

MANDEVILLE'S
FABLE OF THE BEES

Sir

107 110

M^r. Tubericke perfects in y^e use of y^e medicine
prescrib'd all but y^e white decoction pro potu ordi-
nario, instead of which I have order'd y^e best drink
of Emulsion alternatly, for he has but one stool a
day & that not loose. Besides his Heetic he has every
night an assault of a fever that lasts for seven or eight
hours: he has not those colligative Sweats after y^e
Heat at least they are not so copious as before, yet
he visibly loses flesh & has now a perfect faevic Hypo-
cratica. I am altogether of y^e opinion of S^r. Haun,
that y^e Country would do him more good than we can.
The patient chuses Camberwell, because he has receiv'd
benefit from that air before. Posters might easily
carry him down stairs and a horse litter is not very fati-
guing for an hour. This fine weather I bid 'em open
y^e windows in y^e middle of y^e day, & y^e air seems to
refresh him: he is weak but not more, than when
you saw him last, & to my thinking y^e Stamina vitæ
are yet more firm, than that he should dye by y^e way.
But as I entirely submit to your Sagacity I shall do
nothing without your assent: his cough is considera-
bly less than it was and, what I wonder at, without any
increase of y^e Dyspnoea. A fortnight ago I pronounced
him dying; I have often thought of it since & am not yet
certain, whether I ought to accuse Artis vanitatem, or
meam; however I shall make no more Prognosticks,
but continue to be diligent in observing & pray
God for more knowledge, remaining with all imagin-
mable respect

I am

your most obedient humble
Servant J. Mandeville

Tuesday night

Letter Addressed to Sir Hans Sloane

Sloane MS. 4076, f. 110 (British Museum)

(Reduced)

**The date of this letter must be later than 3 April 1716
for Sloane was not made a baronet till then**

THE
F A B L E
OF THE
B E E S:

O R,

Private Vices, Publick Benefits.

By

BERNARD MANDEVILLE.

With a Commentary
Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by
F. B. KAYE

The FIRST VOLUME

OXFORD:
At the Clarendon Press
M D C C C C X X I V

The Fable of the Bees

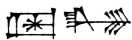
or Private Vices, Publick Benefits.

BY BERNARD MANDEVILLE

WITH A COMMENTARY

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND EXPLANATORY

BY F. B. KAYE □ VOLUME ONE



Liberty Fund

INDIANAPOLIS

This book is published by Liberty Fund, Inc., a foundation established to encourage study of the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals.



The cuneiform inscription that serves as our logo and as the design motif for our endpapers is the earliest-known written appearance of the word "freedom" (*amagi*), or "liberty." It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.

This Liberty Fund edition of 1988 is an exact photographic reproduction of the edition published by Oxford University Press in 1924. Permission to reprint has been granted by the Yale University Library, New Haven, CT who own the rights to the 1924 edition. Copy for reprint from Indiana University Library, Bloomington, IN.

Liberty Fund, Inc.
8335 Allison Pointe Trail, Suite 300
Indianapolis, IN 46250-1684

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Mandeville, Bernard, 1670–1733.

The fable of the bees, or, Private vices, publick benefits/by Bernard Mandeville ; with a commentary, critical, historical, and explanatory/by F.B. Kaye.

Previously published: Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1924.

Includes index.

1. Ethics—Early works to 1800. 2. Virtue—Early works to 1800. 3. Charity-schools—Early works to 1800. I. Title.

II. Title: Private vices, publick benefits.

BJ1520.M4 1988

88-646

170—dc 19

CIP

ISBN 0-86597-072-6 (set)

ISBN 0-86597-073-4 (v. 1)

ISBN 0-86597-074-2 (v. 2)

ISBN 0-86597-075-0 (pbk. : set)

ISBN 0-86597-076-9 (pbk. : v. 1)

ISBN 0-86597-077-7 (pbk. : v. 2)

13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 C 7 6 5 4

13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 P 9 8 7 6

This book is printed on paper that is acid-free and meets the requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, Z39.48–1992. ∞

COVER DESIGN BY BETTY BINNS GRAPHICS, NEW YORK, NY
PRINTED AND BOUND BY EDWARDS BROTHERS, INC., ANN ARBOR, MI

To
MY FATHER

‘I read Mandeville forty, or, I believe, fifty years ago . . . he opened my views into real life very much.’

JOHNSON, in Boswell’s *Life*, ed. Hill, 1887, iii. 292.

‘The wickedest cleverest book in the English language.’

CRABB ROBINSON, *Diary*, ed. Sadler, 1869, i. 392.

