, after the publishing of volume 3 in 1727, the subscribers were told that the amount they had paid covered only the three volumes already published, and that the next and last volume had to be paid separately.¹⁴⁷ Volume 4 appeared only in late 1731,¹⁴⁸ and the possibility that Hume refers to it when he speaks of a “book” in his March 1732 letter to Ramsay cannot be discarded: he might have asked Ramsay to buy it for him (or bring it to him). Accordingly, if Hume hopes in 1732 that his friend may find “diversion and improvement” in Bayle’s “book,” it is because he already knew the tenor of Bayle’s main works: perhaps Bayle’s volume was simply the missing piece to add to an almost complete collection, rather than the work of a new author for him to discover.

In the “Philosophy” section of the Memoranda, Hume always writes “Baile” instead of “Bayle,” just as in the 1732 letter to Ramsay. This could be a consequence of his reading Mandeville’s *Free thoughts on religion* (1720), where “Baile” is spelled in the same way.¹⁴⁹ In any case, the spelling “Baile” suggests that the Baylean

annotations of the Memoranda are archaic,¹⁵⁰ and precede the writing of the *Treatise of Human Nature* (where "Bayle" is quoted once in the correct spelling, cf. T 1.4.5.22n; SBN 243). In other words, the Bayle annotations of the Memoranda could represent, along with those taken from Dubos, the earliest traces of Hume's philosophical activity.

There is, however, a reasonable objection to this claim: contrary to the *Dictionnaire*, no direct quotations of the *Œuvres diverses* (or of the works contained in this edition) are to be found in the *Treatise*, and this could suggest that Bayle's writings other than the *Dictionnaire* did not have a real influence on Hume's major philosophical work. But there is perhaps more to be said on this point. Two notes of the Memoranda on the issue of causation need to be considered here with the utmost attention. The first ([C 30]) is an abridgement of a lengthy argument proposed by Bayle in the *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial*, while the second ([C 31]) has been linked to the article "Zabarella" of the *Dictionnaire*.¹⁵¹

The most useful comparison for both notes, however, is precisely with one of the most famous sections of the *Treatise*, namely section 3 of part 3, whose title ("Why a cause is always Necessary") echoes the *incipit* of note [C 31] of the Memoranda ("Whether a cause is Necessary?"):

Hume, Early Memoranda	Hume, <i>Treatise of Human Nature</i>
<p>[C 30] Argument against Liberty deriv'd from this that Preservation is a continual Creation, & consequently God must create the Soul with every new Modification. Id. [Bayle]</p> <p>[C 31] Whether a Cause is Necessary? Whether necessary to an eternal Being? Whether necessary in every new Moment of a successive Being? Whether necessary in Motion?</p>	<p>First, For what reason we pronounce it <i>necessary</i>, that every thing whose existence has a beginning, shou'd also have a cause? (T 1.3.2.14; SBN 78)</p> <p>Section III Why a cause is always necessary.</p> <p>'Tis a general maxim in philosophy, that <i>whatever begins to exist, must have a cause of existence</i>. . . . But here is an argument, which proves at once, that the foregoing proposition is neither intuitively nor demonstrably certain. We can never demonstrate the necessity of a cause to every new existence, or new modification of existence, without shewing at the same time the impossibility there is, that any thing can ever begin to exist without some productive principle; and where the latter proposition cannot be prov'd, we must despair of ever being able to prove the former. (T 1.3.3.1-3; SBN 79)</p>

There are, obviously, only two possibilities here: either notes [C 30–31] of the Memoranda precede the corresponding text in the *Treatise*, or the *Treatise* precedes them. But the latter alternative seems difficult to argue: why, after having written the *Treatise*, and demolished the dogma of the (logical) necessity of a cause for every event, would Hume have formulated in note [C 31] these four questions that seem to express, if not a discovery, at least the first tentative exposition of a new idea? And why would he have needed an excerpt from Bayle to repeat and call into question what he had already discussed at length? One could reply that Hume is only confirming here what he had already written in the *Treatise*, or providing another argument in its favour. But, as we shall see, this is very unlikely.

In note [C 31] of the Memoranda, Hume specifically refers the question of the necessity of causation to three different objects: (1) an “eternal being”; (2) a “successive being” whose existence is defined by a series of “moments” (presumably, as in the *Treatise*, a mind);¹⁵² (3) a substance endowed with motion (presumably, a body). Leaving aside the question of the “eternal being,” which will be examined in the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (but with an important link to the *Treatise*),¹⁵³ the other two questions of the Memoranda are connected to the emergence of a “new modification” in a certain substance. Again Hume’s answer is to be found in the *Treatise*, where he argues that an event (or a “new modification of existence”) happening without being caused, that is, not produced by anything, is perfectly conceivable: “as the ideas of cause and effect are evidently distinct, ’twill be easy for us to conceive any object to be non-existent this moment, and existent the next, without conjoining to it the distinct idea of a cause or productive principle” (T 1.3.3.3; SBN 79). And this seems a reaction to what Bayle, citing Jacquolot *verbatim*, had written in the very same page of the *Réponse aux questions d’un provincial* which Hume annotates in the Memoranda: “since the moments of time do not have a necessary connection [*liaison nécessaire*] with each other, from the fact that I exist at this moment it does not follow that I also exist in the next moment, unless the same cause which gives me being at the present time does not give it to me also in the next moment.”¹⁵⁴

In short, Hume’s *first* approach to the issue of causation in the *Treatise*, as exposed in section 3 of part 3, is based not only on Hobbes’s formulation of the causality principle (“a man cannot imagine any thing to begin without a cause”), but also on the theories of strict occasionalists such as Bayle or Jurieu, who, in turn, based their argument on the equivalence between creation and conservation advanced by Descartes in the third Meditation. For Bayle, every “new moment” of a substance is independent from the previous instant and requires a new creation by God: this is true not only for the bare existence of a substance (be it a material or thinking one), but also for any new modality or new property of the substance itself. According to Bayle, the two questions are exactly the same.¹⁵⁵ Similarly to Bayle, in *Treatise* 1.3.3, Hume conceives any successive “modification” of minds

and bodies as a "beginning of existence."¹⁵⁶ The difference is that while Bayle and the occasionalists remain closely attached to the principle of the necessity of a cause for each event or "new modification" (they simply relocate all causal efficacy and necessity in God), Hume expels any consideration of a transcendent cause and thus dissolves the very notion of a causal power, on the ground that a real efficacy is impossible to detect in God as well as in creatures. (Another Cartesian, Fontenelle, had been the first to propose a similar argument—a sort of "retort" to Malebranche—in his *Doutes sur le système physique des causes occasionnelles*.)¹⁵⁷

Yet, it must be noticed that this was only Hume's initial approach to the issue of causation: far from becoming the foundation of his subsequent analysis, it will be abandoned very early. As has been pointed out by countless readers and scholars,¹⁵⁸ the *first* question of the *Treatise* ("why a cause is always necessary") slides—or even, as Hume explicitly admits, "sinks"—almost immediately into a *second* one (why do the same effects always follow from the same causes?). This second question becomes, indeed, Hume's *unique* question on the topic of causation.¹⁵⁹ As early as in Book 2 of the *Treatise*, he argues that an event lacking a determining cause is simply unthinkable, if not contradictory, and that necessity is inherent to the notion of a causal event (which is very close to the position that he had challenged in T 1.3.3): "According to my definitions, necessity makes an essential part of causation; and consequently liberty, by removing necessity, removes also causes, and is the very same thing with chance. As chance is commonly thought to imply a contradiction, and is at least directly contrary to experience" (T 2.3.1.18; SBN 407).

From all this it follows that the post-occasionalist approach to the issue of causation—documented by *Treatise* 1.3.3 ("Why a cause is always necessary") and, on the basis of Bayle's text on continuous creation, by Memoranda [C 30–31] ("Whether a cause is necessary?")—should probably be placed at the very beginning of Hume's philosophical itinerary. If this is the case, the Memoranda offer the perfect context of Hume's "first question," which springs directly from his Baylean readings.¹⁶⁰

However, even independently of the Memoranda, some traces can be found of an early influence of Bayle's writings other than the *Dictionnaire* on Hume's philosophical thought.¹⁶¹ We will limit our analysis here to a passage of the *Treatise* which points again to the same context of notes [C 30–31] of the Memoranda, namely those sections of the *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial* in which Bayle discusses the occasionalist theory of causation.¹⁶² In *Treatise* 1.4.5, Hume deals with the supposed exception to God's monopoly of causation that "father Malebranche and other Cartesians" seem to grant in favour of human will and in particular with regard to an "inconsiderable part" of its volitions (in other words: the human mind is supposed to be passive in the great majority of its choices, which are morally indifferent, but active in the few cases in which its choices are morally relevant, and therefore God is not responsible for the sins of men). The fact is that Malebranche had never proposed such a simple, if not simplistic, solution to the

question. It is Bayle (in the *Réponse*), and only he, who attributes this position to the “malebranchistes” (the real doctrine of Malebranche on this point, possibly as fragile as Bayle’s version but certainly more elegant, is that human minds fall into sin not because they are active but, on the contrary, because they passively resist God’s impulse to good and happiness). Here, as in the Memoranda, Hume seems to read Malebranche through Bayle; at least, he seems to attack the popular version of Malebranche’s position divulged by Bayle in order to obtain a prompt refutation.

