compositions of the seventeenth century, were written by Seán Ó Súilleabháin, Tadhg Ó Duinnín, Risteard Tiobar, and Stiabhna Rís – all members of the Dublin scribal nexus.

While the Ó Neachtains and their associates have not been neglected in recent scholarship, *The Ó Neachtain Window on Gaelic Dublin* provides a useful and engaging reminder of their significance and draws attention to areas where further work is needed: most obviously, although more than fifty poems each are attributed to Seán and Tadhg Ó Neachtain in the manuscripts, we have no modern edition of either man's verse. A considerable amount of additional research on individual members of the Dublin circle will be needed before a scholarly overview of the network can be attempted but Professor Mac Mathúna has provided a key building block with this study of the father–son axis around which the other members revolved.

Vincent Morley

Tom Jones, *George Berkeley: A Philosophical Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021). 648 pp. £28.

Tom Jones's philosophical biography of Bishop George Berkeley (c. 1684–1753) would be a good addition to the bookshelf of readers whose interests lie in eighteenth-century Irish history and literature. Scholars in early modern philosophy and intellectual history, and of course Berkeley scholars, will welcome the book. It consists of seventeen chapters, shining a light upon Berkeley's involvement in the Church of Ireland, women's education, Bermuda (British colonialism), American slavery and plantations, Irish economy, and *noblesse oblige*. One of the key highlights of the book is the insight provided by Dr Jones's well-sifted documentation. For example, he describes Berkeley's early rising with his wife Anne, at 4 o'clock every morning, as 'a practice of good living' (ch. 14) and dispiriting issues of mental illness in two of their three children, Julia and Henry, who were 'both living incarcerated' (ch. 16). Philosophically, Jones weaves Berkeley's central tenet, immaterialism (i.e. 'there is only one substance – spirit – and that ideas are merely passive effects of spirits'), into his biographical approach (p. 13). Jones also addresses more surprising topics.

His account of Berkeley's character is particularly impressive. Berkeley's conservative identity as a philosopher and churchman who promoted 'subjection and obedience to the will of a sovereign' is made clear (p. 19). In Chapter 7, 'Others', the ways in which Berkeley treated Native Americans, enslaved black people, the native Irish, and Roman Catholics is expounded with finesse. For example, Jones explains that it was Berkeley's belief in 1724–25 that 'Gospel Liberty consists with temporal Servitude' and that 'Slaves would only become better Slaves by being Christians' (quoted on p. 234). Berkeley went on to practice slavery during his time in America. In 1730, he bought three or four slaves – Philip (£80), Agnes, Anthony (or/and Edward £86) Berkeley. They were baptized in 1731 in Newport, Rhode Island (p. 234). Dr Jones does not ignore a possibility that Berkeley kept enslaved people after his return to Ireland. For example, he notes that Patrick Norway, Berkeley's servant, and Enoch Martyr, his footman at Cloyne, could have been enslaved when brought back from Rhode Island (p. 242). Jones also perspicuously unmasks Berkeley's rhetorical persona of Irishness as performed in *The Querist* (1735–37). He suggests that Berkeley 'almost certainly' identified with the Protestant Irish, who 'distinguished themselves from the native Irish and also from the "Old English" Catholic settlers of the twelfth century' (p. 215). A dozen years later, a passage quoted from *A Word to the Wise: or an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland* (1749) captures Berkeley's appalling remark about the native Irish, whom he aimed to civilize:

> These proud People are more destitute than *Savages*, and more abject than *Negros*. The *Negros* in our Plantations have a Saying, *If Negro was not Negro, Irishman would be Negro*. And it may be affirmed with Truth, that the very *Savages* of *America* are better clad and better lodged than the *Irish Cottagers* throughout the fine fertile Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. (p. 232)

Jones acutely points out that, for the promotion of industry, Berkeley dismissively found sloth 'worse than even Infidelity' in the native Irish 'from the Spanish, or Scythian Blood that runs in their Veins' (quoted on p. 211). These facts provide insight into sombre aspects of Berkeley's moral character with regard to the *others* subordinated to his privilege. Although it is still obscure as to the extent that Berkeley was self-conscious about his exclusive, supremacist élitism, the biography is an eye-opening read and a page-turner. At over 600 pages in length, the obvious merit of Dr Jones's account is that it is the most comprehensive biography of Berkeley published to date. Nonetheless, I am still concerned that there remain certain aspects of Berkeley's life and thought that are not thoroughly explored.

