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Smith’s encounters in Occitania – March 1764-October 1765

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Abstract

From March 1764 to October 1765, Smith and Henry Scott, heir to the Dukedom of Buccleugh, made Toulouse their home port. During this period they were in permanent contact with many French people, and others from Scotland, Ireland, England or Norway. These networks (Scottish, British, Protestant, and Freemasons) aided travel and made life more enjoyable. Facilitated by David Hume, Smith and his pupil became familiar with one Seignelay Colbert of Castlehill, himself a Scottish immigrant, who was at the start of a career that saw him play an important part in the lead up to, the events of, and the aftermath of the Revolution. His letters to the Scottish visitors enlighten us on the social life of the upper classes in the last decades of Ancient Regime as well on the sentimental life of the protagonists.

Keywords: Adam Smith, Duke of Buccleugh, Hume, Seignelay Colbert of Castlehill, Bagnères de Bigorre, Scottish emigration.

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Smith’s encounters in Occitania – March 1764-October 1765

From March 1764 to October 1765, Smith and Henry Scott, future Duke of Buccleugh, made Toulouse their home port. Although they did not leave a travel journal, it has been possible to trace their movements thanks to their letters, and the writings (memoirs or correspondence) of the many people they met. These testimonies originated from Scotland, Ireland, England, Norway as well as from France. These multiple connections show how networks (Scottish, British, Protestant, and Freemasons) facilitated travel and made life more enjoyable. In Smith's case, he benefited greatly from David Hume's support and connections, but the ties he had established, through his teaching, with his students and their families also played an important role. In particular, one Scottish emigrant assumed a central role in Smith and the Duke's sojourn in southern France, at the start of a career that saw him play an important part in the lead up to, the events of, and the aftermath of the Revolution.

**ABBÉ COLBERT, SMITH’S GUIDE IN TOULOUSE**

The first document which bears witness to the arrival of Adam Smith and Henry Scot in Toulouse is a letter from the abbé Colbert to Hume.

> I am Flattered and grateful, Sir and Dear Cousin, for the honour you grant me of addressing Your friend, Mr. Smith to me. He appears to me to be everything you say in your letter, a man of spirit and an honest man.

> He has just arrived and I only saw him for a moment, I hope that we will get to know each other more particularly in the times ahead.

> I am vexed that they have not found the Archbishop here, he has been in Montpellier for the last two weeks or so, from where he will soon go to Paris. He told me of his great desire to get to know you. I'm sure you will get on very well together.

> I fear that my long black cassock will frighten the Duke of Buccleugh, but I will do my utmost to make his stay in this city as pleasant and useful as it will be profitable.

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2 Sources for unpublished or previously only partially documents are given at the bottom of the paper
A recommendation such as yours is a powerful and respectable reason for me to do whatever I can in response.

I do not know if you sometimes see the Countess de Gacé, she must have told you many things on my behalf, at least I asked her as much in a letter I wrote to her. Here I am, dear cousin less pleasantly occupied than when I was with the beautiful ladies of Paris, but those times could still return; it will be necessary for this one to elapse first./this one will need to elapse first though.

I beg you to believe that I am, with high esteem and true attachment, My dear Cousin, your most humble and obedient servant and affectionate Cousin

In Toulouse on March 4, 1764,

This letter provides us with much information:

1) From Paris to Toulouse, the journey took only a few days and it is more plausible that they took the more direct way through the Massif Central instead of the more secure but more time consuming route via Lyons and along the Rhone valley.

2) The abbé is eager to inform Hume about Loménie de Brienne, the archbishop of Toulouse who was to be pronounced by Hume in September 1765 “one of the Men of best Understanding in France” (pp. 114-5). Clearly Colbert sought to establish a relationship between Hume and the influential Loménie.

3) The abbé can't help but highlight his female relationships in Paris in order to enhance his status vis-à-vis Hume and make him his obligé as he has already introduced Hume to Mme de Gacé.