This further suggests that Hume read the *Réponse aux questions d’un provincial* (and consequently the *Œuvres diverses*) before writing the *Treatise*, and that his Baylean readings played an important role for his mature thought to emerge:

This agency of the supreme Being we know to have been asserted by several philosophers [Note: “As **Father Malebranche and other cartesians**”] with relation to all the **actions of the mind, except volition, or rather an inconsiderable part of volition**; tho’ ’tis easy to perceive, that this exception is a mere pretext, to avoid the dangerous consequences of that doctrine. If nothing be active but what has an apparent power, **thought is in no case any more active than matter**; and if this inactivity must make us have recourse to a deity, **the supreme being is the real cause of all our actions, bad as well as good, vicious as well as virtuous.** (T 1.4.5.31; SBN 249)

Je puis vous dire en passant qu’un **Malebranchiste** ne s’embarrasseroit guère de ces objections; il a fermé la porte à la principale en laissant aux **esprits créés l’activité à l’égard des volitions bonnes ou mauvaises moralement** (Bayle OD III, 790)

6. Copy Errors and Writing Sessions

The analysis of the sources and content of the Memoranda substantially confirms our main hypothesis: an important part of the notes of the “untitled” section and almost all those of the “Philosophy” section could well be prior to Hume’s return to Britain in 1737. In some cases, one could legitimately go back to the late 1720s or early 1730s. The only way to make such a content-oriented chronology compatible with the material dating of the Memoranda in 1737–39 is to suggest that the notes contained in the Edinburgh manuscript of the Memoranda are, in some way, a reproduction of other texts dating originally from different periods of Hume’s intellectual biography. It is thus time to ask whether there are any clues that could objectively (that is, independently of any interpretation of the content) confirm that the Memoranda, with some possible exceptions, are a collection of notes extracted from previous and, perhaps, different texts.

The most important evidence is provided by many characteristic “copy errors” which are to be found in the first half of the “untitled” section and in the whole

of the philosophical notes. These errors are barely conceivable in a spontaneous writing *ad sensum*, such as that of somebody who takes a memo in real time summarising somebody else's text in his own words. On the contrary, they are perfectly understandable in a writer who collects and copies, without overmuch attention, pre-existing annotations which are perhaps distant in time and related to each other only by a feeble thematic link. Nor can we say that these errors stem from the fact that Hume is transcribing printed texts. His notes are not (generally) in the form of literal excerpts: either because he translates from French (or Latin) into English, or because he makes paraphrases and summaries, sometimes adding thoughts and words of his own (a creative *modus scribendi* which, in itself, is hardly compatible with copy errors, especially for short word sequences). Finally, it is already known that Hume—as is almost anyone who attempts to copy his own (or others') text—seems prone to this type of error, as appears from his oldest autograph manuscript (a copy of another handwritten text on fluxions, signed "David Home," which shows exactly the same kind of mistakes).¹⁶³

Here are some examples of typical copy errors—in the form of repetitions of preceding words or anticipation of upcoming words—which can be found in the Memoranda:

Anticipations

[A 1] Perhaps the Custom of allowing Parents to murder their Infant Children, **tend** tho barbarous, **tends** to render a State more populous

[A 5] Polybius says that all Money Matters belong'd to the Senate. **The Rom** Censors levy'd all the Taxes, & farm'd them out to the Roman Knights. **The Romans** cou'd be no great Politicians;

[A 7] Boulainvilliers thinks that the King of France receives not a hundredth Part **recko** of his Subjects Revenue, **reckoning** 120 Millions a day to the King.

[A 7] . . . reckoning 120 Millions **a day** < year > to the King, & 10 sous **a day** to every Subject with betwixt 23 & 30 Millions of People.

[A 10] Every French Seaman and Soldier costs 15 Sous a day upon an Average; every **English** Soldier in **English** Pay costs a Shilling.

[C 19] . . . By the Augmentation and Diminution of **Pain** Pleasure as well as by **Pain**.

Repetitions

[A 9] What costs 3 pence **at** Paris is sold **at** for half a crown in Mexico.

[A 17] His Change in one Night about the **Mutiny Bill** in 1717 augmented the **Mutiny Bill** <Majority> by 80.

[A 31–33] Tonnage of **Shipping** encreas'd; but may arise from our Imports. Id. // Above 40. Millions of Pieces of Eight comes into Europe every Year. Id. // The Plantations employ about the half of our **Shipping** <Navigation>. Id.

[A 42–43] The French **Sugar** Colonys supply'd entirely with Provisions from our Northern Colonys // 20.000 <15.000> Hogsheads of **Sugar** Tobacco exported to France at 20 £ a Hogshead; at 5 Pound.

[A 61–64] A ninth of the Children born in Paris sent to **the Enfants Trouvés**. // Each Person in Hyde park Corner Hospital costs 7 £ a year. // A Soldier cloathed at 27 Sh. A year. The King allows 36. Sh. // 1800. Children put into **the Enfants Trouvés** <upon the Parishes> at Dublin.

[A 109] Five Millions of Debt pay'd betwixt the Peace of Ryswick & the late War. Twenty Millions reduc'd to **five** <fifteen>.

[C 4] . . . that proves not they believed in **his Unity**, since Christians speak in the same manner of **his Unity** <the Devil>. Baile

Some other blatant errors are to be found in the Memoranda, especially with regard to numbers and figures, and they are more easily understandable upon the supposition that Hume writes facing not a printed book but a previous handwritten text, perhaps damaged or difficult to read:

[A 57] 22 shill: a family [the rate of the “hearth tax” was 2 shillings per family, maybe “2s” in the first manuscript version].

[A 79] 18 millions of Guilder [“fifteen millions” in the original printed source (De La Court), probably 15 millions in the first manuscript version].

[A 83] 1000 bushes [“1000 busses” in the original printed source, probably written with the special double “s” sign in the first manuscript version].

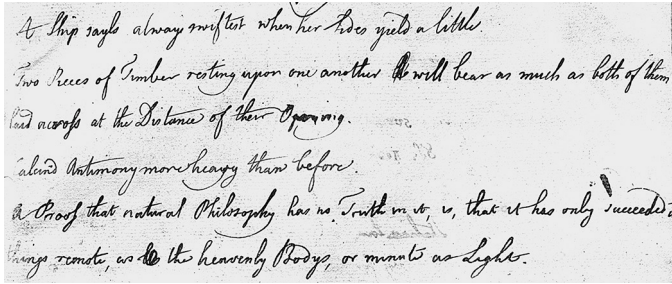
[A 94] 2 pence in the pound [“2 pence in the shilling” in the original printed source, maybe unintelligibly abbreviated in the first manuscript version, or located in a damaged part of the page, at the end of the line].

[A 98] Three millions of yards [instead of “4,768,889 yards” in the printed source, probably transcribed as 5 millions of yards in the first manuscript version].

[A 110] Ninety [instead of Nearly?] five Millions of People in the Roman Empire [this is an allusion to Suidas’s calculation later mentioned by Hume in a 1752 essay: 4,101,017 inhabitants].

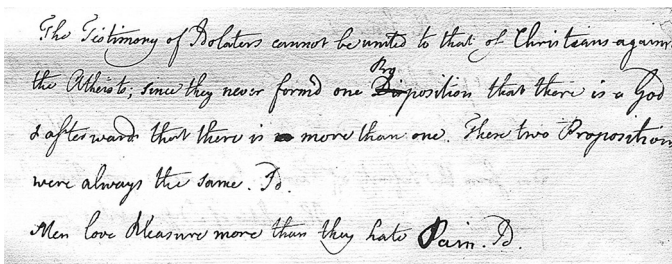
[A 133] 60 servants [instead of “30,” rectified only in the 1748 edition of the *Essays*].

Other clues can be found on closer inspection of Hume’s handwritten text. The short notes of the “Natural philosophy” section, though related to highly different contexts (from the swiftness of the ships to the chemical properties of antimony), seem to have been written all together, as if the information they offer were already available and only needed to be transcribed.¹⁶⁴ The following sample is taken from notes [B 1–4]:



A Ship sails always swifter when her sides quit a little.
Two Pieces of Timber resting upon one another It will bear as much as both of them
had weight at the Distance of their Opening.
aloud Antimony more heavy than before.
A Proof that natural Philosophy has no Truth in it, is, that it has only succeeded in
things remote, as the heavenly Bodies, or mounts as Lights.