‘If Shakespeare had written a book on the motives of human actions, it is . . . extremely improbable that it would have contained half so much able reasoning on the subject as is to be found in the Fable of the Bees.’

MACAULAY, in the essay on Milton (*Works*, ed. 1866, v. 5).

‘I like Mandeville better [than La Rochefoucauld]. He goes more into his subject.’

HAZLITT, *Collected Works*, ed. Waller and Glover, vi. 387.


‘Ay, this same midnight, by this chair of mine,
Come and review thy counsels: art thou still
Staunch to their teaching?—not as fools opine
Its purport might be, but as subtler skill
Could, through turbidity, the loaded line
Of logic casting, sound deep, deeper, till
It touched a quietude and reached a shrine
And recognized harmoniously combine
Evil with good, and hailed truth’s triumph—thine,
Sage dead long since, Bernard de Mandeville!’

BROWNING, *Parleyings with Certain People* (1887), p. 31.



PREFATORY NOTE ON THE METHOD OF THIS EDITION

I. The Explanatory and Historical Annotations

 HAVE not passed these last years in Mandeville's company without an ever-deepening certainty of his literary greatness. But the reader will discover very little insistence on this fact in the present edition. An editor, I think, may well post upon his study walls Dr. Johnson's remark to Boswell: 'Consider, Sir, how insignificant this will appear a twelvemonth hence'—changing the twelve months to a hundred years. In such perspective, argument for Mandeville's genius and complaint at his present neglect are futile, for republication and time will of themselves, I believe, so establish him as to make editorial defence an anachronism.

I have consistently tried to orient Mandeville in the stream of thought of his period by a constant paralleling of his text with the works of his contemporaries or predecessors, so that the measure of his difference from or kinship with the speculation of his age may always be apparent. Where the thought considered was common, I have cited only enough representative passages to bear out the fact of its commonness, or such anticipations as might be sources; where the sentiment was rare, I have usually given all the parallels found, whether or not sources. Since, however, a scholarly edition is not a text-

book, I have not attempted, in the matter of these citations, to do for the competent reader what he can do for himself. When noting parallels to Mandeville's text I have indicated their relation as possible sources only when I felt that my study of the subject enabled me to bring to bear special insight, or when I believed that I could prove a case. And throughout I have been more interested in background than in sources.

In no edition can the commentary be exactly adapted to all the readers, and the difficulty of suiting the notes to the readers is especially great in the present case. The *Fable of the Bees* is concerned with so wide a range of thought that it is of import not only to those whose interest is primarily literary, but also to specialists in the history of economics and philosophy, and to Americans and Europeans as well as Englishmen. Consequently, what is extremely obvious to one reader may seem recondite to another, and an explanation which is a necessity for the one may impress the other as an insult to his education. I ask pardon of those whom I have thus outraged, having made it a rule to annotate when in doubt, on the ground that it is very easy to skip, but not so easy to supply an omission.

In determining what obsolete or technical words demanded elucidation I have tried to base my choice as objectively as possible, not simply conjecturing what words might justly perplex the reader. I selected two reputable dictionaries of moderate scope—an American and an English—the *Desk Standard* (Funk & Wagnalls) and the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. A word not found in both these works is, I have assumed, sufficiently recondite to excuse annotation for the sake of either the American or the English reader.

I have not employed *sic* to indicate typographical errors in passages and titles cited. The reader may assume that the attempt has always been made to quote *verbatim* and *literatim*.—In my references the date given after the title refers not to the year of first issue, but to the particular edition used.—In the effort to cite from the best editions accessible to me, I have referred to two authors—Montaigne and Pascal—in editions differing somewhat in text from those available to Mandeville. I have, however, taken care to cite nothing

which might not have been known by Mandeville in the same or an equivalent form.

Let me also note here that certain words—‘rigorism’, ‘utilitarian’, ‘empirical’—have been used in a somewhat special sense (see my definitions below, i. xlvi and xlvi, *n.* 1, and lii).

II. The Text

Since the *Fable of the Bees* was published in two parts at different times, this edition is built on two basic texts of different date. The text used in volume one is that of the 1732 edition, which was the last edition during Mandeville’s life of the first part of the *Fable*. It is impossible to be sure whether this edition or that of 1725 is closer to Mandeville’s final intention (see below, i. xxxiv–xxxv). I have preferred the text adopted, because, other things being equal, the last authorized edition¹ seemed to me preferable to an intermediate one and because the orthography of the 1732 edition is more modern.² This edition has, moreover, a certain further interest in that it was from this issue that the French translation was made.³ The text used in volume two is that of the 1729 edition—the first edition of Part II. The only variations in the editions of Part II were apparently, as may be seen from the variant readings, due to the printer, so that the first edition is nearest to Mandeville’s text.

