

THE  
LIGHT OF NATURE  
PURSUED.

BY  
ABRAHAM TUCKER, Esq.

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FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION,  
REVISED AND CORRECTED.

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TOGETHER WITH  
SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

BY  
SIR H. P. ST. JOHN MILDMAY, BART. M. P.

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# **POSTHUMOUS WORKS.**

**LIGHTS OF NATURE AND GOSPEL BLENDED.**

**CONTINUED.**

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# THE LIGHT OF NATURE PURSUED.

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LIGHTS OF NATURE AND GOSPEL BLENDED.

CONTINUED.

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CHAP. XIX.

DIVINE ECONOMY.

HAVING found, both from Religion and Philosophy, that universal Charity towards God and his creatures is the grand Cardinal virtue, the hinge whereon all the others turn, the end wherein they ought to terminate, let us endeavor to trace out some footsteps of the divine economy in the administration of this world : wherein it may appear by what gradual approaches God has been pleased to lead mankind towards a sound understanding of himself, and an openness of heart to one another. And this will oblige us to re-handle a subject we have already taken into consideration before : for Providence, I must own, is a favorite topic with me, and I am fond of setting it in every various light that may help to make it more clearly and more generally understood.

In my XXVth Chapter of the second Volume bearing that title, I have taken pains to show that all events without exception, small as well as great, must take rise from their adequate causes, pro-

vided in certain knowledge and purpose of every particular effect they should bring forth. This being an esoteric doctrine, inconvenient and unfit for common use, which requires a distinction to be made between things providential, and others that are not, I have appropriated the V<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the third Volume, to mark out that distinction, and render the wisdom and contrivance running throughout the works of nature apparent to common apprehensions. But here still remains another field of inquiry, into the scheme of polity governing mankind, and measures of conduct respecting the moral world, wherein we may take our ideas directly from experience, without making other use of speculation than to direct and model our observations into a regular plan. This may be called not so much a theory as a history of Providence : of which I purpose in this Chapter to attempt an imperfect sketch. I say sketch, for a complete history would require uncommon abilities, an extensive knowledge of the world in all ages and countries, and a piercing sagacity to follow the lines of Wisdom throughout all their intricate windings.

But it is the custom of Providence to perfect mighty works by a multitude of weak and unpromising instruments, each performing a small and several part of the whole : for we are none of us wholly insignificant when doing our best, because that best is always the whole of our share towards completing the great design. Therefore I may safely presume that my talents are sufficient for the sphere I am to act in : it is my business to fill up the sphere, that there may be no vacancies left through my negligence ; and if I can make my drawings visible, with something of a shape, connection, and symmetry in them, shall think I have done great matters. Perhaps the coarse draught may stimulate and furnish hints to some abler master to produce a fuller, more striking likeness of the glorious original, which may gain the admiration of everybody, and do more extensive service than I am capable of. In these hopes I shall enter upon my undertaking without diffidence, as liable to no hazard of a disappointment, because having no expectations, and being assured that the Disposer of gifts has enabled every man to do as much as was wanted from him on every present occasion.

2. When we reflect on the boundless extent of Omnipotence, having all substances at command, and all manners of affecting them, there is no doubt that God might have distributed what portion and kinds of happiness he thought proper to his creatures, without making any preparation of subjects or materials to bring them suitable to one another : nor that he might have excited sen-

sations, ideas, and intelligence, either permanent, unfading, and unsatiating, or in continually varying successions, by his own immediate act, without employing any material or other channel to convey them. But experience of all around us testifies, that he has chosen to work his purposes by the contrivances of wisdom rather than the operations of power.

He could have rained us food from heaven, ready fitted for our palate and digestion ; but he has given fertility to the earth, skill and industry to man, to draw from thence by long toil and patience the corn and other provisions for our sustenance. He could have moulded the human frame at once from the dust of the earth in full stature and maturity, with sufficient knowledge to name all the beasts of the field according to their respective natures ; but he has cast us into the world in helpless infancy, growing through many stages of imbecility and ignorance up to perfect manhood. In like manner he could have fully peopled the earth, as easily as make an Adam, by a single act of creation ; inspired into them arts and sciences, good polity, judgment, experience, and sound Religion, together with the breath of life ; but we may learn from ancient records, that there has been an infancy of the world as well as of particular persons, a gradual progress of knowledge human and divine ; and though we have not yet seen it arrive to full maturity, we may discern it approaching slowly thereto, by the advancement of learning applied to useful purposes ; the daily decrease of savageness, barbarism, and superstition, the spreading intercourse among nations, familiarizing them with one another, and the growing sinews of commerce tending to knit the whole into one body, and complete the perfect manhood of a paradisiacal state.

3. We were born into the world selfish and sensitive, having no regard for any other creatures, nor for anything beyond the present calls of appetite : and if we had been planted like trees always to grow each in his several spot, receiving our nourishment from the ground beneath us, our pleasures and pains continually from the sun, the air, the rains, and the dews, we should never have had a thought reaching further than ourselves, or than the present moment. But God has been pleased to endue us with remembrance and observation to discern the influence of the past upon the present, and the present upon the future ; which leads us gradually into a degree of forecast, prudence, and reason. He has likewise given us the powers of motion and organs of speech, by which we may have intercourse among one another ; and has sown the seeds of wants and desires, whereby we are drawn to be-

come mutually helpful for supplying the one and gratifying the other. This first opens the heart a little beyond itself and begins our concern for others, generating love, instinct, and friendship : for I have shown in the Chapter on the Passions, that those affections are the products of wisdom, not the gifts of power, being no more born with us than speech ; but our organs are so constituted and suited to receive the actions of external objects as to lead us naturally into them, without any more need of pains and cultivation than to hasten their growth.

He has given us moreover the faculty of imagination, which when stored with variety of associations and trains, can furnish an entertainment of its own from objects that do not touch the sensitive appetites ; and as we grow up, can find employment for more of our time than they do ; for hunger and thirst and the pleasures of sensation engage us only now and then, but habit, fancy, amusement, curiosity, novelty, and other movements of imagination, occupy the most of our hours. This renders us sociable, and makes us taste an immediate pleasure in company, where we do not expect assistance in our wants and desires : for the trains of thought in other persons bearing a similitude with our own, their conversation and motions attract us by sympathy, and lead our imagination more easily and in greater variety of windings than the scenes of inanimate objects around us can do. Were a child to be kept always alone from its birth, it would never want company, because having never experienced the pleasures of it ; but if one of us was shut up by himself for a while, he would grow melancholy and dull, his spirits languid, and his thoughts stagnating ; and if he could only see a number of people from his window, among whom there appeared something of business and bustle going forward, it would give a lift to his spirits and briskness to his ideas. Therefore we are not born sociable creatures, nor have an innate propensity to converse of any kind ; but are placed in such circumstances by nature, and endued with such capacities as will lead us into it insensibly.

4. But imagination is more affected with scenes expressive of passion and emotion, than those that are calm and placid : this I take it is what makes boys generally unlucky, and those of the sprightliest temper are commonly fullest of mischief ; because being unable to bear the sight of everything languid around them, they can raise more stir by vexing than by doing service. Therefore their mischief is not malice, but fondness for something that may engage their attention ; for when they first meet together they are pleased with one another's company, but not having

learned the art of keeping up their pleasures of conversation, they begin to play unlucky tricks with each other, merely for want of better employment : and for the like reason they throw stones at people, because they can put them thereby into a greater flutter than by anything else they could do. Or if they have not an opportunity of seeing the vexation occasioned by the pranks they play, still they can enjoy the thought of it ; and will break a window slyly, hide a workman's tool, or fasten up his door, for sake of the fancy of how much he will fret and fume when he comes to discover the roguery. Nor are our vulgar much better than overgrown boys in this particular ; for if they can get into a fine garden, it is fun to them to break off an ornament, or disfigure a statue, or make any spoil they think will give much disturbance ; and they find a supreme delight in teasing an idiot, a deformed person, or a foreigner that has the ill luck to fall in their way.

But it is not the engagingness of mischief alone that makes us hurtful to one another ; our very wants and desires, which first bring us together, have a tendency likewise to dissociate us : for the same materials of gratification being wanted by several, and that selfishness which is our first principle of action prompting each to appropriate them to himself, this gives rise to competitions, contentions, jealousies, and aversions. The most obvious advantage we can take of another is by getting something away from him, and the method occurring readiest to make the sight of him entertaining is by doing him a displeasure : for it requires some acquaintance with the tastes, and character, and disposition, to know how we can oblige a man, or wherein we can have the benefit of his assistance or pleasures of his conversation ; but one may take away or snatch up what lies between us, or do hurt to anybody one never saw before.

And having reason to expect the same first motions in others we have been conscious of in ourselves, it gives us an unfavorable opinion of new faces : besides, while it is uncertain whether they stand well or ill disposed towards us, prudence will direct to guard against the latter in the first place, and keep us upon our self-defence until we know something more particularly of them. Therefore children are shy and fearful among strangers, and the vulgar come among them with either a dread or a defiance, according as they think themselves stout enough to make their party good : nor do men wear off these sentiments until by converse in the world they learn to know dispositions by looks and appearances, and become well versed in the methods of civility proper for re-

moving all suspicions of themselves, and ingratiating with whatever company they fall into. But so long as fears and jealousies subsist, it is natural to use the utmost efforts for driving off or disabling the causes of them : therefore I imagine that if two companies of savages, utterly unknown to each other, should happen to meet, they would fall a fighting : and we of the civilized countries have still so much of the savage left in us, that we fall a censuring, ridiculing, observing blemishes, and picking holes in characters, manners, and sentiments. Nor perhaps are there many, who if they examine themselves narrowly, might not find, that they rarely come into company, unless of intimates, without a little spice of hostile disposition and a spirit of defiance, though their good sense and good breeding overpower and stifle it.

5. These observations upon the turns that human nature takes spontaneously were, I suppose, the inducements with Hobbes to lay down, that men were born enemies to one another, and that it was nothing but necessity and weakness which drove them into society to provide for their mutual defence : but it had become a philosopher to have gone to the bottom of things, and not charge upon nature what does not appear in us until some time after we come out of her hands. Whoever observes little children may perceive them wholly wrapped up within themselves, attentive only to present sensations of pleasure and pain ; so they are born with neither friendship nor enmity, but have the seeds sown in them that will produce both : and if we must ascribe the plants to nature because she furnishes the soil and the seeds, we may with as much justice say they are born friends to the species, as enemies. For the pleasures they receive from anything naturally inclines them to affect the source from whence they flow, and the tendence of their parents or people about them, the entertainment found among their play-fellows, and habitude with the rest of the family, give them a concern for persons : so that they will cry upon seeing mamma, or nurse, or brother, or sister, or John, or Molly in pain, without apprehension of any hurt to redound therefrom to themselves. On the other hand, as the active powers increase, and observation enlarges her field, they produce wantonness and greediness ; which are mere selfish motions at first, but quickly beget suspicion, strangeness, variance, and antipathy.

For Providence does not give us the motives of action immediately by the hand of nature, but lays the springs of them, and places us in such situation as will call them severally forth to operate, so as to produce that series of events which was designed to pass among free agents : for the benefits and pleasures we daily re-



ceive from one another invite us to union and society, as our competitions and fears urge us to discord ; which two powers, by their opposite action, counterbalance and give motion to each other : for being wisely mingled together in due proportion, they invigorate industry, whet contrivance, and furnish out all the business of the world. Their effects have been remarked in ancient times, for we find by Hesiod, that Eros and Eris, that is, Love and Strife, were holden to be the two antagonist powers which produced order out of Chaos : but their province was carried farther than we have had occasion to consider it, being extended to the natural as well as the moral world : for attraction and repulsion were supposed to be the same among matter, as union and discord among mankind.

But Eros and Eris, though heretofore esteemed first principles of motion, are not properties annexed by Omnipotence, but effects worked by the provisions of Wisdom. I have already shown them not innate in the human mind, but growing from the appetites excited by pleasure and pain : neither can they be inherent properties of matter, for nothing can act where it is not ; therefore when bodies approach, or recede from others at a distance how small soever, they must be driven to or from each other by external impulse of something touching or striking upon them. So their action is the result of some other cause, of whose nature and manner of operation we know nothing, nor can scarce so much as conjecture ; though we find it made to act in such admirable contrivance, as to produce all that variety of regular motions we call the courses of Nature.

Nevertheless, there is this difference between inanimate and perceptive Beings with respect to the final end to be worked out by the principles actuating them ; that matter has no interest of its own, being incapable of receiving either good or evil, therefore whatever passes among it must be intended for the benefit of sentient creatures. But, were repulsion wholly to cease, attraction, being left without a competitor, must draw the whole material universe into one solid lump, which could excite no variety of perceptions in any Spirit : as on the other hand, were repulsion to reign alone, it must break the whole into single atoms, and keep them perpetually stationed at equal distances from each other, where they could exhibit as little variety as in their former state : in either case there would be a general quiescence, a dreary uniformity, with no succession of ideas, nor materials for science and intelligence to work upon. Therefore we may presume that Eros and Eris will forever have a joint sway over the material world throughout every part of it, and their forces be so wisely

adjusted together, as to produce all the assortments, separations, and motions, necessary for the uses of spiritual substance.

But with respect to the latter, which has an interest in what passes among it, and is capable of good and evil, the case is widely different : for Eris generates hurt and mischief, so that were it to prevail alone in the world, there would be nothing but havoc, vexation, and misery. Whereas Eros begets harmony, increase of strength, mutual good offices, and happiness ; and when vigorous, will prove a sufficient spur to industry without aid of its antagonist : we find by experience that, in proportion as we can improve the influence of this power, things go on with us more currently and smoothly, our wants are better supplied, our accommodations better provided for, our pleasures multiplied, our troubles lessened, nor have we so much time hanging heavy upon our hands for want of employment. The blessed Spirits above, exalted to the perfection of their nature, live altogether under the influence of Eros, yet is their happiness complete and uninterrupted ; nor have we reason to suppose their activity ever lying unemployed, either in giving testimony of gratitude to their Creator, in carrying on his designs, or in works productive of benefit to their fellow-creatures.

Perhaps the troubles abounding among embodied Spirits, and the dreadful miseries among some of the inorganized, occasioned by the discordant power, may be a necessary spectacle, directing them what measures to pursue, by warning them what to avoid : for we cannot well account for the permission of evil in this world, and severity of punishment consequent upon it in the next ; otherwise than by some signal benefit redounding therefrom to higher orders of being : but the spectacle alone suffices for them, nor have they occasion for any mixture of the malignant principle among themselves. But among mankind as human nature at present stands circumstanced, the joint action of both powers is requisite : not that the benignant principle might not answer all our purposes completely, had we enough of it in our breasts to overcome that averseness to labor, and indulgence of appetite, which are perpetual clogs upon our activity ; and strength of mind enough to take effectual warning from mischiefs at a distance, without their immediately touching ourselves. But we being not so happily constituted, Eris is permitted to hold sway among us, to supply our deficiency in the other principle whereto it was intended to conduct us : for the smart of its evil effects rouses us up to a little consideration, and dear-bought experience gradually increases our value for that better influence whereby we might avoid them.

Thus Eros and Eris must perpetually work upon matter as joint operators to produce all those modifications and changes of form which constitute the health and beautify the face of Nature : but among spiritual substances the former is the sole end had in view, and the latter only as a means employed to lead thereto, through the stages of imperfection. For God has thought proper not to put mankind at once in possession of that harmony whereto they were created, but draws them into it insensibly by the workings of a contrary principle : and with a little careful observation upon the course of affairs upon earth, we may discern many of the steps by which discord helps us forward in our approaches towards union.

7. The continual supply of necessities and conveniences from parents, the engagement and solace they find in the care of their children, and pleasures mutually received among play-fellows, first cement us together, raise us a little out of ourselves, and begin a family attachment : and though greediness and wantonness sometimes a little disturb the union, yet the visible expedience of preserving it unbroken, keeps them within bounds. But with respect to persons between whom such union has not been cemented, there is no apparent expedience to lay a restraint upon those turbulent humors : so they are left to take their full scope, from whence injury, abuse, and continual suspicion must ensue. And this fear of strangers protects and increases the attachment to intimates, for a man never enjoys his friends so heartily as after having been teased or terrified among persons he distastes, nor ever is so fond of home as when apprehensive of danger abroad ; nor perhaps could we keep our boys from continually running away, if they might expect the same kindness and tender usage everywhere as they meet with from our hands. Thus to take a metaphor from matter, the repellent quality of external bodies holds their internal parts together in a stronger cohesion.

But single families cannot furnish all the accommodations convenient for them within themselves, nor find that variety of amusements the human mind requires, to prevent satiety from creeping upon it ; they must soon perceive that one can supply what another wants, and one has hit upon methods of entertainment which are new and unthought of by the other : alliances, commerce, and mutual intercourse give them a liking to one another, and join them into cities or districts ; which become larger families wherein each individual has some concern for the rest, because contributing to his uses or pleasures ; and the bands of union are extended to a wider compass. Yet rapaciousness and wantonness still continuing parts of the human character, the inhabitants of

one district or city will be apt to invade the properties of another, who will naturally exert themselves and set their wits to work to contrive methods of defence, or of retaliation upon the invaders: but finding themselves too weak to effect a perfect security, both against open violence and secret fraud, or being tired of perpetual squabbles with their neighbors, they will try to strike up an agreement with them, or to associate themselves with some other cities, which together may form a nation sufficient in extent and power to repel invaders, and preserve domestic quiet.

Thus perhaps it may be true that men were first driven into large communities by fear and self-defence, because in a state of nature they might not be sensible of any other benefits redounding from them: but having once tasted the sweets of society, they would not want other motives to hold them in it. For I may venture an appeal to the most selfish person among us, having any sober consideration of his own good, whether if he could be fully secured against all foreign invasions or domestic robberies, thefts, and injuries, he would yet be content to have a general anarchy prevail in the land, and would not regret the want of those markets, public buildings, posts, highways, and encouragements of arts, sciences, and manufactures, which are the effects of a national polity.

Nor is it any more than a perhaps that nations were actually first formed solely by fear: they may have been families, descendants of one ancestor, grown by numerous increase into a people, or colonies transplanted from thence into an uninhabited country; and this opinion is countenanced by ancient history. Or if any of them were made up of persons no ways related by nature; there were other means of collecting them together besides the dread of danger: for we may gather from the fables of Orpheus and Amphion drawing stones, and tigers, and bears after them by the sweetness of their music, that it was not by terrors they drove the wild men dispersed about the forests and mountains into society, but lured them by the prospect of advantages and pleasures greater than they had experienced in their savage state.

Nevertheless, if fear and necessary self-defence had a share in the origin of states, this will only confirm what I have advanced before concerning the method taken by Providence in using the mischiefs of discord to bring men acquainted with the benefits of concord, and make their mutual attachment among one another more general. For whatever inducement first gathered them into nations, when once associated therein they have a national interest, and some degree of regard for all their fellow-members: they

take part in every national prosperity, stand up for the honor of the nation, and are ready to think a compatriot braver, stouter, more accomplished and more deserving than any foreigner. How confident is our mob that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen ! How proud the French populace of living under an absolute monarch, who has their all at his disposal ! and pity the poor unhappy Englishman for having a property of his own which the King cannot take away.

8. But the old leaven of wantonness and greediness, too deeply worked into human nature ever to be totally discharged again, spreads itself in families, cities, nations, or whatever other combinations men can be thrown into, and gains a new form in large communities which it could not assume before, turning into lust of fame and power. Hence proceed wars, encroachments, inroads, plunderings, conquest, and tyranny : yet these evils were not utterly unproductive of their salutary fruits, conquest having often ended in uniting several nations under one empire. The four great monarchies, though not universal as they were called, overspread a considerable part of the habitable earth : they must have produced great oppression, distress, and confusion at first, till in a little time things fell into a settled course, and the inhabitants lived more quietly and happily than they had done in their former condition. For the conquerors and conquered incorporated by degrees into one people, having a communion of interests and continual intercourse among them : whereby the bands of union, the sinews of commerce, and links of society, were stretched farther than they had ever been before. And even while wars and national animosities subsist, they tend to cement the union of individuals with the community : therefore it is a common artifice of policy to give ill impressions of a foreign nation, to make the subjects join more heartily against a detested enemy.