The case of the “Philosophy” section is quite analogous. In this longer section, there are of course several writing styles with different inks, but sometimes notes taken from different places in Bayle’s *Œuvres diverses*, very distant from each other, seem to have been written one after another. In the following example [C 5–6] the first four lines are taken from Bayle’s discussion of pagan idolatry in the *Réponse aux questions d’un provincial* (*Œuvres diverses*, 3:717) while the last line, apparently written without interruption and with the same ink, comes from another of Bayle’s texts, published in the same volume but more than 600 pages earlier: the *Pensées diverses sur la comète* (*ibid.*, 106). Moreover, in this latter passage Bayle deals with a completely different topic, that of men’s love of pleasure:



The Testimony of Idolaters cannot be united to that of Christians against
the Atheists; since they never found one ^{Propo}position that there is a God
& afterwards that there is ~~no~~ more than one. These two Propositions
were always the same. To.
Men love Pleasure more than they hate Pain. To.

A great number of writing sessions are also to be found in the “untitled” section, in which the last pages are more disorderly and could in some cases reflect real-time writing while reading a text (there are, indeed, no obvious copy errors after note [A 133]). Nonetheless, especially in the first half of this section, notes taken from different volumes by different authors, bound by a remote thematic

link and probably selected for this reason from a set of preceding annotations, seem to have been written one after another. In the first example, a note taken from Boulainviller on the danger of oppressing the people “too much” ([A 11]) is followed, apparently with no interruption in writing, by a note tacitly taken from the *Historical Register* for 1737 and concerning the anti-papist laws in Queen Elizabeth times ([A 12]):

All French Projectors take it for granted that tis equally dangerous to make the People too easy as to oppress them too much. Comte de Boulainvilliers
By a Law of En. viz: to maintain by Word: only the Jurisdiction of the Pope is a Breach of the first Act & high Treason the second.

In the next example, a note on England’s population taken from Dobbs ([A 99]) is followed by another ([A 100]) written in the same ink and manner but coming from a completely different source (Geddes’ *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*) and concerning the Jews “chas’d from Spain” by King Ferdinand the Catholic:

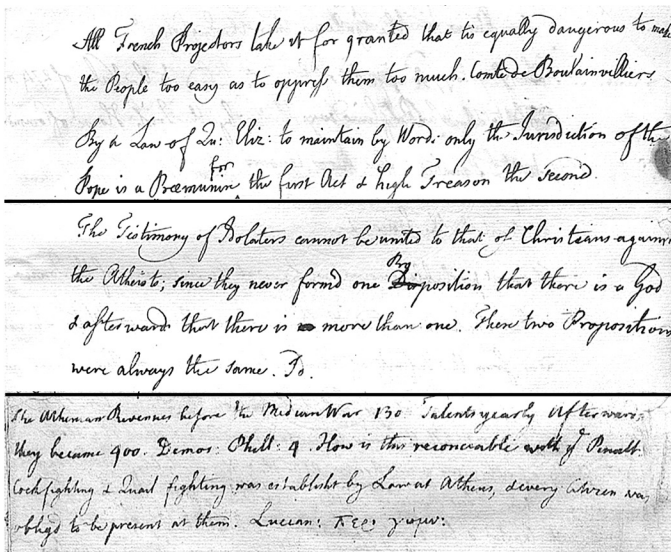
About 8 Millions of People in England. Id.
800,000 Jews chas'd from Spain by Ferdinand the Catholic. Geddes.

Another detail worth noting is the fact that Hume is not always scrupulous in the attribution of the passages he quotes. For instance, the statement contained in note [A 32] (“Above 40. Millions of Pieces of Eight come into Europe every Year. Id.”) is attributed to the *Craftsman*, as are the surrounding notes, but is not to be found anywhere in that periodical, at least in this form (as we have already argued, the figure given here by Hume is exaggerated).¹⁶⁵ Moreover, this note seems to have been written at the same time as the preceding one ([A 31]), but the fact that Hume adds an “Id.” in order to mark (wrongly) that the two notes must be ascribed to the same source leads us to suspect that this source was no longer available to him at the time that he wrote:

Tonnage of Shipping increased; but may arise from our Imports.
Above 40. Millions of Pieces of Eight come into Europe every Year Id.

The same conclusion applies to another quotation supposedly taken from Dutot's *Réflexions politiques* ([A 74]): "Bills of Exchange in France dont pass like Money or bank Notes. Id." This passage cannot be found anywhere in Dutot—who, by the way, was not interested in showing how things were *not* in France, or to compare France with Great Britain.¹⁶⁶ Again, it is not likely that Hume was taking notes on what he had just read; more probably, he was working on notes written earlier, which is obviously the case for some of the last entries in the "untitled" section: a piece of erudition such as note [A 249], which includes quotations from Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Plutarch, could hardly be considered as a "reading note"; it is, more likely, a compilation taken from pre-existing texts (the same could be said of note [A 258]).

A further interesting clue is given by the fact that in the first four pages of the "untitled" section (9–13, following the current pagination of the manuscript, not by Hume) and in the whole of the "Philosophy" section, there is a blank margin on the left side of the sheet (there is no similar margin in the rest of the manuscript). This could be a sign that the beginning of the "Philosophy" section is contemporary to the writing of the first pages of the "untitled" one. Such a conjecture is confirmed by a direct comparison of Hume's handwriting. In the following picture, the first sample is taken from page 11 of the manuscript of the Memoranda, which is the third page of the "untitled" section [A 11–12], the second from page 31, which is the first page of the "Philosophy" section [C 5], the third from page 28, which is the last page of the "untitled" section [A 268–69]. The similarities between the first two samples are obvious, while the third shows a different layout and a different hand and ink.



7. Hume's Memoranda: A Selection of Notes

It is now time to sketch some final remarks concerning the origin and the nature of the Memoranda. Our suggestion is that some time after summer 1737 Hume decided to reorder his “loose bits of paper” and to classify his extant notes under three different headings (the initial one, now partly missing, could have been entitled “History” or “Politics”). He probably began selecting and copying the historical and political notes and, at the same time, he collected and copied most of the philosophical ones. The second half of the “untitled” section was probably added later and progressively, perhaps over a period of some years, while Hume's interest in ancient times and in Greek and Roman texts was growing (this is why we would prefer not to call them “early” Memoranda any longer).

A selection, therefore, is at the origin of the Memoranda, but a selection lacking any explicit order (except for the general division under the three main headings). A hidden order, less obvious but real, pervades the text: a selective order based on some basic keywords, which Hume takes as a reference point in order to choose what to transcribe among his preceding annotations, leaving aside the rest and accumulating the material quite randomly: fiscal policy, public revenue and public debt, national trade policies, interest on loans and borrowing costs, history of population, social policies (hospitals, orphanages), the cost of a standing army, but also polytheism of the ancients, pagan rites, the political and economic customs of Greece and Rome, and so on. From a philosophical point of view, beside the three quotations taken from Dubos which could open up an insight on the personal perspective of the young Hume, the key question is certainly that of atheism, with various collateral issues (free will, creation, the problem of evil). While the latter question could be connected to the lost “manuscript book” on religious issues written by Hume “before [he] was twenty,” and possibly burnt many years later,¹⁶⁷ the printed sources of the Memoranda, more generally, could be among those “celebrated books in Latin, French, and English” read by him in the early 1730s and mentioned in the 1734 letter to the unnamed physician.¹⁶⁸ Obviously, the Memoranda do not reveal all of Hume's readings: they are a selection. Hume was to use this selection for many of his post-*Treatise* works, in the 1741–42 *Essays*, as well as in the later works: the second *Enquiry*, the *Dialogues* and the *Natural History of Religion*.

All the scholars have been right concerning the Memoranda, at least in part. Burton sensed that they could belong to different periods of Hume's life, and Mossner understood that some of them could come from the late 1720s or the early 1730s. Stewart rightly postponed the material dating of the manuscript to the end of Hume's work on the *Treatise*, leaving open the question of its sources. More recently, Sakamoto worked usefully on the link between the Memoranda and the 1741–42 editions of the *Essays*, and Harris conjectured that they could be

second-tier texts rather than reading notes taken in real time, but this intuition went almost unnoticed. Our analysis provides the evidence for it: the Memoranda are indeed second-tier texts; at least the greater part of them. They are fragments of old readings, reminders to be copied or to be put aside: "loose, uncorrect thoughts" worthy to be transcribed and perhaps to be developed. In short, they are but leftovers. And there is always something to be rehashed from leftovers. Especially when the author has "a great talent for Cookery."¹⁶⁹

NOTES

1 We are very grateful to Jacopo Agnesina, Vicki Hammond, Antony McKenna, Emanuele Ronchetti, and Luigi Turco for discussing this essay with us. In particular, Antony McKenna has shown great generosity in helping us with many questions and suggestions about the essay and its language. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from French are ours. The images in the text are reproduced by permission of the Royal Society of Edinburgh's David Hume Bequest, held on deposit at the National Library of Scotland.

2 See Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*, 146: "The notes taken as a whole do not, in fact, look much like notes taken while books were being read and digested for the first time. They look rather more like memoranda, notes taken from notes, as if Hume was looking through other notebooks and culling from them various discrete facts and observations." Harris, however, dates the text to the "earlier 1740s" (146), and believes that "the so-called Early Memoranda tell us about Hume's intellectual interests at around the time when Book 3 of the *Treatise* was completed" (27).

