

The Bloomsbury Companion to Berkeley

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Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

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Berkeley's Correspondence

Marc A. Hight

In-depth knowledge of an early modern luminary – perhaps especially philosophers – requires familiarity with their correspondence as well as their published works. Letter writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was often considered almost a form of art, and many letters were written with the intention that they someday be published or made available to intellectual circles. This truism applies to Berkeley as well. Although much of his correspondence has not survived and we do not have as rich a philosophical and personal set of correspondences as we have, for instance, with Descartes, Locke or Leibniz, what remains is considerable and worthy of study nonetheless. In this chapter my intent is purely descriptive: to give the reader an overview of the nature, extent and rough content of Berkeley's correspondence. I make no arguments or judgments of a philosophical nature about the letters or their content, leaving that for other venues.

The correspondence of a philosopher is particularly important as it promises to provide a context for the philosophy that interests us and deepen our historical understanding as well. Who did Berkeley have in mind when writing a particular argument? What is going on in his life that might impact his work? How might his letters reveal or confirm some insight into his era? Sometimes these questions are not answerable, but occasionally the correspondence can provide clues to larger philosophical questions about his system. This chapter is an attempt to provide a guide for scholars and the otherwise interested reader to Berkeley's correspondence. I divide my task in this descriptive overview as follows. I first list and provide an overview of the sources of Berkeley's correspondence, including collections of his letters and the provenance (as best is known). I then turn to discuss his correspondents and the general content of those exchanges, including a discussion of what letters are now lost to us.

Berkeley's correspondence

Until recently¹ there has been no successful attempt to provide a complete collection of Berkeley's extant and known correspondence. A. C. Fraser published many letters in his *Life and Letters*, but he excluded most of the correspondence written to Berkeley. Benjamin Rand presented most of the correspondence between Berkeley and John Percival in his now aging work *Berkeley and Percival* (published in 1914), but he missed a number of letters in the archives and was unaware of several others that have since come to light. A. A. Luce hoped to compile a complete edition of Berkeley's letters (see *Life*, vi), but he too made the decision to not publish the vast majority of the letters addressed to Berkeley. Luce's collection of correspondence in *The Works of George Berkeley* (volume VIII) is also increasingly incomplete with the discovery of several additional letters since its publication in the mid-twentieth century.

In 2012 I published *The Correspondence of George Berkeley* (Cambridge University Press). The volume includes letters both authored by and addressed to Berkeley, but it is necessarily defective on at least two accounts. First, there is reason to believe that some extant letters were not included (especially a few likely held by private collectors to which I could not get access) and second, we have evidence of many letters that have since presumably been lost or destroyed. As of this writing, it is the most complete collection of Berkeley's *known* and *extant* correspondence. That said, a single known piece was inadvertently omitted from the collection, a letter from Berkeley to Thomas McDonnell dated 7 May 1752. The letter, fortunately, has already been published with some commentary by David Berman in *Berkeley and Irish Philosophy* (Continuum, 2005), p. 223. The letter is brief and I refer readers to Berman's monograph for details. I reproduce the letter here in conformance to the organization of the volume for the sake of completeness.

388b Berkeley to McDonnell

MS *unknown*. *Thomas McDonnell*, A Short Vindication of the passages in the Essay towards an answer . . . (Dublin 1754)

7 May 1752

**Sir,

The Weakness and Presumption of the Book stiled an *Essay on Spirit*, render it undeserving of any serious Answer. I find there are some anonymous persons who have treated it in a ludicrous Manner. But if you are minded to confute it

seriously, I make no Doubt of your being singly an Over-match for such an Adversary. I shall therefore leave him to yourself, and wishing you good success remain,

Sir,
Your Faithful,
Humble Servant,
G. Cloyne

Cloyne, May 7, 1752

** The Original lies in the bookseller's hands for the satisfaction of those who may desire to see it.

Description of main manuscript repositories

Bodleian Library, Rhodes House, Oxford University

The archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), now the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, are held at the Rhodes House in Oxford. Catalogues of SPG correspondence, letterbook copies of official correspondence, and some original autographed letters are available, although one letter has unfortunately gone missing when the materials were rebound. SPG catalogue, C/AM9, A24. Ser. B vol. 15 (letter 191 missing), 191a, 249.