At the beginning of the last war, the French charged us with robberies and piracies for making reprisals upon their ships : and we in return branded them with dissimulation, treachery, and total disregard of the most solemn treaties, so that French faith became the same among us as Punic faith had been among the Romans. While the war lasted, we all loved our king and one another prodigiously, but scarce were preliminaries signed before we fell a squabbling among ourselves, for we are such boys that we must be doing mischief rather than nothing : if we cannot find employment in business, we must make it by wantonness ; which takes delight to encourage revilings, calumnies, scandalous insinuations, and sometimes even indecencies against Majesty itself, all for want of better employment ; and prompts to conclude our entertain-

ments with drinking healths not so much in honor to the toast as in vexation to one another : nor do I doubt but that if a fair computation could be made, it would appear there has been more money thrown away within these few years upon ingenious Billingsgate in prose and verse, fit only to nourish the irritating humors, than has been laid out upon books of religion, morality, or science, which might mend the heart or improve the understanding. But we may presume all these evils operate to some good, though what good, it might be difficult for mortal man to guess : perhaps we should all doze in indolence ; or be eaten up with the spleen in this humid climate, if we had not something to keep our bile in motion.

Nevertheless, it must be owned upon the whole, that those two qualities whereto I have ascribed the rise of the discordant passions, have been productive of signal advantages to mankind : for manufactures and commerce have been better improved, more arts invented, more accomplishments attained, more public works, as well military as civil, achieved, more regularity, decency, and civility produced, by the impulse of covetousness or lust of fame, and that under-twigg of it, vanity, than could be expected from what feeble sentiment of prudence and public spirit we possess. Even war, robbery, and wantonness have given occasion to many inventions and exercises of industry that would have been needless without them : the danger of encroachments among neighboring states keeps them attentive to preserve the balance of power, thereby creating a common interest, and introducing an alliance and harmony between nations that might otherwise have remained forever strangers ; and the mutual jealousies of parties awaken the vigilance of the people, and render abuses of power less practicable. Thus the wisdom of Providence has mingled all varieties, both of the harmonizing and jarring passions, adjusted to one another in such admirable proportion as to form together a salutary composition, by which mankind has been gradually raised from their original ignorance and wildness to the degree of knowledge, discretion, mutual concern, and communion of interests, we see them arrived at in this present age.

9. Yet this wonderful complication of counteracting springs could not render the harmony complete among spiritual substances without the knowledge of God : for it is the origin from one common Father, the presidency of one Governor, that unites the whole Universe into one empire, and constitutes us citizens of the World ; and that knowledge has proceeded slowly through many stages of error and imperfection. For God has been pleased to draw mankind in the approach towards him by steps that seemed

to carry them directly from him, and lead them into just ideas of his Attributes through notions the most opposite to his character. A cordial hope and unreserved trust are the proper bands uniting the creature to the Creator; but these bands cannot well be twisted up of fear; yet it is said, the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom, necessary to introduce that very Charity which when perfect will cast it utterly away; and the fear of hobgoblins has sometimes proved the secret avenue conducting into the fear of the Lord. For this first loosened the attachment to objects of sense, and put the savage upon efforts of reflection concerning the things unseen: which efforts, though faint and fruitless, and perhaps hurtful in themselves, yet opened the passage and cleared the way into the fields of reason and contemplation.

It seems reasonable to imagine, that persons who had gotten an awe over others, would endeavor to preserve the influence of that awe when their backs were turned, and for that purpose might notch a stick into something that could be fancied a human face, setting it up in a corner with pretence that it would inform them of whatever should be done contrary to their orders in their absence. Such stratagems as these require no great invention, our nurses, the silliest set of people among us, can hit upon the like: for they tell their children of an old man in the cupboard that will take them away when they are naughty; and if they play unlucky tricks slyly, the little bird that peeps in at the window will tell of it.

Then if some person who had been greatly revered among them happened to die, the thought and the want of him would remain strong for a while upon the minds of those left behind: they would frequently dream of him, and those dreams, among a gross and simple people would sometimes be taken for real conversations. This would give an easy handle to such as were more cunning than the rest, to pretend an intercourse with the departed, and by means of orders or advices feigned to have been received from them, to work their ends upon the others. In a little time they might improve upon their first inventions, and find an account in enlarging the powers of the deceased, ascribing to them the management of rains, and winds, and weather, of increase and sterility in cattle, the fruits of the earth, and herbs of the field; giving them an influence upon the courses of fortune, the turn of events, and success of transactions among the living. And as some of these venerated names would be handed down to succeeding generations, among whom everything relating to the persons had been forgotten, this would naturally give a rise to a distinction between the immortal gods, of whose origin nobody could give an account, and heroes or demi-gods who had been remem-

bered conversant upon earth : for the Theogony of Hesiod, and other genealogies seem to have been additions of the poets and naturalists endeavoring to embellish or allegorize the popular opinions, as appears probable from the great variety of lineages deduced among them.

By these means the belief of beings in the air having an influence upon the courses of things below, might be established among an ignorant people, which, though extremely gross and imperfect, were some benefit to them : for as it is better the child should stand in awe of the old man in the cupboard, or the little bird at the window, than be under no check at all, so it is better men should think Apollo or Pallas, a stick or a statue, observes whether they do right or wrong, than have no restraint upon their actions whatever. Besides, the benefit this notion was of to mankind in general is more to be considered than that it might do to the persons entertaining it ; and it was one step, though a very small one, in the progress of true religion in the world. For the persuasion of an invisible Power, observant of what passes among us, and having an influence upon the affairs of men, is the first article of a sound and saving faith ; and how much soever the notions of such power were confused, inconsistent, and absurd, still the general opinion of its existence was a point gained, which would make another step in useful knowledge more easy to be taken : for an instructor will have less to do with one who already admits a superior Being, of whatever kind or quality, than with one who is so totally immersed in objects of sense as to have no conception of anything he does not see, or hear, or handle ; because in the latter he must inculcate the reality of such Being before he can proceed to show what it is ; whereas he may lead the other by pointing out his inconsistencies into something of a more regular and uniform system.

10. At first we may presume that men would have no farther concern, than for the preservation, the accommodations, and pleasures of life ; but as they advanced in society, and fell into a more settled way of living, they would extend their thoughts beyond their own immediate wants, and begin to take an interest in the welfare of their children and descendants, after themselves should be no more. Their veneration likewise, and the honor they saw paid to the memory of such as had been eminent among them, would excite a wish to obtain the like for their own names : this must extend their concern beyond the present life, and make them desirous of gaining an immortality by living forever in the remembrance of those who should come after them. Add further that the workings of their own imagination or confident assertions of some



who had an end to serve thereby, might persuade them that some part of their own persons would survive after death, remaining capable of wants and gratifications, of enjoyment and suffering; and they might soon conclude that the prosperity of their children, the continuance of their names, and good or evil fortune of their surviving part, would depend upon their present conduct, and the favor of the immortal gods or heroes.

Here is now a second step gained in the progress towards true religion: for besides the belief of a superintending Power, presiding over the affairs of men, here is a concern for futurity, and a persuasion that our interest therein will stand affected by our management upon earth, and by our cares to engage the protection and escape the displeasure of Heaven; and thus we see how Providence may employ the mingled operations of fear, credulity, artifice, and vanity, to work a general reception of two fundamental articles. Nevertheless, it may be expected that those articles in their infancy must lie overwhelmed among a multitude of gross errors and absurdities: for the passions of men, the examples of vice, folly, and contention among the most admired, the interest of states, the craft of private persons, accidental impressions of fear, and fantastic roving of imagination, each adding something of its own, must together make up a motley mixture.

And accordingly we find in all ancient history what a multitude of incoherences and absurdities abounded in the first received creeds, concerning the immortal Gods and Demi-gods, the wars, rebellions, quarrels, thefts, over-reachings, amours, infidelities, and partialities among them, their inhabitancy in statues made by men, their declarations by oracles, omens, and prodigies; concerning the apparitions of shades and spectres, the enjoyments of Elysium and punishments of Tartarus. Yet it being obvious that no community could subsist upon earth without something of order and government, there was the like notion of a subordination and assignment of particular provinces among the Gods. Jove ruled the heavens, Neptune over the sea, Pluto in the infernal regions; Minerva had the patronage of wisdom; Apollo of wit; Mercury of cunning; Ceres presided over eatables, and Bacchus over drinkables: but that they might not encroach upon one another's provinces, as such Gods subject to the worst of human passions might be apt to do, Jove had a supreme authority over all.

Which last notion opened a narrow passage towards the unity of the Godhead, yet was even this little avenue choked up with doubts and confusion; for the *Parcæ* were holden sometimes to control the Will of Jove, sometimes only to enforce his decrees by their spinning, and if he had once bound himself by *Styx*, he

durst not recede though he should afterwards change mind : so one cannot well tell whether Jove, though supreme over the Gods, had not another supreme power over him.

Such fluctuations and incoherences in the popular doctrines set reflection at work, and gave birth to philosophy : for reason must have materials furnished it from elsewhere to begin upon, and philosophers, as well as other men, once were children, susceptible of impressions stamped upon them by their teachers or worked into them by their companions ; nor could their sagacity, when mature enough to act for itself, do any more than examine the opinions they had imbibed, endeavoring to separate the solid from the empty, and pursue such further lights as could be stricken out from what had stood the test. But the reason of one man can run very little lengths, for his life will be almost spent in getting rid of erroneous prejudices before he can begin to make an advance towards truth ; and his discovery will require time to settle into something of a current opinion, before it can serve as a foundation for another to proceed upon.

11. The earliest persons of thought and careful reflection, such I mean as were not actuated by ambition or avarice, seem to have been legislators and founders of states ; and the immortality they had in view, to have been that of perpetuating their names among posterity with love and honor for the services they had done. For having found beneficence, even to succeeding generations, had in general esteem, and striking to their moral sense, they supposed it innate, the perfection of human nature, and noblest sentiment upon which a reasonable creature could act : and indeed they were right, though without knowing why, Providence thus leading them by the general estimation into the most extensive Charity their situation was capable of, and the prosecution of their own true interests. It were mere guess-work to say what was their belief of the Gods and a future state, for being perfectly satisfied with the principle whereon they proceeded, they might be too much taken up with that to think closely of anything else, and studied only how to turn popular opinions to the best advantage of the communities under their care.

Next arose persons who were desirous of going to the bottom of things, and investigating the causes of all the phenomena observable around : these were the philosophers who, finding the Gods esteemed the Governors only, not makers of the World, interfering now and then occasionally to set things right when running amiss, and controlled in their measures by dread of Styx and distaffs of the Parcae, concluded there were some general laws of nature governing both Gods and men ; so set themselves to study

the primary properties and elementary principles of bodies, in order to frame hypotheses of the manner wherein all visible productions might be framed from thence. Thus the first philosophers seem to have been merely naturalists, employing only the names of the Gods to allegorize the powers of Nature: for with them Jove was the ether, Juno the air, Neptune water, Vulcan fire, Cybele the earth, Pluto subterraneous vapors and minerals, Minerva understanding, Apollo genius, Mercury craft, and so on. Or if they had anything of the Theologian, and held the existence of intelligent beings superior to man, they supposed them productions of the finer elements, as they did the first men of the grosser: for they made Jove, the Father of the Gods, the Son of Chronos, or Time and Rhea, or the Flood, that is, produced by the workings of mechanical causes in the efflux of rolling years.

But the study of nature, carefully and honestly pursued, will at last conduct to its Author, but by gentle steps and in length of time: so that if we transfer our expression from the essence of God to the knowledge of him, we may truly say, this was the offspring of Chronos. For when some close-thinking man had discovered a cause of the visible phenomena, he had done, leaving to his successor to find out the cause of that cause, which perhaps he might find among the operations of matter: a third would push on his inquiries a little farther, till speculation having run the utmost length of its line, and still finding matter incapable of furnishing a cause which was not the effect of some prior agency, recourse must be had at last to an immaterial Being.

12. It is not easy to ascertain the time when Philosophy first rose out of political science and corporeal objects: we have heard great things of Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, and other sages of earliest antiquity, but the accounts of them are much too imperfect and uncertain to be depended upon. Cudworth will have it probable that Orpheus taught the doctrine of the Trinity, or three co-eternal Hypostases in one Substance; but if we may take Cicero's word, Thales was the first who discovered an intelligent principle operating in the birth of Nature: for he held that all things were formed out of water, but that Mind or Intelligence was what threw the water into these various cohesions, forms, and motions, which we call the productions of Nature. One cannot certainly tell whether he made his mind a distinct substance from the water, or only a quality residing, not in the single drops, but in the whole mass: for the ancients, as I have already taken notice in CHAP. XIII. entertained a notion, that quality had an existence of its own distinct from that of the subject whereto it belonged, and ~~inexisting~~ in it; which existence was in the compounds,

not in the several components parts, for there is no beauty in the single bricks, the mortar, the wood work, the glass panes of a house; the beauty resides in the whole composition aptly put together.

It seems most likely he had this latter idea, and so was not a complete Theist; because we find the introduction of Theism, that is, the doctrine of an intelligent Agent, the Author of Nature, and substantially distinct from the materials whereon he worked, claimed for Pythagoras in those called the golden verses; where he is, alluded to as the person who first opened the Psyche, or the Spirit imprisoned in the human body, a knowledge of the unfathomable Tetractys, the fountain of ever-flowing nature, that is the sacred name of four letters: by which Dacier says he meant Jehovah, which it seems in Hebrew contains only four letters, but it might as well have been ZEYΣ or ΘΕΟΣ. It is pity Pythagoras did not talk English, for the name God having no more than three letters, he would then have preached up the worship of the sacred Triad, and Dacier might have been positive he had believed in the Trinity.

The epithet ever-flowing applied to Nature, is expounded by his commentators to signify only, that it shall last forever, not that it has already had course from eternity: yet I must beg leave to be excused from placing any more implicit faith in the commentators upon the golden verses, than those upon the Bible. For when we recollect the received tenet among Philosophers, that whatever was generated in time must be corrupted in time, the future perpetuity of Nature will infer its prior eternity: nor is this inconsistent with its springing from a fountain, for where the fountain is eternal, the stream may well have run forever. Against their exposition of the Oath we are exhorted to reverence, I have no objection; for this seems a proper term to express the perfect freedom of the divine agency, because nothing could compel or induce him to swear besides his own voluntary choice; and immutability of the divine purpose, which forever has and will preserve the courses of Nature, and the same order of succession in her changes; so that the several parts may take new forms in continual rotation, but the Universe remain always the same.

Hierocles explains the three first lines as describing three distinct orders of being essentially and perpetually different, their conditions not interchangeable with those of each other; which are the immortal Gods, the Heroes full of light, and the subterraneous Intelligence. Now, though instead of subterraneous he has used the epithet terrestrial, a translation which the learned Dacier tells us the Greek word can never bear, it is agreed on all hands that by those Intelligencies are to be understood the souls of the good

men departed, which the same Dacier assures us were holden by the Pythagoreans to mount up into Ether, and not to sink under ground.

But it is the surest way to expound the text by the text ; and if we turn to the end of the poem, we shall find it conclude with an exhortation to follow the precepts therein contained, because whoever does so, will, upon getting rid of body, go into the pure Ether and become an immortal God, incorruptible, no longer subject to death. Besides we learn from Virgil, who has never been charged with misrepresenting the Pythagorean doctrines, that there is an activity and celestial origin belonging to those seeds from whence grew the race of men, the cattle, all species of wild beasts, and fish of the sea : and in another passage, that the bees too possess a part of the divine mind, and have imbibed the ethereal draughts, from whence men and animals drew their birth, and whereinto all shall be returned and resolved again ; so that there is no such thing as death, but the living principles fly off into the upper heavens, and mingle among the stars.

All these things considered, one cannot imagine Pythagoras so inconsistent with himself as to hold three distinct, unchangeable natures in the regions unseen : we must suppose him recommending a veneration for them only, in compliance with the received opinions, to which all philosophers, except our modern minute ones, have ever shown a decent respect : but teaching among his adepts, that all created spirit was homogeneous, eternal, but produced by the divine will an eternity ago, and passing through various stages or forms of being in rotation ; so that from an immortal God it might become a bee, a dolphin, a sheep, a lion, a man, or a hero full of light, according to the material organizations wherein it lay enveloped, and when dissolved from all vital union with matter whatever, would return to pure ether, and be an immortal God again.

Therefore, if I might offer my sense of the three first verses, I should construe or paraphrase them as follows. In the first place, worship the immortal Gods conformably to the ritual established in your country, and at the same respect the immutable nature of things, receiving their stability from the eternal purpose of the Almighty, sacred and inviolable as an Oath : in the next place, pay due honors to the Heroes full of light : nor omit to celebrate the memory of illustrious persons that have been laid under ground, by such festivals and commemorations as are customary. The meaning of these precepts I take to be, that we should use our reason, drawn from the contemplation of Nature, jointly with popular Religion, correcting the errors of the one by the other, em-

ploying either where most proper to bring those we have to deal with a step nearer towards the knowledge of their Maker, and universal Charity to their fellow-creatures, in such way as they can follow, and thereby steering clear between the bigot and the free-thinker.

13. However this be, and whether Pythagoras were the discoverer, it can scarcely be denied, that in his time there was the belief of a God in the proper sense of the word as we now use it, an omnipotent, intelligent, unproduced Being, Author of Nature and all her works: for the gods we have spoken of before were nothing more than huge flying men, of enormous strength, and bodies so finely contexted as to render them invisible, unless when they had a mind to show themselves by assuming a covering from the grosser elements. There was likewise the opinion of a future state of bliss and immortality, equal, or I may say preferable to that of the Gods vulgarly worshipped, whereto men might rise by a steady rectitude of sentiment and conduct, that is, by Faith and good Works.

Here were great and important advances maintained ever after in the true Church of Philosophy, if I may so call it, for there have been grievous schisms and heresies there as well as in Religion; and the latter Academics were errant free-thinkers, never having any opinion of their own, but combatting everybody's else: if you said snow was white they would prove you mistaken, if you said it was black they would do as before; if you asked what they thought themselves, they would answer they could not tell, for it might be either. But I am scarce entitled to call it a Church, as consisting of Clergy alone without a congregation; for there never yet was a people of Philosophers, nor ever could be, their Credenda being too refined and speculative for vulgar comprehension: neither had they authority enough to introduce a form of words serviceable for general use, which each person might understand in a grosser, or more refined sense, according to his respective capacity, yet conveying as complete a system as his understanding can contain.

Nor yet were their tenets either complete or fully established even in the closets of the studious: for Tully, in his Tusculan, disputation upon death, argued in the disjunctive, either that death put an utter end to us, or was the passage into a more perfect state; urging that in the former case it is a perpetual quiet sleep, without uneasy dreams, and upon that score we have no reason to be afraid of it; which argument might have been spared if he had not thought the other branch of the disjunctive doubtful. And in other places where he exhorts to the performance of noble ac-

tions, he speaks as much of an immortality by an honorable remembrance among posterity, as by any other way.

They do not appear to have any thought of Creation, but believed God the Maker, not the First Cause or Creator of all things: Thales assigned him water to make a world with, Anaximenes fire; Anaxagoras a multitude of diversely shaped corpuscles, similar to the visible bodies composed of them; Plato seems to have had a notion of Substance in the abstract, which he calls *Hyle*, devoid of all form or quality whatever, until God was pleased to impress them upon it from archetypes in his own mind, and then it became a variety of bodies having specific differences, but was naked Substance before ever he took it in hand. To go as low as Seneca, who was perhaps the best Philosopher of his time, we find him starting a doubt whether God made his own materials, or only worked up such as he found already in being; by which question may be meant no more than whether the elements had an inherent specific difference of their own, or were all compounded of the same *Materia prima* variously put together, and so it does not touch the point of creation at all. However, Seneca himself declares positively for the pre-existence of the materials, reserving the workmanship alone for the Province of Omnipotence, and pretends to account for the existence of moral evil this way: for, says he, God is good, willing to have made good men of us all, and has worked up the finest of his materials into such as far as they would go, but the rest of the elements were so untoward and cross-grained that it was impossible to make better creatures of them than has been done.

