TWO LETTERS RELATING TO BERKELEY'S SOCIAL CIRCLE

One aspect of Berkeley's biography which has received insufficient attention is his connection with fashionable London society. Certainly Berkeley, along with Pope and his countryman Swift, were patronised by the politically powerful and became part of London society associated with the rich and influential. Two recently discovered letters, both dating from the 1750s, throw some further light on this important dimension of Berkeley's life and also relate to other issues which may be of interest to readers of this Newsletter.

The first letter is a note from Berkeley to Lady (Dorothy) Burlington, whose husband the third Earl Burlington and fourth Earl of Cork was, for a long period, a patron - if not the leading patron - of Berkeley's. He likewise patronised both Pope and Swift and it is said that Pope introduced Berkeley to Burlington. Not only does this letter indicate that the Burlington connection remained strong until 1750, but it also shows a considerable disinclination on Berkeley's part to continue to reside in Cloyne and thus presages his subsequent departure for Oxford. The gift mentioned in this letter has not been identified. This letter (Ref. 364.0) forms part of the extensive Devonshire collection at Chatsworth (Bakewell, Derbyshire) and is printed here with the permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.

Our second letter concerns Berkeley's death and contains, together with much interesting gossip, sketches of the characters of both Berkeley and his wife and also a judgment of his philosophy by a leading member of London society. The author, Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800) was the original 'blue-stocking' whose Mayfair residence became the locus for the fashionable intellectual elite. 'Mrs' Anne Donnellan, who is mentioned in the letter was a close friend of Swift's. Likewise her brother, Rev. Christopher Donnellan, who likewise formed part of the same Irish circle, owed his Church living to Berkeley. Parts of this letter were published in Emily J. Climenson, Elizabeth Montagu The Queen of the Blue-Stockings: Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761, 2 vols. (London, 1906), ii, 25-6. Climenson, however, omits most of the fifth sentence - which graphically details Anne Berkeley's attitude towards her husband - and ends her quotation with the word 'Mankind' in the sixth sentence. This letter (HM MO 6697) is deposited in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California and is reproduced by permission of the Librarian.

G.N. Cantor,
Philosophy Dept.,
University of Leeds.
Cloyne 2 April 1750

Madam

Permit me to thank your Ladyship for a present very valuable in itself, and much more so on account of the giver, who is so good as to remember an humble servant in this remote corner; where, to my sorrow, I am haunted with a taste for good company and fine arts which I got at Burlington house, the worst preparative in the world for a retreat at Cloone. But, wherever I am, your Ladyship and my good Lord Burlington may always count upon the best respects and most sincere good wishes of

Madam
Yr. most obedient
and most obliged
G. Cloyne

Jan 28 [1753], Sandleford.

My most honord Cousin...

How happy was the Bishop of Cloynes exit or rather indeed one should call it his entrance into another, then departure out of this life, for it had none of the agonising pangs of a farewell. I pity poor Mrs Berkeley, who had so little preparation for so heavy a stroke. I hope the constant conversation & example of a man so eminent in every christian virtue, may have given her an uncommon degree of fortitude & patience. I have heard her temper & understanding highly commended. She had a perfect adoration of the Bishop, to whose humors she had a submission that offended some of the Ladies, who thought her entire obedience a bad precedent, Mrs Berkeley said such a Man as Dr Berkeley deserved uncommon attentions, & she thought it wd be strange presumption to oppose the designs & inclinations of one so much superior to her, thus she dignified her choice, recommended her obedience & preserved unprejudiced the rights & privileges of other Ladies whose Husbands had not the like plea for their submission. Dr. Berkeley

*The Dr. Frewin referred to here is, presumably, Richard Frewin, M.D. (c. 1681-1761), the Camden professor of ancient history at Oxford. Perhaps a reader of this Newsletter can explain this reference to Frewin's 'behavior.'
During the Spring of 1979 one of us visited Mr. Stephen Parks, Keeper of the Osborn Collection, Yale University. On enquiry whether Mr. Parks had recently come on anything of Berkeleian interest, Mr. Parks produced a document, which he intended to publish in due course. He gave permission for us to reproduce the document in the Berkeley Newsletter after his own publication had appeared. We shall refer to this document in what follows as the Contract.

