

*THE GLASGOW EDITION OF  
THE WORKS OF ADAM SMITH*

THE GLASGOW EDITION OF THE WORKS AND  
CORRESPONDENCE OF ADAM SMITH

*Commissioned by the University of Glasgow to celebrate the bicentenary of  
the Wealth of Nations*

I

THE THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS

*Edited by D. D. RAPHAEL and A. L. MACFIE*

II

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VI

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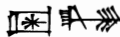
LIFE OF ADAM SMITH

*By I. S. ROSS*

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# The Correspondence of ADAM SMITH

EDITED BY  
ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER  
AND  
IAN SIMPSON ROSS



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*To*  
*Carolyn*

## Preface

IN 1965 the senior editor of this volume was invited by the Adam Smith Committee of Glasgow University to write a life of Smith. Professor Mossner saw that an indispensable preliminary was an edition of the correspondence, and he prevailed on the Committee to sponsor this project, also to ask the junior editor to collaborate with him. No complete collection of the correspondence was in print, though John Rae's *Life of Adam Smith* (1895, reprinted 1965) and W. R. Scott's *Adam Smith as Student and Professor* (1937) presented the letters known to the respective authors. A few other letters had appeared in periodicals. The lack of a collected edition is all the more surprising in that no extensive correspondence is involved. Our tabulation is as follows:

from Smith (published): 131	to Smith (published): 98
(unpublished): 48	(unpublished): 27
(missing): 53	(missing): 40
<u>232</u>	<u>165</u>

In view of these numbers, we decided to print Smith's letters and those addressed to him whose contents provided significant information about Smith, or the lives of acquaintances in his career. The remainder of the letters to Smith have been calendared (Nos. 16, 62, 211, 255, 260, 279, and 285). Certain texts were not fully available to us: Letter 220 dated September 1782 (noted in a Caxton Head Catalogue); Letter 231 addressed to William Strahan, dated 6 October 1783 (sold at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, on 22 October 1963); also Letter 257 addressed to Thomas Cadell, dated 14 March 1786 (sold at Sotheby's on 27 October 1959). It is to be hoped that their owners will make them accessible to the scholarly world, also that the missing letters or some of them, at least, will be found.

To be sure, Adam Smith for the most part was a perfunctory, dilatory correspondent. When addressing him, David Hume could resort to bold remonstrance: 'I can write as seldom and as short as you' (Letter 90, January 1766); or, again, 'I am as Lazy a Correspondent as you; yet my Anxiety about you makes me write' (Letter 149, 8 February 1776). Another good friend, James Hutton, the vigorous extrovert geologist, affected to see in Smith's absorption in his studies the characteristics of a Laputan: 'I send you this flap in the ear to inform you that november is begun and there is little danger of frost till after the new year; so if you have anything to do with what is without you may conduct yourself accordingly; if it is

otherwise and you are made up for sleep and vision, let me know when I should waken you again' (Letter 301, undated).

Another difficulty about editing the correspondence is that Smith himself was not in favour of such enterprises, as he indicated clearly to William Strahan in connection with a proposal to bring out a volume of Hume's letters: 'Many things would be published not fit to see the light to the great mortification of all those who wish well to his memory' (Letter 181, 2 December 1776). Such a feeling no doubt caused Smith to give instructions to his executors Joseph Black and James Hutton to commit his papers to the flames in the last week of his life.

Yet, if much has been irretrievably lost, and if some of what remains is brief, the range of correspondence published here reflects the preoccupations and activities of Smith's life, and in opposition to his wish to veil private life, there can be quoted his statement in the *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*: 'The smallest circumstances, the most minute transactions of a great man, are sought after with eagerness' (Monday 17 January). We recall, too, the pleasure he took himself in knowing such details as that Milton wore latchets in his shoes (BLJ v. 19, n. 1). Among the many topics covered in the correspondence that go beyond the level of shoe latchets is the revision of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Letter 40, and its enclosure), as well as source material for a part of *The Wealth of Nations* (Letters 115–20). On the biographical side, letters published here for the first time show Smith's solicitude for a pupil (45–9), and solve a murder mystery (97–8). The appendices contain some printed letters addressed to Smith on matters of political economy, also documents associated with the American problem and the customs service.

Concerning the division of editorial responsibilities, Professor Mossner undertook to edit the letters from Smith, and the other editor dealt with letters to Smith. Sad to say ill health forced Professor Mossner to relinquish his share in the book in 1971, but he handed over accurate texts of the Smith letters and the basis for their annotation.