3 Hume to M. Ramsay, 4 July 1727 (*Letters*, 1: 9).

4 Burton, *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, 1: 125–26.

5 Burton, *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, 1: 95–96.

6 According to Kemp Smith, the "memoranda" consist "mainly of notes on reading" and are "probably written, as Burton conjectures, prior to 1741" (35). The watermarks, he argues, "occur also on paper used in the years 1734, 1739, and 1743, but not . . . on any later, definitely datable R. S. E. manuscripts." And the contents of the memoranda, "as Burton points out, suggest a date of origin *subsequent* to the completion of the *Treatise*" (Kemp Smith, 35n3).

7 Mossner, "Hume's Early Memoranda," 492–518. Here is a short history of the different titles given to Hume's notes: Burton entitles them "a Collection of Memorandums" (*Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, 1: 126); Kemp Smith simply calls them "memoranda" ("Introduction," 35 and note 3); Mossner, "Early Memoranda" ("Hume's Early Memoranda," 492–518). According to Stewart, they are "surviving reading notes, the so-called 'memoranda'" (Stewart, "Hume's Intellectual Development," 11–58, 46). Now it is a custom to call them, as Harris does, "the so-called Early Memoranda" (Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*, 27, 249; cf. Emerson, "Hume's Intellectual Development: Part II,"

166 and note 60; Susato, *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment*, 240n10; Schmidt, *David Hume: Reason in History*, 299n1). And they are generally considered to be "reading notes."

8 See Greig and Beynon, *Calendar of Hume MSS*, 135, item IX, 14: "Miscellaneous Memoranda from books read."

9 See Mossner, "An Apology for David Hume, Historian," 657–90 (in particular 675–76); Bell, "Some Spurious Hume Documents," 561. Bell's article concerns only the manuscripts owned by the National Library of Scotland (MS 732–34, 786), but the Huntington manuscript (MS HM12263) is very similar and comes very likely from the same source.

10 References to the *Treatise* are to Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Norton and Norton, cited in the text as "T" followed by Book, part, section, and paragraph number, and to Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Selby-Bigge, rev. by Nidditch, cited in the text as "SBN" followed by the page number.

11 See Mossner, "Hume's Early Memoranda," 494–95.

12 See, for instance, "Assros" for "Asses" (Mossner, "Hume's Early Memoranda," 509n120); "maim" for "want" (513n191); "Barko" for "Boetia" (515n227); "Forces" for "Taxes" (515n230); "Query" for "I." [=Isocrates] (517n258); "a Swiss" for "a Semis" (518n264).

13 The "Philosophy" section of the Early Memoranda, taken from Mossner's edition, has been recently included in Hume, *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, 105–108.

14 Pittion, "Hume's Reading of Bayle," 373–86. Most of Pittion's textual matches between the Early Memoranda and the *Mémoires de Trévoux* are highly questionable. The most important source of the "Natural philosophy" section is to be found elsewhere, namely in the *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des Sciences* (as we hope to show in a forthcoming study). For other possible French sources of Hume, see Perinetti, "Hume at La Flèche."

15 Kreimendahl, "Bayles Bedeutung für den jungen Hume," 64–83; "Humes frühe religionsphilosophische Interessen im Lichte seiner 'Early Memoranda,'" 553–68. See also Bahr, "Pierre Bayle en los 'Early memoranda' de Hume."

16 Stewart, "The Dating of Hume's Manuscripts," 267–314.

17 See Stewart, "The Dating of Hume's Manuscripts," 280.

18 See Stewart, "The Dating of Hume's Manuscripts," 278. Cf. Kemp Smith, "Introduction," 35 and note 3.

19 References to the first *Enquiry* are to Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Beauchamp, hereafter cited in the text as "EHU" followed by section and paragraph number, and to Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Selby-Bigge, rev. by Nidditch, hereafter cited in the text as "SBN" followed by page numbers.

20 Stewart, "Hume's Intellectual Development," 11–58 (47n96: "The evidence there cited seems to me conclusive for a date c. 1740 for a significant part of the untitled Memoranda").

- 21 Sakamoto, "Hume's 'Early Memoranda,'" 131–64.
- 22 References to the second *Enquiry* are to Hume, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. Beauchamp, hereafter cited in the text as "EPM" followed by section and paragraph number, and to Hume, *Enquiries Concerning the Principles of Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. Selby-Bigge, rev. by Nidditch, hereafter cited in the text as "SBN" followed by page numbers.
- 23 Sakamoto, "Hume's 'Early Memoranda,'" 153.
- 24 Sakamoto, "Hume's 'Early Memoranda,'" 154–57.
- 25 See Miller, "Hume's Citation of Strabo and the Dating of the Memoranda," 197–202.
- 26 On this point, see section 5.
- 27 We maintain Mossner's numbering of the notes, but we restore the original order of the sections. Our section [A] corresponds to Mossner's "General" (that is, "untitled") section; [B] corresponds to Hume's "Natural philosophy" section; [C] to Hume's "Philosophy" section.
- 28 Cf. *London Magazine*, "Appendix," 711, 724; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Supplement, 751, 765.
- 29 *Historical Register* 22: 313n86, 333.
- 30 Cf. Rollin, *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens*, 11: 49. See the letter of Rollin to Rousseau dated 11 April 1737 and printed in Rollin's *Œuvres complètes*, 7: 771. A passage taken from the original French edition of the *Histoire ancienne* (3: 308–309) is quoted and translated (probably by Hume) from French into English in *Treatise*, 2.3.6.4.
- 31 In a letter of juin 1738 to Thieriot, Voltaire says that he is "going to devour" (*il va dévorer*) the *Réflexions politiques*, but at the same time asks his correspondent to reveal to him the name of their author (*Œuvres complètes*, 34: 486–87).
- 32 See Hume, *Essays*, 123 [→ Memoranda A 21], 184 [→ Memoranda A 75], 32 [→ Memoranda A 76], 183 [→ Memoranda A 133], 186 [Memoranda A 142]). Cf. Sakamoto, "Hume's 'Early Memoranda,'" 138.
- 33 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 441. See also *Historical Register* 19: 25–26.
- 34 Cf. *The David Hume library*, 142n23. On Hume's reaction to the 1739 Spanish war, see Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 188–96. On the large debate preceding Walpole's declaration of war, see Woodfine, *Britannia's Glories*.
- 35 It is more difficult to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the notes [A 143–267] of the "untitled" section. Here, the only relevant clue is the appearance of many texts in Greek or taken from Greek sources. It is known that Hume intensified his study of ancient Greek authors in the early 1740s (cf. Stewart, "Dating," 280, 285). It is quite reasonable to argue that the *terminus ante quem* for the whole of the Memoranda is to be placed around 1745, but later additions are possible. Some notes will be used for the 1742, 1748, and 1752 editions of the *Essays*, which could represent the relative *termini ante quem* for, respectively, [A 154], [A 162], [A 264].
- 36 Stewart, "Dating," 278.

37 Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, 90: “It is a damage to our Barbadoes, and other American Trades, That the Goods that could pass immediately, to several parts of the world, and to be sold at moderate Rates, must first come into England, and there pay Duties, and afterwards (if at all) pass into Those Countries, whither they might have Gone immediately.”

38 Cf. Robertson, *Inquiry*; John Bennett, *Four Letters*. See also Andrews, “Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry.”

39 *Journals of the House of Commons*, 48.

40 Ashley, *Observation* (cf. Hume Library, 146n72).

41 Cf. Ashley, *The Sugar Trade*, 11 (“about 5,000 hogsheads” of sugar exported yearly to foreign markets). See also *Memoir on the Sugar-Trade*: “the export trade of Sugar from England declining gradually, the annual export, which had formerly exceeded 18,000 hogsheads, was reduced from the year 1734 to the year 1742 to less than 6,000”; Porte, *Nature and Properties of the Sugar Cane*, 333–34.

42 Cf. Simpson Ross, “The Emergence of David Hume as a Political Economist,” 34–35: working as a clerk in Bristol, Hume “would be involved in paying customs duties and freight charges on the ships, arranging for cargoes to be placed in warehouses, and perhaps passing on market information to the planters’ lawyers”; he would also “[derive] economic information and insights from the business of Miller’s counting-house and its connection with Atlantic seaboard trade.” See also Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, 128–40, 193–96.

43 See also Gee, *Trade and Navigation*, 27 (“The duty of *Bengal* Raw Silk being one Third more, and *China* near three Times as much as that of *Italian*, hinders our being supplied so fully as we ought, and is a great Damage to the Nation”) and notes 43–45 below.

44 Cf. Chaudhuri, *Trading World*, 351n33–34.

45 Chaudhuri, *Trading World*, 351: “In 1730 the Company ordered a much larger quantity of raw silk from China on the prospect of being given some relief with respect to the duty in the approaching session of Parliament. These early hopes were disappointed, and 1732 was the last year before 1752 when there were substantial imports of Chinese raw silk.”

