

**Online Appendices to “Aussi hardi ... qu’aucun philosophe en France”:
The Eighteenth-Century French Reception of Hume’s *Essays*’, in *Hume’s
Essays: A Critical Guide* (CUP)**

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The following are three online Appendices to my essay “Aussi hardi ... qu’aucun philosophe en France”: The Eighteenth-Century French Reception of Hume’s *Essays*’, in Max Skjönsberg and Felix Waldmann, eds., *Hume’s Essays: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming in 2024).

Appendix I: Chronology of Eighteenth-Century French Translations of Hume’s *Essays*.

Appendix II: Hume’s *Essays* in Eighteenth-Century French Periodicals.

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Appendix I: Chronology of Eighteenth-Century French Translations of Hume's *Essays*

The following chronology amends and integrates the information offered by Tom Beauchamp and Mark Box in *E* (C) and the other existing repertories, in particular Benn 1965, Malherbe 2005 and Robel 2001. Translations of collections of essays are marked by the letter C, while translations of single essays are marked by the letter S. A number identifies every translation; a letter is added to distinguish new editions or reissues of the same translation. We adopt *E* (C)'s short titles when citing the *Essays*.

1750

S1 'Essai de David Hume sur la polygamie et le divorce. Traduit de l'Anglois', *Le Petit réservoir*, 2, pp. 453–63, 469–73.

Translation of 'Polygamy and Divorces'. According to Malherbe 2005 and 2010 (pp. 52–3), with Beauchamp and Box following him (*E* (C), p. 864), this is the first of Hume's writings to be translated into French.

1751

C1 *Essais de morale et de politique par David Hume traduit de Langlois*, failed attempt of publication.

On 22nd April 1751, the bookseller Michel Lambert tried to publish a translation of the *Essays* but did not obtain permission from the censorship administration (Bongie 1958, p. 234). The translator is unknown.

1754

C2 *Discours politiques de M^r. David Hume, traduits de l'Anglois par M^r. de M****** [Eléazar de Mauvillon], in-8°, Amsterdam, J. Schreuder & Pierre Mortier le Jeune.

Translation of *Political Discourses*, including all twelve essays composing the English editions, i.e.: 'Commerce', 'Refinement in the Arts' (still titled 'Of Luxury'), 'Money', 'Interest', 'Balance of Trade', 'Balance of Power', 'Taxes', 'Public Credit', 'Remarkable Customs', 'Populousness', 'Protestant Succession', 'Perfect Commonwealth'. According to Conlon 1983 (VII, p. 87, cit. Robel 2012, p. 223), this translation circulated as early as 1753. However, the scholar does not support his statement with any evidence.

This translation was also bundled as the first in a five-volume set of works by several authors titled *Discours politiques*, issued by the same publisher in 1754–57. The second volume of the set, dated 1756, incorporates the translation of the same essay by Bolingbroke, which had been included in **C3** two years earlier.

According to Robel 2012, the publisher reissued Mauvillon's translation 'several times, significantly in 1761 and 1767, after the French edition of Hume's *History* and a new volume of his economic writings, changing only the title page for each "edition" ... Copies are variously dated 1754, 1756 and 1759' (p. 223). Copies dated 1761 and 1767 are also described in Benn 1965 (p. 269). However, this information should be reconsidered. I could not find any trace of copies dated 1759. Although I did find copies dated 1767 in catalogues, I was not able to verify these in person. As for the alleged reissues of 1761 and 1756, the idea of their existence has probably been generated by a typographical mistake on the title page of the first volume composing the mentioned five-volume set, held by the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (the copy described by Benn). In it, the date

on the title page is 'MDCCLXI' but, as the publisher's advertisement in the second volume informs, the correct date of the first volume is actually 1754. This mistake is signalled in the library's catalogue, which, in turn, commits a new mistake: it dates the five-volume set 1756–57 based on the date on the second volume, prompting the false idea of a 1756 reissue. In conclusion, we can state with certainty only the existence of the 1754 publication and suppose with some degree of probability a reissue in 1767.

C3(a) *Discours politiques de Monsieur Hume. Traduits de l'Anglois* [by Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc], 2 vols, in-12°, Amsterdam, et se vend à Paris, Michel Lambert.

It includes the same essays as **C2**. The Amsterdam address is fake: the volume was published in Paris with a *permission tacite* (Bongie 1958, pp. 234–5). Hume's text is introduced by a 54-page preface by the translator, and printed along with Bolingbroke's *Réflexions politiques sur l'état présent de l'Angleterre, principalement à l'égard de ses Taxes et de ses Dettes, et sur leurs causes et leurs conséquences*, translation of *Some Reflections on the Present State of the Nation* (I, pp. 331–429). The second volume also contains a 'Notice de quelques-uns des principaux ouvrages anglois sur le commerce' (pp. 383–96) and another notice on works recently published quoted in the translator's footnotes (397–417).

S2 'Discours sur la balance du Commerce; par M. Hume d'Edimbourg', *Journal économique*, September 1754, pp. 176–84, and November 1754, pp. 167–76.

Translation of 'Balance of Trade'. It is a different translation from those of Mauvillon, Le Blanc, and the anonymous translation of 1766 (**C7(a)**).

1755

C3(b) *Discours politiques de Monsieur Hume. Traduits de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition. Par Monsieur l'Abbé Le Blanc*, 2 vols, in-8°, Dresde, Michel Groell.

This edition contains the same essays as **C3(a)**, as well as Bolingbroke's *Réflexions*. The book holds now a *privilège du roi*, while the 1754 edition had only a *permission tacite* (Bongie 1958, p. 235).

