

CONTENTS

	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 1	‘The Wickedest Cleverest Book in the English Language’	5
CHAPTER 2	Pride and Animal Spirits	23
CHAPTER 3	The Anatomy of Hypochondria	46
CHAPTER 4	Sex in Polite Society	71
CHAPTER 5	<i>The Grumbling Hive</i>	98
CHAPTER 6	The Contradiction in the Frame of Man	125
CHAPTER 7	Politics and the Ideology of Virtue	153
CHAPTER 8	Merchants of Morality	192
CHAPTER 9	Spontaneous Order	225
CHAPTER 10	Concealment and Disclosure	260

Acknowledgements · 277

Notes · 279

Bibliography · 297

Index · 309

Introduction

AT THE BEGINNING OF the eighteenth century the Dutch doctor Bernard Mandeville put forward an idea that appalled and scandalized the society of his adopted English homeland: that human beings are merely animals. Far from being elevated, rational creatures, we are in fact all greedy, self-interested, lazy, and deceiving, and live our lives according to mere rules of convenience. What's more, Mandeville claimed that these base passions and desires are the glue that holds our prosperous societies together. Mandeville was not surprised to be met with fierce opposition, for embedded within his theory of the human being was the crucial belief that we are animals who are in deep denial of our animal nature.

Mandeville published *The Fable of the Bees* in 1714, and if his name is still remembered today, it is for this. This notorious work is a humorous little tale of a hive full of greedy and licentious bees that, through a sudden act of God, is rid of all vice, from the humblest workers right up to the queen herself. Overnight the whole of bee society changes and now engages in only virtuous activity, and within a matter of days all the carefully maintained economic structures of the hive spectacularly collapse. Without crime, there is no need to employ a police force, or a construction industry for prisons; without gluttony, there is no need for medical treatment for overindulgence, or for health fads or quack cures; without deception and conniving there is no need for arbitration to settle legal disputes, so lawyers find themselves suddenly useless; without

vanity, there is simply no fashion industry. It was the vices of the bees, it turns out, that had been keeping the little hive abuzz.

Readers knew of course that the work was intended as a direct analysis of London's modern commercial society, and for this Mandeville was denounced as a champion for vice. He always denied the charge, adopting the pose of a wounded and haughty moralist who was merely bemoaning the sad state of the human species. Few thought him sincere in these denials. In reality, Mandeville had come to his controversial view of human nature while a student and never veered from it, right up until his final mature works. He was deeply committed to the truth of this idea, but he also found it highly amusing. He revelled in the fact that it is such an unflattering and paradoxical picture of the human creature. For this reason, he set out his thoughts not in a series of scientific or philosophical works, reasoning carefully and seriously from first principles. Instead, Mandeville wrote poems, fables, satires, and dialogues, all meant to entertain, and to shock, but ultimately to coax the reader around to his way of thinking. He expected to be rejected, so committed himself early on to a literary persona that was alternately crude, sly, amused, offensive, ironic, and, above all, elusive.

Despite the irreverent tone of *The Fable of the Bees*, and the uproar that ensued, it turned Mandeville into one of the most influential thinkers of the eighteenth century. Within a few years, his infamy had spread not just in England but throughout France and Germany, and later America also. His writings influenced the subjects of philosophy, literature, and politics, and also the newly emerging disciplines of economics, sociology, and anthropology. He would later be cited appreciatively by figures as diverse as Marx, Darwin, Hayek, and Keynes. Philosophers such as Hume, Smith, Rousseau, and others disavowed Mandeville, while in the same breath they took up his ideas and integrated them into their own more well-known works.¹

The fact that *The Fable of the Bees* would also become an important text in future analyses of free-market capitalism has led many to include Mandeville as one of the founding figures of economic thought. But Mandeville is not primarily an economist at all, and he would hardly recognize himself in the description. Mandeville is first and foremost a theorist of human nature, a

proto-anthropologist, and his economic theories are only a special application of his more general theory of human behaviour. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the breakdown of religious authority and the advent of the scientific revolution inaugurated a new approach to our ethical concerns. Instead of looking to the mind of God for guidance on how to live, various thinkers recommended that we should simply live in accordance and harmony with our own nature. But this then merely raised another question: just what is human nature? This would be perhaps the most hotly contested philosophical question of the eighteenth century, and Mandeville set that debate running with an answer no one could bring themselves to accept.