They had not, or at least did not take care to inculcate a sufficiently large idea of Providence comprehending the turns of events, respecting single persons as well as the great and general laws of Nature: for we find in Tully's Nature of the Gods, that the Stoics, the most orthodox philosophers of those days, and strenuous asserters of Providence, held that God takes care of great things, but overlooks the small; and though they descended to the veriest trifles in matters of dreams, omens, prodigies, and phrenetic predictions, they ascribed those to an unaccountable sympathy in nature between certain things, not to declarations of the divine Will.

The dependence of free agency upon prior causes, and the foundations of Justice, were not clearly understood, nor could they comprehend how God might give us both to will and to do, without destroying the expectation of reward for well doing: so they supposed virtue an original acquisition of the mind, by self-exerted efforts, without anything exterior prompting or directing

her thereto. Agreeably to which notion we see Horace praying, Give me competence of fortune, give me talents; as for perseverance in the right use of them, I will procure that for myself: thus denying God more than half his glory, and the acknowledgment due for the best of his gifts. In consequence of this opinion they conceived an intrinsic self-worked difference in men, which made them too regardless or too despairing of the generality, calculating their systems for a few contemplative, rightly-disposed persons, not endeavoring to draw out from thence a form of doctrine that might be commonly intelligible, and universally serviceable; nor acting in concert to recommend it, whereby they might have had more weight upon the vulgar.

They made no effectual advances towards propagating the doctrine of Equity and Equality, whereby God appears to be the common Father and equal Protector of all, neither arbitrary in his dealings nor partial in his favors, as a respecter of persons: that firmest basis of a general interest, strongest cement of mutual union, and clearest rational avenue to universal Charity.

Nor did they thoroughly enough consider the nature of man, treating their scholars as purely rational creatures, not sensitive-rational; scarce reflecting, that the bulk of mankind have most of the sensitive, and all men a considerable part of it in their composition, and that the impulses of one faculty may be mistaken for judgments of the other: neither did they study the use of ceremonies, customs, and methods, whereby habit and imagination may be brought insensibly to assist in the services of reason.

Yet I would not by any means undervalue the sages of antiquity, nor lessen the veneration due to them for the benefits redounding to us from their labors, whereby they were aiding as instruments in the hand of Providence, towards nursing up human reason to the degree of vigor and soundness we find it now possess. Therefore their merit might be no ways inferior to the best among us, nor might our Divines and Philosophers, placed in their situation, have made a whit better advances: if we can now soar to greater heights, it is not owing to our greater strength of wing, but to the advantage afforded us of taking our rise from higher ground.

14. One cannot well determine how far Philosophy might have pushed on her course by repeated efforts in successive generations. Possibly one man's reason, still digesting and improving upon the discoveries of another, might at last have attained as much useful knowledge as the human understanding is capable of receiving: wherein would be contained a complete Theology, a clear discernment of the true links uniting the Whole in a general interest,



and a practicable system of morality, accommodated to the several uses and capacities of all mankind; and means might have been found to render these things intelligible to every one so far as to answer all his occasions, so that a sound Faith, a well-grounded Hope, and an unreserved Charity might become general, which must have restored a golden age, a paradisaical state.

But God judged proper not to wait the slow advances of human speculation; he has been graciously pleased to hasten the progress by making provision of causes for several providential events. The art of printing has contributed greatly to the advancement of learning, but this was not the discovery of any philosopher: the world was long ago acquainted with the method of stamping inscriptions upon medals and seals, which one would think might have put some curious person upon contriving to stamp the pages of a book; yet was this never thought of until the appointed time written in the book of Heaven.

Glass was the invention of some manufacturer having no more in view than the raising a fortune by his new manufacture: but from hence we are supplied with microscopes, telescopes, and prisms, which let us into secrets of Nature unsuspected before, open to us the immeasurable grandeur of the Universe, and bring us acquainted with animals to whom a spoonful of vinegar serves for a habitable world; thereby raising our idea of the Author of Nature by displaying the magnificence and the wonders of his works. From hence likewise have proceeded gradually a more exact knowledge of the laws of attraction, the velocity of light, the existence of ether, and extreme rarity of bodies. Thus the unlearned has been made to lend a helping hand to the contemplative in the prosecution of his science, and the man of this world instrumental in opening a larger field to our Theology.

The magnetic power of the loadstone was known two thousand years ago, but remained an object of idle curiosity for many ages, until not long since, the uses of the needle being hit upon, have opened a new world, given a readier access to remotest regions of the old, and tended to familiarize the several nations upon earth.

Gunpowder is said to have been the lucky discovery of a monk, trying experiments without expectation of any such result; but how much has this changed the polity of nations, and civilized the rugged manners of war! making it depend more upon science than personal courage or bodily strength, uniting the civil in one interest with the military, which must protect industry and commerce to draw supplies from thence for the expensive preparations necessary; and spares a conquered country, to have its assistance in transporting the unwieldy machines, and

because more may be expected from contributions than from plunder.

We may term these inventions accidental, and so indeed they were with respect to us, for no man could have foreseen the day beforehand when they would happen; but accidents arise from certain causes lying in train to produce them when, and in what manner they shall come to pass; and since those have had a great influence upon the affairs of men, they are worthy our referring to the Disposer of all events.

15. But the most evidently providential event, or rather train of events, and most quickening the progress of saving knowledge, was that of the Jewish dispensation. For accounts of this we must necessarily recur to the Old Testament, having nothing else that will carry us far enough back; for Homer, the oldest profane writer extant, is, I think, supposed cotemporary with Solomon, and the transactions he speaks of to have passed in the time of Jephthah: if there were other authors at hand, I should think it prudent to give them a due consideration, but since we have only Moses, we must be content with the materials he has furnished us. Nor must I upon this occasion regard him as an inspired writer, for it may be remembered the part I have taken upon me is that of a reconciler between contending parties, so I must proceed upon grounds that may be admitted on both sides: therefore I shall meddle with nothing supernatural, which might be objected against as incredible, but employ such parts only of his narration as might have been received upon the credit of Livy or any common historian. For the like reason I purpose to go no higher than Abraham, because it is the humor of some among us to regard all that has been recorded of the earlier and antediluvian times, as fabulous.

And I think it could not be doubted, had we no better authority than that of Livy for the fact, that there was such a person, eminent in his time, and the founder of a family, whom he bred up in the belief of one God, supreme Governor of heaven and earth, and arbiter of the affairs of men; and preserved them from the contagion of superstition and idolatry prevailing everywhere round about. I shall not pretend to decide what we are to think of the angels with whom he is said to have been conversant, but we may gather thus much from the mention made of them, that he held there were intelligent creatures superior to man, but subordinate to God, and never interfering in human affairs unless when commissioned thereto by special orders from above: this their very name implies, for Angel is the same as Messenger, which shows

that they were known to men no otherwise than by the errands they were supposed to be sent upon by their Master.

I am not concerned with the reality of those Angels' appearance, let him only have dreamt of them, and taken his dreams for realities: how came it he did not dream they were independent powers, self-existent, or produced by some fatality or plastic energy of Nature, and God only an Olympian Jove having a little more strength and authority than his fellow God? Or how happened it that nobody in other countries should ever dream of one supreme Power, Governor and Maker of all other Beings, before the time of Pythagoras, or suppose Thales, who was but a little earlier, and both of them many centuries posterior to Abraham? for he was no Philosopher, he never pried into the secrets of nature, nor pursued the demonstrations of mathematics, nor studied the courses of the heavenly bodies, nor dived into the depths of metaphysics; but was a plain man, occupied in the management of his cattle, and providing accommodations for his household; and his Theology was such as was intelligible, not only to adepts, but to his servants, his shepherds, and all under his influence.

Whence got he then this purity of sentiment concerning things unseen, unmingled with anything of the notched stick, the old man in the cupboard, or the quarrelling, intriguing, over-reaching immortal Gods, the deified Heroes, or subterraneous Intelligencies? We dare not say he received it by tradition from Noah and Adam, nor by supernatural illumination: for fear of bringing a discredit upon our intellects, as being too weak to throw off the prejudices of the nurse and the school-master, which would never stand the test of all-deciding ridicule. What then shall we say? was it the remains of a rational system stricken out by some Philosophers who lived a thousand years before him, but whose works and even remembrance have been clean swept away by inundation of barbarous nations? or was it an accidental discovery springing originally from the notched stick by many gradations through the channels of fear, credulity, vanity, cunning, and policy among his predecessors?

We have not the least hint of any such primeval Sages or antepatriarchal Saracens, Goths, and Vandals, even in fabulous history: so their very existence is mere hypothesis, trumped up to serve a turn. But admitting the supposition, unsupported as it is by any shadow of evidence, how chanced it that those genuine remains were preserved only in his family? Or if craft and credulity sufficed to bear such excellent fruits, why could they never produce the same in any other soil? If it were the growth of mere natural causes, yet Nature and all her movements, as well

accidental as regular, were laid out at her birth in the plan of the Almighty : we must therefore acknowledge it a particular Providence, that in the formation of this sublunary system he prepared natural causes to produce the seeds from whence in long process of time should spring a tree of sound knowledge over-spreading the earth. It seems probable and appears to have been fact, if we may take Moses's word, that the true God was known to Enoch, Melchisedeck, Noah, and others before Abraham, but they could not transmit it inviolate to their descendants : he first prevailed to make it the received doctrine among all his household, and entailed it as an unalienable estate upon his posterity ; from whence he became entitled to be called the father of the faithful.

16. I shall not touch upon the blessing given to Isaac and Jacob, because this would be building upon controverted ground, but suppose it will be admitted that this family grew into a numerous nation, still possessed with the persuasion of one God omnipotent, Lord of heaven and earth, besides whom there was none other God ; which persuasion was peculiar to themselves. For though most other nations had their patron God, upon whose protection they depended, yet they allowed their neighbors to have tutelary Deities too, contending often and struggling with their own : if they succeeded in an expedition they extolled their own God as the mightiest, if beaten they would pass over to the victorious God as the more potent ; or at other times endeavor to keep upon good terms with both by taking the neighboring Deity into a share of their worship. This last notion crept in at frequent intervals among the Israelites, from the days of the golden calves down to the end of their monarchical government : nevertheless the worship of Jehovah still continued the national Religion, and though sometimes overwhelmed for awhile, was never wholly stifled, but always revived again in full vigor.

At the captivity, when one might expect their distressed condition, by lessening the opinion of their protector, should have driven them into all the modes of their conquerors, as had happened to the ten tribes before them, on the contrary we find them rivetted more strongly in their primitive belief, so that idolatry and polytheism could never after find an entrance among them. It is not necessary for our present purpose that this should have been effected by a supernatural interposition ; admit it were compassed by the craft and management of their principal men who used this cement to keep their people united together, as knowing that if they suffered them to mingle amongst others, they themselves must lose their influence and become persons of no consequence. But had not other enslaved nations, their principal men too, men of

craft, and management, and ambition, as desirous of keeping a populace firmly attached to their interests? Yet which of them could ever bring a people, who had been perpetually wavering in the object of their worship at home, to become so unalterably fixed in the midst of strangers as never to admit a mixture of foreign worship again.

What if we should reject all the wonders of the Burning Bush, the Sun standing still, the exploits of Gideon and Sampson, making them interpolations of Ezra as artifices to strengthen the faith of his people : have not other writers elsewhere interpolated, invented, and forged? Yet could never establish a steady credit to pass down inviolate to succeeding generations. What then occasioned the difference? shall we say it was owing to chance or accidental circumstances in the character and condition of the populace? Be it so : still we know that chance casualty of circumstance, the machinations and successes of craft and policy, must proceed from their adequate causes, deriving in an unbroken chain from the springs first set at work by the Almighty in his formation of a world. Therefore when they concur to produce an event which will spread a beneficial influence upon all mankind in after ages, it falls properly within our description of things signally providential.

17. Let us now proceed to another persuasion of this people, grafted upon that of their being the peculiar care of God ; I mean their expectation of an extraordinary person to arise among them. They had before believed, that God had established the house of David forever, and that he would preserve the throne in that family against all the power of neighboring princes to overturn it : but this hope proving abortive, they were then persuaded, there should arise one from his loins in due time who should restore the kingdom to Israel ; and this opinion they built upon certain types and prophecies recorded in their ancient writings. I have nothing to do with the significance of the types nor interpretation of the prophecies, the exact time when the sceptre may be truly said to have departed from Judah, nor propriety of understanding a promise made for the comfort of a besieged city, almost perishing with famine, to relate to a child who should be born of a virgin above five hundred years after. Let the application be as forced and fantastical as you please, still they had their effect upon the imaginations of the people : and this is enough for my purpose.

For unless you will say, that God was ignorant what effect they would produce, or to what uses the priests and rulers would turn them, it must be allowed that he permitted the causes with a view to their consequences : therefore may be said to have spoken by

them to the Jewish nation, in like manner as he speaks to our reason by his works of nature. But when God speaks, he will do it in a language to be understood by those to whom it is addressed, and exciting the ideas proper for them to entertain : it is no matter whether we or others can rationally understand them in the same manner or no, we might as well cavil that the prophecies were delivered in Hebrew instead of English, which we should have understood better. Certain it is they did suffice to answer their purpose of keeping up an expectation among the Jews, who began to grow impatient, and did actually persuade themselves, either upon solid or fancied grounds, that the Sceptre was departed, and their Shiloh at hand, about the time when Jesus entered upon his ministry.

Which national opinion was a necessary preparative for the introduction of his Gospel, which was confined to the Jews during his life, and for some time after : for we may gather from the story of Cornelius the Centurion that it had not been preached to any Gentile before, and must presume that the Partheans, Medes, and Elamites, making the three thousand to whom Peter preached, were Jews settled in those countries. But the expectation of a Restorer would not suffice alone, for it seems there were several pretenders to the benefit of it : there wanted the designation of some particular person in whom that general expectance might centre, and this was effected by a comparison of the prophecies with events, and by signs and wonders believed to have been worked by Jesus, and those delegated under him. I shall as before forbear to examine the accomplishment of the prophecies, or evidence of the miracles : to enter upon these discussions would be carrying the shoe-maker beyond his last, therefore shall leave them to Divines, who are better prepared for the work by a kind of learning I have not had time to make a proficiency in ; nor do I find a want of it upon the present occasion.

For I desire no more to be granted me than what will scarce be disputed, that multitudes were drawn into a belief of the prophecies being accomplished, and the miracles really performed. Now whether this belief was worked by craft, prejudice, delusion, and enthusiasm, or by rational conviction upon a full, fair, and careful examination, all those springs of persuasion must be acknowledged to lie under the control of Providence : therefore the event produced by them having since extended so wide over the earth, must be regarded as one of the main engines employed in the administration of the moral world. By great distance of time, and an almost total difference in our forms of expression and methods of logic from those of the Jews, the evidences once fresh and glar-

ing are become obscured, so that it often requires a fund of science to clear up a point which a common man in the Apostolic days might have satisfied himself of by a little inquiry among his neighbors.

But for the generality there are the sacred records received upon the authority of the Church : for the plain man justly concludes that a number of persons, whom he knows to be men of learning and good manners, would not combine to persuade him into a veneration for what they had no good grounds to believe themselves, therefore relies upon their judgment in a matter he stands in no situation to judge of himself. And herein he acts as rationally as one who takes down the drugs prescribed by a physician of whom he has a good opinion, though he understands nothing of their efficacy, nor can be certain upon his own knowledge whether they may not be poisonous. And for such as have some capacity to judge for themselves, but thinking themselves called to other exercises of their industry, are no more at leisure than I to rummage over all the wilds of controversy, there is the internal evidence drawn from experience, and their own observation of the benefits accruing to mankind from the promulgation of the Gospel. Nor can I help repeating what I have once declared before, that to me the external evidence seems to be in reality the deciding weight with most men : for in the few controversial writings I have dipped into, I can perceive as much zeal and prejudice to the full in the free-thinker as in the orthodox ; both appear sometimes to think too well or too ill of the external evidences, according to their preconceived opinion of the cause.

18. Perhaps I shall be stopped short here with a round assertion that the influence has neither been so salutary nor so extensive as I seem to insinuate ; for that Christians are not so good men as the Turks, the Chinese, the Tartars, or the Iroquois, nor are they more than an inconsiderable number in comparison with those we term infidels ; Gordon, in his Geography, computes more than half the countries upon earth to be Mahometan, and of the remainder, the greater part are Heathen, and the lesser Christian. But we may claim Mahometism as a botchy excrescence or spurious offspring of the Gospel : the professors of it preserve a great veneration for Isa or Jesus, look upon him much in the same light as we do Elias, and pretend that their prophet was the Comforter of whom we have promise in the Gospel ; their Koran inculcates some of the most important truths contained therein, as I shall remark particularly by-and-by, and what there is good in it was borrowed from thence.

But I am under no necessity of settling the exact extent of the Gospel influence, nor the effect it has had upon the lives of those who embrace it : let Christendom be so small a part of the globe as Gordon has made it, and the Turks, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Iroquois, men of purer innocence and stricter probity than Christians. Those who think so are welcome to go live among them, provided they do not desire me to go with them ; yet I never heard of anybody doing so merely for the sake of better company, nor unless in some such hopes as that of getting a Jaghire, which when obtained they bring home to spend among wicked Christians. The discussion of those points is needless to my present purpose, for I am not examining the sources of temporal happiness and convenience in the several countries upon earth, but observing the divine economy with respect to the race of men in general, and by what gradations the tree of sound knowledge has been nourished up towards maturity.

It seems a thing probable in itself, though we gave no heed to Moses, that others before Abraham had believed the Unity, and absolute Government of God, that he dealt with men according to their behavior, and was good to all without exception who trusted in him : so here were the seeds of Faith, and Hope, and Charity, sown some how or other in single persons, or perhaps among a few intimates of similar sentiments and characters. But Abraham first made those the tenets of a family, embraced by all the members of his numerous household indifferently, the servants as well as the master and children, the gross as well as the more discerning : so here was the beginning of a community united together in a general interest by the proper cement, a dependence upon one protector who had all things under command. In the infant simplicity of mankind it was necessary to keep this family as much as possible separate from all others, that the cohesion of its parts might not be weakened by external attraction : from hence proceeded the great care taken to provide Isaac and Jacob with orthodox wives, the expedience of which caution appears by the examples of Ishmael and Esau, who intermarrying among the Canaanites, became dismembered from their parent plant, and engrafted upon Idolatry.

When a family grew into a nation, the general interest was extended to larger numbers, the heart of individuals opened wider, and their charity diffused to all who were descendants from the same stock, subjects of the same law, and partakers in the same form of worship. Yet the grossness of early times being not worn off, it was still necessary to employ repulsion in the assistance of cohesion, and they were taught to exercise severities upon their neighbors, to entertain an utter aversion and contempt of all oth-



er nations, as a means of uniting them more heartily with one another : for we have observed in a former part of this chapter, there is nothing cements vulgar minds so strongly as animosity against a common enemy. By this aversion and contempt, together with the ceremonies instituted for keeping them in a compact body, they were preserved in the belief of one God, incorporeal, supreme over all, and the idea of a general interest among the brethren, consequent upon the former, and were the only people in whom the like belief prevailed : for how largely soever we may attribute to Philosophy, with respect to the completeness of its doctrines, there never yet was a people of Philosophers, nor ever will be, unless it can be compassed by means of the dispensation we are now speaking of.