S3 'L'Impudence et la Modestie. Allégorie morale, traduite de l'Anglois', *Journal étranger*, February, pp. 231–6.

Translation of the second part of 'Impudence and Modesty', containing the allegory. Hume is not mentioned as being the author.

S4 'De l'Amour et du Mariage: Traduction de David Hume', *Journal étranger*, December, 1, pp. 219–28.

Translation of 'Love and Marriage'.

1756

S5(a) 'Essai sur le Caractere des Nations, par M. Hume, Gentilhomme Ecossois, traduit de l'Anglois, en 1754, par M. ***', *Mercure de France*, January, 2, pp. 21–49.

Translation of 'National Characters' by Nicolas-Claude Thieriot and revised by Voltaire (Malherbe 2005, p. 57, note 63, and Mazza-Nacci 2021, pp. 121–2).

S5(b) ‘Essai sur le Caractere des Nations, par M. Hume, Gentilhomme Ecossois, traduit de l’Anglois, en 1754, par M. ***’, *Nouveau Cordial pour r’animer les esprits abbatus. Ou L’Inquisiteur Anglois*, Francfort, chez James De La Cour, II, nn. 12–14, pp. 89–109.

The translation is identical to **S5(a)**. We do not know which one was published first.

S6(a) ‘De la délicatesse du Goût et du Sentiment, morceau traduit de l’Anglois de M. Hume’, *Mercure de France*, April, 1, pp. 8–15.

Translation of ‘Delicacy of Taste’. The translation is faithful, but the last note referring to *De la pluralité des mondes* is integrated with the full quotation from Fontenelle’s text.

S6(b) ‘De la délicatesse du Goût et du Sentiment, morceau traduit de l’Anglois’, *Nouveau Cordial pour r’animer les esprits abbatus. Ou L’Inquisiteur*, Francfort, chez James De La Cour, III, n. 1, pp. 3–7.

Translation identical to **S6(a)**, with the only difference that here the author is not declared. We do not know which one was published first.

S7(a) ‘Discours second de la liberté de la presse, à Londres’, *Mercure de France*, April, 1, pp. 15–6.

Translation of the first paragraph of ‘Liberty of the Press’, with no mention of Hume being the author.

S7(b) ‘Discours sur la liberté de la Presse, à Londres’, *Nouveau Cordial pour r’animer les esprits abbatus. Ou L’Inquisiteur Anglois*, Francfort, chez James De La Cour, III, n. 1, p. 8.

Identical to **S7(a)**. We do not know which one was published first.

S8 ‘Essay on the delicacy of passion and Taste. Essai sur la delicatesses de la passion et du gout’, *Journal étranger*, April, pp. 159–66.

Translation of ‘Delicacy of Taste’, preceded by a short introduction praising Hume and his *Political Discourses*.

S9(a) ‘Essay on the liberty of the press. Essai sur la liberté de la presse’, *Journal étranger*, April, pp. 167–76.

First full translation of ‘Liberty of the Press’.

S10 ‘Essay on Modesty and Impudence. Essai sur la Modestie et sur l’Impudence’, *Journal étranger*, May, pp. 27–31.

Translation of ‘Impudence and Modesty’. The final allegory is missing, replaced by a footnote in which the translator decries the use of allegories, ‘for so long proscribed in France’ (‘depuis si long-temps proscrit en France’). Curiously, a year before, the same journal had published precisely the allegory that is here dismissed (**S3**).

S11 ‘That policy may be reduced to a science. Que la politique peut être réduite en science’, *Journal étranger*, May, pp. 32–58.

Translation of ‘Politics’, also including ‘Walpole’ (consistently with the place this latter had in English editions from 1748 to 1768).

S12 ‘Des premiers principes du Gouvernement. Par M. Hume’, *Journal étranger*, June, pp. 41–50.

Translation of ‘First Principles of Government’.

S13 ‘De l’Etude de l’Histoire. Par M. Hume’, *Journal étranger*, June, pp. 51–8.
Translation of ‘Study of History’.

S14(a) ‘Essai sur l’Éloquence, Traduit de l’Anglois de M. Hume: *Essays Moral and political*, II, Essay 2’, *Mercure de France*, October, 1, pp. 55–69, and 2, pp. 10–19.
Translation of ‘Eloquence’, with footnotes by the translator. The long passage comparing France and England (§§17–18), which Hume will delete after 1768, is included in this earlier translation.

S14(b) ‘Essai sur l’éloquence, Traduit de l’Anglois de M. Hume: *Essays Moral and political*, II, Essay 2’, *Nouveau Cordial pour r’animer les esprits abbatus. Ou L’Inquisiteur Anglois*, Francfort, chez James De La Cour, III, nn. 22–24, pp. 169–86.
Translation of ‘Eloquence’, identical to **S14(a)**. We do not know which one was published first.

1757

S15 ‘Essai sur la Poligamie et le Divorce’, *Mercure de France*, February, pp. 45–61.
Translation of ‘Polygamy and Divorces’.

S16 ‘Essai de Mr. Hume, célèbre Auteur Anglois, sur le Caractere des Nations’, *Journal encyclopédique*, May, 3/3, pp. 26–51.

Translation of ‘National Characters’, surely by Jean Bernard Mérian. Although introduced as an ‘*extrait raisonné*’ (definition repeated by Malherbe 2005, p. 57, note 62), it is actually a full translation of the essay, except for the note on priests. The supposition about the translator’s identity is based on the editors’ claim that they received the piece ‘by a savant, member of one of the most illustrious Academies of Germany’ (‘d’un Sçavant, Membre d’une des plus illustres Académies d’Allemagne’, p. 26). It is further confirmed by the comparison with the translation included in the 1764 *Essais* by Mérian (**C6(a)**): the two translations are very close, and the differences might be easily explained as the result of the revision by Formey in the edition. Moreover, both translations contain the same paragraph by the translator added at the end of Hume’s note on ‘Negroes’.