It is worth mentioning that kinship and aristocratic ties play a part. The Mme de Gacé mentioned here is probably Diane Jacqueline Josèphe Henriette de Clermont d'Amboise (1733-1804), who married on 8 January 1753, Marie François Auguste Gouyon de Matignon, comte de Gacé (1731-1763). Diane was the great-granddaughter of James II Stuart and also Henry Scot's cousin. As Abbé Colbert was very fond of genealogy it is quite possible that he was aware of these links between Mme de Gacé and Henry Scot just as he had possibly discovered some links between Hume and himself so that 'Cousin' was not only a familiar form of address between them, but hinted at some form of kinship.
Genealogy was a very serious issue for Abbé Colbert as his own fate was dependent upon the great minister of Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s claim to have aristocratic roots in Scotland. A warrant for a bore brieve issued by the Parliament of Scotland to Charles Colbert, marquis de Seignelay (Jean-Baptiste’s son) validated this hardly plausible kinship which benefited both the Colberts of France, by giving them admission to prestigious aristocratic circles, as well as some of the Cuthberts of Castle-hill of Inverness. Two of the abbé Colbert’s uncles had emigrated to France: Lachlan who embraced a military career and became an officer in the Royal Ecossois regiment, and Alexander who entered the priesthood and became prior of the abbey of St. Marcel les Jussey in Franche Comté.

Thus, under the incongruous -for Scotland- name of "Seignelai", George Cuthbert's third son, born at Castlehill Castle, was baptized by Presbyterian Minister Alexander M’Bean on August 13, 1735. A second oddity is the date of his birth. All the biographies agree that it was in 1736, whereas the inscription on Inverness's birth register clearly indicates that it was in 1735.

The Cuthbert of Castlehill lands are located in the North of Scotland, near what was then the small town of Inverness, not far from the sad site of Culloden, where the last Jacobite rebellion had been crushed and about ten kilometres from Loch Ness. The father, George Cuthbert, 12th Lord of Castlehill, was Sheriff-Deputy of Inverness. In 1748 he fell from his horse, an accident

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3 For a detailed history of the Cuthbert family, see Bulloch.
from which he did not recover, at the very place where he was alleged to have had witches burned, so that the legend stated that these had been avenged. George Cuthbert was sheriff deputy, a inheritable jurisdiction (abolished after the 1745 rebellion). If the local lord was Catholic, he could choose a co-religionist to fulfil the functions of sheriff deputy, thus rendering inoperative all (anti-Catholic) "penal laws" At Inverness, the Lord was Simon Fraser, 11th Lord Lovat, famous for being the last person beheaded in Britain in 1747, when he was 80 years old. Simon Fraser had had sinuous political loyalties and changed religion in 1703 in France, so that the religious affiliation of the Castlehill Cuthberts was problematic. The paternal grandmother of Seignelay was the daughter of the last Episcopal bishop of Moray, William Hay (1647-1707). Driven from the episcopal palace, he had taken refuge with his son-in-law, Seignelay's grandfather, in Castlehill. His attitude in interfaith relations deserves to be reported as it prefigures that of his great grandson:

he was of a mild and gentle temper, loving neither to persecute papists nor Presbyterians. He neither approved of the rigour of the penal laws against the one, nor did he permit his clergy over much to vex the other, and they having on one occasion asked him, "What then shall we do for the schismatic preachers will prevail," he replied with much earnestness, "Excel them in life and doctrine." (Scott, 1866, p.452, Vol. III, part 1)

At the time of his appointment as bishop of Rodez (1781), two testimonies received by the nuncio from French bishops would attest that his family was Catholic, yet the baptism of the Cuthbert children by A. M'Bean, as well as the presence Seignelay's parents' tomb in the parish cemetery leads one to think that they were not "Catholics". Besides in the archives of Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés can be found the acts of abjuration of uncles Lachlan and Alexander (March 8th 1734) (Rabache, F. C., & Gasnault, pp. 175-6). The documentation gathered by the Nuncio indicates a legal background (civil law and canon law). Usually, before a vicar general became a bishop, there took place a last screening and the data gathered by the Nuncio on the background of the bishop in the making was forwarded to the Vatican (Roman Information). To complete this portrait of Colbert at the time he met Smith, his career and personal “network” can be briefly outlined. In the first half of the 18th century, the material situation of the family was difficult, hence the emigration of Seignelay's uncles. The first is known as Abbé Alexandre Colbert (1702-1782). He became in due course the
thirteenth Lord of Castlehill and tried to save the family estate from creditors in the late 1770s. The second emigrant was Lachlan (or Lancelot in French, born in 1710) who married in Calais the heiress of an English family from that city and served in the 'Royal Ecossois' Regiment, rising to the rank of major general. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Culloden in 1746 and spent time in prison first at Inverness then in the Marshalsea in London before being exchanged. Back in France, he forged a career for himself within the regiment and the history of Freemasonry shows him to have been a member of his regiment's lodge (Bord, p. 492) just as George Cuthbert was a member of Inverness's Saint John lodge (Ross quoted in Noble, p. 55). Seignelay Colbert was himself very close to the Barnwall family who were at the origin of Freemasonry in Toulouse (Taillefer, p.20).