This work is about *The Fable of the Bees*, its theory of human nature, and its role in Mandeville's thought. It will also aim to position the man himself in his proper place in European intellectual history. There is no attempt made here to write a biography of Bernard Mandeville. We in fact know very little about the details of his life from contemporaries, and hardly any correspondence survives.² We have no decent images of him, no good idea even of what he may have looked like. This work will aim instead to give the reader a sense of Mandeville's mind through his writings. Only a thinker of Mandeville's character, and in possession of his rich intellectual heritage, could have written a book quite like the *Fable*. I will also answer the question of just how and why the *Fable* attracted such notoriety in its day—and, I hope, in so doing give a sense of a fascinating and unique cultural moment in London in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

In what follows, I'll set the crucial aspects of his intellectual character into sharper relief. These include Mandeville's medical background, which provides the origin of his conception of the human being and its ailments; the broad cultural anxiety regarding wealth creation that had marked Dutch culture in the seventeenth century and was only just emerging in England in the early eighteenth; his successful medical practice in London and his first-hand observation of the complex interplay among the physical, psychological, and societal factors that determine well-being; his medical treatment of women and his acute analyses of their vulnerability in society; his particular literary sensibility and his uncanny grasp

of the psychology of the reader; his keen understanding of the unprecedented political situation in England at the time, where the interests of Whigs and Tories, court and country, Protestant and Catholic, businessman and aristocrat, vied in increasingly complex combinations; and above all, his philosophical inheritance from figures such as Erasmus, Montaigne, Spinoza, Bayle, La Rochefoucauld, and many others. I have chosen epigrams from La Rochefoucauld to begin these chapters, each expressing a central plank in Mandeville's own thinking.

Mandeville was deeply embedded in a particular kind of sceptical humanism. His writings did not serve just as a conduit for that tradition, however—they adopted it and adapted it, combining it with his own radical theory of human beings' strange animal nature. Mandeville's life was reflected through his writings. They reveal a man perfectly suited to analyse and satirize the emerging phenomenon of modern society, to reveal the gap between its self-image and its reality.

INDEX

- Abbadie, Jacques, 17, 129, 149–50
abortion, 220. *See also* infanticide
Act of Settlement (1701), 159, 172
Act of Union (1707), 165
Adages (Erasmus), 54
Adam and Eve, 119, 239, 240
Addison, Joseph, 171, 174, 176, 266
Aesop at Amsterdam, 103
Aesop at Bath, 103
Aesop at Epsom, 103
Aesop at Islington, 103, 156
Aesop at Tunbridge, 103
Aesop at Whitehall, 103
Aesop Dress'd (Mandeville), 103–6, 108, 124
Aesop's Fables (Aesop), 98, 99, 102
afterlife, theological element of belief in, 32
Alciphron (Berkeley), 16
Amelia (Fielding), 16
An Answer to a Paper, Called 'A Memorial of the Poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland' (Swift), 218
Anglican Church, 154
animals, 28–38. 144–45; anatomies, 39; behaviour of, 31, 36, 39; human beings vs., 32–34; suffering of, 37; topic of minds of, 35–36
animal spirits: movement of, 128; role of, 44; theory of, 40–41, 65–66
Anne, Queen of Great Britain, 106, 168, 170, 175, 191, 196
Antichrist, 15
'Apology for Raymond Sebond' (Montaigne), 109
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 266
Arete-Logica, or, An Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue (Campbell), 14
Aristotle, 89, 110, 266
Atterbury Plot, 179, 181
Augustine, 129, 134–35
Bacon, Francis, 42
Baglivi, Giorgio, 42–44, 47
Bank of England, 164
Battle of Blenheim (1704), 170
Bayle, 4, 24–25, 27, 35, 68, 129, 148, 151, 177
bees: description of, 110–12; tale of, 1–3
Berkeley, George, 16, 225
Bickerstaff, Isaac, 89
Bible, 162, 215
Bluet, George, 12
Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, 171–72
British Journal (journal), 10, 199
British society, degradation of, 12
Bruyère, Jean de La, 17
Burrow, Robert, 10
Butler, Joseph, 237
Butler, Samuel, 101–2
Calvinist Church, 189; standards, 190; theology, 129
Calvin, John, 129, 134–35, 140, 141, 144, 151, 189–90
Campbell, Archibald, 14
Catholic/Catholicism, 158; Church, 155, 168; French king, 163; movement, 134; Protestant and, 4; threat, 190; tyranny and intolerance of, on throne 106, 111–12
Catiline, 162
Cato, 180–83
Cato, a Tragedy (Addison), 180
Cato's Letters (Trenchard and Gordon), 179
Character of the Times Delineated, The (anonymous), 15
charity, 136–37, 237; charity schools, 182–88, 205–6
Charles II, 154
childbirth, dangers for women, 88–89
child development, pleasures, 139
Christianity, 11, 135–36, 147–48, 151, 241
Christians, 238–39; divine grace, 135–36; ethics, 241–42; morality, 147; sincerity, 133; theology of existence of pain, 36–37

- Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough, 170, 180
- Churchill, Sarah, 170–71
- Church of England, 157, 154, 231
- Cicero, 89, 227
- Civil War, 154
- clergy: dedication in helping others, 120–21; qualification of, 114
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 234
- College of Physicians, 156
- common folk, unsavoury habits of, 14–15
- Conduct of the Allies, The* (Swift), 171
- conscience, 115, 187, 228, 264
- consciousness, 264; false, 22, 266; self-, 35, 128, 244–45, 263–64
- conservatism, 159, 258
- conspiracy theory, 232, 233
- Cook, Harold, 61
- Costerman affair, 26–27, 154, 155, 168, 189, 208
- Costerman Riots, 26, 45
- Craftsman* (journal), 14
- Critical and Historical Dictionary* (Bayle), 25, 36
- Critique of Practical Reason* (Kant), 19
- Cromwell, Oliver, 154
- Darwin, Charles 2, 19
- Davenant, Charles, 161–62
- De brutorum operationibus* (Mandeville), 27–28
- De chylosi vitiata* (Mandeville), 28
- De Medicina Oratio Scholastica* (Mandeville), 25
- Dennis, John, 11
- De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of Things*) (Lucretius), 237–38, 240, 248
- Descartes, René, 28–29, 32–34, 60, 61, 68–69, 228, 259, 263, 265, 266
- dialogue, 50–51, 67, 70, 71, 88, 124, 227–28
- Divine Legation, The* (Warburton), 16
- division of labour, 211–14, 216, 249, 250–51
- doctor-patient relationship, Mandeville on, 47–50
- doctors, financial gain, 113–14
- Doctrine of Non-Resistance, 177
- Du Châtelet, Émilie, 18–19
- Dumont, Louis, 19
- Dunciad, The* (Pope), 16, 18
- Durkheim, Émile, 19
- economics, 192–94; activity in society, 115–17; capitalism, 206–7; consumer demand, 213–14; consumption, 194–95; division of labour, 211–16, 249, 250–51; hierarchy of needs, 195; household fallacy, 198–99, 200–201; labour, 210–11, 212; ‘laissez-faire’, 217–18; luxury, 195–97, 214–15; Master Minds of, 192; morality and, 9–10, 223–24; poverty of family, 219–21; stolen goods, 199–200; thinkers, 192–94; thinking, 199–202; virtue-signalling, 222; wage inflation, 206
- Edict of Nantes, 24, 157, 190
- education: charity schools, 182–88; public, 189
- egalitarianism, rise of, 187
- empiricism, Locke’s, 39
- Enlightenment, 18, 19, 90, 97, 189
- Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, An* (Hume), 237
- Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn, An* (Mandeville), 199, 202
- Enquiry into the Origin of Honour and the Usefulness of Christianity in War* (Mandeville), 226
- ‘Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, An’ (Mandeville), 125, 174, 232
- Enquiry whether a General Practice of Virtue Tends to the Wealth or Poverty, Benefit or Disadvantages of a People, An* (anonymous), 12
- Epicurus, 34, 228
- ‘Epistle to Bathurst’ (Pope), 261
- Epistolary Dissertation* (Sydenham), 40
- Erasmus, 4, 54, 99–101, 109, 136, 151
- Essais de morale* (Nicole), 137
- Essay concerning Human Understanding* (Locke), 39
- ‘Essay on Charity, and Charity Schools, An’ (Mandeville), 182, 205, 207