1758

C4(a) *Essais philosophiques sur l’entendement humain, par Mr. Hume, avec les quatre Philosophes du même Auteur. Traduit de l’Anglois* [by Jean Bernard Mérian, with revisions by Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey] = Vols. I–II of *Œuvres philosophiques de Mr. D. Hume*, 5 vols, in-8°, Amsterdam, J.H. Schneider 1758–60.

In the same year, these volumes are also published as a two-volume set, lacking the general title. Under the title *Les quatre philosophes*, Mérian translates ‘Epicurean’, ‘Stoic’, ‘Platonist’ and ‘Sceptic’ (II, pp. 165–276).

S17 ‘Essai sur la Médiocrité des Conditions, traduit de l’Anglois de M. Hume’, *Mercure de France*, April, 1, pp. 7–15.

Translation of ‘Middle Station’. Since Hume had withdrawn the essay after the first 1742 edition, this would remain the only known eighteenth-century French translation of it. ‘Omitted is Hume’s sentence in §5’ about French monarchs (ll. 14–16) ‘as well as the whole of §11’ (*E* (C), p. 721).

1759

C5(a) *Dissertations sur les passions, sur la tragédie, sur la regle du goût. Traduit de l'Anglois de Mr. D. Hume* [by J.B. Mérian, with revisions by J.H.S. Formey] = volume IV of *Œuvres philosophiques de Mr. D. Hume*, 5 vols., in-8°, Amsterdam, J.H. Schneider 1758–60. In 1759, this volume is issued also individually (lacking the general title) and as the second item of a two-volume set (with the two volumes bound together, each one with its own title page), where the first one is the translation of the *Natural History of Religion*. It contains the first French translations of 'Tragedy' and 'Standard of Taste' (pagination changes in the different reissues).

1760

S18 'Essai sur la Liberté et le Despotisme', *Journal étranger*, May, pp. 150–78.

Translation of 'Civil Liberty' (titled 'Of Liberty and Despotism' until the 1758 English edition), including notes by the translator. Hume is mentioned as being the author.

S19 'Essai sur la jalousie du Commerce', *Journal étranger*, August, pp. 88–97.

Translation of 'Jealousy of Trade'. A short notice on the 1760 English edition of *Essays* just published introduces it, informing readers that this essay, along with 'Coalition of Parties', was added to this edition and that 'a man of great spirit and learning, whose name would do honour to our Journal, has communicated to us the translation that we are going to give of the new Essay on the jealousy of trade' ('Un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de lumieres, et dont le nom feroit honneur à notre Journal, nous a communiqué la Traduction que nous allons donner du nouvel Essai sur la jalousie du Commerce', p. 86). According to Robel 2012, this man was Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, who occasionally contributed to the *Journal étranger*. Given that the essay, as well as 'Coalition of Parties', would not be included in Mérian's edition, this and **S20** are the only known eighteenth-century translations of these two essays.

S20 'Essai sur la réunion des partis', *Journal étranger*, September, pp. 22–40.

Translation of 'Coalition of Parties' probably by Turgot (see Robel 2012). See **S19**. The translation is introduced by a short notice that recalls what was already said in the one preceding **S19**.

S21 'Essai sur l'Etude de l'Histoire, traduit des Essais et Traités sur différens sujets, par M. Hume', *Journal étranger*, October, pp. 147–55.

Translation of 'Study of History', different from the one that appeared in the same journal four years earlier (**S13**).

1761

S22 'Whether the British Government inclines more to absolute Monarchy, or to a Republic. Le Gouvernement Britannique panche-t-il davantage vers la Monarchie absolue ou vers la République?', *Journal étranger*, January, pp. 96–108.

Translation of 'British Government' with explanatory notes by the translator. Hume is mentioned as being the author.

C6(a) *Essais Moraux et Politiques, traduits de l'Anglois, de Mr. Hume*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume I of *Œuvres de Mr. Hume. Seconde édition*, 5 vols, in-8°, Amsterdam, J.H. Schneider 1760–1764.

This is the first book translation of the *Essays*, containing those included in the 1748 and 1753 English editions of *Essays, Moral and Political*, i.e.: ‘Delicacy of Taste’ (pp. 1–9), ‘Liberty of the Press’ (pp. 9–20), ‘Impudence and Modesty’ (pp. 21–9), ‘Politics’ (pp. 29–60), ‘First Principles of Government’ (pp. 61–71), ‘Love and Marriage’ (pp. 71–81), ‘Study of History’ (pp. 82–91), ‘Independency of Parliament’ (pp. 92–105), ‘British Government’ (pp. 106–17), ‘Parties in General’ (pp. 118–35), ‘Parties of Great Britain’ (pp. 135–60), ‘Superstition and Enthusiasm’ (pp. 160–72), ‘Avarice’ (pp. 172–80), ‘Dignity or Meanness’ (here still titled ‘Of the Dignity of Human Nature’, pp. 181–94), ‘Civil Liberty’ (here still titled ‘Of Liberty and Despotism’, pp. 195–212), ‘Eloquence’ (pp. 212–40), ‘Rise and Progress’ (pp. 241–96), ‘Epicurean’ (pp. 297–316), ‘Stoic’ (pp. 316–34), ‘Platonist’ (pp. 334–41), ‘Sceptic’ (pp. 342–84), ‘Polygamy and Divorces’ (pp. 385–404), ‘Simplicity and Refinement’ (pp. 404–13), ‘National Characters’ (pp. 414–46), ‘Original Contract’ (pp. 447–85), ‘Passive Obedience’ (pp. 485–93). In the same year, this volume was also issued as the first one of a two-volume set, where the second one included the *Philosophical Essays*. For further details on the organisation and chronology of the five-volume set, see *E* (C), p. 498.