Acknowledgement is made here of the permission readily given by the Clarendon Press to quote from the notes to Hume's letters to Smith printed in J. Y. T. Greig's edition of *The Letters of David Hume* (1932, reprinted 1969), and in *New Letters of David Hume*, edited by Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner (1954, reprinted 1969). A similar acknowledgement is made of permission from Glasgow University to quote from the notes to the Smith correspondence presented in W. R. Scott, *Adam Smith as Student and Professor* (Glasgow University Publications xlv, 1937); from the University of Chicago Press and the Syndics of Cambridge University Press to draw facts and identifications from the notes to the Burke–Smith letters printed in the *Burke Correspondence*, edited by Thomas W. Copeland and others (from 1958).

Errors that remain in the text and notes are the responsibility of the junior editor, who wishes to pay every tribute of affection and respect to his colleague for his care in establishing sound principles for the edition, and for his patience and skill in solving knotty problems.

The format adopted for the edition required numbering and arranging each letter in chronological sequence, with the exception of No. 297 and following, these being letters whose dates are conjectural. After the number of each letter comes a brief citation of the address, when known, as well as the manuscript or printed source. The provenance and date of each letter are to be found in the top right-hand corner of the text, silently normalized to place, day, month, and year. Editors' conjectures are placed within square brackets, and three dots indicate a cut by a previous editor, empty square brackets indicate a torn or otherwise damaged manuscript.

As for editorial rules, the original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are all retained, except that in conformity with modern practice capitals are used after periods closing sentences, on the very rare occasions when writers do not observe this convention. Ampersands and contractions are expanded, except for contractions in signatures. The original accentuation of French words in the letters is preserved, except that the grave accent is normalized to the acute where modern practice requires this, as in Abbé. The guiding principle in all of this has been expressed by Dr. Johnson, who 'did not take to' Smith but would have hugged him for his love of rhyme: 'An author's language Sir, is a characteristical part of his composition, and is also characteristical of the age in which he writes. Besides, Sir, when the language is changed we are not sure that the sense is the same' (BLJ iv. 315).

It is a pleasure to close this preface by recording the names of the institutions and people who gave us help. Research support was received from the Universities of Texas and British Columbia (1969, 1970), also the Canada Council (1969). The staff at the libraries of these Universities, also at Glasgow University Library, the National Library of Scotland, and the Scottish Record Office, were particularly helpful. Attention was drawn to important manuscript and printed sources by Mr. Edward Carson, librarian of H.M. Customs and Excise Department; Mr. C. P. Finlayson of Edinburgh University Library; Dr. J. D. Fleeman of Pembroke College, Oxford; Lady Edith Haden-Guest of Glasgow University; Dr. T. I. Rae of the National Library of Scotland; and the late Professor Jacob Viner of Princeton University. To the great advantage of the edition in terms of accuracy and clarity, the text and notes were carefully scrutinized by Professor D. D. Raphael of Imperial College, London, and Mr. Andrew S. Skinner, the efficient and knowledgeable secretary of the Adam Smith Committee.

Warm and special thanks go to Miss Moira McKeachie, who drove the



editors across Scotland in 1965 when they first pursued Smith letters; to Mr. Antony Grinkus of Vancouver, who acted as research assistant to the project in 1971; to Professor David Stevens of Whitman College, who prepared Appendix B; to Mrs. Magda Chichini Pavitt for research help in 1973; to Miss Jane Douglas of Vancouver, who typed drafts of the edition; and to Mrs. Carolyn Mossner, whose good sense and good humour sustained the enterprise in difficult times.

I. S. R.

*Vancouver, British Columbia*  
*July 1974*

## Preface to Second Edition

**T**his edition incorporates corrections to the text arising from advice from reviewers and correspondents, to whom we are much indebted. Further work on the handwriting of the letters and the information offered in notes is also included. Letter 105 has been replaced by a new version. In addition, the missing part of one letter (letter 78) and eighteen entirely new letters are presented in Appendix E. Of the new ones, fourteen come from the papers of the Second Earl Stanhope, now in the Kent County Archives. They were discovered in 1983 as a result of shrewd enquiries made by Dr. David Raynor, University of Ottawa, in connection with his own research on David Hume. Copies were made available to the editors by Professor D. D. Raphael, Imperial College, London, who followed up a lead given to him by Dr. Raynor. We are most grateful to them for providing the texts of the Stanhope letters and commenting on the notes. We are also very grateful to our Japanese colleagues, Professor Yoshiaki Sudo, Keio University, Yokohama, and Professor Hisashi Shinohara, Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, for tracing Adam Smith letters in their country and helping with annotation. We acknowledge with our thanks the permission to publish the new letters readily given by Edinburgh University Library; Kwansei Gakuin University; Kent Archives Office, Maidstone; the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland; Glasgow University Library; and Professor H. C. Recktenwald, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg.