- 'Essay on Public Virtue, An' (Davenant), 162
- 'Essay on the Balance on Power' (Davenant), 161
- Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Ferguson), 253
- Essays* (Montaigne), 29
- evolutionary theory, 229, 256, 264
- Fable of the Bees, The* (Mandeville), 1–3, 5–6, 10, 14, 16, 25, 46, 63, 70, 74, 125–26, 129, 138, 140–41, 147, 153–54, 172, 174–78, 180–81, 191, 193, 196, 223; human beings' passions, 87; infanticide, 95; nature working to our benefit, 254–55; power of shame, 94; prostitution, 91–92; scandal of, 91, 182–83
- Fable of the Bees Part II, The* (Mandeville), 226–28, 230–31, 237–42, 247, 255–57
- fables, 102–6
- false idols, adoption of, 43
- family values rhetoric, 184
- fashion, vanity inventing, 118
- Female Tatler* (journal), 78, 89, 171, 262
- feminism, 88, 97
- Fénelon, François, 162, 173, 180
- Ferguson, Adam, 253
- Fiddes, Richard, 11
- Fielding, Henry, 16
- financial revolution, England, 163–65
- Franklin, Benjamin, 273
- freedom from oppression, theme, 190
- free-thinking writings, 12
- Free Thoughts on Religion, The Church and National Happiness* (Mandeville), 25, 147, 166, 169, 177, 190, 272
- Freud and Philosophy* (Ricoeur), 264
- Freud, Sigmund, 2, 264, 268
- frugality, ethical notion of, 198
- Galen, 52, 58, 64
- Gassendi, Pierre, 34–35, 60, 68, 227
- gender inequality, 71
- gender norms, 11
- General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (Keynes), 19, 192
- General Treatise of Morality, A* (Fiddes), 11
- generosity, 133
- George I, 176, 196
- Gildon, Charles, 173–75
- Glorious Revolution (1688), 154, 155, 158–59, 163
- God's benevolence, Descartes's approach to, 37–38
- Goffman, Irving, 222
- golden rule, Bible, 215
- good and evil, 11, 37, 215, 233
- Gordon, Thomas, 179–80, 182
- government ministers, corruption, 114–15
- grace, 134; doctrine of divine, 135–36
- grain exports, England, 165–66
- Great Britain, hypochondria, 169
- greed, 1, 117; condemnation, 261; corruption and, 26; good, 13, 222; greediness, 138; 'men of business', 171; perception, 139; self-interest and, 161, 179; wealth, 131–32
- Groans of Great Britain, The* (Gildon), 173, 174
- Grumbling Hive, The* (Mandeville), 5–9, 11, 25, 98, 123–26, 130, 138, 141, 201, 205, 212, 223; corruption in society, 108–9; evidence of social conscience, 115; publication of, 153–54, 170; reprints, 174; satirical writing, 99–101; society living from vice, 112; virtue in society, 186
- Gulliver's Travels* (Swift), 270
- Habermas, Jürgen, 266
- Hamilton, Alexander, 219
- happiness: concept of, 63–64, 207, 268; pursuit of, 75, 190, 262
- Harley, Robert, 171–72
- Harrington, James, 160, 167
- Harris, James, 196
- Hawkins, Sir John, 273
- Hayek, Friedrich, 2, 19, 192–93, 221–22
- heaven, animals and humans in, 33–34
- Heinlein, Robert A., 264
- Hendley, William, 13
- hierarchy of needs, Maslow, 195
- Hilton, Philip, 54
- Historia animalium* (Aristotle), 110