C4(b) *Les quatre derniers essais sur l'entendement humain & les quatre philosophes*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume II of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume. Traduits de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 6 vols, in-8°, Londres, David Wilson 1764.

Like in the first edition of Hume's *Œuvres* (**C4(a)**), the section titled *Les quatre philosophes* includes ‘Epicurean’, ‘Stoic’, ‘Platonist’ and ‘Sceptic’. On the Wilson edition, see *E* (C), pp. 498–9.

C5(b) *Les Dissertations sur les Passions, sur la Tragédie et sur la Regle du goût*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume IV of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume. Traduits de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 6 vols, in-8°, Londres, David Wilson 1764.

Reissue of the translations of ‘Tragedy’ (pp. 181–94) and ‘Standard of Taste’ (pp. 195–226) published in 1759 (**C5(a)**).

C6(b) *Essais Moraux et Politiques*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume VI of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume. Traduits de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 6 vols, in-8°, Londres, David Wilson 1764.

It contains the same essays as **C6(a)**, except the ‘four philosophers’ (which are in volume II of the same set). Therefore, the included essays are: ‘Delicacy of Taste’ (pp. 1–6), ‘Liberty of the Press’ (pp. 6–14), ‘Impudence and Modesty’ (pp. 15–20), ‘Politics’ (pp. 21–43), ‘First Principles of Government’ (pp. 43–51), ‘Love and Marriage’ (pp. 51–8), ‘Study of History’ (pp. 58–65), ‘Independency of Parliament’ (pp. 65–75), ‘British Government’ (pp. 75–84), ‘Parties in General’ (pp. 84–96), ‘Parties of Great Britain’ (pp. 96–114), ‘Superstition and Enthusiasm’ (pp. 114–23), ‘Avarice’ (pp. 123–9), ‘Dignity or Meanness’ (here still titled ‘Of the Dignity of Human Nature’, pp. 129–39), ‘Civil Liberty’ (here still titled ‘Of Liberty and Despotism’, pp. 139–51), ‘Eloquence’ (pp. 151–72), ‘Rise and Progress’ (pp. 172–212), ‘Polygamy and Divorces’ (pp. 213–26), ‘Simplicity and Refinement’ (pp. 226–33), ‘National Characters’ (pp. 233–56), ‘Original Contract’ (pp. 257–83), ‘Passive Obedience’ (pp. 283–8).

S23 ‘De l'origine, et des progrès des arts, et des sciences’, [translated by Geneviève-Françoise Randon de Malboissière], January, unpublished, 28 pp., in-8°.

Translation of ‘Rise and Progress’, introduced by a one-page summary of the essay. The manuscript containing this translation belongs to the private archives of Marquis de Luppé (Fonds La Grange, Beaurepaire, Oise, France), as indicated in de Luppé 1925, p. 347. I was able to examine the manuscript thanks to the kindness of Marquis Chantal and Stanislas de Luppé, whom I warmly thank. An annotated edition of this translation will be provided in my study “‘Mon Cool Warm Hearted Philosophe’” (forthcoming).

1766

C7(a) *Essais sur le commerce; le luxe; l'argent; l'intérêt de l'argent; les impôts; le crédit public, et la balance du commerce; par M. David Hume. Traduction nouvelle, avec des Réflexions du Traducteur. Et Lettre d'un négociant de Londres, à un de ses amis; Contenant des Réflexions sur les Impôts auxquels sont assujetties les denrées de première nécessité, & sur la conséquence dont ils peuvent être relativement à la main-d'œuvre dans les Manufactures d'Angleterre. Traduite sur la seconde édition, imprimée à Londres en 1765, in-8°, Amsterdam.*

The volume contains annotated translations of seven essays on economics from *Political Discourses*, i.e: ‘Commerce’ (pp. 3–29), ‘Refinement in the Arts’ (still titled ‘Of Luxury’, pp. 30–53), ‘Money’ (pp. 54–78; followed by critical remarks by the translator at pp. 78–89, along with an excerpt from Hume’s *History* at pp. 89–91), ‘Interest’ (pp. 92–115, with remarks at pp. 115–123), ‘Taxes’ (pp. 124–34, with remarks at pp. 135–48), ‘Public Credit’ (pp. 149–173, with remarks at pp. 173–187), ‘Balance of Trade’ (pp. 188–216). It is the third French translation of *Political Discourses*, after Mauvillon’s and Le Blanc’s. Based on Diderot’s short story ‘Ceci n’est pas un conte’, it had been attributed to Mlle de la Chaux (see for instance Benn 1965) until Laurence Bongie proved her to be a fictional character (Bongie 1977, pp. 41–78), probably intended to refer to Louise-Hortense de Lavau (Bongie 1989). In 1979, Henri Bénéjac, the editor of Diderot’s *Œuvres romanesques*, argued in favour of the existence of Mlle de la Chaux. See also Malherbe 2005 who adopts Bongie’s position, and Delon 2002 (p. 21) and Gargam 2013 (p. 569), who present the state of the question leaving it open. In any case, there is no evidence that Mlle de la Chaux (if she existed) or Louise-Hortense de Lavau authored this translation. According to Robel 2012, ‘the style may well point to Turgot, who translated two essays for the *Journal étranger* in 1760’ (p. 226; see above **S19** and **S20**).