46 Cf. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua*, 1: 92; see also *Antigua and the Antiguans*, 284. For a more comprehensive approach, cf. Wells, *Population of the British Colonies*. We thank Professor Robert Wells for his clarifying aid on this point.

47 *Historical Register* 17: 147.

48 Cf. *The British Empire in America*, 15, 18. For the parliamentary debate on this issue, cf. *London Magazine*, 512–19.

49 See *Historical Register* 13: 140 (articles of the Treaty of Paris, 1727).

50 Gee, *Trade and Navigation*; cf. *Hume Library*, 141n14.

51 Hume, “Of the Balance of Trade,” in *Essays*, Miller ed., 310: “The writings of Mr. Gee struck the nation with an universal panic, when they saw it plainly demonstrated, by a detail of particulars, that the balance was against them for so considerable a sum as

must leave them without a single shilling in five or six years. But luckily, twenty years have since elapsed, with an expensive foreign war; yet it is commonly supposed, that money is still more plentiful among us than in any former period."

52 See Gee, *Trade and Navigation*, 6.

53 Hume, "Of Public Credit" (text to be found only in editions from H to P, 636): "Circulation. This word serves as an account of every thing; and though I confess, that I have sought for its meaning in the present subject, ever since I was a school-boy, I have never yet been able to discover it."

54 Philips, *State of the Nation*, 53–55.

55 *The Political State of Great Britain* 48: 230 ("1,955,333 £" from 1727 to 1734).

56 See especially Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes*, 368–69.

57 Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes*, 368–69.

58 See Hume, "Of Money," in *Political Discourses*, 56: "bring home about seven millions a year"; Hume, "Of Money," in *Essays and Treatises on several Subjects*, 4: 49 "bring home about six millions a-year."

59 Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 4.1.28: "[T]he whole gold and silver annually imported into both Spain and Portugal, according to the best accounts, does not commonly much exceed six millions sterling."

60 Hume to Smith, 17 November 1772: "PS You once askd me for an account of the Money imported into Spain: I send you the enclosed Scrawl, Which is all I can find about it! But at the same time I found it concurd very exactly with an account I had given of it, I know not where. It was Count Zinzendorf gave me this account" (quoted by Tanaka, "Hume to Smith," 201–209).

61 Cf. *Historical Register* 12: 191: "[O]ur East-India trade brings about 300,000 a year into the customs."

62 Cf. Sinclair, *History of the Public Revenue*, 166.

63 See Davenant, *An Essay upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War*, 36 (666,383 £). According to Walpole (cited by the *Historical Register* for the year 1737, 202), in 1735 the excise on beer and ale "produced 1,021,370 £."

64 Cf. *Hume Library*, 141n15.

65 See Nye, *War, Wine, and Taxes*.

66 Cf. Nye, *War, Wine, and Taxes*, 39.

67 See the statistics published by Redding, *History and Description of Modern Wines*, 383.

68 Cf. Redding, *History and Description of Modern Wines*, 383.

69 Hume, "Of the Balance of Trade," in *Political Discourses*, 88. "On Balance of Trade," in *Essays*, 316).

70 See Trenchard and Moyle, *Argument* (cf. *Hume Library*, 145n66: "Collection of various treatises on the Magna Carta and the Standing Armies . . . published between 1697

and 1707”—Trenchard is mentioned as one of the authors). See also Barbon, *Discourse on Trade*, 59–60: “England . . . is an Island, therefore requires no Military Force to defend it.”

71 *Craftsman*, 7 (cf. *Hume Library*, 60n17).

72 Cf. Hume to W. Mure, 14 November 1742 (in *Letters*, 1: 43–44); see also Robertson, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 71–73.

73 Cf. Wilkinson, *British Navy*, 76, table 4.2.

74 The last words of this note (“at one in 10 [5?]”) are not easy to interpret: “5” is Mossner’s reading for “10 x” (where “x” is an unconventional sign which we are unable to interpret). “At one in 10” could be the proportion of men required to make a substantial militia, as appears from the *Memoirs of Russia* by von Manstein, published by Hume in 1770: “[T]here is a body of militians, twenty thousand dragoons, to guard them . . . This militia is draughted from two hundred thousand families of gentlemen of small fortunes” (93).

75 Cf. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 5: 503.

76 Cf. Robertson, *Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, 73: “In a commercial society in which there is no distinction between freeman and servants all will become capable of militia. But in that case were not armies conscripted from among the people—armies such as those raised by China and now also by the modern monarchies—to be accounted Militias?” According to Robertson, this could also explain Hume’s reference to a “militia” in the note quoted above (Memoranda [A 66]).

77 See *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 3: 441.

78 The section contains 41 notes (including the last Greek quotation): 3 are from Dubos (§§1–3); 29 from Bayle (§§4–26, 28–30, 32–34); 1 from Fénelon but drawn from Tournemine (§35); 2 from Fénelon (§§36–37); 1 from Cudworth (§40); 1 from Epicharmus but drawn from Polybius or Lucian; (§41); 2 Humean notes originated from the reading of Bayle (§§27, 31); 2 possible Humean notes (§§38, 39).

79 In Wright’s *Introduction*, as well as the *Companion or Guide to the Treatise*, Bayle is chiefly mentioned in connection with Hume’s 1737 letter, which recommends the reading of the article “Zeno of Elea” of the *Dictionnaire* (cf. Wright, *Introduction*, 27, 86; Traiger, *Blackwell Guide to Hume’s Treatise*, 60, 64, 70; Ainslie and Butler, *Cambridge Companion to Hume’s Treatise*, 5, 33, 39). If Wright takes into consideration Hume’s 1732 letter, he relates to the subject of religion rather than causation: “[Hume] was reading the great French skeptic Pierre Bayle, perhaps considering his discussions of the ineffectiveness of Christian teachings on moral behaviour” (Wright, *Introduction*, 11).

80 Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 79.

81 Stewart, “Hume’s Intellectual Development,” 48n97.

82 Where Mossner reads “de Bosse,” we read “de Bosze.” It could be conjectured that Hume first wrote “L’Abbe de Bos,” in agreement with the 1741 spelling (see notes 86 and 92); then he checked the source (one of his “loose bits of paper”?), and recovered the original “de Boze”: he corrected his spelling by adding a “z,” supposed to replace the

"s" which is not deleted. Similarly, in note [A 109] Hume first wrote "reduc'd to five," then turned it into "reduc'd to fivfeteen" without deleting the "v"; in note [C 38] he wrote: "remember'd what went before with a much more lively Manner than usual," then erased "a" and added "in a" (*interl.*), without deleting "with."

83 [Du Bos], *Réflexions Critiques*, 1719; Du Bos, *Réflexions Critiques*, 1740.

84 *Hume Library*, 32, 87–88 (n383–86). Among Hume's books, there possibly figured also the 1735 Amsterdam edition of the *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie Française*, whose title page reads: "Par M. L'Abbe' Dubos."

85 "Review of the *Réflexions critiques*," 240.

86 Hume, "Of the Independency of Parliament," 82. The author of the *Réflexions* is called "de Bos" by the *Journal Littéraire* in 1722 and in 1729 ("Review of Dubos' *Réflexions Critiques*," 240; "Review of Richardson's *Traité*," 437), and by the *Lettres sérieuses et badines* in 1732 ("Analysis of Dubos' *Réflexions Critiques*," 399, 401, 405, 407–408, 410, 416–418, 429, 432), which contain an account of the 1732 Utrecht edition possibly owned by Hume.

87 Richardson, *Traité De la Peinture*. The work is reviewed by two Amsterdam journals: *Journal des sçavans* and *Journal littéraire*. Richardson stresses the subserviency of anatomy to painting, and the connection between poetry and painting, see Stewart, "Two Species of Philosophy," 71–72.

88 "[A]n anonymous French Author, but who is believed to be the Abbé de Boze, who wrote a book entitled *Critical Reflections*" (Richardson, *Description De Divers Fameux Tableaux*, 3: 169).

89 Richardson, *An Account Of Some of the Statues*, 1754, 230.

90 *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Musics*. Montesquieu refers to "L'Abbé Dubos" as the author of "l'Etablissement des Francs dans les Gaules" (*De l'Esprit des Loix*, II, VI, XXVIII, 3, 287).

91 Hume, "Of the Balance of Trade," in *Political Discourses*, 86 and note (Hume refers here to *Les interets d'Angleterre mal-entendus*); "Of the Populousness of Antient Nations," in *Political Discourses*, 243–44 and note; 253–54n (he refers here to the *Réflexions*).

92 Hume, "Of Tragedy," in *Four Dissertations*, 186–87 (Hume refers here to the *Réflexions*). The form "Dubos" reappears in the Index to the 1758 *Essays* (Hume, *Essays and Treatises on several Subjects*, 533). The Index does not refer to "Of the Independency of Parliament," where only the name occurs (it is not a quotation), which remains "de Bos" (Hume, *Essays*, 30), as in 1741.