The textual notes list all significant variations in the texts of all the editions issued during Mandeville’s life except the pirated edition of the *Grumbling Hive* (1705). For the first volume, the editions used are those of 1714, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1728, 1729, and 1732, as well as the original edition of the *Grumbling Hive* (see below, i. xxxiii) and Mandeville’s *Vindication*, as it appeared in the *London Journal* for 10 August 1723,

¹ The 1732 edition was authorized: it was by Mandeville’s publisher and was acknowledged by Mandeville (*Letter to Dion*, p. 7).

² There is no reason to suppose that this modernity was removed from Mandeville’s intention, for

the conflicting practices in his various books and the evidence of his holograph (see facsimiles) indicate that he left orthography largely to his printers.

³ According to the French version, ed. 1740, i. viii; ed. 1750, i. xiv.

Prefatory Note.

which first published it ; and, for Part II, the editions of 1729, 1730, and 1733. Variations considered of sufficient interest for record comprise (1) all differences of text in which substitution, addition, or subtraction of words is involved, (2) contractions and expansions of words where the change causes a difference in pronunciation (e.g., *them* to *'em*), and (3) a very few variations in punctuation which affected the sense of the passages involved. Variations due to misprints have not been noted except where there might be doubt as to the fact of the misprint, or where it made good sense. Variations in capitalization have not been noted, nor have differences in spelling, except in the special case of a proper name, where the alteration had significance (see below, i. 154, *n. c*). Although technically a change of word, the consistent alteration of *whilst* in the earlier editions to *while* in the last edition has been treated as the mere change of spelling which for practical purposes it was. Nor have I listed the frequent changes from *humane* to *human*. Likewise, the many alterations of terminal *cy* to *ce* and *cies* to *ces* (e.g., *inconveniency* to *inconvenience*) have not been noted except in two cases (i. 26 and 36) where they affected the rhyme scheme of versified portions of the *Fable*, and there I have made an exception to my general practice by substituting the terminal *cies* of the earlier texts for the *ces* of the basic one. In the case of references by Mandeville to the page numbers of other parts of his book, the numbers of which vary, of course, according to the editions, no variants are given, except where the reference is different not only in number but in fact. The presence of lists of errata has not been noted (with a few significant exceptions), but the corrections have been made as indicated in the various texts.

The basic texts (1732 and 1729) are reprinted unaltered in every way except that misprints have been corrected when it was quite certain that they were misprints, and that the punctuation of the basic text has been changed where it was too misleading. The latter has been done, however, only in the few cases where the pointing was so perplexed that it was more annoying than is the presence of the note with which I have always accompanied a correction ; and, with three exceptions (see i. 263, *n. a*, ii. 311, *n. a*, and 338, *n. a*), there has always been authority for the

correction in some other edition. In every case whatever, I have always fully indicated all changes made in the basic text, with the authority for the change found in the other editions. The occasional semicolon where we should now never use it (e. g., in i. 144, l. 2, ii. 206, l. 2, 232, l. 36, 242, l. 27, 261, ll. 9 and 13, and 287, l. 24) is not an overlooked misprint, but according to the practice of the day.—Corrections in Mandeville's indexes have been made by placing the correct reference in brackets after the original reference.

The original pagination of the basic texts is indicated in brackets in the margin throughout, so that references to Mandeville in previous critical works may be more easily traced.¹ Because the original paging is given, I have not changed the pagination in Mandeville's own references and his indexes to correspond to that of the present edition.

In my textual notes, the different editions are discriminated by the last two numbers of their date—e.g., 23 for 1723. Mandeville's *Vindication* as originally published in the *London Journal* for 10 August 1723 is designated by the letters *L. J.* Both 1714 editions are designated as *I4* where the variants noted are identical in both editions; where the variants differ the first printing is referred to as *I4¹*, the second, as *I4²*. The presumed second printing of sheet O in the 1729 edition of Part II (see below, ii. 394–5) is referred to as *29^b*. In noting variants lemmas were thought unnecessary and omitted where a single word is substituted for another single word. Throughout the notes, 'add.' [added] means that the passage referred to first appeared at the date given by the note; e. g., 'the *add.* 24' means that the word 'the' was first inserted in the text in the edition of 1724. It may be assumed that an edition not named in a textual note is identical as regards the variant considered with the text adopted.

A bird's-eye view of the extent and date of the chief textual variations in the different editions of the *Fable* may be secured below, ii. 392–3; and a history of the development of the text is given in the second chapter of the Introduction.