1767

C7(b) *Essais sur le commerce; le luxe; l'argent; l'intérêt de l'argent; les impôts; le crédit public, et la balance du commerce; par M. David Hume. Traduction nouvelle, avec des Réflexions du Traducteur. Et Lettre d'un négociant de Londres, à un de ses amis; Contenant des Réflexions sur les Impôts auxquels sont assujetties les denrées de première nécessité, & sur la conséquence dont ils peuvent être relativement à la main-d'œuvre dans les Manufactures d'Angleterre. Traduite sur la seconde édition, imprimée à Londres en 1765, in-8°, Paris, Lyon, Saillant, Aimé De la Roche.*

This volume is identical, with the same number of pages, to **C7(a)**.

C8 *Pensées philosophiques, morales, critiques, littéraires et politiques de M. Hume*, [translated by Jean-Auguste Jullien de Boulmiers], Londres [Paris], Veuve Duchesne.

The frontispiece presents the portrait of Hume by N. Cochin. The volume is an anthology of Hume’s writings, where many passages have been deleted and critical remarks added in footnotes. Translations from the *Essays*

occupy almost half of the volume, including: 'Epicurean' (pp. 33–44), 'Stoic' (pp. 44–54), 'Platonist' (pp. 54–61), 'Sceptic' (pp. 61–80), 'Avarice' (pp. 241–5), 'Impudence and Modesty' (pp. 245–51), 'Dignity or Meanness' (here still titled 'Of the dignity of human nature', pp. 251–9), 'Love and Marriage' (pp. 260–8), 'Liberty of the Press' (pp. 269–73), 'First Principles of Government' (pp. 273–8), 'Parties in General' (pp. 278–84), 'Superstition and Enthusiasm' (pp. 285–9), 'Civil Liberty' (here still titled 'Of Liberty and Despotism', pp. 289–97), 'National Characters' (pp. 297–305), 'Polygamy and Divorces' (pp. 305–15), 'Study of History' (pp. 316–22), 'Tragedy' (pp. 322–36), 'Standard of Taste' (pp. 336–67), 'Delicacy of Taste' (pp. 367–71), 'Rise and Progress' (pp. 371–92), 'Eloquence' (pp. 392–405), 'Simplicity and Refinement' (pp. 405–11).

1769

C4(c) *Le Temple du bonheur, ou Recueil des plus excellents traités sur le bonheur, extraits des meilleurs Auteurs anciens et modernes*, [ed. Jean-François Dreux du Radier], 3 vols, in-8°, Bouillon, aux dépens de la Société Typographique.

Volume I includes *Les quatre philosophes, ou de la diversité des sentimens sur les moyens de rendre la vie heureuse*, par Mr. D. Hume, i.e. Mérian's translation of 'Epicurean' (pp. 119–32), 'Stoic' (pp. 132–43), 'Platonist' (143–8) and 'Sceptic' (pp. 148–77).

1770

C9 *Le Génie de M. Hume, ou Analyse de ses ouvrages, dans laquelle on pourra prendre une idée exacte des Mœurs, des Usages, des Coutumes, des Loix, et du Gouvernement du Peuple Anglois*, in-12°, Londres [Paris], Vincent.

The editor of this collection is Auguste-Pierre Damiens de Gomicourt, compiler of the periodical *L'Observateur français à Londres* (Bongie 1958, p. 245, note 24). According to Robel 2012, the collection 'draws heavily on Hume's political and moral maxims as well as anecdotes from the *History of England* with extracts from Abbé Prévost and Mme Belot's translation of the *History* and Mérian and Robinet's of *Essays Moral and Political*, alongside le Blanc's *Discourses*' (p. 226). As for the *Essays*, the collection contains (and often mixes) excerpts from: 'Populousness' (pp. 9–14), 'Love and Marriage' (pp. 17–20, 199–202), 'Commerce' (pp. 71–81), 'National Characters' (pp. 82–3), 'Refinement in the Arts' (pp. 83–8, 108–15, 207), 'Money' (pp. 89–96), 'Interest' (pp. 97–100), 'Public Credit' (101–4), 'Taxes' (pp. 105–7), 'Civil Liberty' (pp. 115–22), 'First Principles of Government' (pp. 128–36), 'Liberty of the Press' (pp. 137–9), 'Balance of Trade' (pp. 143–5), 'Parties in general' and 'Parties of Great Britain' (pp. 165–73), 'British Government' (pp. 174–5), 'Rise and Progress' (pp. 176–7, 203–6), 'Study of History' (178–83), 'Tragedy' (pp. 186–8), 'Standard of Taste' (pp. 189–93), 'Eloquence' (pp. 193–9), 'Impudence and Modesty' (pp. 213–5), 'Avarice' (pp. 217–9).

C4(d) *Le Temple du bonheur, ou Recueil des plus excellents traités sur le bonheur, extraits des meilleurs Auteurs anciens et modernes. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée*, [ed. Jean-François Dreux du Radier], 4 vols, in-12°, Bouillon, aux dépens de la Société Typographique.

New edition of **C4(c)**, always including *Les quatre philosophes* in volume I.

S9(b) and **S5(c)** *Variétés angloises*, in-12°, Londres, J. B.

Collection of various essays by different British authors, including translations of 'Liberty of the Press' (pp. 134–44) and 'National Characters' (pp. 258–92). The former is the same translation that was published in

Journal étranger in 1756 (**S9(a)**) and the author is not declared, while the latter is the same as the one by Thieriot of the same year (**S5(a)**) and Hume is mentioned as being the author.