- Hobbes, Thomas, 16, 110–11, 127, 142, 160, 178, 235, 237, 259, 266
- honour, 139–40
- household fallacy, 198–99, 200–201
- Hudibras* (Butler), 101–2
- human behaviour, 45, 66; human heart and, 133–34; hypocrisy and self-deception, 90; rationality of, 259; self-denial, 143–44
- human beings: animals vs., 32–34; basic equality of, 90; behaviour of, 20–21, 31, 251–52; capacity for thought, 29–30; designed for sociability, 255–56; feelings of, 84–85; managing the herd, 146; Mandeville's thoughts of, 29; nature of, 23–24; nervous system, 66; organization of biology and mind-body, 263; pride, 29, 30, 148–49, 235–36; self-deception, 151–52; self-interested nature, 16–17; self-liking, 242–46; sexual interest, 76; sociability of, 110; without religion, 130, 150
- humanity: God's plan for, 20; Mandeville's picture of, 21–22
- human nature, 2–3, 10; corrupt, 13; dignity of, 14; empirical study of, 19; social nature and, 264–65; social reform, 125–26; society and, 20; theory of, 3, 23, 126–27, 224, 226, 263, 265–66
- human rationality, cynicism regarding, 101–2
- Hume, David, 2, 19, 20–22, 127, 141, 219, 237–38, 266–67
- humour(s), 67, 75, 160, 226, 231; amoral cynical, 205; irony and, 266; sense of, 130; theories of the, 65
- Hutcheson, Francis, 15, 236–37, 258
- hypochondria (and hysteria), 40–42, 44, 169
- hysteria, 40, 44, 47, 51, 68
- Imitation of Christ, The* (Kempis), 135
- immigration, 6, 103
- immorality, 10, 14–17, 81, 83, 115, 225, 253, 256, 265
- immortality, 181; immortal soul, 24, 33–35, 68, 148
- Infallible Scheme to Pay the Publick Debt of Ireland in Six Months, An* (Pilkington), 18
- infanticide, 86, 92–93, 95–97, 205, 220
- Innes, Alexander, 14
- Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit* (Shaftesbury), 230
- Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, An* (Smith), 211–12
- Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (Hutcheson), 236
- Jacobitism, 169, 171–72, 182, 183; Jacobite uprising, 159, 181
- James II, 154–55, 157–59
- Jansenism, 134
- Johnson, Samuel, 18
- judicial system, 115
- Kant, Immanuel, 19, 252, 258, 259
- Kaye, F.B., 273
- à Kempis, Thomas, 135
- Keynes, John Maynard, 2, 19, 192–93
- know-how, 60, 249–50
- Kramnick, Isaac, 159
- La Fontaine, Jean, 99, 104
- laissez-faire economics, 19, 217–18
- La Mettrie, Julien Offray de, 36
- La Rochefoucauld, François de, 4, 17, 129, 132–33, 139, 140, 149, 259
- Law, William, 10–11, 150, 231–34, 236, 238–41, 248, 249
- lawyers, financial gain, 113–14
- Le Mondain* (Voltaire), 18
- Letter to Dion, A* (Mandeville), 225, 265
- Leviathan* (Hobbes), 110, 160, 178
- Locke, John, 39, 42, 48, 64, 102, 158
- London Evening Post* (newspaper), 13
- London Journal* (journal), 17
- Louis XIV, 157, 162
- Lucretius, 34, 237–38, 240, 248–49, 252, 255
- luxury, 6, 18, 103, 117–18, 194–97, 214–15; definition, 117; economic activity, 117–18; needs and, 195–96
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 122, 162, 178, 266
- Man a Machine* (La Mettrie), 36