*12 November 1985*

I. S. R.

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# Abbreviations

## (i) *Smith's Works*

Corr.	<i>Correspondence</i>
EPS	<i>Essays on Philosophical Subjects (which include)</i>
Ancient Logics	'History of the Ancient Logics and Metaphysics'
Ancient Physics	'History of the Ancient Physics'
Astronomy	'History of Astronomy'
English and Italian Verses	'Of the Affinity between certain English and Italian Verses'
External Senses	'Of the External Senses'
Imitative Arts	'Of the Nature of the Imitation which takes place in what are called the Imitative Arts'
Music, Dancing, and Poetry	'Of the Affinity between Music, Dancing, and Poetry'
Stewart	Dugald Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith, LL.D.'
LJ (A)	<i>Lectures on Jurisprudence</i> (Lothian version)
LJ (B)	<i>Lectures on Jurisprudence</i> (Cannan version)
LRBL	<i>Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres</i>
TMS	<i>The Theory of Moral Sentiments</i>
WN	<i>The Wealth of Nations</i>

## (ii) *Other Works, Institutions, etc.*

<i>Bentham Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham</i> , ed. Timothy L. S. Sprigge <i>et al.</i> University of London: Athlone Press, 1968–
BLJ	<i>Boswell's Life of Johnson</i> , ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, revsd. and enlgd. by L. F. Powell, 6 vols. Oxford, 1934–65
BM	British Museum
<i>Bonar</i>	James Bonar, <i>A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith</i> , 2nd edn. London, 1932
<i>Burke Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Edmund Burke</i> , ed. Thomas W. Copeland <i>et al.</i> , Cambridge University Press and Chicago University Press, 1958–
<i>Brougham</i>	Henry Peter Brougham, <i>Lives of Men of Letters and Science . . . in the time of George III</i> , 2 vols. London, 1845–6

Carlyle	<i>The Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805</i> , ed. John Hill Burton, new edn. Edinburgh, 1910
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
Fay	C. R. Fay, <i>Adam Smith and the Scotland of His Day</i> , Cambridge University Press, 1956
Fraser, <i>Scotts of Buccleuch</i>	Sir William Fraser, <i>The Scotts of Buccleuch</i> , 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1878
Geo. III Corr.	<i>The Correspondence of George III 1760-1783</i> , ed. Sir John Fortescue, 6 vols. London, 1927-8
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GUL	Glasgow University Library
Hamilton	Henry Hamilton, <i>An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century</i> , Oxford, 1963
HL	<i>The Letters of David Hume</i> , ed. J. Y. T. Greig, 2 vols. Oxford, 1932
HP	<i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790</i> , ed. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, 3 vols. H.M.S.O., 1964
Hume, <i>Phil. Wks.</i>	<i>The Philosophical Works of David Hume</i> , ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, 4 vols. London, 1874-5
Mizuta	Hiroshi Mizuta, <i>Adam Smith's Library: A Supplement to Bonar's Catalogue with a Check-list of the whole Library</i> , Cambridge University Press, 1967
NHL	<i>New Letters of David Hume</i> , ed. Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner, Oxford, 1954
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NYPL	New York Public Library
Rae	John Rae, <i>Life of Adam Smith</i> , London, 1895 (reprinted Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1965, with an Introduction 'Guide to Rae's "Life of Smith"' by Jacob Viner)
Ramsay of Ochtertyre	<i>Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century from the MSS. of John Ramsay, Esq. of Ochtertyre</i> , ed. Alexander Allardyce, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1888
RSE	Royal Society of Edinburgh

Scott	W. R. Scott, <i>Adam Smith as Student and Professor</i> , Glasgow University Publications, xlv, 1937
Sinclair, <i>Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of . . . Sir John Sinclair</i> , 2 vols. Edinburgh 1831
Small	John Small, 'Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson', RSE <i>Transactions</i> xxiii (1864), 599-665
SRO	Scottish Record Office, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh
Thomson	John Thomson, <i>Life, Lectures and Writings of William Cullen</i> , vol. i, Edinburgh, 1832
Walpole, <i>Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford</i> , ed. W. S. Lewis <i>et al.</i> , Yale Edition, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937-