S24(a) and **S25(a)** *Recueil philosophique ou Mélanges de Pièces sur la Religion et la Morale. Par différents auteurs*, [ed. Jacques-André Naigeon], 2 vols, s.n., Londres.

Volume II includes translations of ‘Immortality of the Soul’ (**S24(a)**, pp. 34–49) and of ‘Suicide’ (**S25(a)**, pp. 50–69). This is the first publication of the two essays after they were withdrawn from *Five Dissertations* in the 1750s. They would be published in English only in 1777, under the title of *Two Essays*. Neither the identity of the author nor that of the translator is revealed. Scholars have commonly supposed that the translator was Baron d’Holbach (cf. Mertz 1929, p. 710; Bongie 1952, pp. 139–143; Mossner 1980, p. 330; Malherbe 2005, p. 90, note 206; Mazza-Mori 2022, pp. 178, 180). Sandrier 2007 has supported this conjecture by pointing out some stylistic evidence (pp. 230–1).

1778

S26 Translation of ‘Populousness’ by Jean-Baptiste François de la Michodière, *Journal de l’agriculture*, April, pp. 107–35; May, pp. 99–130; June, pp. 77–107; July, pp. 102–31; August, pp. 96–116; September, pp. 101–19.

I was not able to find these issues of the *Journal de l’agriculture*. The information is taken from Benn 1965 (p. 274) and Robel 2012 (p. 226).

1785

S27 *Essai sur le suicide. Traduit de l’Anglois de David Hume*, in-8°, s.l.

Translation of ‘Suicide’, bounded as a 23–page item with its own title page in a volume including writings on various subjects by different authors. The translation, whose author is unknown, is different from the one published fifteen years earlier (**S25(a)**).

1788

C4(e) *Les quatre derniers Essais sur l’Entendement Humain et les quatre Philosophes*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume II of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume, traduites de l’Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 7 vols., in-8°, Londres, s.n., 1788.

Reissue of the 1764 edition (**C4(b)**).

C5(c) *Les Dissertations sur les Passions, sur la Tragédie et sur la Règle du goût*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume IV of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume, traduites de l’Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 7 vols., in-8°, Londres, s.n., 1788.

Reissue of the 1759 edition (**C5(a)**).

C6(c) *Les Essais Moraux et Politiques*, [transl. by J.B. Mérian, rev. by J.H.S. Formey] = Volume VI of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume, traduites de l’Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 7 vols., in-8°, Londres, s.n., 1788.

Reissue of the 1764 edition (**C6(a)**).

C7(c) *Les Essais sur le commerce etc.* = Volume VII of *Œuvres philosophiques de M. D. Hume, traduites de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition*, 7 vols., in-8°, Londres, s.n., 1788.
Reissue of the anonymous 1766 translation (**C7(a)**).

1792

S24(b) and **S25(b)** Jacques-André Naigeon, 'David Hume', in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Philosophie ancienne et moderne*, II, Paris, Panckoucke 1792, pp. 716–56.

The translations of 'Immortality of the Soul' and 'Suicide' published in the 1770 *Recueil philosophique* are fully reprinted here at pp. 740–4 and 744–48.

S.d.

S24(c) and **S25(c)**, 'Recueil de différens morceaux en prose et en vers. Tome III', Ms. Bnf Français 15230.

This manuscript collection contains a transcription of the translations of 'Immortality of the Soul' (ff. 343a-o and 360–6) and 'Suicide' (ff. 368–95) published in 1770. For more on this manuscript, see my forthcoming study 'The French Story of David Hume's Two Essays'.

Appendix II: Hume's *Essays* in Eighteenth-Century French Periodicals

The following, non-exhaustive list gathers reviews, reports, summaries, responses, notes, and mentions of the *Essays* that appeared in French periodicals in the eighteenth century. It brings together, amends and occasionally supplements the information provided by existing studies.

1752

Short note on *Political Discourses*, *Journal britannique*, 7, February, pp. 225–6.

Report of *Political Discourses*, with a special focus on 'Refinement in the Arts', *Journal britannique*, 7, March, pp. 243–67.

Report of 'Populousness', *Journal britannique*, 7, April, pp. 387–411.

Note on *Political Discourses*, consisting of summaries of 'Commerce' and 'Refinement in the Arts' and a list of titles of the other ten essays, *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, 49/1 (July–August–September), pp. 230–1.

1753

Review of Robert Wallace's *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times...with an Appendix containing ... some Remarks on Mr Hume's Political Discourse, on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*, *Journal britannique*, 10, March–April, pp. 392–421.

1754

Report with excerpts of 'Commerce', *Journal étranger*, April, pp. 46–55.

Report with excerpts of 'Refinement in the Arts', *Journal étranger*, May, pp. 219–28.

Report with excerpts of 'Balance of Power', *Journal étranger*, August, pp. 210–8.

Review of Le Blanc's translation of *Political Discourses* (**C3(a)**), *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 August, eds. Kölving et al. (Ferney-Voltaire, 2006), I, pp. 249–50.

The reviewer praises the work and its author, except for Hume's taste for paradox and for the Jacobitism demonstrated in 'Protestant Succession' ('Je n'ai qu'un grief contre M. Hume, c'est d'aimer trop le paradoxe, ce qui le fait déraisonner quelquefois, et d'être jacobite'). The second part contains a critique of Le Blanc, judged as being ignorant of the subject as well as of the English language.

Review of Le Blanc's translation of *Political Discourses* (**C3(a)**), *Année littéraire*, 5, 1 September, pp. 73–97.

All twelve essays are summarised, and the book is generally praised as well as the translation. The reviewer expresses criticism of Hume's views on the public debt and his scepticism.