Whether they believed a future state has been doubted ; it is plain this was no part of their public creed, nor was any other immortality propounded to them than that of the prosperity and endurance of their nation ; as they were a gross and heavy-minded people, little apt to make advances beyond what was expressly taught them, it seems most probable the generality never thought so far as of another world, therefore could neither be said to embrace nor reject it. But such among them as were men of reflection could not well miss of a conclusion so naturally following from the doctrine of one God, just and equitable, rewarder of every man according to his deeds, Lord of Hosts as well invisible as visible, Maker of heaven and earth, who breathed into man the breath of life ; compared with the great inequality of fortunes among persons of the same character here upon earth : and at last, after a long course of ages, the expectation of another life grew pretty current among them ; for the Pharisees, who were more numerous than both the other sects, believed a resurrection.

By the coming of Jesus the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, the partition-wall broken down, a passage opened for the Gentiles to become the people of God, the ceremonial law abolished, righteousness preached to the poor, and the resurrection to eternal reward or punishment expressly taught as a popular doctrine. Therefore it may truly be said, that life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel, notwithstanding they might be known to a few persons of thought and reflection for some ages before : for when a man has written a book, and communicated it to two or three of his friends, we do not say it has seen the light, we never use that expression until he has published it to the world ; in like manner, the perpetuity of the Soul, together with personal reward and punishment after death, may

be said to have been first brought to light by that which drew it from the closets of the studious, and procured it to be received as an undoubted truth by the public.

And as the knowledge of God among the vulgar, so the bounds of charity were likewise enlarged: for all of every nation who would, were admitted within the pale of salvation, which united them all in one general interest, and the communion of saints was made an article of faith: so that the whole society in heaven and earth became one entire body, actuated by the same spirit of concord under one Lord and one head. From the communion interests naturally follows an equality of intrinsic value among the several members, so that he who brings a cobbler into the way of salvation, does as good a deed as if he could bring a man of rank, learning, and accomplishment: unless as the latter has more ability to do the same for others, and then the preference is due to him, not for his own sake, but for the sake of those whom he may advantage. It must be owned there are some harsh expressions against the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, and such like, but these were given for the hardness of our hearts, that is, for persons in whom cohesion was still so weak as to need assistance from repulsion: but for such as have ears to hear, love to our neighbor is declared the second great commandment, and our neighbor explained to be any person, orthodox, heretic, or infidel, who stands in a situation to receive a kindness at our hands.

19. Thus we see by what careful nurture the tree of sound Theology has been raised among mankind; at first confined to narrow bounds, that it might strike strong root into the spot where it grew, and as it gathered strength to repel injuries from without, was made still to shoot out new branches, and extend the old ones over a wider compass of ground. And how the idea of a general interest was transferred from a few of similar temper to a whole family, from thence to a populous nation, to the professors of the same faith, to all mankind; and perhaps at length may spread to the universal host of perceptive beings: yet did this tree grow too fast for its strength, so that at the extremities it generated into a gross superstition, as bad as the idolatry it was intended to eradicate.

Then it was that God permitted Mahometism to grow from the corrupted roots, like a fungus from rotten wood, and give that excrecence a much larger course than ever the parent tree had reached to. Nor are we to think that hereby he undid his own work, but rather pruned it: for as we have remarked in the foregoing pages, that Heathenism makes one little advance in the pro-

gress towards true Religion, among those who were totally immersed in sensible objects, without suspicion of any superior power of them, so is Mahometism something of an advance to Heathens, and such Christians among whom their Religion had been so debased by mixtures of sorcery, conjuration, and the grossest image worship, as to bring it down to the level of paganism. For wherever the standard of Mahomet has prevailed, it has carried with it the belief of one God, incorporeal, invisible, supreme Governor of heaven and earth, not to be bribed with oblations and sacrifices, the sure protector and rewarder of such as serve him faithfully, the practice of many moral duties, the doctrine of future reward and punishment, and communion of interests among those who join in the right way of worship. These are important and fundamental articles, which perhaps could not have been otherwise established among ignorant or depraved people, incapable of receiving or retaining the doctrines of a better system. Even the Chinese, with all the boasted wisdom of their Literati, were never able to make them popular tenets without its assistance. So that the dispensation we have traced down from the Father of the Faithful, has already, either in its purity or its corruption, had an influence, according to Gordon's reckoning, over three-fourths of the globe.

You see how in tracing this clue I keep clear of all that wrangling and witticism wherewith the prophecies and miracles have been pelted by free-thinkers; for I may consent that the prophecies shall have been judiciously and honestly, or enthusiastically and craftily interpreted, the miracles genuine and real, or typical, allegorical, and counterfeit, as you please; still in either case the historical fact cannot be denied, that things have happened in the manner above related. But whatever has happened must have had certain adequate causes occasioning it to fall out in that manner, and whatever causes have operated, must have lain in a train derived originally from the action of the Almighty, the Disposer of all events, as well among the courses of Nature as the occurrences befalling mankind; but the event we have been speaking of is too important and beneficial for us to scruple assigning it to the particular designation of his Providence. For all things must necessarily flow from the First Cause by some channel or other, and if divines could show there were not natural causes in being sufficient to produce the effects taken notice of above, this would at once establish the credit of the supernatural.

20. But perhaps it will not be allowed, the Fungus can give nourishment to anybody, because it would be poisonous to us who have been used to purer diet. And indeed it must be owned the

few salubrious juices it has imbibed from the parent root, have been vitiated by many heterogeneous mixtures; such as the duty of religious wars, the sensuality of future rewards, the allowableness of polygamy, concubinage, making mutes, castrations, and impurities I dare not defile my paper by naming: which though sometimes practised among Christians, were never yet esteemed a part of their Religion, nor countenanced thereby. Therefore, to be liberal in our argument, let us give up the benefits of Mahometism, and confine ourselves to the professors of Christianity, who though you reduce them to as narrow a compass as you can, will still be found more numerous than the Jews, and to have several additional branches in their tree of knowledge which had not sprouted forth among them.

For take the most illiterate person among us and he will tell you there is one God, eternal, almighty, spiritual, holy, infinitely wise and good, Creator as well as Maker and Governor of all things in heaven and earth; that tempests lay waste, earthquakes overturn, lightnings strike, diseases destroy, fires consume, accidents befall, where he commands, and forbear where he withholds; that his providence is ever wakeful, not only over nations and kingdoms, but over every particular person, so that no good or evil comes upon us without his knowledge and permission or appointment; that he continually observes our actions, remarks our words, and sees into our most secret thoughts; that what discretion and good dispositions we have, and vigor of mind to act according to them, were owing to him as well as our powers and our knowledge, for he giveth us both to will and to do; nevertheless, this does not destroy the justice of reward and punishment, wherefore it behoves us to be careful of our conduct, for that he will raise us up to immortality wherein our condition shall be affected by every deed, and word, and thought, passing with us upon earth; that there is a communion of Saints, and fellowship between them and the Angels; that the Church militant and triumphant together compose one body under one head, having a connection of interests throughout the whole, that advancing the glory of God by doing good to his universal Church or any member thereof, according to our powers and opportunities, is our first duty and foundation of all the rest; that whatever is done to the least among our brethren, be it no more than giving a cup of cold water, will not pass without its reward; that we owe a love to enemies and persecutors, to strangers, aliens, and infidels, and ought to abstain from all wanton cruelties and needless hurts, even to brutes and insects.

It will be asked, Do Christians regard all those things? I am afraid but too little: yet are they parts of all their Creed, for the meanest among them will acknowledge their truth whenever put in mind of it, though the words coming in at one ear commonly pass out again at the other the moment after their sound is over. Well, but do not the free-thinkers hold the same articles too? That I cannot tell: I have heard some of them stickle mainly for the absolute contingency of human action, the self-sufficiency of the will to do good or evil, the intrinsic personal difference between man and man, underived from any cause or antecedent provision of the Almighty, the limitations upon his power by the uncreated nature of things, his inability to make a bigot or a superstitious person happy. However, I hope they do hold most of the tenets before mentioned: but whence got they the knowledge of them? not from discoveries made by their own sagacity, I may venture to say: nor I believe from the remains of ancient philosophy, for some of them are not to be found there. They were once under the nurse and the school-master, who it is well known have been used to inculcate such things, to whom therefore it may be presumed the principles they retain of theirs were owing, notwithstanding they affect to hold them in such utter contempt.

21. Since then we see that God has been pleased, by an extraordinary series of events, continuing from the infancy of mankind, to nourish up a Religion whereby purer sentiments of himself and a more extensive charity are introduced among the vulgar, than has ever been done any other way, why should we scruple to avail ourselves of the benefits to be drawn therefrom, as well as anything we can gather from the contemplation of Nature? for both are his work, and both deserve our various attention upon that account. The course of affairs respecting the moral world proceeds, equally with the courses of nature, from the Will and eternal purpose, the Word or Covenant of God, styled in Pythagorean language the Oath of Jove; therefore we do not reverence the Oath while we continue to treat either branch of it lightly: and experience of former times may convince us how expedient it is to employ both for supporting and strengthening one another.

Philosophy has never been able, notwithstanding many attempts by schools and lectures, by wise sayings, fables, and allegories, to spread her treasures among the multitude, nor gain authority enough to make her tenets received. Neither could she furnish her adepts with all the just sentiments of God and principles urging to extensive charity which are to be found in a common Christian, whose system contains sounder notions even of natural Religion, more profitable to the mind than they were acquaint-

ed with ; as may appear on comparing of § 13, with the last section. Neither could she prevent them, longer than from Pythagoras to the immediate scholars of Socrates, from debasing her sublimest ideas by intermixtures of many idle questions, concerning the existence of species, forms, and qualities, distinct from the subjects possessing them, the evidence of the senses, the evil of pain, the summum bonum, the mystic powers of certain numbers, divination, prodigies, auguries, oracles, and such like.

On the other hand, experience testifies what wild work has been made with Religion when once men begin to cry down the use of reason. Whenever headlong zeal and implicit faith gain the ascendant, it becomes an engine of craft, ambition, and spiritual tyranny, a bundle of superstitious and gross absurdities ; instead of peace and love, and heartfelt solace it was intended to produce, it changes into a perpetual source of terror, sensoriousness, and ill-humor, a firebrand of war, animosity, and persecution ; it gives admission to troops of witches, fairies, spectres, apparitions, dreams, prognostics, and the idlest follies of paganism ; its sacred records are made to receive a mystic interpretation according to the rules of the Cabbala, if that can be called an interpretation which renders them unintelligible or contradictory to common sense ; the few forms and ceremonies belonging to it, calculated upon the sensitivo-rational constitution of human nature, turned into a kind of magic operation by charm and conjuration, and this operation strenuously contended for sometimes by men of great learning and honest intentions. This being the case both of Religion and Philosophy when esteemed enemies to one another, discretion will incline us to endeavor an union and partnership between them, that we may draw our advantages from both ; taking hints from one for making improvements in the other, and employing the means furnished by one for giving currency to the other.

Nor can we offend against either by this manner of proceeding, for the Gospel was preached to the poor, the sentiments inculcated there were calculated for general use, many things delivered in parables to be heard only by him that hath ears to hear, instructions given, that were capable of various interpretations ; as if on purpose to put us upon exerting our sagacity and judgment in discovering their genuine sense by help of our natural lights. Refined speculations, profitable only for particular persons not reckoned among the poor, are left to the investigations of human reason, which we may presume sufficient for the task : therefore as there are no directions given for her assistance therein, so neither are there any prohibitions against taking her course. For though St. Paul warns to beware of the vain babblings of Philoso-

phy, it does not follow from thence, that he would condemn all attention to Philosophy whenever she talks pertinently : for this would be making him as inconsiderate as the free-thinker, who runs down Religion itself because he has just reason to beware of the vain superstitions in Religion.

But Religion is not always superstitious, nor Philosophy always a babbler, as we may gather from what the same St. Paul tells us concerning the Gentiles, among whom I know of nothing better they had than Philosophy : for he says, God did not leave them without a witness of himself ; for the invisible things of him, that is, his external power and Godhead, are seen by the creation, being made manifest in his works. And surely a scene wherein the eternal power and Godhead are displayed, is not unworthy the contemplation even of such as may have other displays of the same. For as we are told that man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word which cometh out of the mouth of God : so are we warranted to say upon experience of facts, that the spiritual life is not sustained by the written word alone, but in conjunction with that other word, proceeding from the same mouth, exhibited upon the face of nature in characters legible by human understanding.

22. Then if we regard the interest of Philosophy, and the interest of mankind, there is no cause to fear they should receive damage by joining Religion to co-operate with reason. The best policed and most flourishing states have been remarkable for their attachment to the forms of belief and modes of worship established among them, and in proportion as these lost their credit, they fell into confusion and decay. This we may learn from historians, particularly Polybius, one of the most judicious and clearest from superstition among them, who attributes the then disjointed condition of the Greeks to their contempt for the sacredness of an oath : and Cicero, in his treatise upon the law ascribes the vigor of the Roman commonwealth to their veneration for auguries, and other public or family ceremonies received from their ancestors. If we would take example from the Philosophers, we shall find that Pythagoras, Socrates, and others of the soundest, were no ridiculers of established doctrines or forms of worship, but strove to turn them to profitable uses, and lead men by popular opinions into such sentiments of philosophy as they were capable of receiving : and often endeavored by Mythology to allegorize the Gods into the powers of Nature, affections of the mind and moral virtues ; of which we have given specimens in Eros and Eris, the Thalassian and Uranian Venus.

How then do we imagine Pythagoras or Socrates would behave were they now to rise up amongst us? would they undertake to prove Christianity not mysterious, or as old as the creation, or to undermine the grounds and reasons of literal prophecy? would they perpetually affright men with the dangers of priestcraft, affect to ridicule everything esteemed sacred, puzzle the ignorant with their archness, or unsettle the minds of the vulgar with their witticisms? Pythagoras you may think was a solemn old don, and so might not care to deal in joking for want of a talent that way : for it is a favorite position with our moderns, that every man loves a joke, even in argumentation, if he be able to make one ; and they quote Elijah for a precedent, who joked upon the four hundred priests of Baal. Nevertheless, Socrates was an exception to this rule, for you must allow him a man of as much wit and humor as ever lived ; yet he knew how to be merry and wise, when to be witty and when to forbear, nor ever suffered his humor to outrun his discretion, but attended to the check of his Demon upon every present impulse.

Therefore he never attempted to bring the priests or their oracles into contempt, to discredit the Eleusinian mysteries, nor abuse the Gods or their images. Neither did he strive to unsettle anybody in their notions, unless when standing in the way of something more solid he wanted to introduce : for he always had regard to the *Cui bono*, the consequences to the party or the public, and aimed not so much to teach, as to put his scholar in a way how to find out for himself. So he was not positive nor dogmatical, nor fond of that expression so much affected now-a-days by some folks, I will venture to say, for he never ventured to say anything except one, which was, that he knew nothing, but only professed to practise his mother's art of midwifery by delivering other persons he saw laboring with thoughts that could not find an issue : his method was to start doubts and objections innumerable, not with design to leave things in uncertainty, but in order that by the workings of them in the mind, the hearer might be delivered of something steady, certain, and salutary. How then can we better imitate him than by seeking a rational construction of all the popular doctrines, which when found may justly be presumed the genuine sense intended to be conveyed by the teacher? for this is no more than every private man is entitled to, that his words should be understood in the best sense they are capable of bearing.

And we have the better encouragement to this method of proceeding, because the materials we have to work upon are more easily susceptible of a useful interpretation, than any vulgar opin-



ions Socrates had to do with. How many excellent discourses have we on morality, so interlarded with texts as to contain little else beside the threads of connection joining them into a regular piece? but who could do the like with any system of opinions current among the vulgar in Greece or Rome? who could make an instructive, moral discourse with quotations out of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which I know not whether it may not be regarded as the Bible of Paganism? Perhaps some very good reflections might be picked up from thence here and there; but every part of our Bible has been made use of at some time or other, to enforce the moral duties and principles of natural Religion: even the marvellous parts have been serviceably applied that way, but what could you do with the marvellous in Ovid?

23. As to what there is of form and discipline, deference to authority, and peculiar articles of Faith distinct from those of sound Philosophy, for they may be distinct without being opposite or hurtful thereto, it will become us to study carefully their several uses and natural tendency, as a physician would his *materia medica*; and likewise the condition of human nature, and characters of our cotemporaries, as he does the constitution of his patient, in order to see to what services they may be profitably applied, and what dangers of misapplication are to be guarded against. If we perceive any turning them into unintelligible mysteries, or ascribing to them an intrinsic value and efficacy, or conceiving them to operate in the way of magic, charm, and conjuration, it would be a good deed to prevent it as there is opportunity; still having a regard to what is feasible as well as what is right in theory, and not persisting madly to kick against the pricks.

But we must not be too rigorous in this point, for neither the illiterate nor learned vulgar can always trace the connection between causes and effects a little remote, nor discern the uses and natural consequences of things recommended upon good authority, yet they will imagine a reason where they see none; in which case they unavoidably mingle a spice of charm and conjuration in their system: this it will be prudent to remove gently by such management as they have calmness and capacity to bear. But we must not expect to remove it entirely, nor is it always necessary we should; for there are some minds which cannot do without it, and to such it will not be hurtful.

I have observed in a former place that superstition is relative, the same conceptions being innocent and profitable to one man, which would be superstitious in another: how gross soever they be, yet if they are the purest he can entertain upon the subject,

they are the properest for him. There are some rules and observances very useful for such as cannot discern their uses; the main point is to gain a reception of them, by pointing out their expedience where we can make it understood, where we cannot, by any other method feasible. Therefore the weakly pious, or learned man, who persuades himself that God has infused a magical virtue into certain ceremonies and compositions of matter, is less hurtful either to himself or to the public, than the free-thinker, who shrewdly finding out there can be no intrinsic value in them, denies them any value at all, because he has not calmness or sagacity enough to trace out their expedience.

If I might be permitted to propose a medium, I would recommend that whatever we apprehend commanded by God, which we should otherwise have thought useless and trifling should be received in the same idea as we do the recipes of a physician: we do not imagine him putting a virtue and efficacy into his drugs they had not before, but skilful to know their qualities, and discerning them to be proper for our constitution and present condition of body; so we take them down as the very things we should have chosen for ourselves, had we as much skill as he. In like manner I apprehend there is nothing irreligious in supposing that God never gives an arbitrary command which has not a prudential foundation in his constitutions of Nature and Providence, nor annexes a virtue and efficacy to things insignificant: but that he knows perfectly the condition of his creatures, what opinions and practices will naturally conduce to our good, and graciously points them out to us where we could not have discovered them: therefore we are to reverence his Wisdom without gainsaying, believing the things enjoined thereby are the very same we should have chosen in prudence of our own accord, had we a full and accurate knowledge of the circumstances we stand in, and how everything would affect us.

And the like presumption may justly prevail in a lower degree with respect to the institutions established by men, which may have a real use founded in human nature though it may not be readily explained to every ingenuous well-bred gentleman, who demands it at a coffee-house.

By taking things in this light, we shall escape an obstinacy of zeal for old forms, and leave an opening for reformation when they appear manifestly to have an evil tendency: for then we may conclude the command has been misinterpreted, or that it was occasional and temporary, losing its expedience and obligation upon a change in the characters of mankind, in which case it would be as absurd to adhere to it inflexibly, as to continue the

regimen prescribed for a fever, when one afterwards falls into a dropsical or paralytic disorder.

24. Some degree of attention to rule and discipline will do hurt to no man, for we have all more or less a mixture of the Angel and of the brute: therefore we must use some management with the brutal faculty, that it may stand ready to assist in the services of reason, or even to do her work at intervals while she lies asleep. I have endeavored in a former place to show of how great importance it is to have a well-disciplined imagination, for that is the seat of the habits, the moral senses and the virtues, which must impel spontaneously to action before they can be pronounced complete: nor do the most salutary convictions of the understanding become a saving Faith, until they have made a lodgement there. But form and custom and ceremony have a great effect upon the imagination to rivet persuasions and sentiments, and may be serviceably employed in rendering speculation practical.