**Colbert’s credentials: Scotus, a brilliant student**

At the death of his father (1746), the future Abbé Colbert, for his part, was entrusted to his uncles in France, who ensured his entry in the Scottish College in Paris and then the Collège d'Harcourt where he remained until 1754. This collège, founded in the 13th century and attached to the University of Paris, enjoyed a great reputation and could boast of illustrious former students (Boileau, Racine, Montesquieu, among others). Colbert distinguished himself in particular there by winning prizes which testify to his integration into the Parisian university world and his great application to his studies. Above all he proved himself the pride of his college by being appointed two years in a row, in 1753 and 1754, to the 'Concours général', a competition organized every year since 1747 between the students of the Parisian Colleges. In 1754, Seignelay, designated as 'Scotus' even won the 'Prix d'honneur', which had not happened since 1750 for a student of the Collège d'Harcourt (Bouquet, pp.; .383-4). This virtuosity in French and Latin discourse was certainly noticed by former students of the Collège d'Harcourt, including Loménie de Brienne. When he was appointed Archbishop of Toulouse, he made Colbert one of his Vicars General, alongside the younger sons of other aristocratic families, whom he in turn ensured became bishops. Loménie de Brienne, in his theological thesis, gave a very large place to British authors whose works he could read in Latin. Brilliant rhetorician, bilingual, Colbert possessed many assets which would allow him to shine among the very Anglophile literary people of the capital, while he was an asset for the Catholic Church which had not given up hope of conquering anew the souls of the Highlanders.

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4 Which is still organised every year.
5 For more details on Colbert, see Moore (1988, [2019])
The letter from Smith to Hume written on July 5th is famous in the history of economic thought as it has been understood as the first reference to the *Wealth of Nations* – it is probably not the case as there was a previous draft of the *Opulence of Nations* but it provides us with a lot of information on networking within the framework of the Grand Tour

Toulouse, 5 July 1764

My Dearest Friend

The Duke of Buccleugh proposes soon to set out for Bordeaux where he intends to stay a fortnight or more. I should be much obliged to you if you could send us recommendations to the Duke of Richelieu, the Marquis de Lorges and Intendant of the Province. Mr Townshend assured me that the Duke de Choiseul was to recommend us to all the people of fashion here and everywhere else in France. We have heard nothing, however, of these recommendations and have had our way to make as well as we could by the help of the Abbé who is a Stranger here almost as much as we. The Progress, indeed, we have made is not very great. The Duke is acquainted with no French man whatever. I cannot cultivate the acquaintance of the few with whom I am acquainted, as I cannot bring them to our house and am not always at liberty to go to theirs. The Life which I led at Glasgow was a pleasurable, dissipated life in comparison of that which I lead here at Present. I have begun to write a book in order to pass away the time.

*Correspondence of Adam Smith, Letter # 82*

First, it bears repeating, Smith was very eager to get recommendations, a prerequisite to approaching the members of the élite he wanted to introduce to his pupil. Unfortunately the patronage of Lord Townshend, who at this time was counted among the ranks of the opposition failed to provide the indispensable “sesames” in Bordeaux. Besides, in order to establish contacts in Toulouse, Smith felt that some reciprocity was necessary and he regretted that he could not invite those persons of high rank he had in mind because of the modesty of his accommodation. In Toulouse at this time several “hôtels particuliers” were being enlarged or renovated, especially that belonging to Riquet de Bonrepos, an eminent member of the Parlement and the heir of the constructor of the Canal du Languedoc. Smith’s lodging, which was probably the same one occupied by Laurence Sterne, who had preceded him in Toulouse⁶, despite its comfortable

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⁶ One Abbé Makarty had provided Sterne with a house whose location would have been convenient for the Duke and that same Abbé was recommended later to the Duke and Smith by Abbé Colbert.. See I.C. Ross, p. 290 and Sterne’s Letters.
amenities, could not compete with such a splendid private mansion.