Short note on Mauvillon's translation of *Political Discourses* (**C2**), *Bibliothèque des sciences et des beaux-arts*, 2/2 (October-December), p. 475.

Johann's Formey's review of Mauvillon's translation of *Political Discourses* (**C2**), *Nouvelle bibliothèque germanique*, 15, October-December, pp. 410–35.

Careful and appreciative review, including summaries of each essay.

1756

Note on the second edition of Le Blanc's translation of *Political Discourses* (**C3(b)**), *Mercure de France*, January, 1, pp. 114–6.

Both the work and the translation are praised. A French translation of Hume's appreciative letter to Le Blanc of 5 November 1755 follows the note.

'Réponse à l'Essai de M. Hume, sur le Caractere des Nations, par l'Abbé Regley', *Mercure de France*, July, 2, pp. 49–59.

Critical examination of 'National Characters', defending the climate theory, by the historian and geographer Abbé Regley (1720?-17..?).

1757

Review of *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757), *Journal britannique*, 22, March–April, pp. 319–54.

Accounts of 'Tragedy' and 'Standard of Taste' at pp. 339–41 and 341–54.

Review of *Les quatre philosophes*, that will be published the year after (**C4(a)**), *Journal encyclopédique*, December, 8/2, pp. 3–22.

Detailed summary with excerpts and comments of 'Epicurean', 'Stoic', 'Platonist' and 'Sceptic'. The reviewer writes that he obtained the text of **C4(a)** in advance of its publication.

1759

Review of Mérian's translation of the *Philosophical Essays* (including *Les quatre philosophes*) (**C4(a)**), *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 January, eds. Kölving et al. (Ferney-Voltaire, 2011), VI, pp. 19–23.

The review is preceded by the famous Grimm's *éloge* of Hume and the comparison with Diderot. Most of the reviewer's remarks concern 'Of Miracles', while *Les quatre philosophes* are only mentioned.

Review of the two-volume set of Hume's *Œuvres philosophiques* issued in 1759 (see **C5(a)**), *Année littéraire*, 7, pp. 73–86.

The review mostly concerns the *Natural History of Religion* but takes into account also 'Tragedy' (pp. 83–4) and 'Standard of Taste' (pp. 84–6).

Summary with excerpts of the three *Dissertations* (**C5(a)**), *Journal encyclopédique*, September, 6/2, pp. 3–22.

1760

Review of 'Tragedy', whose translation had just been published in the *Œuvres philosophiques* (**C5(a)**), *Correspondance littéraire*, 1 January, eds. Kölving et al. (Ferney-Voltaire, 2012), VII, pp. 3–7.

Critical examination, partly defending Fontenelle's and Dubos' views criticised by Hume.

Review of 'Standard of Taste', whose translation had just been published in Hume's *Œuvres philosophiques* (**C5(a)**), *Correspondance littéraire*, 1 August and 15 August, eds. Kölving et al. (Ferney-Voltaire, 2012), VII, pp. 185–7 and 207–9.

Critical examination, opposing Diderot's views to Hume's.

Note announcing the 1760 edition of *Essays*, preceding the translation of 'Jealousy of Trade' (**S19**), *Journal étranger*, August, pp. 85–7.

Note on the 1760 edition of *Essays*, preceding the translation of 'Coalition of Parties' (**S20**), *Journal étranger*, September, pp. 21–2.

1764

Appreciative mention of 'Walpole' in a review of *Histoire du Ministere du Chevalier Robert Walpool* (Paris, 1764), *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe*, 2 (June-August), pp. 15–6.

Quotation from 'Liberty of the Press' in review of *Historia Librorum prohibitorum in Sueciâ* (Upsal, 1764), *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe*, 2 (June-August), pp. 321–23.

1767

Short note on *Pensées philosophiques, morales, critiques, littéraires et politiques* (**C8**), *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 February, ed. Tourneux (Paris, 1879), VII, p. 247.

The judgement expressed is decidedly unfavourable.

Review with excerpts of *Pensées philosophiques, morales, critiques, littéraires et politiques* (**C8**), *Année littéraire*, 5, pp. 313–25.

Detailed and appreciative review, mostly repeating what is written in the volume's preface.

Report with excerpts from *Essais sur le commerce; le luxe; l'argent* (C7(a)), *Journal de l'agriculture*, February, pp. 150–80 ('Commerce' and 'Refinement in the Arts'); March, pp. 136–57 ('Money'); April, pp. 160–73 ('Interest'); May, pp. 148–71 ('Public Credit'); July, pp. 165–85 ('Taxes').

A very appreciative note, both on the author and the translator, introduces the excerpts.

1768

Review of *Pensées philosophiques, morales, critiques, littéraires et politiques* (C8), *Journal encyclopédique*, February, 3, pp. 35–45.

The editor of the collection is strongly criticized for truncating and distorting Hume's writings.

1771

Review of *Le Génie de M. Hume* (C9), *Journal encyclopédique*, January, 1/2, pp. 167–83.

Detailed and quite appreciative account.

Appendix III: Some Other French Reuses and Responses to Hume's *Essays*

François Véron Duverger de Forbonnais, *Elemens du commerce*, 2nd edn (2 vols., Leyden, 1754), II, ch. 11, pp. 276–309.

It includes a discussion of Hume's views in 'Refinement in the Arts'.

[Victor Riquetti Mirabeau]. *L'Ami des hommes ou Traité de la population* (4 vols., Avignon, 1756–60).

The author examines Hume's views in 'Populousness' (part I, ch. 2) and 'Refinement in the Arts' (part II, ch. 5).

Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l'Esprit* (Paris, 1758).