Mr. Parks has now published the Contract in the _Scribblarian_ (Autumn 1980), together with some discussion. The main purpose of the present paper is to supplement Mr. Parks' discussion, with which we in general agree.

The ladies library (London, 1714) — referred to for convenience as the LL in what follows — is one of several improving works published in England during the latter half of the 17th century and the early part of the 18th. They include _The ladies calling_ (Oxford 6th impression 1693) (or LC), _The government of the tongue_ (Oxford 1674) (or GT), _The gentleman's calling_ and _The gentleman's library_.

That these works met a need is shown by the number of impressions called for: thus there was a pirated edition of the LL in 1714 and the seventh and eighth impressions appeared in 1722. The work was translated into French and Dutch. (See the Bibliography in G.A. Aitken, _The life of Richard Steele_. London 1889.) Further evidence of its popularity is given in the 'Preface to the reader' provided in _The gentleman's library_ (second edition, London, 1722). The author remarks, a little acidly, on 'the kind entertainment the town gave' to the LL and how it has 'been read in most counties [countries?], though it was swell'd out into three volumes and sold at a pretty handsome price'.

Though, as we shall see, the preliminary portion of the LL requires further comment, it may be helpful if we list here a selection from the titles of the chapters of each of the three volumes.

Vol. 1
- Employment
- Wit and delicacy
- Recreation
- Dress
- Chastity

Vol. 2
- The daughter
- The wife
- The mother

Vol. 3
- Vol. 3
- Prayer
- Fasting
- Repentance

The title page in each of the three volumes informs us that the work was...
printed by Jacob Tonson, and that it was 'published by Mr. R. Steele' and
'written by a Lady'. Each volume contains a dedication by Steele. Volume 1 is dedicated to the Countess of Burlington, mainly in view of the
'serious example you have given the world' in the 'important characters of
a wife and a mother'. Volume 2 is dedicated to Mrs. Bovey, a lady whose
beauty is matched only by her fortune, her charity, and her love of study.
(See the D.N.B. for an account of her life.) Volume 3 is dedicated to Mrs.
Steele = 'the best of women'.

Steele had undertaken, as we can see from the Contract, to write a
Preface to the LL. This he did, and it appears in Volume 1, with his
signature. It somewhat complicates the issue as to the compiler, however,
by informing us that 'they [the papers] were referred to me as what were at
first intended by the compiler for a guide to her own conduct'. Steele
then tells us, as Mr. Parks notes, that he handed the papers 'into the
care of a Reverend Gentleman', who, for reasons given, was well qualified
to advise whether it was fitting for Steele, in view of 'the levity of
my writings', to publish these improving papers. Steele was reassured
by the Reverend Gentleman, and was advised by the latter to consent to be
the compiler. However, Berkeley

It might be thought strange that Berkeley should use the nom de plume
'written by a Lady'. In fact he seldom used his own name on a title-page.
An interesting case is that of his Maxims concerning patriotism, which he
included in A miscellany, containing several tracts on various subjects
(London 1752) 'by the Bishop of Cloyne'. However, the Maxims
originally published in 1750 as 'by a Lady'.

Most of the LL is made up of long, unaltered quotations from 'the best
English authors'. In some cases quotations are revised and words added or
subtracted. Occasionally, whole paragraphs are added, especially by way of
introduction or transition. We have printed examples of these below.
Aitken assumed that Steele was responsible for the changes. But there is
no positive evidence for this supposition. 'I am only her [the Lady's]
Gentleman-Usher' - wrote Steele in the Preface. The Contract and Preface
plainly point to Berkeley as being entirely responsible for the body of the
work. And as it may also be assumed that he wrote the Introduction
in Volume 1 - which is supposed to have been written by the Lady - we have
reproduced it below.

E.J.F. and D.B.
1. Introduction.