Smith is harsh with Colbert ('a Stranger here almost as much as we') but that is not totally wrong as Colbert had arrived in Toulouse with Loménie de Brienne only in February 1763. Thus it is not surprising that one year later he was still forging his own network in a city whose zealotry he did not share, as can be seen in a letter he sent to Hume:

Toulouse, April 10, 1765,
There are many English here and the place is very suitable for them. The people here are of a fanaticism that would surprise you; despite what has just happened, everyone believes Calas the father Guilty and it is useless to talk to them on this subject. Before reminding them of wisdom and moderation, it will be necessary to destroy many institutions related to religion and this Reformation can only come little by little but it will finally come to an end.
We hope to have Mr Smith for another month or two.

Therefore his links with the elite of Toulouse were certainly as tenuous during this period as were those of Smith with the archbishop. Indeed there is no evidence that Smith ever met with the archbishop.

The city at this time was the scene of several conflicts: the Calas affair, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the longstanding competition between the Parlement and the capitouls of Toulouse or the Etats du Languedoc, the regional assembly in Montpellier, and in 1763, the fiery dispute between the Parlement and the previous governor; the Duc de Fitz-James (a cousin of Henry Scot's). It is understandable, as a newcomer and as a foreigner perhaps, that Colbert should have avoided taking sides and therefore had remained in the shadow of Loménie de Brienne.

Networking and travelling during the summer of 1764

Eventually, the letter of July 5th must have borne fruit in some way as Smith and his pupil were able to meet the Duke of Richelieu in Bordeaux; as Smith wrote to Hume:

Toulouse, 21 Oct. 1764
My Dear Hume

I take this opportunity of Mr Cook going to Paris to return to you, and thro' you, to the Ambassador, my very sincere and hearty thanks for the very honourable manner in which he was so good as to mention me to the Duke of Richelieu in the letter of recommendation which you sent us. There was indeed one small mistake in it. He called me Robinson instead of Smith. I took upon me to correct this mistake myself before the Duke delivered the letter. We were all treated by the Maréchal with the utmost Politeness and attention, particularly the Duke whom he distinguished in a very proper manner. The intendant was not at Bordeaux, but we shall soon have an opportunity of delivering his letter as we propose to return that Place in order to meet my Lords Brother. (Corres. Smith, Letter # 83)

The “fascinating Duke of Richelieu” (Williams, 1910) was a very well connected and active personage who certainly opened many doors for Smith and his pupil, introducing them for example to Isaac de Bacalan, whose Mémoire Smith brought back to Scotland; in Bordeaux Smith and Colbert also met with Colonel Isaac Barré.

In Bordeaux in 1764, Barré was already no stranger to Smith. Indeed Lord Shelburne, Barré's patron, had entrusted the education of his son Thomas Fitzmaurice to Smith, with whom he resided, from 1759 to 1761. In addition, David Hume had participated with the future historian Adam Ferguson and the future General Robert Clerk, another protégé of Lord Shelburne's, in a failed raid by English forces on Lorient in 1746. There was thus an Irish-Scottish connection of liberal minds and it should be mentioned that Barré was the governor of Stirling fortress, forty kilometres from Glasgow, from April to December 1763. There is evidence of this relationship between Barré and Smith in a letter from David Hume to Smith sent from Paris in July 1763 in which he asked him to transmit a message to Barré (Hume-Greig, p. 391). A year later, Hume wrote from Compiègne to Barré to express his regret for not having met him in Paris. On 3 August 1764, Barré wrote to Hume from Rochefort asking for his help in an inheritance matter (cf. Burton, p. 34)). His father had a younger brother, Jean, who died intestate in 1760, and his fortune, valued at £10,000, nearly £2.000.000 pounds in 2019 was divided between nephews and nieces with nothing going back to their emigrated uncle. Unfortunately for him, in the 18th century, religious affiliation played a part in questions of inheritance and as a consequence of the Edict of Nantes, there was no question of a Protestant inheriting from a Catholic, a situation.

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8 The date is probably a mistake and should be read as 21st of August (the eighth month).
which should not have surprised Abbé Colbert since a symmetrical rule in Scotland would prevent his uncle the abbé Alexandre Colbert from taking over the family estate. As Seignelay had a solid legal background, it is not surprising that Barré had been pleased to join the travelers in their peregrinations between Bordeaux, Toulouse and Bagnères de Bigorre, where he returned in 1766, as Seignelay was to tell to the Duke (see below. p. ).

At this meeting in Bordeaux and in the following travels of the trio to Bagnères and Toulouse, the intersection of many networks can be observed. Certainly Colbert's good temperament was appreciated by both Barré and Smith as can be deduced from a letter from Barré to Hume dated from Toulouse, September 4, 1764:

Dear Hume,

I thank you very for your last letter from Paris which I received just Smith & his Elève & l'Abbé Colbert were sitting down to dine with me at Bordeaux. The latter is a very honest fellow & deserves to be a Bishop. Make him one if you can.