Helvétius responds to 'National Characters', embracing Hume's main arguments. See Mazza-Nacci 2021, pp. 120–8.

Jean-Baptiste Robinet. *Considérations sur l'état présent de la littérature en Europe* (London and Paris, 1762).

The first chapter engages with the question at the core of 'Rise and Progress', even though Hume is not mentioned. See Malherbe 2005, pp. 59–60.

[Jean François de Saint Lambert]. 'Législateur', in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Diderot and D'Alembert (Paris, 1765), IX, pp. 357a–63a.

Hume's views on moral causes in 'National Characters' are evoked (p. 358a).

[Jean-François de Saint Lambert]. 'Luxe', in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Diderot and D'Alembert (Paris, 1765), IX, pp. 763b–71a.

Short reference to Hume's views in 'Refinement in the Arts' (p. 764a).

Antoine Gaspard Boucher d'Argis. 'Mariage à tems', in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Diderot and D'Alembert (Paris, 1765), X, p. 113a.

Mention of the 1757 translation of 'Polygamy and Divorces' (S15) as the source of information about temporary marriages in Tonkin.

Étienne Noël Damilaville. 'Population', in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Diderot and D'Alembert (Paris, 1765), XIII, pp. 88a–103b.

References to 'Population' and, in particular, to Hume's denunciation of forced nunnery (97b) and domestic slavery (p. 102b).

[Étienne Noël Damilaville]. 'Vingtieme, Imposition', in *Encyclopédie*, eds. Diderot and D'Alembert (Paris, 1765), XIII, pp. 855a–890a.

Reference to Hume's passage about Lycurgus ignoring paper-credit in 'Balace of Trade' (p. 871b).

Denis Diderot. Letter to Sophie Volland, 6 October 1765, in Denis Diderot, *Lettres à Sophie Volland, 1759–1774*, eds. Marc Buffat and Odile Richard-Pauchet (Paris, 2020), Letter 116, pp. 436–41.

Implicit references to 'Suicide' and 'Immortality of the Soul'.

Robert Wallace. *Dissertation historique et politique sur la population des anciens tems, comparée avec celle du nôtre, dans laquelle on prouve qu'elle a été plus grande autrefois qu'elle ne l'est de nos jours. On y a joint ... quelques Remarques sur le Discours politique de M. Hume sur la Population des anciens tems ... Traduite de l'anglois par M. E[idous]*. (Amsterdam and Paris, 1769).

Translation of Wallace's work by Marc-Antoine Eidous. Appended is a long critical examination of 'Populousness' (pp. 189–380). The previous French translation of Wallace's *Dissertation* (1754) did not contain these remarks.

[William Knox]. *Tableau de l'Angleterre relativement à son commerce et à ses finances ... par M. de Grenville* (Londres [Paris], 1769).

Excerpt from 'Public Credit' at pp. 16–8.

[Paul-Henri Thiry d'Holbach]. *Système de la nature ou des lois du monde physique et du monde moral*, 2 vols (London [Amsterdam], 1770), I, ch. 14 ('L'éducation, la morale et les loix suffisent pour contenir les hommes. Du désir de l'immortalité; du suicide'), pp. 290–311. The last section is largely inspired by 'Suicide', which d'Holbach translated in the same year (see **S25(a)**).

Denis Diderot. *Pensées détachées ou Fragments politiques échappés du portefeuille d'un philosophe*, 1771, ed. Gianluigi Goggi (Paris, 2011), Fragment XVIa.

Speaking of Catherine II's cultural politics, Diderot addresses the issue raised by 'Rise and Progress', which he certainly was acquainted with, even though Hume is not mentioned. See Malherbe 2005, pp. 60–1.

Isaac de Pinto. *Traité de la circulation et du crédit* (Amsterdam, 1771).

Critical remarks on 'Money' and 'Public Credit' on pp. 18–23 and 121–4. The author speaks flatteringly of his encounter with Hume in Paris and their exchanges on economics.

Jean-François de Chastellux. *De la félicité publique ou considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques* (Amsterdam, 1772).

The author discusses the views expressed by Hume in the *Essays* and supports the thesis of 'Populousness'.

[Paul-Henri Thiry d'Holbach]. *Le Bon-Sens, ou Idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles* (London [Amsterdam], 1772), § 26, p. 15.

The image of Archimedes' lever to describe the way theologians benefit from ignorance comes from the note on priests in 'National Characters' ('Un Philosophe a dit très ingénieusement en parlant des Théologiens, qu'ils ont trouvé la solution du fameux problème d'Archimede; un point dans le ciel d'où ils remuent le monde').

Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard. *Correspondance littéraire avec le margrave de Bayreuth (1773–1775)*, ed. Éric Francalanza (Paris, 2010), Letter 17, 17 September 1773, pp. 536–45.

Although Hume is not mentioned, Suard deals with the question of the relationship between the progress of arts and political despotism, in terms which clearly remind 'Rise and Progress'. Suard was certainly acquainted with the *Essays*, having given accounts and translations of them in the *Journal étranger* and the *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe*.

[Paul-Henri Thiry d'Holbach]. *La Morale universelle, ou Les Devoirs de l'homme fondés sur sa nature*, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1776), III, sect. 5, ch.1 ('Devoirs des époux'), pp. 1–41.

D'Holbach discusses the issues of polygamy and divorce in terms that show his awareness of Hume's treatment in 'Polygamy and divorces', taking a position close to Hume about polygamy, opposite about divorce.

Nicolas Baudeau. 'Balance du commerce', in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Commerce* (Paris, 1783), I.

Le Blanc's translation of 'Balance of Trade' is reproduced on pp. 170–5 and Hume's views are discussed.

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