Making one Day in this Treatise of Thought, I turned over some Books of French and English, written by the most polite Writers of the Age, and began to consider what Account they gave of our Companions, different from that of the other Sex. But indeed, when I dipped into those Writings, there was nothing to conceive otherwise, I could not have believed from their general and undistinguished Observations that many of their Men had any such Relations as Mothers, Wives or Sisters, one of them makes a Lover, say in a Turgid

Thus art Woman, a true Copy of the fo\(\text{f}r\), In which the Race of all Mankind was end: Your Sex by Beauty made to Hen-TEXT残缺，content残缺

Another says, The All is but a Show, Rather than fail'd France, all for a Ride, Created by Nature. Oh! why did God, Create this World of Spirits, simulating life, They Nextly on Earth? This five defect

Of

3. Introduction.

Of Names, and not fill the World at once With Men, as Angels, Without Feminine, Or find some other Way to generate Mankind? Milton.

And a third

All Traders! All Ingenious! All faithful

Mind!

At Sea, invented Fire to deme Mankind!

Nature took care to draft you up for Sea,

Adventurous, unfeudal left within:

Hence no Judgment your Love direct;

Talk much, think little, and fill the Wrong

effect.

So much self-love in your Companions mind,

That Love in others still remains unfeudal,

Greatness, and Knife, and Beauty are your

Dignities,

Yet make Men love you in their own delight:

And, looking in their mirror Was no Esch,

Are forc'd to put their folly out to shew,

Dyer's Aurengzebe.

I shall conclude poetical Testimonies to

our Delight, agree with one Quotation more,

Intelligible Poesy! Your Sex

Was never in the right. You're always false,

On fire, to inc your Dresses are not nice

Face black then your appetites; You think

Of using twice: Opinion you have more;
Introduction.

When I apply myself to my French Reading, I find Women are still more in proportion to the greater warmth of the Climats, and according to the Depredations of us in the Wars of that Nation, that they write as coolly, and in Praise, by way of plain Opinion, we are made up of Affections, Coquetry, Follyhood, Dignities, Treachery, Wantonness, and Perfidiousness. All our Merit is to be left guilty one than another under one of these Heads.

Differencies for the Conduct of Life are as gravely composed upon these Topics, as if they were as divisible as mathematical Truths. It call me a great deal of Pain to study by what means I should refuse such Sardenian Instructions against my very Nature. But the more I pondered upon these Abuses, I grew the less concerned to answer them, and finally resolved upon this.

They are perhaps in the right who speak this of me Women; and it is the duties of ingenious Youth'd Men, who regard us as if we should give us Ideas of themselves; that we may become their more easy prey.

Believed it therefore the safest and easiest Method of guiding such light Accounts of our Sex to think them a truth, till I had arrived by the peril of more fold Authors, to a Conveniency of Mind and formed Opinion of Persons and Things, which should place me above being pleased or dissatisfied with Praise or Dispraise, upon account of Beauty or Deformity, or any other Advantages or Disadvantages, but what flowed from the Habits and Dispositions of my Soul.

I resolve therefore to confine my little Studies, which are to lead to the Conduct of my Life, to the Writings of the most eminent of our Divines, and from thence, as I have heard young Students do in the Rudiments of a Science, make for my own private Use a Common Place, that may direct me in all the relations of Life, that do now, or possibly may, concern me as a Woman.

Vol. 1, pp. 178-9 - Pages 179f are from the Ladies Calling (LC), pp. 5f; hence p. 178 is very probably by Berkeley.

MODESTY.

111. Not the Ladies take themselves to be affronted, if we think for thinking it becomes them? Is the

Vol. 1, p. 316 "...and putting children to honest Trade." Taylor, Holy Living, chap. IV, sect. VIII, the rest is by Berkeley.
DETRACTION.

I believe there is hardly a Man living, who is not least conversant with Men or Things past and present; either in Life or History, but will acknowledge that Detraction was never carried so far as in Envy, as it has been lately with us in England. Some Minds have been given to it in the following Pages. I shall now consider this Vice more fully, and expose the Guilt and Mischiefs of it, which will doubtless be confirmed by all our Experience.