(Burton, p.38)

**Bagnères de Bigorre : the place to be seen in the 1760's**

Before the 17th century, the town had not undergone any notable development. But following the publication of La Guthère’s study which appeared in 1659, the attraction for this type of treatment developed rapidly in wealthy circles. Thus, throughout the "great century", the city underwent significant development, mainly based on the quality of the people who came from Versailles to stay there and engage in a new activity: taking the waters. From the onwards, the most famous visitors would follow one another in the Adour valley. For example: Louis-Auguste de Bourbon (1670-1736), the legitimate son of Louis XIV, accompanied by Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Montespan, the Duchess of Picquigny, daughter of Colbert, later the Duke and Duchess of Biron, as well as many other personalities from outside the region.

The small mountain town had become in less than a century a destination where not only the nobles and aristocrats of the Bordeaux region but also those of Toulouse met and socialised. The Riquet families became regular holidaymakers, as did personalities from the court of King Louis XV and foreign courts like nearby Spain's. Laurence Sterne's stay also proves that the resort was already known in England. Another English writer, Henry Swinburne (1743-1803), offers his readers, ten years after Smith's visit, a depiction reflecting the romanticism which was then emerging:
All the meadows, even on the declivities of the mountains, are watered by small cuts from the springs or rivers, and produce annually two crops of hay, the first extremely abundant: the fields in the plain admit of a third mowing in October. Bagnères contains about three thousand inhabitants; they subsist comfortably upon their paternal inheritances and the money they amass from the annual visits of strangers who resort hither to drink or bathe in its waters. It is surrounded with old walls, and is tolerably built, but the streets are narrow and crooked; the quantity of water that runs through them renders the town cool and pleasant in summer, but in winter it is exceedingly cold on account of the vicinity of the mountains, and the heavy falls of now, that remain several months upon the ground. It has no buildings of any note. The Adour is here a fierce torrent; its waters are white like those of all mountain streams proceeding from snows; they are diverted at several places from their natural course, and conveyed in channels across the plain, and through the town, where they are employed in numberless useful operations. (Swinburne, p. 301-2)

The roads made it possible to reach Bagnères in approximately two weeks from Paris, with increasing comfort each day thanks to the permanent improvement, at this time, of transport facilities. Since the Duke and Smith were to stay several months in Toulouse, they could allow themselves an exotic and invigorating trip to this fashionable resort.

One of the purposes of staying in a spa town was also walking. The 'promenade' was then an institution and had its rules, its uses, its places and its codes. The walk was the place for sociability par excellence, all participants were equal, everyone greeted everyone else. In a holiday town and particularly in a spa town, no one was at home. No aristocrat, however exalted, whether from Toulouse, Bordeaux or the court of Versailles, owned a mansion in the city.

Smith, who had complained in his previous letters about the limits his accommodation imposed on him when it came to receiving and paying visits, was now on a perfectly equal footing with the people he might meet. Housing was no longer, in the valley, a criterion of social discrimination, and everyone shared the same summer comforts that were always a little precarious in a holiday resort. Exchanges were thus made much easier. For Smith and the future Duke, the small resort in the Pyrenees finally became a place of shared sociability and bolstered by this new situation, they thus very easily established relations with all the people in residence in the city.

But beyond the simple promenade, other places of sociability existed as a concession to the century. Games of chance, the hazards of gambling and the emotions these brought had spread through all sectors of society.
Society was limited, at most a few hundred persons taking the waters at any one time, since the place was small and people had nothing else to do but the three activities mentioned, which punctuated the day: treatments in the morning, walks in the afternoon, games in the evening, contacts were thus facilitated and as Abbé Colbert would enjoy remembering, it would be the occasion for not only for Smith and the Duke, but also for Colonel Barré to enjoy a variety of encounters.