¹ The marginal paging in vol. 1 applies not only to the edition of 1732, but, almost exactly, to the editions of 1723, 1724, 1725, and 1728. The marginal paging in vol. 2 applies in similar fashion, except for the Introduction, to the edition of 1733.

Prefatory Note.

The decorations are all reproduced from books printed by James Roberts between 1717 and 1732, and chiefly from various editions of the *Fable*. Roberts printed most of Mandeville's major works (see below, ii. 2, *n.*).

This edition is an elaboration of a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University in 1917. I gratefully confess my debt for aid given me at Yale by Professors G. H. Nettleton, A. S. Cook, and W. H. Durham. Since then I have incurred pleasant obligations to many other friends. Professor E. L. Schaub, Mr. Nichol Smith, Mr. George Ostler, Dr. A. E. Case, Professor Gustave Cohen, Dr. W. H. Lowenhaupt, and Dr. A. J. Snow have given me valuable criticism and suggestions. Miss Simone Ratel and Mrs. G. R. Osler have aided me to find references and verify the proof. Dr. A. H. Nethercot, Mr. F. H. Heidbrink, and Mrs. L. N. Dodge have greatly helped me in collating and preparing the text. Mr. George Ostler, of the Oxford Press, has kindly taken on his shoulders the task of making the index. To Mr. T. W. Koch I owe especial gratitude for making this book, as it were, his foster-child—he will know what I mean. Nor am I forgetful of the patience and goodwill with which the Press has placed its wisdom at my disposal. But above all I am indebted to my colleague, Professor R. S. Crane, to whose painstaking criticism and literary and scholarly tact this edition owes so much that were it not pleasurable it would be embarrassing to make acknowledgement.

F. B. K.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS,
31 December 1923.





THE CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

PREFATORY NOTE	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
I. Life of Mandeville	xvii
Early life in Holland, p. xvii. Career in England, p. xix. Writings, p. xxx.	
II. History of the Text	xxxiii
III. Mandeville's Thought	xxxviii
1. The literary aspect, p. xxxviii. Background for the mingling of criteria which produced the paradox of 'Private Vices, Publick Benefits': the Deists, Renaissance scepticism, Pierre Bayle, p. xxxix. 2. Analysis of the paradox as em- bodied in the <i>Fable</i> , p. xlv. 3. Of the two contrary standards simultaneously adopted by Mandeville, which was his genuine attitude? p. lii. 4. Mandeville's ethics: his apparent pyrrhonism, his basal utilitarianism, p. lvi. 5. Mandeville's psychology: man completely egoistic; the function of pride; human irra- tionality; the 'invention' of virtue, p. lxi. 6. Certain misunderstood economic doctrines: the benefits of waste, his attitude towards charity-schools, p. lxvi. 7. Mandeville and Shaftesbury, p. lxxii. Summary, p. lxxv.	

IV. The Background lxxvii

1. International character of the background, p. lxxvii. Background for Mandeville's psychology (French): anti-rationalism, p. lxxviii; anticipations of anti-rationalism, p. lxxxiv; the basal egoism of man, p. lxxxvii; the function of pride in moral action, p. xci. Background for Mandeville's economics (English, French, and Dutch): defence of luxury, p. xciv; the economic phase of Mandeville's paradox, p. xcvi; defence of *laissez-faire*: general historical factors, literature, Mandeville's special contribution, p. xcvi. 2. Influence of individual predecessors: Bayle, La Rochefoucauld, Gassendi, Erasmus, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, &c., p. cvii. Mandeville's originality, p. xci.

V. Mandeville's Influence cxiv

1. Vogue of the *Fable*, p. cxiv. 2. Literary influence, p. cxviii. 3. Influence on ethical thought: effect of Mandeville's paradox as a stimulus towards utilitarianism—the two groups influenced: the 'rigoristic'—Law, Dennis, *et al.*, p. cxix—and the non-rigoristic—Adam Smith, John Brown, &c., p. cxxix; effect of Mandeville's pyrrhonism on utilitarian theory, p. cxxxii; effect of his individualism, p. cxxxiii, n. 2. 4. Influence on economic theory: Adam Smith and the doctrine of 'the division of labour', p. cxxxiv; the defence of luxury, p. cxxxv; *laissez-faire* and Mandeville's philosophy of individualism, p. cxxxix. Other influence by Mandeville, p. cxlii.