In doing this it will be necessary to discover in the whole Part of it, is well that of the Tongue, as that of the Pen. And if there be Error in this in my Manners, I have not to wonder at that, since that must first be discovered, no matter, it will, against the bad Men upon Earth. It was done in Daniel's Time, God and God's Men, as the Royal Person and Vol. I, p. 362 'their countries devoted themselves to certain Death.'

The passage beginning 'To what danger, to what guilt... to the end of the page, are from the GT p. 85. The rest is by Berkeley.

362 Detraction.

their Countries devoted themselves to certain Death.

The Love of Liberty and Glory has been always blest with the Applause of Pottery, however it may be depred in the Pursuit of it. Tyranny and the Creatures of Tyrants, despising good Name, which Orde is rather than the richest Perfumes; they being black themselves, desire nothing but to blacken others; they confound Fame and Infamy, they indulge their Lust of Power, and look on every thing else as insipid or ridiculous; they are intolerable of Shame, and do not care what any Tongue can say of them, as long as they can eat it out for it. But as these are Monsters in Morality, so nothing can be argu'd from their Passages against the common Opinion of all honest Men. Such will always be impartial when their Reputation is invaded. To what Dangers, to what Guilt, does sometimes the very Fancy of a Re- search hurt Men? It makes them really forfeit that Virtue from whence all true Reputation springs, and, like Apollo's Dogs, had the Substance by too greedy catching at the Shadow.

Since Realists, as some are, in high a Rate, and_Philosophers at a higher, we may conclude the adorning this Interest one of the great


He that is choice of his Time, will also be Choice of his Company and his Actions, that there be nothing vain in the one nor criminal in the other. God has given us a short time upon Earth, and yet upon this short time depends Eternity. There's not an Hour of our Lives (when we are of Years to distinguish Good from Evil) but we must account for to God who gave it to us.

Vol. I, p. 360: from the GT, pp. 42-3 with the exception of the following:

In our Days we have seen the chief Reason for the most unjust and bloody Wars been wound up in the single Phrase of our Honour and our Glory....

[Steele, a Whig and defender of Marlborough, would hardly have added this.]

Minor changes

LC vol. I, p. 6 'feminine beauty'  
LC vol. I, p. 11 'our female talkers'  
LC vol. I, p. 153 'talkers of both sexes'  
LC vol. I, p. 26 'exquisite and rich'  
LC vol. I, p. 305 'shining and rich'  
LC vol. I, p. 30 'precious severed from vile'  
LC vol. I, p. 210 'good severed from bad'  
LC vol. I, p. 195 'a poor girl'  
LC vol. I, p. 195 'a silly girl'  
GT p. 46 'thus Epaminondas alariously expired'  
LT vol. I, p. 361 'thus Epaminondas joyfully expired'
BERKELEY'S DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA: A NEW LETTER

The letter printed below was on 10 May 1979 auctioned by Swann Galleries of New York City, who printed part of it in their catalogue, item 26, and kindly allowed me to make a transcript of the whole. The A.L.S., which has never been published in any work on Berkeley, outlines his plans and reasons for going to Rhode Island rather than to Bermuda. It was probably written to Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London and Visitor of Berkeley’s projected College of St. Paul’s. We have two similar epistolary farewells - to Percival and to Prior (Serres viii, pp. 190-2) - but neither of them is as informative. It confirms, for example, that Berkeley planned to use Rhode Island as his base on the American mainland; but it does not suggest that he thought of changing the location of his College from Bermuda to Rhode Island.

D.B.

Gravesend, Sept. 5, 1728.

My Lord

The small time I have been in London since my return from Ireland was spent in such hurry of business, that I could wait on none of my patrons or friends, which must be my apology for taking this method of paying my duty to your Lordship whom I beg leave to inform that to morrow with the blessing of God I shall set sail to Rhode Island near New England. It is a place abounding in provisions where I design to purchase a piece of land with my own money in order to supply our college with such necessaries as are not the product of Bermuda, which will in good measure remove one principal objection to the success of our design. The money contributed by Subscribers is left in Mr Hoare the Banker’s hands and made payable to Mr Clayton with whom I have also left the patent for receiving the 20,000l from St. Christopher’s. I propose to continue at Rhode Island till such time as Mr Clayton hath received that money and is come to Bermuda with the rest of my associates where I intend to join them. Going to Bermuda without either money or associates I could not think of. I shou’d have made a bad figure and done no good. Staying here would have been no less disagreeable and to as little purpose, since all I could do here was finished except receiving the money which may be done by others. It shou’d seem therefore that the intermediate time may be passed with more advantage in America where I can see things with my own eyes and prepare matters for the rendering our college more useful. I humbly recommend the undertaking & my self to your Lordship’s protection & prayers and remain with all duty and respect,

My Lord
Yr. Lordship’s most obedient & most devoted humble Servt
G. Berkeley.