## Life and Works of Adam Smith

- 1720 Adam Smith Sr. md. Margaret Douglas of Strathenry
- 1723 c. 25 Jan. Adam Smith Sr. died; 5 June, Adam Smith baptized in Kirkcaldy
- c.1732-7 attended Kirkcaldy Burgh School
- 1737-40 attended Glasgow University; taught by Francis Hutcheson; grad. M.A. with distinction
- 1740-6 at Balliol College, Oxford, as Snell Exhibitioner (£40 p.a.); matric. 7 July 1740; nominated to Warner Exhibition (£8. 5s. p.a.) 2 Nov. 1742; visited Adderbury on holidays, home of John 2nd Duke of Argyll; left Balliol c. 15 Aug. 1746; resigned Snell Exhibition 4 Feb. 1749
- 1746-8 lived with his mother in Kirkcaldy
- 1748-51 lectured at Edinburgh on rhetoric and belles lettres, also jurisprudence, under the patronage of Henry Home of Kames, James Oswald of Dunnikier, and Robert Craigie of Glendoick
- 1751 9 Jan. elected Professor of Logic at Glasgow; admitted 16 Jan. then went back to Edinburgh to complete lecture course; from Oct. taught logic at Glasgow, also jurisprudence and politics.
- 1752 22 Apr. elected Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow; became member of the Glasgow Literary Society, also Philosophical Society, Edinburgh
- 1754 member of the Select Society, Edinburgh

- 1755 lectured on economic ideas to a Club organized by Andrew Cochrane, Provost of Glasgow articles in *Edinburgh Review*: 'A Dictionary of the English Language by Samuel Johnson' (No. 1, 1 Jan.—1 July 1755); 'A Letter to the Authors of the *Edinburgh Review*' (No. 2, July 1755—Jan. 1756)
- 1758 Quaestor for Glasgow University Library, served until 1760
- 1759 visited Inveraray, home of Archibald 3rd Duke of Argyll TMS ed. 1
- 1760 chosen Dean of Arts, served until 1763; summer jaunt for health reasons to England; visited the home of Lord Shelburne at High Wycombe
- 1761 Vice-rector of Glasgow University, served until 1763; in London on University business, late Aug.—early Oct. 'Considerations concerning the First Formation of Languages, and the Different Genius of Original and Compounded Languages,' *The Philological Miscellany* i (1761) 440–79  
TMS ed. 2
- 1762 3 May made a Burgess of Glasgow; 21 Oct. nominated Glasgow LL.D.
- 1763 8 Nov. gave notice of resignation of his Chair; resigned 14 Feb. 1764, from Paris
- 1764 Jan. left Glasgow for London, *en route* to France as travelling tutor to Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch; arrived in Paris 13 Feb. and remained ten days, then left for Toulouse; joined there by the Duke's brother, the Hon. Hew Campbell Scott
- 1765 in Toulouse until Oct., at work on an early draft of WN; toured the south of France October; in Geneva Nov.—Dec. and met Voltaire; went on to Paris
- 1766 In Paris Jan.—Oct., on friendly terms with the La Rochefoucauld circle, Mme de Boufflers, the *philosophes*, and the Quesnai circle; 19 Oct. Hon. Hew Campbell Scott



- died of fever; Smith and the Duke of Buccleuch returned to England, landing at Dover on 1 Nov.; Smith was given a pension of £300 p.a. for life from the Buccleuch estates
- 1766 Nov.–Mar. 1767 in London: assisted Charles Townshend with taxation projects; carried out research on the history of colonies for Lord Shelburne; elected Fellow of the Royal Society 21 May (admitted 27 May 1773)
- 1767 May–Apr. 1773 lived in Kirkcaldy with his mother, working on WN; made a Burgess of Edinburgh, June 1770 TMS ed. 3
- 1773 May–Apr. 1776 in London, working on WN; elected member of The Club which Joshua Reynolds had founded as a forum for Dr. Johnson
- 1774 9 Mar. publication of WN; May–Dec. in Kirkcaldy, visited Hume in Edinburgh during his last illness TMS ed. 4
- 1776 WN
- 1777 Jan.–beginning of Oct. in London 'Letter to Strahan' (9 Nov. 1776) on the death of Hume, *Scots Magazine* xxxi (Jan. 1777), 5–7
- Oct.–Jan. 1778 in Kirkcaldy and Edinburgh ? composed 'Thoughts on the State of the Contest with America'
- 1778 30 Jan. gazetted Commissioner of Customs for Scotland (£500 p.a.) and of Salt Duties (£100 p.a.); settled in Panmure House, Canongate, Edinburgh, with his mother and as housekeeper his cousin Janet Douglas; adopted as his heir David Douglas (later Lord Reston), a nephew's son; resumed membership of the Poker Club; gave Sunday suppers for friends among the literati and distinguished visitors WN ed. 2 (early in the year)