The Contents.

xv

THE FABLE OF THE BEES. Part I

The Preface	3
The Grumbling Hive	17
The Introduction	39
An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue	41
Remarks	58
An Essay on Charity, and Charity-schools	253
A Search into the Nature of Society	323
The Index [Mandeville's]	371
A Vindication of the Book	381

VOLUME TWO

THE FABLE OF THE BEES. Part II

The Preface	3
The First Dialogue	29
The Second Dialogue	62
The Third Dialogue	100
The Fourth Dialogue	148
The Fifth Dialogue	194
The Sixth Dialogue	266
The Index [Mandeville's]	359

APPENDIXES

MANDEVILLE'S FAMILY (with Genealogical Table)	380
DESCRIPTION OF THE EDITIONS	386
CRITICISMS OF THE <i>FABLE</i>	401
William Law, Richard Fiddes, John Dennis, George Bluet, Bishop Berkeley, Lord Hervey, Adam Smith, John Brown. Summary.	
A LIST, CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, OF REFERENCES TO MANDEVILLE'S WORK	418
INDEX TO COMMENTARY	455

LIST OF FACSIMILES IN VOL. I

Letter addressed to Sir Hans Sloane	<i>frontispiece</i>
Mandeville's Will	<i>facing p. xx</i>
Letter addressed to Lord Macclesfield	<i>facing p. xxvii</i>





INTRODUCTION

I

LIFE OF MANDEVILLE¹



HEREDITY had its full share in Mandeville's genius. From the sixteenth century men of prominence had been common in his family—on his father's side, city governors, scholars, and physicians (his father, Michael, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather had all been eminent physicians); his mother's kinsmen, the Verhaars, were naval officers.²

Bernard de Mandeville, or Bernard Mandeville, as he chose to call himself in later life,³ was baptized in Rotterdam, 20 November 1670.⁴ He attended the

¹ All Continental dates and all English year dates are given new style unless it is otherwise stated; other English dates till 1752 are old style.

² A genealogy of the family is given below, ii. 380–5, with the more important fragments of related information available in various city archives.

³ He first called himself Bernard Mandeville in 1704, on the title-page of *Æsop Dress'd*. In

1711 and 1715, on the title-page of the *Treatise of the Hypochondriack . . . Passions*, he used the particle, but from then on he consistently omitted it both on title-pages and on personal documents.

⁴ According to the Rotterdam archives (the 'Dooptregister der Gereformeerde Kerk'), which Dr. E. Wiersum, the Archivist, has been kind enough to examine for me. The *Bibliothèque Britannique* for 1733, i. 244, gave

Erasmian School there until October 1685, when he matriculated at the University of Leyden.¹ On this occasion he pronounced what he called, with a foreshadowing of the wit which was to make him famous, an *oratiuncula*,² in which he stated his intention of devoting himself to the study of medicine. Nevertheless, he was registered the next year, 17 September, as a student in Philosophy.³ In 1689, on the twenty-third of March, he presented a dissertation under the mentorship of Burcherus de Volder, professor of Medicine and Philosophy.⁴ The subject-matter of this dissertation—*Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus*—suggests that Mandeville had continued for some time as a student in Philosophy. In 1690 Mandeville was still in residence,⁵ but the beadle's lists for 1691 do not mention him, so that it is probable that he was away from Leyden during most of the

Mandeville's birthplace as Dort (Dordrecht), and later historians have followed that periodical. Since Dort is scarcely more than ten miles from Rotterdam, it is, of course, just possible that Mandeville was born in Dort and baptized at Rotterdam. The Dort archives, however, show no traces of the de Mandevilles having ever been connected with the place, and in view of this and the fact that the *Bibliothèque Britannique* gave a false date for Mandeville's death, although it had occurred that same year (see below, i. xxx, n. 1), there seems no reason to suppose that Mandeville was not born in the place in which he was baptized.

¹ Mandeville, *Oratio Scholastica*, title-page.

² *Oratio Scholastica*, p. 4.

³ *Album Studiosorum Academiae*, column 686. He gave his age at the time falsely as 20 years (see *Album*). On 19 Mar. 1691, the *Album* still records Mandeville's age as 20 (column 714). The University *pedelsrollen*, or beadle's lists, which Prof. Dr. Knappert has kindly examined for me, give his age as 20 on 13 Feb. 1687, as 21 on 23 Feb. 1688, as 22 on 17 Mar. 1689, and as 23 on 15 Mar. 1690.

In 1687 and 1688, according to the *pedelsrollen*, he boarded on the Papen Gracht with Neeltje van der Zee; in 1689, with Christofel Prester in the Garenmarkt.

⁴ *Disputatio Philosophica*, title-page.

⁵ *Pedelsrollen*.