Men of strong reason and much thought may have occasion for less of them than others, yet do they not deserve to be totally neglected even by such, who may find their account in a judicious choice and application of them. However it must be owned that the bulk of mankind, partly by want of capacity, partly by continual engagement to their professions and ways of life, are necessitated to take direction from the inferior faculty: if they use their reason, it is for making application of their rules and principles to particular cases, but the rules and principles themselves they must take from authority and custom: they believe a thing because they never heard it controverted, they follow a measure of conduct because they find it practised by everybody of character, having something else to do than pursue the line of expedience up to the original source through all its long and intricate channels. Therefore, if any man thinks he can manage well enough for himself without aid of authority or received customs, still it is an unpardonable selfishness to take no thought for others around him.

But there is a narrowness of Soul too frequently prevailing as well among your great reasoners as your very pious people, which makes them fond of contracting the pale of Salvation, and forward to entertain a contempt and utter neglect of all except a few choice spirits of their own turn. Whereas sound Philosophy and sound Religion recommend a generous universally charitable temper as the most desirable possession and principal characteristic of their professors, and teach that in the most ignorant, despicable, low-minded human creature there lies an immortal Soul capable of happiness in another state, equally with the best bred, the most accomplished or refined. Whoever therefore would approve him-

self a true Philosopher, as well as he that desires to be a truly religious man, ought to consider his honest neighbors, though not speculatists, and the vulgar, no less than himself; and contribute by his words and example to uphold the sacredness of those forms and principles which may be serviceable to them, though such as he esteems needless and unavailing for his own uses.

Nevertheless, if we could persuade ourselves it were allowable to regard the interests of Philosophy alone, yet are they so liable to be affected by opinions of common currency, that it were prudent to take some care of the latter for sake of the former: for no man ever struck out his own system from the beginning entirely by his own single efforts, but took his rise from some beaten ground already prepared for his use, therefore it is of the utmost consequence what ground he has to take his rise from. The young Philosopher, before he has the benefit of his own judgment, is equipped for his future progress by his parents, his tutors, and the company he happens to fall in amongst: they lead him into acuteness of observation and sound manner of judging upon ordinary things, the idea of an invisible power, the regard to futurity, the laudableness of application with which he makes his subsequent discoveries: according to the principles they instill into him or the few superstitions, sensual tastes, and gross conceptions they inculcate, he has the less to do afterwards, either to ingraft or to eradicate, and the clearer passage before him for making further improvements.

Nor is it practicable to throw off all tincture of the nursery, the school, or the dining-room: those who think they have done it most effectually still retain a spice; for it is from thence they annex the ideas of charm and magic to certain forms and ceremonies not joined therewith by the ablest doctors of our Church; from thence they drew all they have positive in Religion, for their peculiar doctrines are barely negative, not to believe a miracle, not to admit a prophecy, not to mind a priest, not to submit to any discipline. They are mighty assiduous in teaching men what they should not do, but nothing of what they should do, unless perhaps to deal with honor in your transactions, to be well-behaved, and to see with your own eyes; and those I suppose the nurse and the priest had bid them be careful of before: if they add anything of their own, it is no more than an extension of the last rule, to see with your own eyes for discerning things that lie out of your sight. Neither when we come from under tuition to act and think for ourselves, can we totally escape the influence of sympathy, but the sentiments and imaginations of the company we consort with will imperceptibly insinuate among our own.

To these causes it must be owing that no great lengths of knowledge are ever run by any persons in barbarous countries, but the greatest proficiency has always been made in the most civilized and best-principled nations ; for there is no such difference in soils and lineages as that one may produce science but another not : we live in the same climate inhabited by the painted Britons, who when transported to Rome, where found fit only for hewers of wood and drawers of water ; and are descended from them mingled with Saxons, Danes, Normans, and Jutlanders, who knew no better Gods than Thor and Woden, nor other science than war and destruction. Science began to show a few signs of life upon the introduction of Christianity among our ancestors, obscured as it was by Popish superstitions, which rendered it no light but rather darkness visible ; then the jargon of school divinity and Aristotle misunderstood occupied the thoughts of the studious. As early as Edward III. there were persons who saw through this veil of darkness, yet could they do little more than discover that it was a veil : but from the Reformation, learning of all kinds, both human and divine, has made a surprising progress, and I hope it is still gaining ground in the long journey towards perfection. In like manner, if we were to search all history, I imagine it would be found that the degree of purity in Religion and soundness in judgment among the speculative has ever borne a proportion to that among the generality, both rising and falling together, because mutually affecting one another.

25. This being the case it becomes a matter of moment to the most refined what qualified neighbors they have to live amongst : which consideration alone, if there were none more weighty, might incline us to wish them as just sentiments in Religion and morality as they are capable, or willing to entertain : but these things can never be made to prevail generally without aid of forms, ceremonies, customs, and articles received upon authority.

After the freedoms I have used and pains I have taken throughout the foregoing work to view everything in the light of nature, I cannot well be suspected of a fondness for the magical, the marvellous, and mysterious : I am rather apprehensive of having given offence by endeavoring to lessen the mysteries of some points, which were thought to abound in them most copiously. And yet I declare that if I had the tuition of a porter, or even of an honest, sensible fox-hunter disposed to listen to me attentively for seven years, I could not undertake to work in him the persuasions I think it highly expedient for him to entertain, upon the grounds whereon I build them for myself : therefore esteem it ve-

ry happy there is a code in credit, for which the sentiments one would wish to infuse, do so naturally follow.

What could have been done with the pagan Theology or the Mahometan Koran? we must have worked hard with the transmuting process, and allegorized them into a doctrine never thought of by the compilers: whereas now we need only clear away the perversities and mystic obscurities, that have overgrown in length of time, and develop the genuine sense intended to be conveyed on the delivery, to produce a regular consistent system, agreeable to nature and reason.

The long and intricate deductions of science, worked up with the slender threads of distinction, will never do for common use: the man of business has not time for such piddling work, the polished gentleman is above such dry and musty investigations; so he must take something upon trust from those plodding fellows who have no better taste than for toil and drudgery. It is necessary to shorten the line for his use, by bringing the two ends together without troubling him with the whole length: in which case there is a great chance but he will annex some idea of charm or magic virtue, because an efficacy seems to jump at once from the cause to a remote effect, wherewith it has no apparent nor immediate connection.

Nor is he singular in these imaginations, for one may observe the like in the profound and the speculative: how currently do we talk of Nature and Chance, and think we clearly understand these terms because they are in everybody's mouth! Some who would be thought the deepest reasoners, have made them First Causes, and the soundest of very early Philosophers, though they admitted a God, seem to have supposed him an offspring of Nature, or at least that the materials he had to work upon were of her property. But what is Chance considered as a first mover, or Nature as an original sustainer of existence? They are no substances, they are no Beings, they are powers without an agent, qualities without a subject: an idea as inexplicable to the full as any virtues supposed inherent in sacred rites; why then should we think ~~one~~ a more absurd and ridiculous notion, or more pernicious to be entertained than the other, so as to set ourselves to eradicate it at all events?

I would not take pains to persuade anybody that God has annexed an extraordinary virtue or efficacy to any form, ceremony, place, day, or assent to some speculative proposition, which he had not given them in his original constitution of nature and plan of providence respecting the moral world, for to inculcate such persuasion would be dealing insincerely: I would endeavor to

study human nature, particularly the sensitive faculty, seat of the apprehensions, habits, and affections; observe carefully their remotest tendencies and influence upon one another, and what opinions or practices might be applied most for the benefit of mankind, as bringing them nearest to a just sentiment of God, a satisfaction of mind within themselves, and a mutual charity among one another. Whatever I judged most conducive to those purposes, all circumstances considered, I would recommend, or join in my vote with those who had already recommended it; explaining my own idea by the chain of natural consequences where I could, for I should always wish to do as much by reason as possible; but where I found this impracticable, then having recourse to authority or general estimation enforcing it as matter of duty, the due performance whereof will draw down the blessing of God. If anybody of his own accord will annex the idea of a supernatural virtue or efficacy, I should be cautious of contradicting him, while there was a hazard that he might thereby lose the idea of any duty or adviseableness at all: for I am for leaving every one to his own notions, unless upon a probability of exchanging them for better. To do otherwise, though too commonly practised, seems to me as inconsiderate, as if upon seeing your neighbor live in an ill-built incommodious house, you should beat it about his ears, without supplying him with materials, or furnishing him a plan to build another.

26. Thus I have endeavored to make it appear, how God, by the provisions of his Wisdom, has raised up the two trees of knowledge, Philosophy, and Religion, from little seeds, by slow and successive gradations, and how apt they are, by their mutual influence to purify and meliorate each other: for when set at too great distance apart, Philosophy becomes a vain babbler, and Religion a superstitious enchantress. Therefore it is highly expedient to approximate them as near as possible, that they may engraft into each other by approach: for their juices will mellow by mingling together, their branches grow more vigorous over a larger compass of ground, and bear salubrious fruits of more general use, as being suited for nourishment both of the sensitive and rational faculties.

And our Religion itself seems to point out this method; for it teaches that Man was created perfect, his rational faculties being sufficient for his conduct, that the purpose of the Redemption was to restore him to the condition from whence he had fallen, that is, the perfect enjoyment of those faculties, for I suppose it will not be denied that the blessed Saints above possess them as completely as Adam did, nor that they hold their happiness by the tenure of

their obedience. Redemption being the free Grace of God, there is no doubt he could have instated his elect in the full benefits purchased thereby immediately, but he has thought proper to lead them thereto by a long preparation through the trials and temptations of this world; but what better preparation can they make, than by laboring to raise their rational faculties towards the perfection wherein they were given at the creation, and employing the means and methods prescribed to bring the sensitive under entire command of the others.

During the patriarchal times, the frequent converse of Angels was vouchsafed, but no longer; in the course of the Levitical law, interpretations of dreams, answers by Urim and Thummim, instructions by prophecy, and supernatural appearances gradually ceased; there being still less and less need of application to the senses in proportion as reason gathered strength. Upon the particular occasion of introducing the Gospel, it was necessary that miracles should be revived, but the continuance of them after the Apostles seems a very doubtful fact: the multitude of ceremonies and sacrifices was then abolished, institutions and ordinances reduced to a very few, many things delivered in parables and dark sayings, requiring a careful application of the judgment to understand; nor was it expected they should presently work their full effect upon mankind, but promise was given of the Comforter, who should show us all things.

This Comforter then we have among us: from his showing we learn what things of God we know, and by his power are enabled to perform the good things we do. But in what manner does he come? not with signs and wonders, nor by visible descent, nor yet in visions, ecstasies, sudden illuminations, or preternatural feelings: for these are only the waking dreams of enthusiasts; but by working imperceptibly upon our mental organs at a time we know nothing of, perhaps hours or days, or months, anterior to any sensible effect: so the light he sheds seems to us the discoveries of our own understanding, and the power he infuses appears the exerted effort of our natural strength; nor should we know he had been aiding, otherwise than by the sacred text assuring us that no good thing can be done without him. Therefore when our conscience testifies that we have done a good thing, we may be confident of having had his assistance to invigorate our natural powers, but can never know nor perceive when the touch was given by which they were so invigorated.

Such then being his method of operation, it is our business to endeavor the best improvement of our understanding, and best use of our natural powers, trusting to God to afford us his supernatu-



ral assistance when and in what manner he judges proper; but making a judicious application of those means and methods of grace suggested to us, and employing our reason to search for lights in whatever quarter they may be found. For we have now ground to hope, that he will sanctify our Philosophy, provided we take care to restrain it from wandering in idle curiosities, but direct all its winding researches with an ultimate view to advancing that great work of God, the introduction of a sound Faith, a well-grounded Hope, and a hearty universal Charity, among mankind. But we must not expect to perform great matters in a work which is to be the work of thousands in successive generations, each contributing a small share towards the whole; let us then be content to do our best, and we shall not prove deficient: if God had wanted more at our hands, he would have given us larger talents, or greater effusions of his grace; but we are none of us useless in the spot where he has stationed us, every man may make some little addition to those virtues, either among the public, or the few he converses with, or at least in his own mind; and for what little he can do, may trust Providence that it will operate its full proportion towards completing the grand design.

27. For a grand design appears to have been carrying on from the earliest accounts of history, by a remarkable course of providence, calculated for the benefit of the human race in general, distinct from that respecting particular persons, and the intention of it to be for introducing a perfect rectitude of sentiment, as well in the understanding as the inferior faculties among mankind: for if this could be effected anywhere, it would make large strides towards extending itself everywhere. We read that God in discourse with Abraham declared, if he should find ten righteous men in Sodom, he would spare the city for the ten righteous' sake: now the rationalist cannot conceive that the All-perfect should act by favor and affection, so as to change the measures his Justice required of him, in consideration of a few persons who had made themselves acceptable in his sight; but that whatever it may be said in popular language God will do, might be said in philosophic language he has actually done, for that there are natural causes already laid in train by the disposition of his providence for bringing it to pass. Therefore he may understand by this text that the exhortations, example, and management of ten perfectly righteous persons would have such an influence upon the conduct of a wicked city, as to render them no objects of divine judgment; and so they would be spared, not by any change in the purposes of God, but by a change in their own characters.

Nor can we say, that experience contradicts this exposition, for

we never yet have had trial of the case : those we call good men having always some mixture of error or frailty in their composition and it is well known that one little infirmity will stop the good effects of many virtues. There never was heard of more than one perfect man upon earth, who was made so by union of the divine nature with the human, and his perfection went no farther than himself : for of his chosen disciples one proved a traitor and reprobate, nor were the rest without their misapprehensions and their failings. He preached only to the poor, and his doctrines were afterwards propagated in such manner, as to seem foolishness to the wise of this world ; neither were they so complete as not to need the continual assistance of the Comforter for showing those things which could not be learned from them by human sagacity. Yet we cannot suppose them so incomplete, as not fully to answer the purpose intended : from hence and from the event we may conclude, that God still intended to carry on his work by the provisions of Wisdom rather than the operations of Power, and the purpose of this greatest of all interpositions was not to introduce perfection into the world immediately, but only to sow the Seeds of it, which the working of natural causes, assisted by occasional waterings of the Holy Spirit, might bring up in long process of time to full maturity.

Therefore we must look to the courses of Providence regulating the laws of nature, the actions of free agents, and opportune succession of fortuitous events, for establishing the kingdom of heaven upon earth. Neither Religion nor Philosophy can do it without taking assistance from common prudence and discretion in the ordinary transactions of life, without a thorough knowledge of human nature, of the characters and conceptions of men, whereby the measures of conduct for all situations and occasions, tempers, and capacities, may be regularly deduced from the one principle, the Glory of God, or general interest of the creatures : for to make a kingdom perfect, the laws whereby it is governed must be suited to the condition of every member, and exigency of every occasion. But we are too little acquainted either with ourselves or one another, ever to lay out a plan of our whole conduct upon that one bottom, or even to frame a partial plan, that may be alike practicable and serviceable to others as to ourselves : so that appetite, habit, and bodily wants are continually making work for themselves, because having none, or none that they can do, assigned them in our system.

The Divine or pious Christian may find enough in his oracles to conduct him safely in the way to his own salvation ; the Philosopher may think his science sufficient to lead him in the cer-

tain road to his future happiness ; but the one can never expect to attain an unsinning obedience, nor the other to become a consummate Wise-man : the scheme of opinion and practice drawn by either, though perhaps the best that human infirmity can make it, for his own private use, might prove inconvenient and inexpedient for others ; and will probably be too refined and mental for the man of business, the man of taste, the merchant, the mechanic, and the laborer ; for every man has something peculiar in his notions, and his needs, which he will strongly recommend as obligatory to his neighbor, and thereby spoil all the good effects he might have worked by his communicable ideas. For we are too hasty in taking up a persuasion that things are good in themselves because we have found benefit by them, without ever considering what they are good for, to whom they are good, and in what cases they are applicable.

But we have a duty arising, as well from the relation we bear to the community, as to our Maker, and the things external from whence we receive our pleasures and pains : therefore are not perfectly righteous until we become good neighbors as well as good men, nor is it enough to strike out a complete system of sentiment and action that shall comprehend, not only our exercises of Religion and virtue, but likewise our common employments, our recreations, and amusements, in such manner as to be practicable ; until we have gotten the art of modelling it into various forms accommodated to the several uses of persons we converse with, respectively practicable by each of them, and yielding him as much benefit as in his circumstances he is capable of receiving. This art is so far from having ever yet been discovered, that no doubt it will appear a romantic imagination, like the Philosopher's stone ; but it is not uncommon that things extremely difficult in the invention become as easy to be followed when the method is once hit upon.

There seems then to be no difficulty in apprehending, that ten righteous persons qualified as above, if ten such there shall ever be, may assimilate their whole city to themselves, from thence the likeness would spread by a quicker progress over the nation, from the nation to others in alliance therewith, and by their means throughout all mankind. Then it might be said that original sin was wiped away from the earth, and human nature restored to her primitive perfection wherein she came forth from the hands of her Maker ; for while needing to be supported in what little good we do by obligatory institutions and supernatural aids, it is not human nature but her assistant powers, that do the work : and from the dispensations of Providence, ordinary and extraordinary, taken notice

of in the foregoing pages of this Chapter, may be gathered that their tendency and scope is to raise human nature to its full perfection.

Whenever this shall happen complete, then will be the Millennium, peopled entirely by Saints; which, whether it shall begin in a year marked in our Calendar with a figure of six, or shall last precisely one thousand years, or whether there shall be any deaths therein, or those which happen to be looked upon as acceptable translations to a higher state, like the gentle passage through sleep to morning, vigor, and freshness, need not be inquired: if anybody has a mind to make calculations, let him build upon the degree of purity in sentiment and rectitude of conduct he can find anywhere; for this is more likely ground to go upon than any he can find in the Apocalypse. Though by the way I cannot help wondering how any orthodox person can satisfy himself in presuming to enter upon the discovery of an event whereof it is expressly declared, that no man knoweth the day; no, not the Son, but the Father. In the mean time let us not spend ourselves solely in unavailing prayers of, Lord Jesus, come quickly, but take the spade into our hands and exert our abilities, be they no more than can remove a single mole-hill, to plane the way for his passage. Nor yet need we expect him literally to descend in person, for he cannot be supposed fond of a throne for the grandeur of it: and a monarch will not be wanted for such subjects, disposed to keep order among themselves, as members of one commonwealth, or rather one family, without private views or discordance of sentiment, but united together in brotherly love and unabating charity.

28. From the foregoing sketch of the Divine Economy may be gathered, that there is a general interest of the human species distinct from that of particulars; as in every country there is a national interest, distinct from that of the several members whereof the nation consists. But the public interest ought always to carry the preference before private, therefore the most righteous governors do not scruple measures that lay a hardship upon particular persons, if necessary for the public good: the subjects are pressed into land and sea service, many fortunes are hazarded, many lives are sacrificed, heavy taxes imposed, to gain possession of an uncultivated territory, from whose returns multitudes of those who have borne the burden will never live to receive a compensation. And all these things are laudable, as well in him that undertakes the service, as in him that enjoins it, while done upon reasonable prospect of a real distant advantage to the nation: for every private man owes his life and fortune to the necessary demands of

his country, and the advancement of a public benefit is the proper object of a good politician.

In like manner we find that in the perfect polity of Heaven, the general interest is regarded above all other considerations, and sometimes pursued by the private damage of individuals. We are commanded to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, to bear injuries patiently, to turn the left cheek to him that has smitten the right, to hate father and mother, wife and children, to part with lands and houses, to lay down life itself, thus to break through natural affection and the natural love of self-preservation, for the Gospel's sake. For Christ, who could have no interest of his own to serve, therefore to whom love could only be shown by doing good to his universal Church, declares that whoever loveth not him above all things is not worthy of him.