93 Mossner, "Hume's Early Memoranda, 1729–40," 498.

94 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, Vol. I, Section 2, 15. Dubos writes: "A man was considered barbarous"; and Hume echoes: "'Twas regarded as a Piece of Cruelty." Dubos goes on, translating Juvenal: "if he branded by a hot iron his slave who had stolen the linnen from the table"; and Hume, translating Dubos rather than Juvenal, echoes: "to burn a Slave with a hot Iron for stealing Table Linnen." According to Juvenal, there are two pieces of linnen: "uritur ardenti due propter lintea ferro" (*Satires*, sat. 14, vv. 20–22, 265–66: "never happy until he has summoned a torturer, and he can brand

some one with a hot iron for stealing a couple of towels”). Dubos observes that “the most cruel spectacles have a kind of attraction for which they are loved by the most human peoples”: the spectacle of the amphitheatre was introduced when the Romans were “already civilized,” but their “humanity and politeness” did not cause a disgust for these “barbarous spectacles”: at the time of the “greatest politeness” of the Romans, the vestal virgins had a seat in the first row ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 2: 19). And Hume echoes: “Notwithstanding the Cruelty of their gladiatorian Spectacles, the Romans shew many Signs of Humanity.”

95 “[The] too careful education, which he has received, becomes even harmful to him, because it has been the occasion of taking the dangerous habit of letting another person think for him [L’éducation trop soigneuse qu’il a reçue luy devient même nuisible, parce qu’elle luy a été l’occasion de prendre l’habitude dangereuse de laisser penser d’autres pour luy]” ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 10: 110).

96 “Another sign of genius in the young men is to make a very slow progress in the arts and those practices, which form the general occupation of the generality of mankind during their adolescence, at the same time that they advance by gigantic steps in their profession for which nature has entirely destined them. Being born only for this profession, their wit seems to be below the mediocre level, where they want to apply it to other things Thus the young painter, whose mind is entirely abandoned to the ideas relating to his profession, forms itself for the commerce of the world more slowly than the young people of the same age . . . such a young painter commonly becomes an excellent artist. His very failures are a proof of the activity of his genius [Un autre indice de génie dans les jeunes gens, c’est de faire des progrès très lents dans les arts, & dans ces pratiques qui font l’occupation générale du commun des hommes durant l’adolescence, en même tems qu’ils s’avancent à pas de géant dans la profession, à laquelle la nature les a destinez entièrement. Nez uniquement pour cette profession, leur esprit paroît au-dessous du médiocre, quand ils veulent l’appliquer à d’autres choses. . . . Ainsi le Peintre Élève, dont l’esprit s’abandonne aux idées qui ont rapport à sa profession, qui se forme plus lentement pour le commerce du monde que les jeunes gens de son âge . . . devient ordinairement un Artisan excellent. Ses défauts même sont une preuve de l’activité de son génie]” ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 5: 53–54); “the more an artist endowed with genius takes time to form himself . . . the more commonly he carries his improvement [plus un artisan doué de génie met de temps à se former . . . plus il va loin ordinairement]” ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 10: 110–11).

97 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 10: 104: “Du tems où les hommes de génie parviennent au mérite dont ils sont capables.”

98 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 5: 41: “Des Etudes & des progrès des Peintres & des Poètes.”

99 Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 79.

100 Hume to the unnamed physician, March–April, 1734, *Letters* 1: 13. Hume refers here to his after-college years, between 1726 and 1729.

101 Hume to the unnamed physician, March–April, 1734, *Letters* 1: 13.

102 Hume to the unnamed physician, March–April, 1734, *Letters* 1: 16.

103 According to Dubos the "public" judge a work in general "by the way of sentiment and following the impression made on them by the poem or picture": the works of poetry and painting are "good works only in proportion as they can touch and engage us." "Sentiment—Dubos goes on—teaches us whether the work touches us, and makes on us the impression it must make, much better than all the dissertations composed by the critics [le public juge d'un ouvrage . . . qu'il en faut décider en général, c'est à dire, par la voye du sentiment & suivant l'impression que le poème ou le tableau font sur lui . . . [ils] ne sont de bons ouvrages qu'à proportion qu'ils nous émeuvent & qu'ils nus attachent Le sentiment enseigne bien mieux si l'ouvrage touche & s'il fait sur nous l'impression que doit faire un ouvrage, que toutes les dissertations composées par les Critiques]" ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 22: 305–306). "Reasoning ought to submit itself to the judgment pronounced by sentiment. Sentiment is the competent judge of the question [le raisonnement . . . doit se soumettre au jugement que le sentiment prononce. C'est le juge competent de la question]" ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 22: 306–307). "It is that sixth sense which we have, without seeing its organs. It is the portion of ourselves that judges upon the impression it feels, and . . . pronounces, without consulting the rule and compass. Finally, it is what we commonly call 'sentiment' [C'est ce sixième sens qui est en nous sans que nos voyions ses organes. C'est la portion de nous-même qui juge sur l'impression qu'elle ressent, & qui . . . prononce sans consulter la règle & le compas. C'est enfin ce qu'on appelle communément le sentiment]" ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 22: 308).

104 Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 79.

105 With regard to ideas as weaker copies of original impressions, cf. Guyer, "Hume, Kant, and the Standard of Taste," 528n12; with regard to humility and the resemblance of men, cf. Norton and Norton, "Editors' Annotations," 2: 824; with regard to sympathy, Lucrece and suffering as a pleasure, cf. Herdt, *Religion and Faction*, 95–99.

106 On the same haphazard basis we could establish another relation between Dubos and Hume. When Hume writes that we discover the operation of the association of ideas "more **by its effects** than by any immediate feeling" (T 2.1.9.4; SBN 305), that an affection infused by sympathy is "at first known only **by its effects**" (T 2.1.11.3; SBN 317), we could say that he is using Dubos's style of argument; since Dubos maintains that we do not know the difference between the air of two regions "but **by its effects** [que par ses effets]" ([Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 14: 237–38; cf. Hobson, "Imitation," 696).

107 Norton and Norton, "Editors' Annotations," 838.

108 Hume adds that "the soil and climate . . . , tho' they continue invariably the same, are not able to preserve the character of a nation the same for a century together" (T 2.1.11.2; SBN 317); Dubos maintains that when the soil and climate, in Hume's words, do "continue invariably the same" they do also "preserve the character of a nation the same."

109 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 14: 227.

110 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 14: 226–27

111 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 14: 228: "après avoir averti le lecteur de mettre une grande différence entre les faits que j'ai rapporté & les explications de ces faits que

je vais hazarder de faire. Quand les explications Physiques de ces faits ne seroient point bonnes, mon erreur sur ce point-là n'empêcheroit pas que les faits ne fussent véritables, & qu'ils ne prouvassent toujours que les causes morales ne décident pas seules de la destinée des Lettres & des Arts. L'effet n'en est pas moins certain, parce qu'on en auroit mal expliqué la cause." Dubos has already used the argument, cf. [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 2: 15.

112 "When they [animal spirits] run precisely into the proper traces, and rummage that cell, which belongs to the idea. But . . . , falling into the contiguous traces, present other related ideas in lieu of that, which the mind desir'd at first to survey" (T 1.2.5.20; SBN 61). See Malebranche, *Recherche de la vérité*, 1: 275: "[les esprits animaux] dirigez . . . pour produire dans le cerveau de certaines traces, en produisent souvent d'autres . . . se détournent facilement pour entrer en foule dans les traces profondes des idées, qui nous sont plus familières [the animal spirits directed . . . to produce certain traces in the brain, often produce other traces, . . . they easily divert in order to rush into the deep traces of the ideas that are more familiar to us]"; *The Spectator*, 6: 417: "the spirits . . . run not only into the Trace, to which they were more particularly directed, but into several of those that I ye about it"; Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*, 160–61 (see also 231–32): "those volatill Messengers of our will beat through all the Paths, and hunt every Enclosure of the Brain, in quest of the Images we want . . . flying through all the Mazes and Meanders rommage the whole Substance." See Turco, *Lo scetticismo morale di David Hume*, 56–64).

113 Dubos: "[the reader] should make a great difference"; Hume: "we must distinguish exactly"; Dubos: "the facts that I have reported and the explications of these facts that I'll venture to advance"; Hume: "the phænomenon itself, and the causes, which I shall assign for it." Dubos: "my error in this point [the physical explications] will not hinder the facts from being true"; Hume: "must not imagine from any uncertainty in the latter, that the former is also uncertain." Dubos: "The effect will not be less certain because I have wrongly explained the cause"; Hume: "The phænomenon may be real, tho' my explication be chimerical. The falshood of the one is no consequence of that of the other." See note 111.

114 Norton and Norton, "Editors' Annotations," 846.

115 [Voltaire], *Lettres Philosophiques*, XXV, 137.

116 Pascal, *Les "Pensées" de Port-Royal*, 2: 901–1046: "XXVI. Misère de l'homme," 1, 992: "Ce lui est une peine insupportable d'être obligé de vivre avec soi, et de penser à soi . . . C'est l'origine de toutes les occupations tumultuaires des hommes, et de tout ce qu'on appelle divertissement ou passetemps."