- 1781 TMS ed. 5
- 1782 in London, attended dinners of The Club; returned to Scotland early in July
- 1783 founder member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; served as one of the presidents of its literary class
- 1784 Apr. accompanied Edmund Burke to Glasgow for his installation as Lord Rector of the University; his mother died on 23 May WN ed. 3  
(‘Additions and Corrections’ to eds. 1 and 2 were printed separately)
- 1786 WN ed. 4
- 1787 Mar.–Aug. in London, probably for health reasons; said to have been consulted by the Government of Pitt the Younger; 15 Nov. elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and served until 1789
- 1788 sometime after Sept. Janet Douglas died
- 1789 WN ed. 5
- 1790 May TMS ed. 6 (revised and enlarged)  
17 July, Adam Smith died in Panmure House; buried in the Canon-gate kirkyard
- Posthumous Publications*
- 1795 EPS, ed. Joseph Black and James Hutton
- 1896 LJ (B), ed. Edwin Cannan
- 1933 ‘Smiths Thoughts on the State of the Contest with America, February 1778’, ed. G. H. Guttridge, *American Historical Review* xxxviii. 714–20
- 1963 LRBL, ed. John M. Lothian
- 1977 LJ (A), ed. Ronald Meek, D. D. Raphael, and Peter Stein

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4	12 May [? 1742]	Oxford	<i>to</i> his mother	2
5	29 Nov. 1743	Oxford	<i>to</i> his mother	3
6	2 July 1744	Oxford	<i>to</i> his mother	3
7	4 Feb. 1748-9	Edinburgh	<i>to</i> [Dr. Theophilus Leigh]	3
8	10 Jan. 1751	Edinburgh	<i>to</i> [Robert Simson]	4
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17	Oct. 1754	Groningen	<i>from</i> Adam Ferguson	13
18	1 Dec. 1754	Leipzig	<i>from</i> Adam Ferguson	14
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20	9 Jan. 1755	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> David Hume	17
21	[14 Feb. 1755]	Glasgow	<i>to</i> [Dr. George Stone]	18
22	Feb.-Mar. ? 1757	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> David Hume	19
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40	10 Oct. 1759	Glasgow	<i>to</i> [Gilbert Elliot]	48
41	24 Oct. 1759	Glasgow	<i>to</i> [Archibald Campbell]	57
42	29 Oct. 1759	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	58
43	3 Dec. 1759	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	60
44	9 Jan. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> [Archibald Campbell]	62
45	10 Mar. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	62
46	12 Mar. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	64
47	[? 13] Mar. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Andrew Stuart	65
48	17 Mar. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	66
49	19 Mar. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	66
50	4 Apr. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> William Strahan	67
51	15 July 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	69
52	11 Nov. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	71
53	18 Nov. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Lord Shelburne	72
54	30 Dec. 1760	Glasgow	<i>to</i> William Strahan	73
55	6 June 1761	St. Andrews	<i>from</i> Lord Cardross (later 11th Earl of Buchan)	75
56	24 June 1761	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> Robert Cullen	76
57	29 June 1761	Ninewells	<i>from</i> David Hume	77
58	15 July 1761	Glasgow	<i>from</i> Dr. William Leechman	77
59	27 Oct. 1761	London	<i>from</i> Lord Erroll	78
60	2 Nov. 1761	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Joshua Sharpe	79
61	5 Nov. 1761	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> Adam Ferguson	79
62	12 Nov. 1761	London	<i>from</i> David Lyle	80
63	4 Jan. 1762	Dunlop	<i>from</i> Thomas Wallace	81
64	26 Feb. 1762	Oxford	<i>from</i> Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice	81
65	9 Mar. 1762	Glasgow	<i>to</i> William Johnstone	84
66	9 Apr. 1762	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Sir Gilbert Elliot, (Lord Minto)	85
67	15 June 1762	Glasgow	<i>to</i> Joshua Sharpe	85
68	8 July 1762	Slains Castle	<i>from</i> Lord Erroll	87
69	7 Feb. 1763	Glasgow	<i>to</i> George Baird	87
70	22 Feb. 1763	Glasgow	<i>to</i> David Hume	89
71	28 Mar. 1763	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> David Hume	89
72	21 July 1763	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> David Hume	90
73	9 Aug. 1763	Edinburgh	<i>from</i> David Hume	91
74	11 Sept. 1763	Aberdeen	<i>from</i> Henry Herbert (later, Lord Porchester)	91
75	13 Sept. 1763	London	<i>from</i> David Hume	92