Nor will heathen Philosophy justify her votaries in pursuing their particular advantage before the general: Pythagoras and Socrates, perhaps the two greatest apostles of human reason that ever lived, suffered martyrdom in her service; their followers professed the same doctrine; even those of them who acted upon private views, never durst avow them: which shows that upon this subject Philosophy has always spoken the same language with Religion. And our moral senses prompt the like way, as appears by that applause which rises spontaneously in every one's breast upon hearing the histories of Regulus or Decius, or other ancient and modern heroes, who have generously sacrificed their lives and fortunes to the public good. But if men were never to act against the impulse of selfishness, still they could not help being serviceable to others by the accidents befalling them: one man's misfortune may give warning to many to escape the danger; experience gained by observations upon his distemper, may point out a remedy for others; and while the enemy is busied in ravaging a frontier, the interior parts may gain time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

The courses of Providence appear calculated for the general advantage without regard to individuals, to whom they prove often unavailing, and sometimes detrimental: the storms that purify the air and keep the ocean from stagnating, occasion many wrecks by sea, and devastations upon land; vicissitudes of weather necessary to produce the fruits of the earth, tear in pieces many crazy constitutions; military, seafaring, and other occupations, without which our lives could not be preserved in safety, nor the accommodations of them procured, subject those who follow them to distresses, diseases, dangers, and frequent destructions; nor do we find entrance into the world without the pains and perils of those

who bore us : not a civilized nation upon earth whose constitution and polity did not grow out of wars, conquests, tyrannies, confusions, desolations, and miseries among their ancestors. Even Religion in its progress has given birth to gross superstition, intolerable terrors and anxieties, to craft, oppressions, and persecutions : and Philosophy tended to confound the understandings of men, turning them aside from everything useful to follow vain curiosities, making them distrust the evidence of their senses, or driving them into downright Atheism. For many ages have those two trees of knowledge been confined to narrow corners of the earth, where the far greater part of mankind never come within their shadow : and even to this day there are many savages and children cut off in their infancy, who do not appear to have reaped benefit from either ; nor do the best of us enjoy the full effect which may be expected from them, when grown to their destined perfection. From hence we conclude the eye of Providence fixes attentively upon perfecting human nature, without looking upon any good or evil of particular persons not lying in the line therewith.

29. Shall we then say with the Stoics, that God cares for great things but neglects the small? that his providence is over the human race? over empires or nations, but not over single persons? We do not say this of an earthly politician, if we believe him a righteous one ; for we suppose he will consult the benefit of a few or of a single man, where it can be done consistently with the public good ; and whenever he pursues the latter by damage to the former, he will wish to make him amends. Therefore there are honors and rewards for those who have served their country, reliefs for those who have suffered in the service ; we have Chelsea and Greenwich hospitals for the sick and maimed, pensions for the widows of such as have been slain, and if it were necessary to pull down any man's house for repelling an invasion, I do not doubt but the public would make up the loss ; for our legislature will not suffer a foot of ground to be taken away for widening a turnpike road without an adequate compensation in value to the owner.

But all services are not repaid, nor all burdens and damages compensated, for this is impracticable ; therefore the politician stands fully excused by his inability : for if he had the power of restoring life and limb, and if the public revenues sufficed to repay every farthing of all that had been called for in times of public exigency, it is to be presumed he would suffer no man to remain a loser who had in any manner contributed thereto. But with God there is no inability, for he has all creatures and their fortunes,

in all stages of being, at his disposal : why then should we doubt the righteous judge of heaven and earth will do completely, what we conceive a righteous man would do so far as lay in his power ? Religion, no more than human reason, affords us the least ground to doubt of it, for we are taught, He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it : but Religion being preached to the poor, must accommodate itself to the conceptions of the poor, therefore the recompense is represented as a voluntary reward to be conferred by a future act of God, who after a formal judgment of mankind, will say to the righteous, Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Whereas Philosophy may suggest to him that hath ears to hear, that God being the First Cause of all powers, motions, and events, and having unlimited Omniscience and infinite Wisdom, may, on forming a system of nature, lay out all the parts of it in such disposition as to bring forth every good and evil his goodness and equity require, by an unerring train of consequences, so as that a reward may certainly follow a hundred years hence from an act of God performed thousands of years ago.

Nevertheless, this is too large an idea for the illiterate or learned vulgar, who understand by nature no more than the powers and properties of visible bodies, animals, vegetables, minerals, fossils, the action of the elements, the laws of gravitation, attraction, and impulse, and other objects of physiological science ; or at most include therein the transactions of men in their policy, their commerce, and mutual dealings with one another. Now in such a narrow view of nature, as beheld by those who can no more handle the telescope than the microscope, it is impossible to conceive how natural causes can operate upon a man after dissolution of his animal frame, when he ceases to be a physiological being ; but whatever passes with him in his next state of existence must be supernatural and miraculous. Therefore, as I have observed before, in § 25, it is necessary for common use to shorten the line by bringing the two ends to meet, the act of God with the effect produced upon the creature ; and representing the reward as a new donation of blessings, for which there are no causes yet in being from whence they could ensue. Nor is this a prevarication or concealment of the truth, it is only the translation of it into a language intelligible by the populace : for the belief that an ample reward lies in store for every labor and suffering in a righteous cause, I take to be the fundamental article, which whoever holds with a firm habitual persuasion, possesses so much of the saving faith : in this the Philosopher is sincere and unanimous with the plain Christian. As to the manner wherein the reward is brought to pass, whether

by a long and complicated provision of causes already made tending to that effect, or by a dispensation to be made hereafter for the purpose, seems not so material : therefore he will be careful to inculcate the main point upon each man in such manner as may be most suitable to his comprehension, or consonant to his reason.

30. But when taking the telescope in hand, he will discern by the imperfections and wastes appearing in visible Nature, that it is the part only of a larger system, which, like the corner of a magnificent building, will appear broken and incomplete, or in some of its members superfluous, when seen apart from the rest. He will consider likewise that what supernatural works are recorded, were given for signs and wonders to awaken mankind, not for any necessary uses which could not have been otherwise answered in the things whereon they were operated : and as the courses of Providence are carried on here by the instrumentality of secondary agents, he will take this world for a sample of the Whole, presuming that events throughout the universe are conducted by the contrivances of Wisdom rather than the operations of Power, unless occasionally so far as may be requisite for manifestation of the divine dominion to intelligent creatures. And he will see, that reward is propounded only for good deeds and voluntary sufferings, whereas there are many mischiefs brought upon particular persons, without their own act or consent, by the courses of Providence tending to the general good, for which equity requires there should be a compensation.

From these and other considerations he may be apt to stand persuaded there is a universal Nature, comprehending things visible and invisible proceeding by stated Laws steady as those of Matter, connecting the several systems under one established polity, administered like that below by the instrumentality of secondary agents, that by those laws the particular Spirits are assigned to their respective bodies before birth, their passages from one state of being to another regulated, their fates and fortunes therein ascertained. Conformably to this idea, and to the observations herein before made upon the administration of affairs in the moral world, he may conclude that the grand scheme of Providence tends to raise human nature to the full perfection which it was proved to fall short of by Adam's transgression, and that everything passing here below conduces in some shape or other to that end.

But to prevent being misunderstood, I must give notice that I here take human nature in a larger sense than commonly understood, extending it to the Hades or region of departed Souls, which I suppose still remain specifically different from Angels or other invisible creatures, as they were from birds, beasts, or other ani-



mals ; therefore have a distinct Nature of their own, which I beg leave for the present to call the Human ; and that this specific difference depends upon some small remains of the former composition whereto they still continue vitally united, which may have received alterations in its form and texture by what had passed with them upon earth. Now the perfection of human nature seems necessary to instate the partakers of it in happiness : for though, God be thanked, we have many enjoyments, and those generally more or less in proportion to our good conduct, yet are they mingled with many troubles, nor do the righteous always fare better than the wicked, neither are any exempt from the hazard of evils heavy enough to make the best of us imperfect creatures miserable ; therefore we are none of us in a state that can be pronounced absolutely happy.

For as the Stoics called all men fools and mad, because alike destitute of that thorough love of rectitude wherein they placed the essence of wisdom, although they allowed that some approached much nearer thereto than others ; and they employed the comparison of a man under water, who being holden an inch below the surface, was nearer the fresh air, but nevertheless as much in a state of drowning as another plunged twenty fathom deep, so we frail mortals, although some be plunged deeper in imperfection than others, yet are all alike liable to the mischiefs of it, until the moment of our emersion, upon which we shall at once commence happy creatures. This emersion then of human nature from the floods of corruption, appears to be the aim whereto all the dispensations of Providence have respect ; for we have seen that the sentiments and transactions of mankind cast an influence upon one another, nearly or remotely, though in a manner we cannot always trace out : whence may be presumed that whatever passes upon earth, was calculated for producing those ten righteous persons spoken of above, whose wisdom and example will quickly raise such others of their species as have communion with them into the pure salubrious air of perfection, wherein they shall remain uninterruptedly and invariably happy, liable to no disquietudes, endangered by no temptations.

31. This state of human nature, totally discharged from all remains of original sin or sinfulness, and the miseries attendant thereupon has been figured by the Millennium or kingdom of the just : which, whether it shall happen before or after the conflagration, or be introduced at all upon earth, or whether we may exactly determine its duration by the name given to it, are to my thinking matters of mere speculation. The term Millennium implies that it will not be perpetual, but succeeded by a third state of being

still beyond, wherein we shall cease to be human creatures in any sense of the word, becoming specifically the same with that company among whom we are received. Which seems to favor our hypothesis of the Mundane Soul, whereinto human nature being absorbed, the members of it will become incorporated in the universal host of separate Spirits vitally united to no material substance whatever. And this I take to be a matter of importance; because by it alone can be explained how Equity may be fully satisfied, notwithstanding great inequalities during the states of animal life, and of the Millennium.

But that the kingdom of the just, reinstated in the gross bodies they formerly possessed, should be established here upon earth, stands liable to great difficulties: for how narrow soever you may contract the pale of salvation for grown persons, you cannot well exclude children dying in innocence, before birth, or under seven years old, amounting to above half the species in all successive generations: and it is hard to conceive how the earth, however new modelled, can commodiously maintain such a prodigious multitude of inhabitants. Besides, that the tender frame of our bodies, liable to a thousand disasters, is but ill suited to a state of security from all mischiefs and dangers: or if you say that the elements will be changed, so as to contain nothing noxious to life or health, then is the happiness not owing to the perfection of human nature but of the external, which we do not find the courses of Providence tending to complete. Nor need we be solicitous for the place where this kingdom shall lie, for happiness is happiness wherever found, whether upon earth or under ground, in the Sun, or in the Moon, in the air or the fields of ether; while we have a reasonable hope that God intends to raise our nature to perfection and happiness, we may trust him to find a convenient spot where we shall enjoy it fully, and that without a miracle or change of his laws established for the material world.

Nevertheless, though I have supposed that when perfection takes place in ten righteous persons, it will quickly spread itself throughout the whole community, it may be remembered that there are degrees of happiness, so that those who shall inhabit the kingdom of the just may be all happy, and yet differ from one another in the intenseness of their enjoyments, according to their several former preparations, as one star differeth from another star in glory: besides that we know not how long it may be before that kingdom takes place.

I have offered reasons in the Chapter on Redemption to show that in this life we are only made redeemable, not actually re-

deemed; that multitudes pass off this earthly stage without ever having an opportunity of entering the way of salvation; and that from the article in our Creeds concerning the descent of the united Christ into Hades, it follows that something was done there towards completing the Redemption of mankind: from whence it may be presumed there is a tree of perfection gradually nourishing up by the courses of Providence, in the next World as in the present. And until arrived at full maturity there may still be pains and troubles, greater or less, according to their management of themselves here, even among those who are to be partakers in the kingdom of the just.

I thought proper to make this remark, because it may have a good influence upon our conduct in life, on which I would ever keep an eye in all my speculations; for if there be degrees both of reward and punishment, if the righteous shall differ like one star from another in glory, and he that offendeth much shall be beaten with many stripes, but he that offendeth little with fewer stripes, there is an encouragement for every little advance towards virtue. The good will be incited to continual vigilance, not only because it becometh him that thinketh he standeth to take heed lest he fall, but because every smallest step he can make higher than the level where he now stands will be an advantage gained: and the wicked, though he should not be able to rid himself of all his vices, yet may find it worth while to endeavor removing some of them, as he will thereby procure an abatement of his punishment. Neither do I apprehend it dangerous to good manners, if it were believed that the failings of the best men will be attended with some future inconveniences, therefore have supposed in my Hypothesis of the Vehicles, that every one carries some terrene concretions with him, which will prove extremely troublesome until he can get them discharged. For the doctrine of a Purgatory seems innocent in itself, or rather salubrious, to keep men vigilant as well in lesser matters, as in securing the main chance: it is only the absurd notion annexed thereto, of praying or buying souls out of purgatory that renders it a heresy repugnant to reason, to Religion, and to common sense.

32. Upon the foregoing representation made of the kingdom of the just, it is apparent, that God in caring for great things does not neglect the small, nor overlooks single persons in the very steps he takes for perfecting the human race. For since the happiness of that kingdom will extend to every individual member thereof, whatever is done towards introducing the kingdom is done for the benefit of every one who shall become a member: so that when God brings afflictions upon the righteous by the dis-

pensations of his providence for promoting the grand design, he acts more graciously for the sufferer than if he had warded him from them. Hence likewise may be understood how private interest is contained in the general : because none of us can be happy until all are so by our common nature being perfected. Therefore he that suffers voluntarily in a righteous cause, manages most prudently for his own private interest : for he purchases the reversion of an immense estate by a present payment far inferior in value, and contributes to shorten the remoteness of the reversion, or in Scripture language to hasten the coming of the Lord Jesus.

Nevertheless, the plan of Providence contains a multitude of works ; there is wheel within wheel, having each their several uses, yet so admirably adjusted as not to interfere with the principal design. For though nothing be omitted proper for conducing to the general interest, yet there are likewise particular providences respecting nations, and families, and private persons, procuring them their prosperities, their supports, and their enjoyments, their deliverances, their protections, and their reliefs : as experience may convince any one, who will bestow a little careful observation upon what passes within his own knowledge. So that we may reasonably believe, there is not a single pleasure withholden, which could have been given without detriment to higher designs ; and the smallest things, though certainly they must give preference to the greater, not neglected through want of attention.

33. Upon occasion of the divine care extending to the smallest things, I shall venture to put in a word on behalf of our younger brethren of the brutal species : yet it is with fear and trepidation, lest I should offend the delicacy of our imperial race, who may think it treason against their high pre-eminence and dignity, to raise a doubt of their engrossing the sole care of Heaven. I shall not allege that Nature has provided the animals with accommodations for breeding, for harboring, for feeding ; because it will be said these were given for our sakes, to fit them for our services. But let it be considered, that by those very services, they become remotely instrumental to our salvation : for how could the Divine or the Philosopher perform the part allotted him in carrying on that great work, without the sustenance, the clothing, the other conveniences, he draws from the irrational tribes ? or at least if he could, it is a fact that he does not, and therefore something is owing to them for the help they give him in his principal concern. Besides, it has been shown in the foregoing pages, that the plan of Providence for perfecting human nature does not stand confined to the operations of Religion and Philosophy, for

the polity of nations, the characters and transactions of the people, have their share in the work : and the commerce, manufactures, and employments, influencing those things, derive many of their materials and receive much of their assistance from the inferior creatures.

Then for the orthodox, with whom I am likely to have somewhat more difficulty upon this subject than with the reasoner, I beg them to consider, that oxen, lambs, goats, and doves, have by express command of God been slaughtered for atonements and sacrifices, and made subservient to the uses of Religion. Since then as well by his special injunctions as by his ordinary providence, he calls upon the creatures for their labors, their sufferings, and their lives, in the progress of his great work of the Redemption, why should we think it an impeachment of his equity, if he assigns them wages for all they undergo in this important service ? or an impeachment of his Power and of his Wisdom, if such wages accrue to them by certain stated laws of universal Nature running through both Worlds.

In what manner the compensation is operated would be needless and impossible to ascertain : perhaps they stand only one stage behind us in the journey through matter, and as we hope to rise from sensitivo-rational creatures to purely rational, so they may be advanced from sensitive to sensitivo-rational. And when our nature is perfected, we may be employed to act as guardian Angels for assisting them in the improvement of their new faculties, becoming lords and not tyrants of our new World, and exercising government by employing our superior skill and power for the benefit of the governed : by which way may be comprehended how they may have an interest of their own in everything relative to the forwarding our Redemption. Yet it is not necessary they must have bodies shaped, limbed, and sized exactly like ours : for the treasures of wisdom are not so scanty as that we should pronounce with Epicurus, there can be no spice of reason or reflection except in a human figure, and upon the surface of an Earth circumstanced just like this we inhabit.

No doubt it will appear a wild and absurd imagination to fancy that a dog can ever be made to think and reason like a man, and so indeed it may be while you take your idea of the creature from his hairy hide, his long tail, his lolling tongue, and gross organs of sense ; but it is as absurd to suppose you can ever teach a sucking child the mathematics ; yet the child may grow to be a man, and then become capable of the sciences. Nor is it easy to conceive how a man, while consisting of an unwieldy body, with a variety of discordant humors circulating therein, can become

purely rational, perfectly happy, secure from all dangers, proof against all temptations; yet we hope that man shall one day rise to the condition of an Angel: then by Man must not be understood his whole composition, but some internal part which when disjoined from the rest, will still continue to be him; and how know we what internal part may belong to other animals, capable of higher faculties than they now can exercise? When the caterpillar changes into a butterfly, we easily apprehend it to be the same creature, with larger powers than it had before, and if we knew the worm had passed its time in uneasiness, but the fly in a greater degree of pleasure, we should acknowledge the enjoyments of the one a compensation for the troubles of the other, both being numerically the same.

But when the butterfly dies, we see no *Chrysalis* left behind, yet we are not to think everything absolutely lost that is gone beyond the reach of our senses: there may still remain an imperceptible *Chrysalis*, from whence will issue another fly with powers superior to the former; and while the same perceptive individual passes through all these changes, it will continue the same creature, notwithstanding ever so many alterations in the external form and substance. If you grant but that a dog feels me when I pinch him by the tail, this is enough to prove that he has a personality, and that what feels the pinch is an individual; for perceptivity cannot belong to a compound, any otherwise than as the other component parts may serve for channels of conveyance to some one which receives the perception entire; and in whatever different compounds this individual resides, they are successively the same percipient. Nor is the case otherwise with ourselves: for, as has been already observed in the Chapter on the Trinity, personality and identity belong properly to Spirit; Matter has none of its own, but assumes a borrowed personality from the particular Spirit where-to it happens to stand united.

We all apprehend ourselves continuing the same persons from the cradle to the grave, notwithstanding that many believe all the corporeal particles belonging to us change every seven years; because the same percipient abiding with us throughout makes every fresh set of them become a part of ourselves for the time, while adhering to us, and serving for our uses. And the personal identity, currently believed to continue through life in the brutes, rests upon the same bottom with our own: every child who reads the fable of the Old Lion buffeted about by the beasts in revenge for the tyrannies he had exercised over them in his youth, acknowledges he deserved the punishment. But punishment is not ordinarily esteemed just, unless inflicted upon the very party offending;

therefore the whelp, the young, and the decrepit Lion, is conceived all along the same identical creature : but this identity must depend upon the feeling part, for the corporeal composition may be supposed to fluctuate and change as ours does.

We have no knowledge of other percipients unless by means of their appearance and discernible actions, therefore cannot know what other powers they might not exert, if they had other instruments to serve them : we are ready enough to think that if we had as good a nose as the hound, we could distinguish scents as well as he ; or if we had the wings and piercing optics of the vulture, we could soar aloft, and discern objects as far : what then should hinder but if those creatures had our nice texture of brain, they might make as good use of it as we do ? or what evidence is there in experience or reason to prove that every perceptive individual is not capable of receiving whatever perceptions any organization, vitally united thereto, is capable of conveying ? Our physiological science does not extend to the laws of Universal Nature governing the worlds unseen, we must take our conceptions of them from our ideas of the divine Attributes ; and the boundless Goodness of God is no slight evidence to persuade us that his Mercy spreads over all his perceptive creatures to whom he has given an individuality, rendering them unperishable, and that he has provided laws among his second causes which will raise them gradually from a more abject condition to higher faculties, and higher degrees of enjoyment. From whence it seems probable there is a general interest of animals, comprehending that of all other species together with the human.