ABSTRACTS


The dualism between "thinking things" and "extended things" (which is a typical Cartesian tenet) is much stressed in Berkeley’s De Motu. This tenet is virtually present before, in the Principles, with the weaker version of dualism as it is expressed with action and passion. Associated with this Cartesian aspect, there is something seemingly new in the De Motu: the criticism of abstraction is at first sight similar to the one of the published Introduction of the Principles. But a close examination brings out that the word "abstraction" is now taken in a very loose sense. Then abstraction is not so much an undue separation of qualities which cannot exist separately, but an undue mixing of what is radically different. Thus the main criticism is now focused on the sort-crossing that men abuse of when using words from spiritual realm to describe corporeal notions.


There is a two fold criticism of abstraction in Berkeley: first, a critical introspective search for a power to abstract, which would make the difference between men and brutes; secondly, a logical consideration of the abstract notions as a result of this power. Besides this, three kinds of abstract notions are to be distinguished in the Introduction, as it is published in 1710: the two first are only the non-entities supposed from the psychological incapacity to "frame" them (6-8 for a single "abstract" quality: 9 for an "abstract collection" of qualities. The third kind of abstract notions is the only one considered on a pure logical level (13: a contradiction cannot exist).

As the critical inspection of "matter" shows a similar duality between a word as meaningless and a notion as contradictory, it would be useful to trace whether Berkeley made purposely a parallelism.

Geneviève Brykman Chargée de recherches C.N.R.S. France.

A BERKELEIAN CONNECTION

In the Newsletter for 1978 (p. 3) my fellow-editor noted that in the first and all subsequent English editions of the Three dialogues there is a grammatical slip in the passage: ‘Whereas to say, there is no Matter, if by that Term be meant an unthinking Substance existing without the Mind...’ The main verb is lacking.

While in New York Dr. Brian Torode examined, at my suggestion, some books by Berkeley which had been in the possession of Samuel Johnson and are now in the Library of Columbia University. In a copy of the London 1734 edition of the Three dialogues (and Principles) he found, written in a contemporary hand, the following correction on page 353:

I am indeed content whereas to say, there is no Matter, if by that Term be meant an unthinking Substance existing without the Mind: But if...

"When I had the privilege a few years ago of dining with the late A.A. Luce at Trinity College, Dublin," Professor Gaustad says, in the first sentence of his book, "he politely inquired how a (mere) historian could possibly be interested in George Berkeley. For Canon Luce, it was clearly clear that Berkeley was firmly and wholly rooted in the philosopher's turf" (Preface, p. ix). What Dr. Luce feared has happened. We have a book on Berkeley composed of statements on this level: "Berkeley found truth not in propositions and names but in living spirit" (p. 208); a book with this presentation of one of the great empiricists in the history of ideas: "Berkeley, the epistemological mystic, found tongues in trees, sermons in stones, and the language of God in everything" (p. 207). Dr. Luce would not, of course, deny Berkeley's theological importance or his religious engagement. But even on purely religious issues, to which Professor Gaustad pays much attention, we are given a rather distorted picture: Berkeley's importance in America was "chiefly his role as minister and preacher", he says (p. 118); in his account of Berkeley's teaching, however, "Berkeleyanism" and "Anglicanism" are almost synonymous terms.