Bagnères de Bigorre’s affairs

The benefits of Bagnères had made it a very popular place for the good society not only of Toulouse and Bordeaux but also of the whole of Europe, if we believe "La coquette dupée par un religieux b*** et par un marquis", a short story published in 1774 in a collection with an even more evocative title, 'La Gazette de Cythère, ou Avantures galantes et récentes', which became available in the main cities of Europe. The author presents the social life as follows:

Bagnères in the season can compete for taste, abundance, wealth and luxury in Paris, all proportions kept, and it is certainly much above this Capital, for the delights of life in whatever sense one hears it; the help of nationals of all ranks, ages and sexes, and that of foreigners, makes the stay the most delicious, and attracts there, more for pleasure than for need, all those who, being able to afford the expense, want to devote three months to their pleasure, and spend them in the most brilliant company. A journey to Bagnères has been 'dans le ton' in France for a very long time it is the only long standing fashion

The young duke seems to have established ties in Bagnères on his own account. It must be said that he would soon celebrate his eighteenth birthday and that, according to Colbert, he was "very well made of himself". He was Scottish, which ensured for him the exoticism necessary for seduction. He was also rich and had a famous name. Furthermore, since when he reached the age of majority he would become the head of the Buccleuch house, it is not surprising that he attracted attention. This was particularly the case for the Baroness de Spens, who shortly after the days spent in Bagnères sent him a letter which the Duke brought back to Scotland and kept carefully; we can regret, however, the lack of other documents that would make it possible to reconstruct Smith and the Duke's journey.

Saint Sever          October       20, 1764
A Milord
My lord the Duke of Buccleugh
Truly, my lord, you quickly forget absent people! I flattered myself that I would find a little more memory among the English, but I realize that they differ from the French
only by their words; you had promised to send me, as soon as you were at Christmas, a letter of recommendation for your aunt, in favor of my cousins. I waited vainly for the effect of this promise, you probably have not thought about it any more; but this delay is not an irreparable evil, my lord, if you have the kindness to write your letter and to send it to me I would then be in time to address it to Paris to those ladies who are likely to stay there five or six days, I hope my lord, that you will subscribe to this arrangement otherwise, you will understand that I would be entitled to say that one must thus count even less on the English than on the French; As I do not know, milord, the length of time you have stayed at Noë and even more, where you have been since leaving this place, I address my letter to the abbé Colbert and I look to him to have it delivered to you where you will be: I'm not moving from here yet.

I am occupied here by a building project, in any case I almost drowned since I had the honor to see you; I fell in the gave, which is a very fast river, it looks almost like a miracle that I did not remain in there, it is thanks to M. de L'Etang that I was rescued. This accident left me in a lot of fear, but fortunately did not disturb my health which is always very good, I would be very comfortable to learn that yours continues to be too, I have the honor to be very perfectly, milord, your very humble and very obedient servant.

Labarrere d'espens

Please give my best regards, I beg you, to Mr. Chmit, I hope he will remember to send me his book. How is the Baron, are his eyes dry now? give him a little word of consolation from me.

The de Spens family was a very old Scottish family, settled for a few centuries in Saint-Sever a town in the Landes, where they owned an important agricultural estate. The family had been sent to France in 1450 by the Stuart King James II of Scotland. at the end of the Hundred Years' War to help the French in their struggle against the English occupier.

It is not so easy to determine the person for whom the Duke had promised a recommendation, according to the information contained in the letter. Indeed, the Duke's father was an only child but his mother Caroline Campbell (1717-1794) had no less than four sisters: Lady Elizabeth (born around 1720), Anne, and Mary (1727-1811), the youngest. Elizabeth had married James Stuart Mackenzie (1719-1800) who had been ambassador to Turin before being entrusted with Scottish affairs, despite his desire to represent England in either France or Spain. Walpole celebrated Anne, Countess of Stafford's beauty. Her attractiveness can be judged from her portraits in the British Museum, but of all the Campbell girls, it seems to be

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9 Smith and the young Duke were received at the château of Louis-Pantaléon, Count of Noë(1728-1816). He was a scion of a family of Gascon origin. His mother belonged to the Bréda family, great Creole landowners of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti). Born in the colonial slave society of Saint-Domingue. He followed a classic military career before returning to Saint-Domingue (1769 to 1775). After the outbreak of the French Revolution, he emigrated to Great Britain and he sought the help of Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the Haitian Revolution, also known as Toussaint Bréda as he was born on the Comte de Noë's sugar farm (de Cauna & Donnadieu).
the last one that is at issue because Lady Mary Coke was to lead a rather tumultuous life and take center stage during the reign of George III and welcome the Duke and Smith to London. Her letters and diary are an inexhaustible source of gossip about the "beautiful world" of the Georgian era and it is she who is at the origin of an anecdote that has definitively made Smith pass for the most distracted man on earth.