- Mandeville, Bernard: background of, 24;
death of, 274–75; education of, 25–26;
father Michael and, 27
- marriage, 77, 78, 94; value of, 80
- Marx, Karl, 2, 19, 264
- Maslow, Abraham, 195
- ‘Master Minds’ lectures, Hayek, 19
- materialism, 6, 131
- mathematics, 44, 65, 249–50
- Maxims* (La Rochefoucauld), 5, 23, 46, 71,
98, 125, 129, 132, 192, 225, 260
- medical practice: competitor model of, 61;
motives driving practitioners, 55–57;
obstacles to, 43; solving for symptoms,
65
- medical theories: Galen, 58–59, 64;
Mandeville’s, 127–28
- medicine: doctor-patient relationship,
47–50; Mandeville’s view of true, 57–58;
Mandeville’s theory of practice, 131;
obstacles to practice of, 43; pursuit of,
56–57
- Meditations on First Philosophy* (Des-
cartes), 34, 228
- men, political domination over women,
89–90
- Middlesex County Court, 178, 183
- military, 8, 111, 113–14, 132, 167, 170, 179–80
- Miscellanies* (Swift), 15
- Mischiefs That Ought Justly to Be Appre-
hended from a Whig Government, The*
(Mandeville), 176, 178
- moderation: Calvinist model of, 144–45;
Calvinist recommendation, 140–41;
human beings, 134; self-denial and, 151
- Modest Defence of Publick Stews, A*
(Mandeville), 79, 91, 93–94, 202, 225
- Modest Proposal for Preventing the
Children of Poor People from Being a
Burden to Their Parents, or Country,
and for Making Them Beneficial to the
Public* (Swift), 101, 219
- Montaigne, Michel de, 4, 29–33, 43, 60,
68, 109–10, 140, 148, 259
- morality: abstract reality, 258; debunking
of, 176, 189–90; economics and, 9–10;
foundations of virtue and, 10; religious
virtue, 137–38; social control, 150;
unnatural explanation of, 233; very
idea of, 12
- moral philosophy, Kant’s, 258
- moral psychology, 95, 226; pride and
shame, 138
- moral virtue: human artifice, 257; origin
of, 150–51
- More, Thomas, 32–33, 100–101, 122
- Moriae Encomium* (Erasmus), 99–100
- Nacol, Emily, 203
- nature: knowledge of, 42–43; theories, 43
- Noah, 238–39
- Nicole, Pierre, 129, 136–39, 259
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 64, 264
- Observations upon the United Provinces
of the Netherlands* (Temple), 196
- Oceana* (Harrington), 160
- Old Pretender, 181, 182
- original sin, 29, 37
- pain existence, Christian theology on,
36–37
- Pamphleteers, The* (Mandeville), 106,
167–70
- paradox, 99, 102, 123, 129, 136, 257, 266,
267
- Parker, Thomas, Earl Of Macclesfield,
176, 273–74
- Parliament, Tory and Whig factions, 154
- passions, 127
- passive obedience, 154, 177–78, 189
- physicians, ancient, 58–59
- Pilkington, Matthew, 18
- Plato, 227, 266
- Pocock, J.G.A., 266, 269
- political situation: constitutional monarchy,
105; government and consequences of
change, 104–5; immigration, 103; mak-
ing changes, 105–6; morals of, 103–4
- politics of nostalgia, 159
- Pope, Alexander, 16, 18, 260–61
- Poverty, 205–208
- Practice of Physick, The* (Baglivi), 42
- Praise of Folly, The* (Erasmus), 99–100,
112–13, 123, 136, 151
- pregnancy, 88, 205, 220

- pride, 29–30, 47–8, 140, 146, 148–49, 235–36
- Prince, The* (Machiavelli), 162, 178
- private interests, public goods and, 110–11, 174
- property, concept of, 201
- prostitution, 91–96, 199, 202–5; criminalization of, 92; ills attached to, 93; legal regulation of, 91; making money, 203–4; marriage and, 94; syphilis and, 204–5
- Protestant(s), 4, 24, 106, 168; Church of England, 154; expulsion of, 157; in line for throne, 168, 175; Reformation, 134; succession, 181; theology, 26, work ethic, 195
- Protestantism, 163
- public execution, 26, 199, 202
- public good, 12, 173; children of Ireland and, 220; general, 202; moral sense and, 230; private interests and, 110–11, 161, 174–75, 220
- public virtue, 11, 27, 162
- rationality, 23, 31, 34, 127, 259
- reasoning, 2; abstract, 43, 60, 228, 236, 250; amoral economic, 205; animal, 33, 36, 60; appeal to providential, 255; a priori, 44, 66, 236, 264; fox, 31; function of pride, 232; good and evil, 37; human, 31, 61, 66, 89, 102, 109, 270; mathematics and, 44; physicians', 48, 58; spirit of, 248
- Reflexions upon the Moral State of the Nation* (pamphlet), 159–61
- religious belief, 32, 38
- religious virtue, 137–38
- Remarks upon a Late Book, Entitled the 'Fable of the Bees'* (Law), 231
- republicanism, 158, 177
- Revolution Settlement of 1689, 111
- Ricoeur, Paul, 264
- Robinson, Crabb, 18
- Rochester, John Wilmot Earl of, 149
- romance, theatricality of courtship, 77–78
- romantic love, 75, 86, 91
- romantic novels, stories in, 81–84
- Rosenthal, Laura, 203
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 2, 19, 21, 186, 195
- Sabbath Day, 188
- satire, 99–102
- 'Search into the Nature of Society, A' (Mandeville), 181, 250
- self-consciousness, 263–64
- self-deception, 148, 152; vanity, 134
- self-denial, behaviour, 143–44, 147–48
- self-interest, 134; idea of, 252–53; motivation of, 242; self-love, 17, 136, 148, 236–37, 242, 252–53
- self-liking, 229, 242–46, 251, 252–53, 256–57
- sensitive souls, 36, 37, 38, 60; constitution and operation of, 38–39
- Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (Law), 10
- Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* (Butler), 237
- sexual activity: advising young woman, 71; brutality of, 72
- sexual desire, emergence of, 83–84
- sexual relations: hypocrisy of, 76; real forces in actual world, 90–91
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper Third Earl of, 181, 194–95, 230–31, 258–59
- shame, 94–96, 138–39, 143, 149, 245, 269
- Smith, Adam, 2, 19, 21, 211, 219, 252, 253
- social anthropology, 20, 184, 226
- Societies for the Reformation of Manners, 91, 107, 172, 182, 208, 226, 269
- society: avarice and vice, 174–75; badness of vices to, 121–22; calls for improvement of, 101; deceit in financial gain, 113–14; economic activity, 115–17; economics and morality, 9–10; medical establishment, 156; members regulating themselves, 142–43; religiosity in, 207; self-love and, 17
- sociology, 2, 19, 23, 55
- Some Thoughts concerning Education* (Locke), 102
- South Sea Bubble (1720), 167, 179–81
- South Sea Company, 164, 179
- Spartans, 163, 173
- Speck, W.A., 183
- Spectator* (magazine), 260, 266
- Spinoza, Baruch, 4
- Spontaneous order, 253–54