In his summary of Berkeley's philosophical importance, Professor Gaustad maintains that Berkeley "was throughout his life...singing philosophical hymns of praise to God" (p. 212). What he means by this is reflected in his account of *Alciphron* (p. 142 ff): *Alciphron*, the first great contribution to philosophy written in America - is here presented as an ordinary sermon by an humble, anonymous, Anglican preacher. The strong-minded analysis in the seventh dialogue, for example, is presented as a sermon in nice words on certain other nice words such as "grace".

There is no serious attempt to present Berkeley's contribution to the history of ideas. Neither is there any answer to these questions: What role did Berkeley play, if any, as an introducer in America of contemporary science? Of literature? Of classical studies? Of scientific method? etc. Instead, Gaustad emphasises what he refers to as "Berkeley's philosophy of history" (pp. 72 ff, 153 ff, 202 ff). Inspired by Berkeley's verses on America ("...Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way...Time's noblest Offspring is the last"), Gaustad constructs his anachronistic view of Berkeley as a pathetic American nationalist; the alleged prophecy on "this nation's place" is Berkeley's philosophy of history.

When Professor Gaustad discusses the relation between Berkeley and the American George Washington, he is satisfied with speaking about some themes mentioned in their correspondence. And Berkeley's important indirect influence in America, among other things by means of the books he sent to Johnson, to Harvard, and to Yale, is described in terms of "Berkeley's bibliomania" (p. 82), on occasion, and his great benevolence and charity proved by his giving away these beloved books, on the other (p. 81 ff).

Sometimes, one gets the impression that this book consists of a series of memoranda on just everything its author happened to come across about Berkeley. This is, perhaps, most striking in the evidence given in support of the view that "The name and the spirit of Berkeley persists at several levels, from the superficial to the profound" (p. 196). What follows (pp. 196-206) is mainly a list of odd curiosities, uncritical and unsystematically put together; a list that completes this caricature of a man who - in spite of the impression this book must give the reader - was a great philosopher with an important, and continuing influence on cultural life in America.

Bertil Belfrage
Lund University (Sweden)


The first translation of the Three dialogues in the Philosophische Bibliothek, by Raoul Richter, was published in 1901; a second in 1926; this is the third, revised by Erwin Pracht, published by Wolfgang Breidert. Though Berkeley had no numbered sections in these dialogues, this edition includes references in accordance with the numbering introduced by C.M. Turbayne.

This is an excellent translation. It is not a word-by-word translation, of course; the two languages do not permit such a procedure. Consequently, one would search in vain for any exact correspondence between technical terms in the original and the particular words used in the translation. The first impression could be, therefore, that the translator has failed to give a correct picture of Berkeley's thought. A more careful reading shows, however, that everything is there, admirable clear, though, necessarily, expressed in a different way than Berkeley did in English. Only a trained philosopher with a deep knowledge of Berkeley could possibly produce such a translation!

Wolfgang Breidert, German expert on Berkeley, has contributed an Introduction in which he presents the general background, history, and importance of Berkeley's philosophy (with special reference to a German auditory). Helpful notes to the text and a representative Index. Breidert's detailed list of Contents is in fact a first class outline analysis of the Dialogues. German students are to be congratulated.

Bertil Belfrage
Lund University (Sweden)
RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON BERKELEY


Corrigenda

Please make these corrections in my 'A summary of Berkeley's metaphysics' in Berkeley newsletter 3 (1979):

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<td>1</td>
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<td>19-20</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;opinion&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;my opinion&quot;</td>
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Bertil Belfrage
The Society announces the annual commemoration of the arrival of Bishop Berkeley and his family in the New World. This popular event has become the focal point for friends and admirers of the Bishop. This year we are getting as close to the spirit of Berkeley as possible by having the banquet in Hoxman Hall, International headquarters.

The program is as follows:

Place: Hoxman Hall, Trinity Church, Newport, RI
Time: 6:30 p.m. - Friday 23 January 1981
Dress: Evening dress optional
Cost: $20.00 per person
Includes dinner and wine before, during, and after dinner

Entertainment: The Waythaler ensemble, the world's smallest symphony orchestra, will play during the social hour from 6:30 - 7:30. Reviving again the fine old 18th-century tradition of entertaining ourselves, witty toasts and dedications by the members and probably a reading of a bit of Berkeleyana by the president will be featured.