I shall not scruple to own that, however this point be determined, it will make no difference in our treatment of the animals ; therefore the generality of mankind, to whom it can be of no benefit for their direction in the conduct of life, are welcome to reject it with ridicule and exclamation at the strangeness of the thought ; but for such as like to handle the Telescope, to attempt excursions into the boundless regions of universal Nature, and can find a use in speculation for warming and enlarging their hearts, it may prove not unavailing. For my own part, I place my hopes, not so much in any supposed pre-eminence of my present nature, nor merits of my person, as in the riches of the divine Bounty : and the farther I can persuade myself that Bounty extends, the higher rise my hopes. My principal solicitude is for the fate of the human species, because being one of the number composing it ; but if that be secured, if God design me an elder brother's portion, I care not how many of our younger brethren he destines to receive the like : for I have so high an opinion of his inexhaustible treasures,

as to lie under no apprehension, lest he should be forced to abate from my share in order to make up for theirs. Besides, that a good-natured man, who knows what slaughters and hard services the animals are put to for our necessary uses, in some whereof he is forced himself to give a reluctant hand, will feel a satisfaction in having room to imagine their interests so connected with ours, that whatever advances the one must advance the other, and all they do or suffer for our benefit, will in the long run redound to their own.

34. I have now endeavored to show that there is a general interest of the human species promoted by everything happening among particulars; and in the last section have hazarded an attempt to extend that general interest to the animals: in which interest of the whole society or Genus, the good of individuals is contained; so that every one contributing by his labor or his suffering, whether designedly or accidentally, to the common good, works therein most effectually for his own benefit. But though it be better for all individuals, as things stand circumstanced, that whatever passes among them should pass in the manner it does, yet we cannot pronounce it better, either for the whole or individuals, that things should stand so circumstanced. Our nature being in a state of degradation, everything that contributes to improve our condition, is certainly a blessing; but we cannot say it was for our sakes that God has placed us in this degraded state. None can deny his almighty power to have made us at first a kingdom of the just, nor to have given us our nature originally in the same perfection, superior to all force of temptation, whereto we believe it capable of being raised: neither that the inferior animals might have been formed at once with the highest faculties they shall ever arrive to.

Besides, when we comprehend the good of all individuals under that of the species, this must be understood with some exception: for Religion assures us there are wicked creatures, who shall never inherit a portion in the kingdom of the just; and though the light of Nature does not shine so strong as that we can read it by the particle Never, yet it shows there must be miseries grievous enough to make it glaringly apparent, that the wicked have managed very imprudently for their own interests, nor can it discover any certain limitations, either in weight or duration, of those miseries. But can we pronounce it impossible that the evil courses bringing on those miseries, could have been prevented; or deny that men's characters depend upon the bodily and mental organization, the company and situation of life wherein Providence has placed them?



I am far from believing that God impels any man to sin, but whoever commits it is drawn thereinto by his own lusts : for it is of the very essence of sin that it be a free act of the Will, done with discernment of its being wrong ; for the very same act performed through ignorance or by compulsion of necessary causes, would be no sin. But I have already shown in the Chapter on Freewill, that the turns of our Volition depend upon motives thrown in by antecedent causes, and though some of those causes may have been influenced by our former good or ill management, yet were we determined in like manner to that management by other prior motives ; so that our whole tenor of conduct derives originally from the action of external causes. But lest I may be thought singular and heterodox in that notion, let us have recourse to the common opinions : do not we all esteem it a blessing that we were born within the pale of salvation, that we have had a good education, have fallen into good company, that there are divine services, and sermons, and good books to resort to ; and do not we think ourselves forwarded in our way to future happiness by these means being put into our hands ? or that we might not have entered upon the way at all, had we been utterly destitute of them ? Yet our birth, our education, our company, our services, sermons, and books, were no acts of ours, they were the bounteous gifts of Providence : but how were they blessings, if we should have made as good use of our Freewill without them ? for it is by the acts of our Volition, not by the size of our talents, or measure of our accidental improvements, that we fix our future fate.

On the other hand, how many poor wretches fill our jails, that have been bred up from their cradle in all manner of vice and villany ? We do not think them fit members for the kingdom of the just, yet were they led into their evil courses unavoidably, nor ought we to judge it improbable that some of them might have proved saints, had they been favored with all the same advantages that we have. Or shall we say they might not still be rescued from the dominion of sin by him who was able of the very stones to raise up children unto Abraham ; or if that were impossible, could he not have taken them away in their infancy, while yet in their innocence. Add further, that we ascribe the proneness to offence, and unruliness of inordinate desires prevailing in us all, to the fatal effects of original sin : but who shall presume to say the methods taken for purging off those effects would not have availed to prevent them ? Is the efficacy of the divine Persons so confined as that it could operate only upon certain particular subjects ? If then the Son had been pleased to unite himself to Adam instead of Jesus, and the Holy Spirit descended as powerfully upon his

immediate descendants as upon the Apostles, the first temptation might have been resisted, we might all have been born in Paradise, and passed a life of unsinning obedience.

Since then God has permitted the fall of the whole human species, has suffered some to stand in a situation from whence there is no chance but they will take the road of destruction, and leads the most favored through many troubles and long stages of imperfection to the kingdom of the just; we may conclude there is some wise and gracious purpose in all these things. For it is incongruous with our idea of his Goodness, his Righteousness, and his Holiness, to imagine that the courses of his Providence, either in Nature or Fortune, ever bring on any physical, or permit any moral evil, unless for some greater good to result therefrom. Now we cannot think it for the good of the human species, or the animal Genus, the perfection whereto their natures are destined should be so long delayed, nor that the myr road of labor, trouble, suffering, and imperfection, should be made the necessary passage thereto; much less that numbers of them should never attain it at all, but remain objects of punishment whereof we can see no end: therefore the good must redound elsewhere, but where else shall we trace it? It cannot accrue to our Maker himself, for he receives no accession of happiness from whatever passes among his creatures: the benefit then must accrue to the host of pure Spirits disunited from all corporeal mixture whatever, heretofore called the Mundane Soul.

In what manner it accrues we have not materials enow in experience, the basis of all our science, to explain; so far as conjecture can go I have already offered my sentiments in former Chapters: but we may certainly conclude, if anything can be concluded with certainty from the character of our Almighty Governor we draw from experience of his works, that all the labors and troubles, imperfections, diminutions of happiness, suspensions of sense by sleep, distempers, or otherwise, all the sufferings and miseries of this world and the next, serve to some uses of invisible beings, and are necessary to complete their happiness: from whence it follows, that they have an interest in whatever passes here below, as well upon the earth as in the Hades. Therefore the evils sustained by creatures consisting of a grosser or finer material composition are important services to others, who are free from that imprisonment: but the imprisonment subjecting them to those evils, we must acknowledge to have been brought about by the provisions of Heaven, the laws of universal Nature. Can we then harbor a suspicion that the righteous Judge of heaven and earth will suffer his universal laws to exact a service from any creature, with-

out assigning him competent wages ; or imprison some of his children for the benefit of the rest, without an adequate compensation ? or can we doubt that the Fountain of all powers, the Author of all Nature, who carries on his works here by second causes, proceeding upon certain stated rules, was able to ensure the wages and the compensation by the like methods ? Now the most obvious way we can conceive the compensation consequential upon the services, is by the creatures performing them being, upon dissolution of their material integuments, admitted into the society of beings purely spiritual : in which case they will be sharers in the advantages they have been made to work out for the spiritual nature, and partake of that happiness they had been employed by their sufferings to support.

35. It may seem incredible that the same creature can ever be made to participate in natures so widely opposite : but let us reflect a little upon what is currently holden by the most orthodox. We believe that a human *fœtus* just felt alive by the mother, though showing no more signs of sense than an oyster or sensitive plant, may rise to an equality with the Angels. We believe that every damned Soul in hell was capable of becoming a glorified saint, if he had taken the right methods during his abode upon earth. Even Wesley and Whitefield believe that by their terrors and rantings, they have rescued many a hardened wretch who without their aid would have gone in the certain road to perdition ; and if they could teach the Gospel in Tartary, they could rescue many who now will perish eternally : so the salvation of their penitents depended upon their good fortune in bringing such powerful Apostles to instruct them. We believe likewise that Angels and Archangels have fallen to a state of degradation below that of men and animals : for I think any man in his senses would choose to be an ass, an oyster, or a beetle, rather than a Devil, and esteem it a less debasement of his nature. Thus we see, that, agreeably to our common notions, the highest natures and the lowest may be exchanged for each other : and that every perceptive individual is capable of being invested with any of them, according as the laws of Providence, governing the natural and moral universe, shall cast them upon him.

Nevertheless, the exchange spoken of above may be thought contradictory to Scripture, and this is enough to overthrow all other arguments that can be alleged in support of it : but let us consider in what Spirit the Scriptures are to be consulted, for we are told the letter killeth, it is the Spirit that maketh alive. There are texts whose literal tenor declare expressly against the rotundity of the Earth and the Copernican System, insomuch that Galileo

was forced to recant them formally by the infallible Vicar of Christ under pain of excommunication : yet those opinions now maintain their ground, even among persons who have the highest veneration for the sacred records. Let us remember the Gospel was preached to the poor, therefore delivered in a language conformable to their ideas and conceptions : so we must look there only for the rule of Faith and practice, nor can expect to gather anything from thence concerning matters of speculation ; as the point before us certainly is, because if admitted, it could make no alteration in our measures of conduct. There is reason to believe that at all events, the evil consequences of a wicked life will be so great as to deserve all our pains and vigilance to escape them : and we could employ no more than all our pains and vigilance if they were absolutely eternal : the same methods of piety and good manners are necessary, whether they be endless, or only temporary, for a continuance to which nobody can set the certain bounds. And should they be in any shape serviceable to the spiritual host, so it may be presumed the happiness of compound creatures is likewise : but no man can tell whether it be better for that host, that he in particular should make himself happy or miserable, therefore his own good and the good of his own species is to be his sole guidance in the choice.

Thus the notion above suggested can have no influence upon practice, but may have a good influence upon our Faith, although itself not a necessary article of it : for that is most pure and saving when containing just sentiments of God, consistent and uniform throughout, liable to no doubts nor difficulties, nor wavering. But I have known very pious persons who found great difficulties in the thought of punishment absolutely eternal, as it seems to indicate an inveteracy, and insatiableness of vengeance utterly repugnant to their ideas of Goodness and Holiness, and as the incurring or escaping it depends much upon external causes : for though we cannot fail unless by our own wilful misconduct, and must work out our salvation by our own actions, yet it is undeniable that our Will and hearty desire to work it out was owing in great measure to the situation wherein we were born, our education, the company we have fallen into, events touching our hearts, and other favorable circumstances, none of which were of our own procurement, but derived to us by the courses of Providence ; which seems to infer a predilection and reprobation, as utterly repugnant to their ideas of righteousness and equity.

The compensation suggested above, although made at an immense distance of time will suffice to obviate this difficulty of reconciling the ways of Heaven with our ideas of the Attributes ;

for God, to whom a thousand years are as one day, in whose eye the magnitude of objects does not lessen by their remoteness, may counterpoise the nearest by the remotest in the scales of his equity : but no encouragement to sin can be drawn from hence, for things so immensely distant do not weigh upon our imagination. Men may possibly allege them in excuse for what they do upon other inducements, for it is not uncommon to mistake plausible arguments that may be urged in justification of our conduct for the real motives of it ; but whatever they may pretend, when they do wrong, it is always some pleasure of the day, some present passion or pressing desire that prevailed on them to do it.

If these reasons shall be allowed to obviate the objections occurring against the scheme proposed in the last section, I know of none other obstacle that should hinder its reception : and then the general interest will be extended to the whole host of created beings, carrying with it that of every individual contained therein. The spiritual natures will have an interest in the mixed, whose labors, transactions, and sufferings, contribute to the necessary support of their happiness, and whose enjoyments lessen the weight of a burden they lie liable some time or other to undergo themselves : the imprisoned have an interest in the state of their elder brethren set at large in the fields of happiness, which in due time will be opened to themselves ; and the services they perform are but improvements of the reversion they shall one day inherit. Thus every perceptive creature becomes a citizen of the universe, entitled to his share in all the privileges and profits thereunto belonging : and whatever he does, or is made to do for the advantage of the whole, redounds to his own private benefit. Nevertheless, this does not take off the obligation of pursuing the happiness of our particular species, of any lesser community, of our neighbor, or of our own persons, by any means that do not bring greater detriment upon others ; because, as remarked in a former place, by doing good to any one member of the universe, we add something to the stock of enjoyment among the whole : but it may serve for a consolation under any troubles we are forced to go through in a good cause, or see falling upon ourselves or others inevitably, or accidentally, to reflect, that we being subjected thereto by that Providence which orders all things for the best advantage of our great City, they are purchases of an estate to our own use infinitely more valuable than the price given in payment.

Thus the general interest of the universe has this advantage over all less general interests, that it turns to the account of every individual member, which is not always the case with any of the

others. There are many unhappy wretches who it is believed will never obtain a place in the kingdom of the just, and so have no part in that great blessing of the human species : many private persons reap no benefit from advantages accruing to the nation or society whereto they belong. What are those brave heroes the better who have perished in the American expeditions, for our successes there? What am I the better who am taxed in my land, and my windows, and my beer and my wine, and my dry goods, and almost everything I use or possess? I never expect the return of a sixpence into my own pocket from all those acquisitions : therefore esteem it a piece of virtuous self-denial that I bear my burdens willingly and cheerfully, because believing them imposed for the necessary uses of my country ; and look for my amends from the great general interest, which I apprehend advanced by every laudable measure.

This general interest then we may presume the grand aim whereto all the dispensations of Providence throughout every world have respect, and our gracious Governor acts most kindly herein for his creatures, because it is more valuable to every one of them without exception, than any inferior interest wherein they may have a share : whence follows that all the successes, adversities, transactions, and occurrences, among particular species, or communities, or single persons, contribute something in their several ways towards supporting the universal happiness that it may never suffer diminution. I say supporting, for though I have before spoken of advancing, there scarce seems a likelihood that it should admit of an increase, having been given in full measure on the first creation ; as we may reasonably suppose, because there could be no higher interest to be served by a delay, or gradual growth of this from the stages of imperfection. But whatever was necessary for its sustentation must never have been wanting, from whence it seems an unavoidable consequence, that there ever have been and ever will be Earths and Hades interspersed among the universe, though the particular creatures have their appointed time to pass their journey through them, and then take up their abode for an infinitely longer continuance in their proper home, the Spiritual Nature.

Thus the perfection and happiness of the universe remains always invariably the same, but that of the human species, with every portion and member of it, perpetually fluctuates : for even when in a state of improvement, that improvement admits of frequent intermissions and retrogradations : it is like the tide flowing in waves upon a gently-rising shore, at the return of every wave the water runs backward, though the tide be coming forward all

the while. We grow from infancy by gradual but not by continual increase, for sickness or accident sometimes pulls us back, but when recovered therefrom find ourselves stronger the following year than we were the preceding. Few who have improved their fortunes but have met with disappointments in the way, when things seemed to turn against them as much as ever they had been favorable, yet those very untoward accidents sometimes prove the means of making matters better than they were before. We lay in stores of knowledge with greediness, and when seeming to have gotten them complete, find them unmanageable by their number, unfit for use, involved in doubts and perplexities; until by long digestion, order springs imperceptibly out of confusion, and we have just learned to live when it is almost time to die. Nor is it likely, as argued in a former place, that we should carry our acquisitions with us, because our old ideas must be troublesome, as giving a hankering after things we can have no more, and casting a terrifying strangeness upon the new scenes around us: yet the benefit of them may accrue by their fitting our organs for the exercise of powers and attainment of sciences we were not capable of here; like the motions of a child in the womb, which though of no use to it there, render the joints supple for the subsequent uses of life.

So likewise the growth of nations proceeds, in a manner similar to that of our faculties, by unequal and interrupted advances: invasion, rebellion, anarchy, and confusion, seem to destroy their very being for a while, but upon every emersion out of those disorders, they rise with fresh vigor, and a better settled constitution than ever they had aforetime.

To come lastly to the improvement of human nature, which we have compared to a tree, and like a tree it has its winters wherein the leaves and honors fall off, the juices stagnate, and it appears withered and lifeless. So Religion at times has been overwhelmed with ignorance, superstition, magic, juggling, and the grossest of human inventions: Philosophy has degenerated into sophistry, captiousness, arrogance, unavailing curiosity, and unintelligible jargon: both have been trampled under foot by ambition, licentiousness, war, desolation, and barbarism, insomuch that neither seemed to have any footsteps remaining upon earth. Nevertheless, Providence has ever preserved latent seeds of both to shoot up at intervals in new plants, more vigorous and healthy than those from whence they were produced: and as the vine extends her marriageable arms to clasp the sturdy elm for her support, and enriches him with her dower of purple or amber clusters; so have

they contributed mutually to sustain, to adorn, and to fructify one another.

37. We may presume the tree of perfection strikes stronger root and will arrive sooner at complete maturity for being some time cut down, than it would have done by a continual and equable growth. Certain it is that much good does spring from evil, our pains often prove the source of our pleasures: enhancing their sweetness by the contrast, creating new ones in the satisfaction of escaping them, exercising our activity and industry, which may supply us with many we should miss of; disappointment whets our sagacity, and adds treasures to our experience; even vice and folly have their share in contributing to the services and conveniencies of the world. How should we man our fleets or recruit our armies if there were no such thing as idleness, extravagance, and debauchery in the kingdom? I believe few even among the poorest ever breed up their children to those services, so that if none were taken into them who did not enter out of prudence or deliberate choice, I fear the little state of Genoa might be able to overrun us. The parents wish their lads to get a safe and honest livelihood upon land by their labor, or to learn some manual trade for a subsistence: but when a young fellow is good for nothing else, or becomes involved in debt, or hampered in some dangerous amour, then away he goes to make food for powder, or a sop in the briny broth of Ocean. And when commenced warrior, he becomes serviceable more by his imperfections than his good qualities: the watchings and fastings, the wants, distresses, bangs, and bruises he has brought upon himself by his irregularities, inure him to a hardiness that nothing can hurt; his averseness to forethought and the habit of singing Hang sorrow, cast away care, render him intrepid, because blind to danger, insensibility proving a succedaneum in the place of fortitude; that hardest of virtues to be acquired by contemplation and reasoning, and last learned by the Divine or Philosopher.

Nor is it unfrequent that the vices serve like rotten dung to force up those exotic plants the Virtues in us: violence unites the oppressed for their mutual defence, gives them a liking to one another, and teaches the rudiments of Charity; injury, together with the many contrivances employed for coloring it over, urge us to examine into the real essence of justice; craft and cozenage keep us perpetually upon our guard, put our faculties to the stretch, and lay the foundation of Prudence, that corner-stone of all the other virtues. The greatest part of our profitable experience we gather from the wickedness and follies falling within our notice; and he that had never met with a cheat, would stand open



to be imposed upon by the first that should take him in hand. The simplicity of innocence seems so have been the source of all our misfortunes, for if Eve had been deceived before by the serpent into some imprudences not criminal, she might have been aware of his wiles, and escaped that fatal error which proved the condemnation of us all. Our own miscarriages discover to us the weakness of our nature, and direct us what cares to take for amending it; they mortify our pride, convince us of our dependence, and show that we are not masters of our own actions and thoughts, thereby manifesting the necessity of management and discipline to bring them into order. Temptations are necessary to invigorate our resolution by continually struggling with them; for he will never get an unshaken seat in the saddle, who never rides an unruly horse. More than half the employment in life, and half the use of reason springs from our inordinate appetites, and the unreasonableness of others: were those totally removed, there would be no business for discretion, nor vigor of mind enabling us to pursue steadily the determinations of our judgment. Nothing so easy as to live among a society of equitable, obliging persons, without passion or desire of our own to disturb us; we should never know our wants or infirmities, nor make any advance towards perfecting our nature: but it is war and powerful resistance that make the hero, opposition and counterplotting that complete the politician. The violence, greediness, and selfishness of a wicked world, require and teach us skill and fortitude to steer with a safe conscience among them; the unruliness of our own appetites, and deceitfulness of sin oblige us to act with policy, and practise the art of making little advances for the interests of virtue under favorable circumstances.