Her proximity to the Duke and her travels across the continent suggest that she was the person in question. It is possible that the cousins intended to go to London or that Lady Coke was soon to go to Paris, although she did not finally visit Europe until the 1770s.

The young woman the Duke was seeing in Bagnères came from a family which included many soldiers. Her father Jean-Baptiste Cazenave de Labarrère, (1705-1775 in Dax) was a musketeer for three years, an officer in Martinique (1748-1753), then on the island of Grenada (1753-1754), finally in Guadeloupe (754-1757), to which he was appointed but did not go. He returned to France in 1753 because of poor health and, a future family tradition, he took the waters. Finally he became Maréchaussée Provost of Auch and Béarn in 1763, an office he passed on to his son Jean-Gabriel. He had married, perhaps in 1740 in Martinique, Claire Françoise de Francesqui, from a family of settlers in Martinique.

Françoise had brothers, one of whom, Jean-Gabriel, perished on the scaffold in Dax during the Revolution: a good example of an enlightened nobleman rallied to the Revolution in 1789 and finally crushed by consequent events. This brother gives us an additional indication of the networking of the elites at the end of the Ancien Régime: he was the appointed prosecutor of Paul-Marie-Arnaud de Lavie, son of a 'président au mortier' of the Parlement of Bordeaux and the father in law of Isaac de Bacalan, already mentioned above.

**How To Maintain a Network Without Annoying one's Contacts**

Colbert, the main source of information about Smith’s many contacts before his arrival in Paris, wrote a long letter to the Duke after the 1766 season in Bagnères, keeping the two Scottish travelers posted about the network they had established from Toulouse to Bordeaux and Bagnères.\(^{10}\)

I do not know, Milord, whether you are in Paris or elsewhere, but I am writing to

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\(^{10}\) The letter was mentioned by W.R. Scott (1937) and partially reproduced as letter #91 in the *Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Glasgow edition) with an erroneous dating, without identifying its author or all the persons that are mentioned in it.
you perchance and you will not be unhappy to hear from a man whom you have
honoured with some friendship and who is tenderly attached to you.
It took six weeks between Paris and Toulouse and I stayed in the various places
along my route; I didn't travel like you, My Lord, in a good coach or in an English
post-chaise, at your ease, eating good food and enjoying the girls; but I either
trotted along on hired horses which fell at every step, or I rode at full speed along
the post roads, my buttocks bleeding, my bones dislocated and my whole body
bruised.
I travelled from Lyon to Avignon by the Rhône, our boat ran a great danger near a
mill; in Avignon I got embarked in a coach whose wheels were supposed to roll us
along but more properly make us feel as being broken on the wheel11; my fellow
travellers were a Jew and a Capuchin named Father Evangeliste, sick, dirty,
bearded, stinking and foolish; However good a Catholic I am, in that moment I
renounced my religion and became the most fearless Huguenot, I cursed St. Francis
the patron saint of the stinking father, I gave him and all his order to the great devil
Lucifer and I wished that there were no more religions where Capuchins were
allowed.
Despite my imprecations I suffered no less from the smell and heat, but finally I
arrived in Montpellier, where I saw Mr. Ré who asked about your news in Greek
verses, I answered him in Erse that you had the [theine?12]. I also found Colonel
Ross there not doing very well and an English gentleman named Mr. Lee.
He offered me a place in his sedan as far as Toulouse and I accepted it and I found it very
well. When I arrived here I found my brother very ill, he is still ill and even in danger; it is
a pity, because he is very kind and has a lot of wit for a soldier. And you, my lord, what are
you doing?
How are the Ballocks? Does Mr. Scot take lessons in gallantry at the feet of some beautiful
lady in Paris? For you, my lord, you have been to this school, but I flatter myself that the
impressions you have received there no longer exist.
And you, Adam Smith, Glasgow Philosopher, high-broad Ladys13 hero and idol,
what are you doing, my dear friend14? How do you govern the Duchess of Anville15.
And Mad. de Boufflers16, or is your heart still in love with Madame Nicol17 and the