British Library, London

The Berkeley Manuscripts are bound volumes containing notes, reflections and other materials by Berkeley and others in his family. BL Add. Ms 39304, 39305, 39306, and 39311 include a number of letters and drafts of letters, many in Berkeley's hand. Also present are the Egmont Papers. These records were formerly housed at the Public Records Office in London but have since been moved to the British Library. They include John Percival's records and letterbooks that contain copies (typically in a secretary's hand) of much of his correspondence with Berkeley along with some correspondence between Percival's son (also named John) and Berkeley. The volumes in the Egmont Collection (BL Add. Ms 46964–47213) with letters to or from Berkeley include BL Add. Mss 46986, 46997, 46998, 47000, 47012B, 47013B, 47014A, 47025, 47026, 47027, 47028, 47029, 47030, 47031, 47032 and 47033. Berkeley's letter to Sloane comes from the Sloane Manuscripts (BL Sloane Ms 4040) and two other volumes contain letters as well: BL Add. Ms 32710 and 46688.

Beinecke Library, Yale University

MS Vault File Berkeley and the Johnson Family Papers (Ms 305) both have loose autographed letters of Berkeley along with other miscellaneous Berkeleiana. Two additional letters are present in the Osborn Files 'B' folders 1118 and 1184.

Butler Library, Columbia University

The Johnson Papers are held here, which contain a number of letters and copies of letters between the American Samuel Johnson and Berkeley. The collection includes three bound volumes and a box of loose materials. The library also has two autograph collections with one Berkeley letter each, the Edwin Seligman Special Collection and the David Eugene Smith Special Collection.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK

The letterbooks of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) are now housed at Cambridge University Library. Copies of letters to and from Berkeley (Henry Newman is the principal correspondent) are present in bound volumes: Ms D4/23, Ms D4/24, Ms D4/28, MS D4/29, Ms D4/41, and Ms D4/42.

Chatsworth, Derbyshire

The Devonshire Collection Ref. 364.0 contains a single autographed letter to Dorothy Boyle.

Christchurch College Library, Oxford

The library holds most of the correspondence of Archbishop William Wake, including one autographed letter written by Berkeley.

Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA

In the Orrery Papers one bound volume has a copy of a letter to John Boyle.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Several autographed letter collections here contain Berkeley correspondence, specifically the Ferdinand Dreer Collection in the English and American Clergy Series, and the Simon Gratz Collection in the British Authors Series.

Lambeth Palace Library, London

The Fulham Papers at Lambeth hold a single letter from Berkeley to then Bishop of London Edmund Gibson (see Letter 210) and a second autographed letter in their manuscript collection to Henry Clarke.

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Only a few letters are held at the National Library. Ms 2979 contains a single letter to Isaac Gervais and Ms 987 is a bound volume with a letter from Dorothea Annesley and a reply from then Bishop Berkeley. Microfilm copies of letters held elsewhere are usefully present as well (Microfilm 2510 and 2761).

Redwood Library, Newport, RI

The Roderick Terry Jr. Autograph Collection contains a single autographed letter by Berkeley to Isaac Gervais.

Representative Church Body of the Church of Ireland Library, Dublin

D6/150/6: a single autographed letter by Berkeley to Archbishop Hoadly.

Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence, RI

Ms 294 in the Gabriel Bernon papers is a 'scrapbook' with two letters in French from Berkeley to Bernon.

Southampton Civic Centre, Southampton, United Kingdom

D/M1/2 contains a letterbook of Samuel Molyneux with copies of four letters from Berkeley. The letterbook also holds copies of other letters received by Molyneux.

Trinity College Library, Dublin

In addition to other Berkeleiana, including multiple drafts of his letter about the cave of Dunmore, several original letters are preserved in bound volumes: TCD Ms 1186, 2167, and 4309.

University of Amsterdam Library, Amsterdam

J3b: Two original letters, loose but well preserved, from Berkeley to Jean LeClerc.

Description of non-manuscript sources

As many of the original letters are lost, often our best sources for the letters are copies preserved in other ways, frequently as copies in previously published works. The following is a list of the known non-original manuscript sources (organized by title).