117 Pascal, *Pensées*, "XXVI. Misère de l'homme," 1, 994: "De là vient que tant de personnes se plaisent au jeu, à la chasse, et aux autres divertissements qui occupent toute leur âme."

118 Norton and Norton, "Editors' Annotations," 882.

119 Pascal, *Pensées*, "XXVI. Misère de l'homme," 3, 996–97. Dubos also makes his remarks on gaming, cf. [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 2: 21.

120 "Those, who take a pleasure in declaiming against human nature, have observ'd, that . . . say they" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352); "It has been remark'd, that . . ." (T 2.3.10.9; SBN 452).

121 In 1755, Hume says that he has kept the *Four Dissertations* "some Years" by him (Hume to A. Millar, 1 June 1755, *Letters* I, 223).

122 When Hume writes that according to Dubos, the mind "seeks every amusement and pursuit; business, gaming, shews, executions," he resumes sections I and II of Part I of the *Réflexions*, where Dubos maintains that, in order to escape their painful condition, men occupy themselves with banquets, public executions, horrible spectacles, fights among men (gladiators) and animals (bulls), cards and dice.

123 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 23: 310.

124 Cf. [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 1: 5–11: "De la nécessité d'être occupé pour fuir l'ennuy, & de l'attrait que les passions ont pour les hommes."

125 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 1: 8–9: "La première manière de s'occuper dont nous ayons parlé, qui est celle de se livrer aux impressions que les objets étrangères font sur nous, est beaucoup plus facile. C'est l'unique ressource de la plupart des hommes contre l'ennui; & même les personnes qui sçavent s'occuper autrement sont obligées, pour ne point tomber dans la langueur qui suit la durée de la même occupation, de se prester aux emplois & aux plaisirs du commun des hommes. Le changement de travail & de plaisir remet en mouvement les esprits . . . ce changement semble rendre à l'imagination épuisée une nouvelle vigueur."

126 In the *Treatise*, Hume ascribes to the declaimers against human nature the sentence: "The languid state, into which they [the spirits] fall, when not sustain'd by some brisk and lively emotion" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352); in "Of Tragedy," he ascribed to Dubos the sentences: "nothing is in general so disagreeable to the mind as the languid, listless state of indolence, into which falls upon the removal of every passion and occupation," and "that insipid languor, which arises from perfect tranquillity and repose" (Of tragedy," in *Essays* [Miller ed.], 217).

127 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, I, 7–11: "l'esprit, las d'être tendu se relâche; & une resverie morne & languissante, durant laquelle il ne jouit précisément d'aucun objet, est l'unique fruit des efforts qu'il a fait pour s'occuper luy-même . . . Cette conversation avec soi-même met ceux qui la sçavent faire à l'abri de l'état de langueur & de misère dont nous venos de parler . . . [Ils] sont obligées, pour ne point tomber dans la langueur qui suit la durée de la même occupation, de se prester aux emplois & aux plaisirs du commun des hommes . . . véritablement l'agitation où les passions nous tiennent, même durant la solitude, est si vive, que tout autre état est un état de langueur auprès de cette agitation."

128 In the *Treatise*, Hume ascribes to the Pascalian writers and to himself the sentence: "Men generally are of such indolent dispositions" (T 2.3.10.9–10; SBN 452); in "Of Tragedy" he ascribes to Dubos the sentence: "nothing is in general so disagreeable to the mind as the languid, listless state of indolence, into which falls upon the removal of every passion and occupation" ("Of tragedy," in *Essays* [Miller ed.], 217).

129 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 1: 10: "Dès qu'ils ont connu l'inaction, sitôt qu'ils ont comparé ce qu'ils souffroient de l'embaras des affaires & de l'inquiétude des passions

avec l'ennui de l'indolence, ils viennent à regretter l'état tumultueux dont ils étoient si dégoutés."

130 "[W]hen you loosen all the holds, which he [a man] has of external objects, he immediately drops down into the deepest melancholy and despair" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 352); "it [the mind] naturally seeks after foreign objects, which may produce a lively sensation, and agitate the spirits" (T 2.2.4.4; SBN 353); "this pleasure is here encreas'd by the nature of the objects, which being sensible, and of a narrow compass, are enter'd into with facility, and are agreeable to the imagination" (T 2.3.10.10; SBN 452).

131 Pascal, *Pensées*, "XXVI. Misère de l'homme," 3, 997: "se forme un objet de passion, qui excite son désir, sa colère, sa crainte, son espérance."

132 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 1: 6–11: "elle ne sçauroit être occupée qu'en deux manières. Ou l'âme se livre aux impressions que les objets intérieurs [extérieurs] font sur elle; & c'est ce qu'on appelle sentir . . . La première manière de s'occuper dont nous ayons parlé, qui est celle de se livrer aux impressions que les objets étrangers font sur nous, est beaucoup plus facile. C'est l'unique ressource de la plupart des hommes contre l'ennui . . . Ainsi nous courons par instinct après les objets qui peuvent exciter nos passions, quoique ces objets fassent sur nous des impressions qui nous coûtent souvent des nuits inquiètes & des journées douloureuses."

133 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, 1: 9: "Les passions qui leur donnent les joyes les plus vives leur causent aussi des peines durables & douloureuses." According to Dubos, "This is what lead them . . . to yield to passions of which they know the unpleasant consequences [Voilà ce qui les porte . . . à se livrer à des passions dont ils connoissent les suites fâcheuses]."

134 [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, I, I, 11 Vol. I, section 1, p. 11: "les hommes en général souffrent encore plus à vivre sans passions, que les passions ne les font souffrir."

135 Cf. "Of the Populousness," in *Essays*, 448–49; [Dubos,] *Réflexions Critiques*, II, 16: 268. Hume could have read the *Réflexions* in the 1719 edition, and later bought the 1732 edition listed in the Nortons' catalogue.

136 In the 1719 and 1732 editions, Dubos writes: "When Juvenal makes the portrait of the superstitious woman, he says that she asks to break the ice of the Tyber in order to make her ablutions in it. Hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem, / Ter matutino Tyberi mergetur. He speaks of the Tyber frozen in Rome as an ordinary event" ([Du Bos], *Réflexions Critiques*, 1719 ed., 268; 1732 ed., 156). In 1733, he adds some lines from Juvenal: "to make her ablutions in it. Hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem, / Ter matutino Tyberi mergetur, & ipsis / Vorticibus timidum caput abluet; inde superbi / Totum Regis agrum nuda & tremebunda cruentis / Erepet genibus." (II, XVI, 283–84) Vol. II, section 16, 1733 ed., pp. 283–284. In 1752, Hume translates: "When Juvenal describes a superstitious woman, he represents her as breaking the ice of the Tyber, that she may perform her ablutions: Hybernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem, / Ter matutino Tyberi mergetur. He speaks of that river's freezing as a common event." ("Of the Populousness," in *Essays*, 449).

137 If "de Boze" is the correct reading of the manuscript, and if this spelling has its source, as it seems probable, in the French translation of Richardson's work, Hume's notes from Dubos should be dated after 1728 and before 1733.

138 Cf. Stewart, "Hume's Intellectual Development," 35; Harris, *Hume*, 61–62.

139 This was John Laird's hypothesis, in his *Hume's Philosophy of Human Nature*, 3n8.

140 Memoranda [C 4]: "Tho the Antients speak often of God in the singular Number, that proves not they believ'd in his Unity," to be compared with the marginal note added by the editors in Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, III, 224a: "Quoique les Païens ne parlassent souvent que d'un seul Dieu, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'ils n'en crussent qu'un." Concerning Hume's notes on Stratonist atheism in the Memoranda, Kemp Smith maintained that they are "a summary of the lengthy passage in Bayle's *Continuation des pensées diverses* (1705), §cvi" ("Introduction," 36n1).

141 Stewart was the first to conjecture that the *Dictionnaire* was not necessarily the "book" mentioned by Hume in his letter to Ramsay ("Hume's Intellectual Development," 35). See also Harris, *Hume*, 62: it is possible "that it was the *Oeuvres Diverses* and not the *Dictionnaire* that Hume was thanking Ramsay for his trouble about."

142 Cf. Mijers, *News*, 155. Most scholars (since Mossner's *Life of David Hume*, 45) deny that the David Hume ("Home (Dav.) s. to Clerk Home of Endinr. 1725, H 26, H 3," Edinburgh, UL, Dc.5.24 vol.2, f. 212) registered in 1746 by Mackie among his 1725–26 students at the Faculty of Arts is the philosopher, but perhaps this point needs further investigation, which we hope to follow up in the near future. According to Greig (quoted by Laird, *Hume's Philosophy*, 23), Hume could have attended Mackie's lectures in his after-college years, when he probably took some Law classes. Mackie's lectures were indeed attended by many future lawyers and students at the Faculty of Law (cf. Mijers, *News*, 143–44; Emerson, *Essays on David Hume*, 111).