Firstly, however minute it may seem, a philosophical consideration of Berkeley's early view of mathematics is largely omitted. This concerns Berkeley's first publication of *Arithmetica absque algebra aut Euclide demonstrata* ('Arithmetic demonstrated without algebra or Euclid') and *Miscellanea mathematica* of 1707. It should be noted that it was primarily mathematics, not philosophy, that Berkeley communicated to the public. Scholars have often undervalued Berkeley's early mathematical pieces – and Dr Jones is no exception. That said, Dr Jones does explain that *Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea* incorporated Berkeley's letter to Hans Sloane (11 June 1706), editor of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, and that a section in *Miscellanea* was meant to make us realize the utility of mathematics by an algebraic game (pp. 51–53, 79). He also provides an account of developments from 'Of Infinites' (1707) (ch. 2) through to *The Analyst* (1734), probably Berkeley's greatest work in mathematics. The latter work is examined in relation to his conflicts with eighteenth-century mathematicians, especially James Jurin and 'Jacob' (probably not 'John' as Dr Jones mentioned) Walton (ch. 13). There, Dr Jones is philosophically lucid on Berkeley's own terms: in the case of 'fluxion' in a sense similar to the terms 'force' and 'grace', 'languages may include meaningful terms that don't refer to ideas if they aim at producing a conceived good in human conduct' (p. 409). However, concerning *Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea*, more interesting discussion in Berkeley's philosophy of mathematics should be established from the modern perspectives after Frege, Hilbert, and Brouwer. In fact, many Berkeley scholars, such as Douglas Jesseph (1993), have associated Berkeley's mathematical position with formalism (as Hilbert championed), according to which truth or meaning does not count as formal manipulation or game of meaningless symbols, thus eschewing a Platonist attitude to mathematical objects. The biography also pays scant attention to Berkeley's logical thinking. That is, more widely considered, formalism can be debated when there is another possible interpretation that his mathematical logic is rather close to logicism (as Frege and Russell promoted). According to logicism, mathematics is reduced to the principles of logic, so that truth-values (i.e. truth and falsity) of mathematical propositions can be judged, or truth is distinguishable from falsity. This logicist reading may be construed from Berkeley's works, even featuring *Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea*, as opposed to the formalist reading that does not bother with truth-conditions inasmuch mathematics is useful. Hence, these modern debates, albeit still arguable, should be integrated into the understanding of Berkeley's mathematical sciences.

Secondly, albeit another minute matter in a biography that is otherwise quite comprehensive, Dr Jones makes only brief reference to *De motu* ('On the Motion'). This treatise in Latin was thought to have been submitted to l'Académie royale des sciences for one of the first prizes in 1720. What is mentioned in this regard is open to question, regarding the footing of Berkeley's philosophy of science in early modern Newtonianism or Cartesianism. In fact, Dr Jones (p. 272) interestingly notes, regarding 'the Cartesian aspects of the essay on movement', 'Berkeley would write for a French Academy essay competition, *De Motu*', as 'one possible outcome of the conversation with Campailla, a Cartesian writer' (p. 271). In addition, without doubt, Dr Jones's collection of manuscripts from diverse intercontinental archives (pp. 543–45) is praiseworthy. Nevertheless, the collection and documentation lack a significant focus on the history of *De motu*, especially on the relationship between Berkeley's European trips and the Paris Cartesian/Newtonian receptions around 1720, evidence for which can be found in manuscripts held by the Paris Académie. As a result, the biography (ch. 8) does not illuminate Berkeley's intended audience and why he published *De motu* in 1721 right after his return from Italy to London. This is a place where, despite the biography's great length, it could not cover everything and there are questions left open.

To conclude, I hope that I was not an antagonistic 'minute philosopher' in Berkeley's dialogues, *Alciphron* (1732), but on the side of the protagonist Euphranor that would applaud Dr Jones's erudite account. On balance, regardless of the concerns and calls for further investigation, I appreciate the high calibre of his biography in the early twenty-first century. This is because the *Philosophical Life* of Berkeley 300 years ago would enrich our current life based on critical understanding of intellectual history – how much we have advanced and how much we have not since his day.

Trinity College, Dublin Takaharu Oda

Óscar Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General: Poder Militar, Familia y Territorio en el Reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Salix, 2020). 468 pp. €25.

There is something to celebrate and something to lament with Oscar Recio Morales's recent biography of Alejandro O'Reilly, the most powerful and famous Hiberno-Spaniard. On one hand, Morales's biography is an excellent historical biography and the first study of O'Reilly since 1969. It presents a detailed biographical account and contextualizes the life of one of the most important political leaders of Spain's Bourbon Reforms. On the other hand, it is regrettable that both the 1969 study of O'Reilly's reforms in Spanish America and this biography remain untranslated, that O'Reilly's significance remains marginalized, and that the history of the Irish diaspora in the Spanish Empire remains understudied.[1]

As part of a wider Hiberno-Spanish diaspora, Alejandro O'Reilly and his family emigrated from Dublin to Spain in the 1720s where all three O'Reilly boys entered the Spanish army – the most common means of Irish assimilation into the Spanish Empire. The extant literature on the early modern diaspora in

1 Bilbano Torres Ramírez, *Alejandro O'Reilly en las Indias* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos: 1969).