***Authentic Narrative*, by Thomas Prior (London: 1746)**

***Berkeley Studies* (formerly *Berkeley Newsletter*)**

One letter that was auctioned in 1979 and now in (unknown) private hands was transcribed and published by David Berman in the *Berkeley Newsletter* immediately before its sale. Although the addressee is not certain, the letter is most likely to Edmund Gibson.

***Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.* by Sir Henry Bunbury (London: Edward Moxon, 1838)**

One letter to Hanmer from Berkeley appears in the text. The location of the original is unknown.

***L'Adamo, ovvero il Mondo Creato*, by Tommaso Campailla (Rome: Rossi, 1728)**

In the preface Campailla reproduces two letters sent to him by Berkeley.

***Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson* by E. Edwards Beardsley (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1874)**

Beardsley reproduces a number of letters to and from Johnson for which we have originals and generally does so accurately. At least one of the originals, however, has been lost and this volume is now our only source.

***Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D.*, by A.C. Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon, 1871)**

Some of the letters Fraser published in this volume are no longer extant, making his book the best source that remains to us (especially several exchanges with Johnson). Fraser's transcriptions are the only records that remain for five letters (four to Samuel Johnson and one to Evans). The work is also valuable for checking the accuracy of letters lost but published elsewhere.

***The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* by L. Tyerman (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1880), 5th edition**

Tyerman reproduces extracts of letters from then Bishop Berkeley to Lloyd, one of his parish priests, concerning the preaching of John Wesley in Berkeley's bishopric.

***Literary Relics: Containing Original Letters . . . by George Monck Berkeley* (London: T. Kay, 1789, reprinted in a corrected second edition 1792)**

Many of the letters to Thomas Prior are originally preserved only in this volume. In the preface the younger Berkeley (the grandson) says he received the Berkeley letters from Mr Archdale, but there is no hint as to where the originals might be located at the present, if they survive.

***Memoirs of George Berkeley: Late Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland* by Joseph Stock (London: J. Murray, 1784) and Stock's *preface to the Works of George Berkeley* (London, 1784)**

Both works contain extracts of letters penned by Berkeley, most of which fortunately overlap with other published collections (such as George Monck Berkeley's *Literary Relics* and Fraser's *Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D.*).

***Poems by the late George Monck Berkeley* (London: J. Nichols, 1797)**

The preface to this work, a prodigious bit written by Eliza Berkeley, reproduces one letter to Martin Benson.

***Siris: Gründliche Historische Nachricht vom Theer-Wasser* by D. W. Linden (Amsterdam and Leipzig, Peter Mortier, 1745)**

In the preface to the work Linden reproduces his letter to Berkeley.

***Siris. Recherches sur les Vertus de l'eau de Goudron, ou l'on a Joint des Réflexions Philosophiques sur Divers Autres Sujets* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1745)**

A French translation of Berkeley's *Siris*, it contains the earliest appearance I could find of Berkeley's response to D. W. Linden's letter in an appendix.

Lastly, I refer readers to the following period journals in which letters penned by Berkeley have appeared: *Daily Gazetteer*, *Dublin Journal*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Guardian*, *Newcastle Journal* and *Philosophical Transactions*.

Berkeley's correspondents

Berkeley maintained correspondences with a variety of people and the content ranges from strictly professional to deeply personal. I here first provide an overview of the *major* exchanges and some of the themes present in those letters, arranged roughly in chronological order. Readers are advised to consult the complete correspondence.

John Percival (1683–1748), later Earl of Egmont (1733), and his son (also named John, 1711–70)

Lifelong friend and confidant, Berkeley exchanged letters with John Percival for most of his adult life. Many of the earliest letters were written on Berkeley's continental tours and discuss a wide range of topics from current affairs to advice on reading and selecting a suitable mate. Most of Berkeley's significant life events are recorded in this correspondence, including references to his own marriage to Anne Forster and his efforts at establishing St. Paul's College in Bermuda. Of philosophical and historical note, Berkeley used Percival as a means to disseminate his early metaphysical works, especially the *Principles of Human Knowledge*. Berkeley's frustration with the dismissive attitudes of the intelligentsia and educated audience of the day are well recorded in these exchanges. Percival kindly sought to get Berkeley's book read in influential circles, only to find failure and ridicule, often issuing from individuals who did not actually read or engage Berkeley's work.