143 See the announcement by the booksellers who promoted the subscription for the *Œuvres diverses*, published in *Le Mercure [de France] de Juillet 1722*, 107: "Ceux qui n'ont point souscrit n'auront rien de l'ouvrage qu'après qu'il sera entièrement fini." Cf. Harris and Tolonen, "Hume In and Out of Scottish Context," 168 and note 4.

144 The "privilege" published at the beginning of vol. 1 of the 1725 edition is dated 4 October 1726. Volume 3, published in 1727, bears on the title page the words: "Avec privilège des Etats de Hollande & de Westfrise" (lacking on the title page of the two volumes printed in 1725). See also Barber, "The Publication of Pierre Bayle's *Œuvres diverses*," 9–25.

145 The two printings, dated 1725 and 1727, of volumes 1–2, are apparently identical, with the sole exception of the title page.

146 *Hume Library*, 74n107: "Bayle, Pierre. Oeuvres, Diverses de. 4 vols. in 5. Folio Calf Gilt. La Haye, 1725" (only the year of publishing of the first volume of the collection is probably considered here).

147 See Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, vol. 3, "Avis des Libraires" (pages not numbered).

148 See Johnson to Mackie, note 17.

149 Cf. Harris, *Hume*, 62.

150 "Baile" is the spelling used also in the announcements of the "Books Printed for Jacob Tonson in the *Strand*: FOLIO: "Baile's Historical and Critical Dictionary, 4 Vol." (*Ladies Library*; and in Addison, *Rosamond. An Opera*). It is also Deslandes' spelling:

“See Baile’s Dictionary Vol. I. 307. 2d Edition.” (48n); and Des Maizeaux’s spelling: “See Mr. Baile’s REPOSE aux Questions d’un Provincial. Tom. I. 182” (lxxxvi); “See Baile’s Dictionary, Art. of Lewis XIII. Remark V. 1905, of the 2d Edit.” (xxxv). Puffendorf’s translator, John Clarke Lamotte also uses it: “The New Letters of Mr. Baile, on the Occasion of his general Critical Remarks on *Malmbourg’s History of Calvinism*” (11n1); “As Mr. Baile does in the forecited Place, in these Words: Les Idées [. . .] &c. *Manicheens, Remark D*” (Clarke, *Enquiry*, 52); “Baile’s Dictionary passim” (Lamotte, *Essay upon Poetry and Painting*, 123n). More importantly, this is the spelling used by the Chevalier Ramsay: “Mr. Baile, and all other Unbelievers” (*Life of François de Salignac*, 243).

151 See Kreimendahl, “Bayles Bedeutung,” 75.

152 Cf. *Treatise* 1.2.4.6 (SBN 260): “the successive existence of a mind or thinking person.”

153 Hobbes: “Also the sixth point, that a man cannot imagine any thing to begin without a cause, can no other way be made known but by trying how he can imagine it. But if he try, he shall find as much reason, if there be no cause of the thing, to conceive it should begin at one time as another, that is, he hath equal reason to think it should begin at all times, which is impossible. And therefore he must think there was some special cause, why it began then rather than sooner or later; or else, that it began never, but was eternal” (*Of Liberty and Necessity*, 276). To be compared with Hume: “How can any thing, that exists from eternity, have a cause; since that relation implies a priority in time and a beginning of existence?” (*Dialogues*, 9.8: 190)

154 “Je suppose que, selon le système de Mr. Jurieu, la conservation n’est autre chose qu’une continuation de création, parce que les moments du temps, n’ayant aucune liaison nécessaire l’un avec l’autre, il ne s’ensuit pas de ce que je suis à ce moment, que je subsiste au moment qui suivra, si la même cause, qui me donne l’être pour ce moment, ne me le donne aussi pour l’instant suivant” (Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, 3: 787b).

155 Bayle gives here a more straightforward version of occasionalism, compared to Malebranche’s original position. On this point see also Ryan, “Bayle and Occasionalism,” 35–50.

156 See T 1.3.3.3 (SBN 79): “We can never demonstrate the necessity of a cause to every new existence, or new modification of existence, without shewing at the same time the impossibility there is, that any thing can ever begin to exist without some productive principle.” See also T 1.1.4.4 (SBN 12): “Two objects may be consider’d as plac’d in this relation [i.e., that of “causation”], as well when one is the cause of any of the actions or motions of the other, as when the former is the cause of the existence of the latter.” And T.1.2.5.24 (SBN 63): “the motion of a body has much the same effect as its creation.”

157 See Fontenelle, *Doutes sur le système physique des causes occasionnelles*, 16: “Je conçois bien que puisqu’il [Dieu] est tout-puissant par son essence, il est impossible qu’il veuille qu’une chose soit, et que cette chose ne soit pas. Mais conçois-je comment cette chose est, sitôt que Dieu veut qu’elle soit? Nullement; au contraire mon esprit et si faux, qu’il me représente l’action de Dieu comme quelque chose qui étant terminé et renfermé en lui-même, ne devrait rien produire au-dehors. Je n’entends point comment cet être possible qui n’est point, est averti que Dieu veut qu’il soit. Je n’entends point

où il prend ce qui le fait être; c'est-à-dire proprement, que je ne vois que la nécessité du fait, mais que la manière dont il arrive m'échappe entièrement."

158 See Penelhum, *David Hume*, 118ff.; White Beck, "A Prussian Hume," 272–75; Bennett, *Learning from Six Philosophers*, 256ff.; Botteril, "Hume on Liberty and Necessity," 284; Allison, *Custom and Reason*, 96–103; Anscombe, *From Plato to Wittgenstein*, 104–36.

159 When, later in the *Treatise*, Hume returns to the "first question," the issue will be quite different: "What is our idea of necessity, when we say that two objects are necessarily connected together" (T 1.3.14.1; SBN 155). This new version is indeed a reformulation of the original "second question": it is assumed that there are two objects constantly connected and one wonders in what sense their connection is "necessary," but the issue of the necessity of a cause for each "beginning of existence" has completely disappeared (unsurprisingly, the latter issue is also absent from the 1740 *Abstract* and from the 1748 *Enquiry on Human Understanding*). For Kant's reappraisal of Hume's "first question," see Allison, "Whatever Begins to Exist Must Have a Cause of Existence."

160 The occasionalists denied a "necessary connection" between events, and consequently denied the existence of causes among created substances. See, for instance, Jacquolot's conclusion on the basis of Jurieu's occasionalism: "il n'y a point dans toutes les créatures de causes premières, ni secondes, ni même occasionnelles" (quoted by Bayle in *Œuvres diverses*, 3: 787, that is, the same page commented by Hume in *Memoranda* [C 31]).

161 For another possible trace of Bayle's *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial* in the *Treatise*, see Paganini, "Hume and Bayle."

162 See Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, 3: 787–91.

163 See NLS Acc.11333: "A Treatise of Fluxions / By M^r George Campbell Professor of / Mathematicks in Edinburgh. Written by David Home / 1726," on which cf. Stewart, "Hume's Intellectual Development," 21n37: "Hume's [manuscript] is a fair copy transcribed from another copy, rather than from dictation, and we cannot be sure if he was rewriting his own notes or copying a manuscript that was circulating. Of the relatively few corrections he made, most are deletions of repetitions that have arisen by accidentally shifting back to a verbal similarity a few lines previously." Among these "deletions and repetitions," see for instance:

Page 54: "the Base of the Cylinder **will be** H§ & **therefore the Surface of the Base will be** = H§ x §/4 = H§r/4 the Solidity of the Cylinder **will be** H§ & **therefore the Surface of the Base will be** being the Product."

Page 55: "let § represent the Area of a Circle whose **Radius** is is Unity and § X2 will be the **radius** <Area> of a Circle."

Page 126: "When the **Ellypse** HDE becomes an **EHypse** Circle."

Here and in the following examples, the words deleted by Hume are **barred**, his additions are <between angle brackets>, while the words highlighted in **bold** are those relevant for identifying a "copy error." On note-taking in the early modern period, see Blair, "The Rise of Note-taking in Early Modern Europe."

164 The only exception here is the last note [C 40], which is written with a different ink, but this is not an abstract of another text; it is, most likely, one of Hume's personal observations.

165 The only passage of the *Craftsman* in which the "returns" from the Americas are discussed is to be found in Number 147, 1729 (Vol. 4, p. 205 of the 1731 reprint): "Since therefore we were about to oblige him [i.e., the king of Spain], I think it was extremely well judg'd, to let him have the Flotilla home rather than the Galleons. Twenty-five Millions of Pieces of Eight, every Body must acknowledge, is a much handsomer Sum than eighteen Millions." This passage is related to the blocking of Porto-Bello by the British fleet in 1727–28.

166 As Hume, probably relying on this note of the Memoranda, was to do in "Of the Balance of Trade" (in *Essays*, 318): "The French have no banks: Merchants bills do not there circulate as with us."

167 Hume to G. Elliot of Minto, 10 March 1751, in *Letters* 1: 154.

168 Hume to the unnamed Physician, March–April 1734, in *Letters* 1: 16.

169 Hume to G. Elliot of Minto, 16 October 1769, in *Letters* 2: 208.

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