- Steele, Richard, 78, 171, 174, 261–62, 266
stock market crash (1927), 167
- Stoicism, 63
- Stoics, 63–64, 262
- Swift, Jonathan, 15, 167, 171, 172, 218–21,
270–71
- Sydenham, Thomas, 39–42, 47, 65, 67
- Tale of the Tub, The* (Swift), 270
- Tatler* (Steele), 78, 89, 171, 261
- Telemachus* (Fénelon), 162, 173
- Temple, Sir William, 196–98, 217
- theftbote, 199–202, 209
- theology, 28; Augustinian, 129, 134;
Calvinist, 129, 151; Christian, 36–37,
135–36; Protestant, 26
- Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Smith), 19
- thrift paradox, 198–99
- Tories, 157–59, 172, 177, 181; Toryism, 183;
Tory Jacobitism, 182, 183
- Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases in Three Dialogues, A* (Mandeville), 24, 44, 46–47, 56,
226–27, 228, 247, 271–72; dialogue
of characters, 24, 50–55, 74; financial
gain, 113–14; Hilton on study of, 55;
medical treatment, 64; practice of
medicine, 58; second dialogue, 62–63;
third dialogue, 66–70
- Treatise on Human Nature* (Hume), 19
- Treaty of Utrecht (1713), 171
- Trenchard, John, 179–80, 182
- Trinity, 183
- True Amazons: or, The Monarchy of Bees, The* (Warder), 191
- Two Discourses concerning the Souls of Brutes* (Willis), 38, 109
- Typhon* (Scarron), 106–8, 119, 124
- Utopia* (More), 32, 100, 101, 122
- vanity, self-deception, 134
- Various Thoughts on the Occasion of a Comet* (Bayle), 148, 151
- Venus in the Cloister* (du Prat), 71
- vice(s): badness to society, 121–22;
definitions of, 141–42; fashion, 118;
luxury, 117–18; making friends with,
116–17
- Vice and Luxury Publick Mischiefs*
(Dennis), 11
- Viner, Jacob, 137
- Virgin Unmask'd, The* (Mandeville),
71–75, 77–78, 80–81, 84, 86–88, 91, 94,
196, 197, 204, 208
- virtue: analyses of, 139–40; language of,
159; moral, 141; notion of, 161; politics
of, 172; pride, 29, 30, 146, 148–49,
235–36; public spirit from, 173
- Voltaire, 18
- Walker, George, 13
- Wall Street* (Stone), 13
- Warburton, William, 16
- Warder, Joseph, 191
- War of the Spanish Succession, 170
- Way We Live Now, The* (Trollope), 13
- Wesley, John, 16
- Western individualism, 19
- Whig interests, England, 154, 155
- Whigs, 154–55, 157–59, 161, 172–73, 175,
177, 183
- Wild, Jonathan, 199
- William III, 106–7, 154–55, 157–59, 163–65,
167–69
- Willis, Thomas, 38–39, 47, 62, 65, 109
- Wishes to a Godson* (Mandeville), 75, 124