While in Rhode Island awaiting funding for his Bermuda project, Berkeley also sought the aid of Percival with certain business affairs. A few of these letters survive, detailing directives and counter-directives for the sale or purchase of stocks. Berkeley inherited South Sea Company stocks (after the infamous bubble had already burst) and had Percival both sell and then re-purchase shares whilst he was in Rhode Island. Later, after having returned to Ireland as bishop, Berkeley lent Percival 3,000 Irish pounds. Percival repaid the debt with interest, and those details are available to us in the letters as well.

The letters also have a personal side, as they reveal that Berkeley was quite close not only to Percival but many of his friends and extended family as well. Berkeley consistently asks after Catherine, Percival's wife, their children, and a variety of mutual friends. In one letter Berkeley even scolds Percival for not being a quality parent. Despite the reproof, they were clearly fast friends. Both Percival and his wife intervened on Berkeley's behalf at court and with several of

the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland (most notably the Duke of Grafton), speeding his preferment in the Church. The evidence also suggests that Berkeley had a close relationship with Percival's eldest son John, and some letters between Berkeley and the son from after the death of Percival survive.

Thomas Prior (1681–1751)

Thomas Prior was Berkeley's lifelong friend; they met at school in Kilkenny when Berkeley was only eleven or twelve years of age. He served as Berkeley's agent in Ireland for a variety of matters and his letters to Prior are our primary source of information about Berkeley's administration of Hester Van Homrigh's estate. Unfortunately, no letters from Prior to Berkeley have survived. Although there are some personal touches in the letters to Prior, especially those letters sent from the continent when Berkeley was touring Italy, they mostly concern business affairs. They do provide, however, insight into the times and Berkeley's thinking. Berkeley charges Prior, for instance, with the task of finding out the ratio of papists to protestants in Ireland.

Prior had his own lively intellectual life. He was a passionate advocate for the Irish people and its economy. In 1729 he published his *List of the Absentees of Ireland*, which contained details of estates and incomes from rents. He claimed that upwards of £600,000 went overseas in remitted rents (the figure is now disputed), an implicit indictment against said absentees. Berkeley was listed in one edition (he was in Rhode Island while holding the deanery of Derry), a fact that did not diminish their friendship. In 1731 Prior and twelve others established the Dublin Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, Arts and Sciences. In 1749 it received a grant of £500 per annum from parliament and subsequently became the Royal Dublin Society. Prior was also an ardent advocate of tar water, publishing the flattering *Authentic Narrative of the Success of Tar-Water in Curing a Great Number and Variety of Distempers* in 1746.

Samuel Johnson (1696–1772)

When Berkeley travelled to Rhode Island as a part of his scheme to found a college on the island of Bermuda, he met Samuel Johnson, an American divine who converted to Anglicanism. Johnson was also interested in philosophy and education (and would later become the first president of King's College, modern day Columbia University). Their common interests and distance from one another (Johnson resided in Connecticut) yielded a lively philosophical exchange.

In a series of letters Johnson asks Berkeley a variety of questions about his immaterialist metaphysic and its upshots. Johnson would go on to be a 'convert' to Berkeley's system, later publishing his own works explaining and espousing immaterialism.

After Berkeley's return to Europe they continued to correspond. Johnson helped arrange Berkeley's donation of books and land to Yale as well as the founding of scholarships there. Johnson periodically sent reports to Berkeley about the status of learning in New England and specifically at the 'College in New Haven' (i.e. Yale). He even sought practical advice from Berkeley about how to organize and set up King's College.

Henry Newman (1670–1743)

Not well known as a correspondent of Berkeley's, Henry Newman was an administrator for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In that role he corresponded regularly with Berkeley during his time in Rhode Island and afterwards they maintained some connection based on their mutual interests in promoting Christianity in the colonies. Some fourteen letters are known to still exist and mostly concern the affairs of the society and arrangements for donations Berkeley made to various institutions in the colonies.

Martin Benson (1689–1752)

A clerical colleague of Berkeley's, Benson initially met Berkeley in Italy when both were on continental tours. This meeting started a lifelong friendship that is reflected in their letters. In addition to their personal affinity, both men held similar views on a variety of subjects, ranging from high Tory politics to their mutual disapproval of the licentiousness of the times. Benson supported the Bermuda project and even acted as Berkeley's lieutenant in England after Robert Clayton relinquished the role upon being made a bishop. The letters reveal a comfortable friendship and discuss mostly political and clerical issues.