11 Underlined in the original French by Abbé Colbert who probably wanted to draw the attention of the Young
Duke to the pun as the wheels are to be found in the French name of the coach and are also the place where bones
are broken.
12 The word is hard to decipher because Abbé Colbert is playing with three languages (French, English and Erse).
We believe that he introduced here the Gaelic word teine or theine meaning « fire ».
13 In English in the original.
14 It is noteworthy that Colbert used the pronoun « vous » (for a maximum of formality when addressing the Young
Duke) switched to the “tu” when he addressed directly “his dear friend” Smith, stressing the change by the
emphatic use of the pronoun (hero and idol).
15 Grand-daughter of La Rochefoucauld (the author of the "Maximes") and faithful friend of Turgot.
16 One of the foremost anglophiles in France, she opened a correspondence with Hume in 176x and may have used
her influence to have him brought to Paris in 1763. During his two years there, she became his close friend, and
for his sake welcomed Smith to her salon early in 1766.
17 Identified in the letter #91 to “an English lady with whom Smith is supposed to have fallen in love while on a
jaunt to Abbeville from Paris (Rae 213)”. Instead from a Toulouse point of view, it seems more plausible that
Colbert alluded to Madame Nicol, the spouse of Jacques Nicol de Montblanc, Capitoul elected in 1763. He
received in his Chateau the Duke of Fitz-James during his conflict with the Parlement.
apparent and hidden attraction of this lady of Fife\textsuperscript{18} whom you loved.
Could I hear from you, my lord? If you do not want to write yourself because you are lazy or because you scribble like a cat or what is worse, like a Duke, If Adam Smith does not want to write to me for the same reasons, If the honourable milord also keeps silent at least tell someone in your house to send me something on your part, I am responsible for discovering if you intend to stay in Paris this winter or if you are going to wander the world, I promised to find out about this. If you miss writers there is my friend and cousin Duncan the Piper who will send me in Erse anything you want to let me know and send me a piece worthy of Fingal, Ossian or Mac Ullin.

Would you like to hear the news from Toulouse? the Parlement has disbanded and everyone has returned home to the countryside. We see only Princes and Princesses who profit by coming to the waters, the English in Bagnères were extremely galant towards Mad. de Monaco, Barré is in Bagnères also, he wanted to pay court to this princess but she found him withered or too aged.; He keeps playing and losing, and his finances are said to be very low: too bad for him. The rest of the Irish clergy\textsuperscript{19} prays to God for your conversion, The French abbés who are people of good sense are very little embarrassed themselves very little whether you are a Saint or damned; they believe you to be with the devil, so stay there, it is your business; I am like them.

Doctor Quin\textsuperscript{20} presents his best wishes to you and Mr Caraman\textsuperscript{21} wishes very much to be recalled to the memory of Mr Smith, He goes this winter to Paris, if you are there I will give him a letter of recommendation for you.

Farewell, my lord, remember the last words I said to you when I left and that my mother had recently written to me in a letter, my son, she said to me, if you do not fear God be at least afraid of the Syph. Send me a word, my lord, in English, French or Erse and be persuaded of my tender friendship and respect.

Done in congregation on September 18, 1766
Received on 25 September 1766 at Compiègne (from the Duke)

Conclusion

Colbert’s letter provides a systematical review of the many persons that had been in contact with Smith and the Duke. He includes some remarks that prove the intimacy that has developed between the three Scots as they journeyed through Occitany. Indeed the letter addresses the subject of sexuality and amorous relationships in a very crude way. In any event we discover that the discussions between the Smith, his pupils and Colbert were not confined to philosophic or

\textsuperscript{18} There was a famous lady of Fife in the 1760’s. Sir John Anstruther commissioned this portrait of his wife, Janet, along with his own portrait (now in a French private collection). Lady Anstruther, the daughter of a Scottish merchant, was renowned for her beauty and for her reputation as a flirt. Despite her social elevation through marriage to a baronet, on at least one occasion Lady Anstruther was taunted in the streets for her supposed gypsy descent. Lady’s Tower, Elie, Fife was designed and built around 1760 for Lady Janet Anstruther who used it for changing before going for her daily swim. A bell was rung to warn the locals to stay away while she bathed

\textsuperscript{19} There was an Irish seminary in Toulouse (see Brockliss & Ferté, 2004 )

\textsuperscript{20} One Patrick Quin, born in Cork (Ireland) received his licence and doctorate in medicine in Toulouse on December 7, 1757 (communicated by Patrick Ferté – see also Patrick Ferté, 2009 )

\textsuperscript{21} Victor Maurice de Riquet de Caraman (1727 -1807) was a general officer descendant of Pierre-Paul Riquet, builder of the Canal de Languedoc. He was one of the main owners of the canal, whose management Smith celebrated in the Wealth of Nations.
platonic considerations but also touched all aspects of human behavior. We can conclude that the visit in Toulouse proved to be an important period in the life of the three Scotchmen.

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