Isaac Gervais (1680–1756)

Born in Montpellier, France, Gervais was brought to Ireland as a child after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He entered the Anglican Church in Ireland, ultimately being named the dean of Tuam in 1744. Many letters survive between the two, and almost all of them are intimate, personal letters that reveal a close

friendship between the two that started sometime after Berkeley was appointed bishop of Cloyne. The letters are typically short and concern matters that range from music to politics; most of them involve Berkeley urging Gervais to visit him repeatedly in Cloyne. Gervais was also an advocate of tar water. A testimony of his is included in Thomas Prior's *Authentic Narrative*.

Minor correspondences and letters lost

In addition to the above mentioned letters, several other correspondences are worthy of mention. I label these 'minor' only because there are relatively few letters extant (often only one or two, or excerpts from the same). We know that Berkeley wrote Hans Sloane (1660–1753) of the Royal Society a learned letter (in Latin) about topics in natural philosophy. While a young man still at Trinity College, Dublin, Berkeley exchanged letters with Samuel Molyneux (1689–1728), son of the famed William Molyneux, discussing mundane matters from the college, but also some philosophy related to his recently published *Essay Toward a New Theory of Vision*. In 1711 Berkeley penned two letters to Jean LeClerc, trying to correct errors reported in the *Bibliothèque Choisie* about his *New Theory of Vision* and then also to gain a wider audience for his *Principles of Human Knowledge*.

Although his association with English literary luminaries such as Richard Steele (1672–1729), Joseph Addison (1672–1719), John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) and Alexander Pope (1688–1744) is well known, we have virtually nothing remaining to us in the form of letters between them. A few letters (mostly excerpts) between Pope and Berkeley remain. It is likely that Berkeley would have had occasion to exchange notes with them, and one letter to Arbuthnot survives, but no others do. Another notable absence in the correspondence is Jonathan Swift. Berkeley became acquainted in London with Swift, who then formed a favourable impression of the young philosopher. It is possible that much of the correspondence between them was purposefully destroyed after the Van Homrigh affair (she was Swift's poetical Vanessa, and as her letters to Swift were 'warm' and amorous it is not unreasonable to suppose that Swift asked Berkeley to destroy any mention of them in their own exchanges), where Berkeley was surprisingly named as one of the executors of the young woman's estate after her death in 1723. Luce reports the existence of letters to and from Swift as late as 1910, but by 1946 no trace could be found of any of them.²

Two letters to Tommaso Campailla remain, published by Campailla in the preface to his *L'Adamo, ovvero il Mondo Creato* (1728). Berkeley met the scholar during his travels in Italy and promised to introduce the Italian's work to the scientific circles in England. It is possible that other letters of a similar nature might have existed, but it is not likely given Berkeley's generally negative opinion of the state of learning in Italy at the time.

By the mid-1720s Berkeley's attention turned fully towards his plan to establish a college in the Bermuda Islands. His letters to Prior and Percival are replete with references to the project and its progress. There were, no doubt, many letters penned by Berkeley to a variety of individuals concerning the projected St. Paul's College, but few remain. One letter in 1725 to William Wake (1657–1737) remains, notifying the archbishop of the status of his plan to use funds from the sale of crown lands in the St. Christopher Islands for the Bermuda project. Another letter, to Brian Fairfax (1676–1749), discusses the details for shipping books to the American colonies via London. One additional letter, most likely to Edmund Gibson (the addressee is not certain), provides an update as Berkeley is leaving for Rhode Island. At this point his correspondences with Newman, Prior and Percival are filled with the business of the Bermuda project.

In America Berkeley was perceived by some as a local authority, since at the time he was still technically Dean of Derry. Gabriel Bernon (1644–1736) wrote to Berkeley in Rhode Island, appealing for help with problems in the local church. Since there were no bishoprics in the colonies and travel to England was long and dangerous, any Anglican figure in the colonies was likely to attract the attention of the few Church of England members there. One of those was, of course, Samuel Johnson, whose correspondence is mentioned above. A copy of a letter from Berkeley to David Humphreys (1690–1740), secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, survives concerning matters of the society and the local Anglican clergymen.

When it became clear that the Bermuda project was doomed to fail, Berkeley arranged to donate his considerable library (arguably one of the largest libraries in New England at the time), his land and additional resources to local causes in the colonies. Letters remain between Berkeley and Elisha Williams (1694–1755), the rector (later president) of Yale, Benjamin Wadsworth (1670–1737), the president of Harvard, and later Thomas Clap (1703–67), another president of Yale.

Berkeley made many friends during his time in America, but few letters remain. One letter to John Smibert (1688–1751) remains that suggests many others were written. Of the friends he made en route to America, namely John James (?–1741) and Richard Dalton (c. 1695–1769), again little remains. One

letter to Dalton has survived, congratulating him on his third marriage. Two letters to James are known to us, both because they were published. One is a short letter penned in 1736 and the other a long public letter to James. The latter was written on the occasion of James announcing his intention to convert to Catholicism. Berkeley published the letter in 1741. These letters and others suggest that Berkeley kept up a lively personal correspondence with a number of people.

In thinking about his personal letters, however, there is one glaring lacuna: his family. Not a single letter to or from a relative remains. In the case of his wife and children this is not surprising since they were rarely apart. But Berkeley makes mention often of his brother Robert ('Robin') in other letters, his other siblings being mentioned less often. No word of a correspondence with his parents or other relations is made. He makes one disparaging comment about his brother Thomas, who was condemned for bigamy in 1726, but otherwise the corpus that remains to us is bereft of letters to or from family members.

In 1734 Berkeley was made bishop of Cloyne, a relatively poor diocese in southern Ireland. Here again we find a very few letters that nonetheless suggest much more voluminous exchanges. Berkeley apparently regularly corresponded with fellow divines who were friends, as evidenced by letters to Thomas Secker (1693–1768), Martin Benson (1689–1752) and his wife's uncle Nicholas Forster (1672–1743). These letters primarily discuss the political and ecclesiastical events of the day. He maintained official correspondences as well, including with his superior archbishop John Hoadly (1678–1746) and officials at Trinity College, Dublin, but few are extant. In his role as bishop he also corresponded with his own clergy, and copies of letters to one of his parish priests survive, reproving him for contributing to riots after allowing John Wesley to preach in his church. Yet he was also apparently a shepherd to his flock. In a letter to Berkeley near the end of his life, Dorothea (*née* Annesley) Dubois (1728–74) asks for personal advice concerning her marriage. In his reply (both originals have survived) Berkeley provides supportive but cautious advice.

By the 1740s, however, one finds most of Berkeley's letter writing consumed by his advocacy of tar water. Tar water is a mixture of pine tar and water that has a constipating effect. As such it was used to treat a variety of ailments associated with diarrhoea, although it quickly became endorsed as a general panacea. After publicly endorsing tar water as a medicine Berkeley became nothing short of a minor celebrity. The evidence suggests that many people wrote to him asking for medical and related advice. We know that he corresponded with nobility (letters to Pellham-Holles [1693–1768], the Duke of Newcastle and later prime minister,

and Sir Thomas Hanmer [1677–1746] have survived) as well as with others from all walks of life across Great Britain. Letters to Berkeley were published by Thomas Prior in his *Authentic Narrative* and in newspapers (including, most notably, a series of letters from ‘Ward’ published in the *Newcastle Journal*). His fame extended to the continent as well. His unusual work *Siris*, which among other things discusses and advocates the use of tar water, was translated into French and German. He answered questions about the substance in letters to D. W. Linden (?–1768), a German doctor renowned for his study of medicinal (i.e. spa) waters.

I have neglected to mention in this descriptive narrative a few scattered letters, but I wish to draw some attention to the letters published by Berkeley. He published a number of letters under pseudonyms, for instance in the *Guardian*, and did so on and off throughout his life. As these letters were published and are already generally known to scholars (not accounting for disputes about authorship for some of them), I have not discussed them here.

Notes

- 1 *The Correspondence of George Berkeley*, edited by Marc A. Hight. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- 2 See A. A. Luce, ‘A New Berkeley Letter and the Endorsement,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* vol. 51, sec. C (1945–46): 85.