Add further, that wickedness and passion set many excellent examples, by impelling to deeds that virtue might be glad to copy: for it is not beneath us to learn of anybody, provided we apply our learning to better uses than those who taught us. The moralists exhort us to this method. Juvenal addresses his pupils the same way: Villains, says he, can leave their beds before day, to cut people's throats, why then cannot you take an hour from your pillow for your health and spirits' sake? The divine moralist recommends our imitation of the unjust steward, in his provident care for the future, that he might be received into a commodious habitation when turned out of his present. It would do us no hurt to take pattern from the Devil, who goeth about, like a roaring lion, seeking incessantly whom he may devour, and setting all his wits at work to draw the prey into his snares, if we could learn thereby to be as indefatigable in doing good as he is in

wreaking his malice ; and those disciples of his who have spent years of toil and trouble in contrivances to glut their revenge, may teach us perseverance in the prosecution of a good design through the greatest discouragements and difficulties that may stand in our way. The command of passion and easiness under abuse practised by the ambitious, the compliance with all humors by the flatterer, the hardiness of the night-robber, the application of the pick-pocket, the wire-dancer, and the balance-master, to become expert in their several arts, the fearlessness of death, the contempt of pain and distress in the common soldier or sailor, may serve as lessons and incitements from whence we may draw something to our advantage : for though these things can scarcely be called Virtues in the persons who possess them, yet are they ingredients which may well enter into the composition of virtue.

38. We may observe that God, in the courses of his providence, employs evils to bring forth excellent purposes : he raises kingdoms from bands of robbers, outlaws, and pirates, by rapine, violence, rebellion, misrule, and narrow selfishness of all kinds. How much are we obliged to the Norman invasion, unruliness of the Barons, usurpations of the Pope, dissoluteness of the Monks, despotic passion of the last Harry, hypocritical zeal for religion and liberty in the next age, and headlong superstition of a popish monarch for our present happy constitution ? and I may add, for the robustness and vigor of it, to the encroaching temper of a neighboring nation. He maintains the polity of nations by ambition, thirst of title, and of power ; for who would submit to be thwarted in the cabinet, baited in parliament, and lampooned in public, without some fond passion for rule to tickle his fancy ? he preserves their liberty by licentiousness, impatience of control, and envy ; for who would ever mind what the ministers do, if it were not for the secret pleasure there is in the thought of mortifying the great ? He leads to a principle of honor, that noblest sentiment in the human breast, by the desire of excelling, insomuch that some have made emulation a virtue : he sharpens our faculties by the whetstone of perverseness and litigiousness, which drive us to clear conception by the pains taken to misunderstand us, teaches sobriety and discretion by seeing reason turned to wanton speculations or mischievous purposes, and made an advocate for the passions ; he exercises our patience by the diseases, pains, and troubles, consequent upon our intemperance and follies, awakens our vigilance by the self-partiality of all whom we have to deal with, spurs us to activity by the pressing importunity of our desires, and weans us from this world by our eagerness in hunting after pleasures until they cloy with continual repetition.

Nor does he find the wickedness of men improper wheels for carrying on his most important designs among them: the turbulence of the Gracchi, ambition of the Cæsars, the exorbitancy of the Romans swallowing up their neighboring nations one after another, the discords and factions among those nations rendering them an easy prey, all contributed to establish that peace and continued intercourse throughout a great part of the then known world, which was necessary for forwarding the promulgation of the Gospel. The treachery of Judas, and inveteracy of the Jews crying Crucify him, crucify him, were made the principal instruments in working out our Redemption: trials and persecutions were sent to perfect the first disciples: superstition and priestcraft have occasioned the calling in reason to discover their artifices, and purify Religion from their corruptions: enthusiasm on the one hand, and free-thinking on the other, still continue to keep us in the golden mean, and rub off the foulness of all kinds that is apt to gather about us. Temperance, patience, humility, fortitude, and most of our other virtues, consist in resisting our appetites, and walking uprightly amidst the violent, the deceitful, the voluptuous, and the selfish: so that reason and inordinate desire seem to be the two antagonist muscles which give motion to the business of life; if either of them lose its tone, the other becomes enfeebled or convulsed, and a paralytic disorder ensues.

Nor does there want room to imagine that good may spring out of evil in other soils than those of this sublunary globe; we read that the wicked were created for the day of the Lord, and this may be understood not only as their punishment serves for a warning to keep the just in their duty, by strengthening their aversion to the causes of the miseries exhibited, but as the righteous may find something in the characters of the wicked capable of being turned to their own advantage: for we have seen above, that vice does sometimes produce outward actions in this world, which if proceeding from virtue, would be the highest exercises of it: why then should we judge it impossible, that the like may happen in the next? That unmoveable determination upon a particular purpose, that impetuosity of resolution and insensibility to impending mischiefs observed in the reprobate, may instruct the righteous how to imitate them upon better occasions. And if, as supposed in the Vision, they have the entire command of their passions to stir them up for particular services as wanted, they may find examples of more vigorous passion in vicious characters, and take stronger impressions by means of their sentient language, than perhaps reason could ever work up. Then for

the purely spiritual host, although we cannot certainly tell how the evils among inferior creatures operate to their benefit, yet that they do so operate, I have already given reasons to evince.

Since then we find evil, as well moral as physical, productive of many salutary fruits, why should we deem it unworthy a place in the plan of Providence, or the permission of it repugnant to our ideas of Goodness and Holiness? for it is the ultimate end had in prospect, not the means necessary to attain it, that denominate the quality of an action. Therefore it ought not to be made a rock of offence, nor thought an impeachment of the divine Goodness, that evil is permitted: our opinion of that Attribute need only persuade us that God never terminates his view upon evil, not even of the particular creature whereon it falls. He suffers frailties in the good for their trial, their warning, their instruction, their correction, and amendment: he suffers vicious characters for advantage of the community; he suffers wickedness, dissolution, and destruction in communities, for promoting his gracious designs in the advancement of human nature: he suffers imperfection, reprobation, and misery in the species, for some unknown benefit redounding therefrom to the spiritual host, in which host every perceptive individual in the creation has its principal interest. And nothing hinders but we may believe that our gracious Governor has reduced the quantity of evil in the whole universe to as small a compass as was possible in the nature and constitution of things.

39. That Nature and things were originally so constituted as to make any quantity necessary, is matter of Creation, which we have no faculties nor light from experience to understand: for the first Creation must have been a pure act, but we never saw a Creation, nor have any conception of a pure act proceeding without motives occurring from observation of pre-existent objects; and it has been shown elsewhere, that there must have been other Attributes, whereof we have no imagination, concerned in the business of Creation. But like Moses we are admitted only to see the back parts of God, or rather the image of them reflected in his works, for no man can see his face and live, or while he lives: it is no wonder then we do not discern the full beauty and symmetry of the Attributes, some whereof are to us unseen and utterly unknown. And yet if there appear any imperfection in the reflected image, it is owing to the deficiency of our optics: for could we behold distant good in as striking colors as present pleasure, and had we a just sense of the vast disproportion evil bears to good throughout the Universe, and in the portion of every individual member, we should despise it for its smallness, nor

think it any abatement in our idea of goodness. We have seen in former chapters, there is no reason to estimate it higher than in proportion to the length of our journey through matter, compared with that of the abode in spiritual substance ; or the number of creatures in a state of imperfection, to those partaking of the purely spiritual nature, that is, one to many millions of millions. But let us take it only at one million, and compute how many years a million of minutes will amount to, which we shall find above two and twenty : if then a man were to live to the age of Methuselah in perfect happiness and full enjoyment of everything he could desire, excepting only that he were to be in pain for one minute in every two and twenty years, he would find no cause to complain or murmur at the hardness of his lot. But our minutes of trouble sometimes come so thick together that they make a length further than we can discern objects with an affecting clearness : so that the millions of joyful minutes beyond the line have no weight in our estimation, not for want of real substance, but because our concern being engaged by things in proportion to their nearness, we can raise none for those lying very remote ; and thus our scruples arise from the imperfection of our judgment, setting a value solely upon things near at hand, and unable to discern a goodness the effects whereof we do not immediately feel.

Yet there are many persons whom a little sober consideration can satisfy, that it is no impeachment of Goodness to bring on a few physical evils, which work out a much greater good : but the grand stumbling-block lies in moral evil, for which they cannot conceive that provision should be made by a righteous and holy Being. But Righteousness and Holiness cannot vary from Goodness, therefore whatever is ultimately productive of good, must be right and holy : for the very essence of moral evil depends upon natural ; sin were no sin, nor would God or reason forbid it, if the works of it never brought hurt or damage upon any creature whatever. Therefore physical evil being once accounted for, there is no difficulty in accounting for the moral ; for if the mischiefs it produces be necessary in the universe, they must fall somewhere, and as I have already argued in the Chapter upon Holiness, it is more gracious and merciful that they should be incurred by wilful transgression, than commanded as a duty, or imposed as an inevitable burden upon the righteous. Nor need we fear that, vent being given to wickedness, it should overflow beyond bounds to make havoc in the creation : for God, who has all hearts in his hand, and can raise up children unto Abraham of

the stones, can mark out the exact limits to iniquity, that it surpass not what is just necessary for his gracious purposes, and rescue the most obdurate from the dominion of it whenever that necessity comes.

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## CHAP. XX.

### IMITATION OF GOD.

WE are exhorted in the Gospel to be holy as God is holy, perfect as our Father which is in heaven is perfect, and reason directs, that although we must never expect to hit the mark of perfection, yet we ought always to take our aim directly towards it, and endeavor to shape our proceedings by the completest model. Now what completer model can we have, than the Fountain of wisdom and blessings, who is gracious in all his dealings, good and righteous in all his ways, with whom is no envy nor malice, nor passion, nor error, nor selfishness, nor variableness, nor shadow of change. Nevertheless, as there is no rule so salutary that may not be perverted to mischievous purposes, men may take occasion to justify their wicked practices under a notion of imitating the divine example : and I should be very sorry to have given a handle for such plea by having in several parts of this work ascribed all events to the provisions of Heaven, made in certain knowledge and purpose of their being produced thereby ; and particularly in the last Chapter represented both moral and physical evil as comprised within the plan of Providence, and employed to work out its gracious designs ; which some perhaps may interpret, making God the Author of sin, the encourager and approver of all that is committed.

Now I do not fear to be suspected of such an intention by any candid disputant, for it is always esteemed unfair to charge an antagonist with consequences following from his doctrines, which he does not see and does not avow. But this consequence I utterly disclaim ; yet shall not rest contented with such defence, being not so solicitous to save my own credit, as to prevent mischief ensuing to anybody from the things I advance : therefore although I have already handled this point in the Chapter on Holiness, shall give it a re-examination here, esteeming repetition and superfluity more pardonable than deficiency upon a matter of this importance,

because one may have the luck to cast a light upon things in a second attempt, rendering them apparent to persons with whom one had failed in the first.

I shall observe then, that we do not always imitate another by doing the same actions that he does, where the stations and powers are different, but by conducting ourselves within our province with the same temper, dispositions, and views. The private man, who should take state upon him because done by the king, or punish a criminal because having seen the like procedure in a magistrate, could never justify himself upon their example, because they would not have done the like in his circumstances; for the same deed may proceed from opposite principles in different agents. But we must remember, that God is in heaven, and we upon earth, that his knowledge is infinite, his command over all things, and there is nothing external to interfere with his work, or obstruct his operations in the universe: therefore he discerns the exact consequences of evil, and is able to restrain it within certain bounds, that it produce none but such as are salutary; neither is there hazard of any accident to hinder the success of his measures. To us he has given a portion of understanding and power, and a narrow sphere to act in, wherein it is our business to conduct ourselves by the same spirit as observable in his providence, that of ordering all things for the best, according to our little skill to discern it. But our prospects being short, we can never see the remotest consequences of our actions, therefore must take moral good for our guide, directing us to such as are profitable: if it sometimes seems leading into inconveniences, yet we know not what unthought-of mischiefs may ensue upon other occasions by weakening its authority with ourselves or others: for if we lose sight of our polar star, we shall quickly wander into inextricable difficulties, nor can justify ourselves upon the example of him, whose Wisdom sets him above the need of any guidance.

2. But our faculties being scanty, we cannot carry in our imagination everything that our reason convinces us must be truth, without great damage to ourselves; for which reason, although we must confess that all events proceed with the knowledge and acquiescence of Providence, nevertheless, there is a necessary distinction to be made between things providential, and others that are not, as I have endeavored to explain in the Chapter bearing that title: nor ought we ever to ascribe things trivial or wicked to God, for fear of giving us a fondness for the one, or lessening our abhorrence of the other. For there is a different set of ideas, a different turn of conception and language for contemplation, and for common use: therefore it is remarkable,

that in exhortatory discourses upon this subject, we are cautioned against believing God the Author of sin, the phrase employed is not his being the cause, for this manner of expression is not usually current in common speech; on the other hand, in our speculations, to whatever original causes we may ascribe the existence of moral evil, we never speak of him as being the author of it, for cause and author are two very different things. He who takes out an execution for a sum which the debtor's effects are but just sufficient to raise, may be the cause of his being reduced to poverty and distress, but cannot with propriety be charged as the author of his troubles; a justice of peace reading the proclamation to a mob of rioters, who he knows will not disperse, is the cause of the felony and the punishment consequent thereupon, yet cannot be called the author of them, nor imputable therewith: for being the author implies giving a sanction or authority to a thing, doing it with delight, or setting it as a precedent to be followed. Therefore if any man should happen to believe God the cause of sin, it will do him no hurt, provided he do not imagine him the immediate cause impelling or drawing thereinto supernaturally, nor that the commission of it will stand approved or excused in his sight, or be the less obnoxious to punishment upon that account.

But the perplexities involving this subject spring from mingling conceptions belonging to the two languages together by a kind of half-reasoning, that suffices to raise difficulties but not pursue them to an issue: for there are those who will argue, that if causes were provided for the production of evil, the commission of it must be approved of; for it is absurd to suppose that God would admit an event into his plan, which he should not approve of when happening. But why so? The magistrate above mentioned might not approve of the felony he gave occasion to by an act performed for the preservation of peace and discouragement of riots? and a man may take physic without approving of the commotions it will raise in him, if he thinks it expedient for his health's sake: so God may permit wickedness he does not approve of, for the sake of the consequences to result from it. Well, but, say they, this will make the matter worse, for those consequences are the grievous punishment of the transgressor: so you represent the supreme Being as craftily malicious, giving course to iniquity that he may have just cause to take vengeance on the perpetrators. So indeed I own it must be regarded if we stop at the punishment; but the mistakes all along proceed from our sticking half way without carrying our thoughts to the end, which the suffering ought not to be esteemed, for there are the



services resulting to the universe beyond, whereto the eye of Providence extends : therefore God no more delights in the punishment than he approves the sin, but permits both for the necessary uses they are of to his Creation.

Thus if evil be permitted by him, or even were the causes of it appointed by his Providence, we could not then pronounce it approved or pleasing in his sight : for it is a too subtle refinement upon words, drawing them out of their genuine sense, to understand by disapproved, an event that happens against his Will, for nothing can ever so happen ; or by displeasing, something that gives him uneasiness or vexation, for these he is not capable of receiving. But in the obvious natural sense of approbation and pleasure wherein alone we have any concern to regard them, they belong to actions whereto God has annexed a blessing or reward : and if we take them in this proper signification as commonly understood, it will not follow that evil is approved or pleasing, because permitted for the sake of some necessary uses, accruing from the punishment incurred thereby. The approbation of God rests wholly and solely upon our good actions, and our endeavors to promote them, as well in ourselves as others, are alone pleasing in his sight ; even in cases where it is his Will, for wise purposes to us unknown, that those endeavors should not succeed. If the master of a vessel having a hundred hands on board, being overtaken in a storm, employ all his care and diligence to weather it, and be excited to exert himself more strenuously in compassion to his crew and justice to his owners, nevertheless the ship with all its freight is overwhelmed in the sea : we must conclude from the event, that it was the Will of Heaven they should perish, yet both God and man will applaud the master though he did his utmost to oppose that Will, because he did it not in the spirit of opposition, but in compliance with the rules of rectitude, which we are always to look upon as the Will of God.

In like manner we may gather, from experience of ourselves and all around us, it has pleased God to permit, that folly and wickedness of all kinds should abound in the world, and that we ourselves should be foiled by temptations : yet we shall become most acceptable to him by setting ourselves with all our might to oppose the growth of wickedness, and struggle against every temptation assailing us. For though it should be his Will that offences shall come, it is not his Will that we should co-operate thereto : therefore wo is to him by whom they come. I have observed in the last section of the preceding Chapter, that inordinate desire and reason seem to be the two antagonist muscles giving motion

to all the business of life, so that the business is carried on by the contrary action of those muscles: if there were no temptation, virtue would have little work to do; if there were no virtue, temptation would fail of its destined effect; but the work is completed by the resistance of one against the other. God has been pleased to assign us the exercise of reason for our task; this then is to be our attention and our care; whatever we perceive tending to draw us aside from that exercise, we are to resist to the uttermost: if he has any secret purpose to overpower our reason, there is no fear that by resisting we should defeat it, for the purposes of God will always take effect, and a better effect for us upon our resistance, when made out of a regard to our duty. Therefore let us keep steadily to the province allotted us, esteeming it presumption and sacrilege to encroach upon the divine prerogative: for the permission of evil is the prerogative of God reserved solely to his own management, he alone knows the proper measure of it, and when it will produce more salutary than pernicious fruits among his creatures.

3. The benefits of evil, for which we may presume it was permitted, accrue either to particular persons, or to communities, or the Species, or the Universe: to particular persons it serves for their trial, their correction, their humiliation, and awakening their vigilance; but there can be no trial of strength without exerting it in opposition to the adversary, no correction without endeavors to mend the frailty when discovered; a voluntary defeat will not prove a humiliation, because we may think we could have conquered had we tried for it; and our vigilance is not awakened unless we stand upon our guard against future surprises; therefore so far as we willingly give way to temptation, we prevent the good effects it might have had upon us. Nor can we know the exact measure proper for our uses, or if we could, it were needless to do anything for completing it; for we may rest assured that the proper measure is already provided in our own frailty, and the external allurements around us: so we have no occasion to increase it; but as we are taught to pray, *Lead us not into temptation*, it is incumbent upon us to use our endeavors towards preventing what we pray against, or else our prayers will be but hypocrisy and mockery, being themselves the very evil we pray to escape.

Neither can we know the conduciveness of evil to any more or less general interest, therefore can have no warrant to give it scope: we see nothing but disorder and mischief come from it, the intricate channel by which good flows from that disorder and mischief are discernible to God alone; therefore the permission of it

may be gracious and holy in him, yet the practice of it would be malignant and wicked in us. There is room to apprehend the advantage accrues ultimately to the spiritual host, and it was for their sakes that evil has a place in nature; but we can form no rule from thence for shaping our measures, for want of light to discern in what manner the advantage accrues: for though it be probable they have an interest in all transactions and occurrences passing here below, yet we can never know what particular conduct is most expedient for them to be pursued. Perhaps it may be matter of consequence to the Mundane Soul, whether I shall put on my light or my dark-colored suit to-morrow, but if I study till morning, I shall never find out which of the two it is best for him that I should wear; therefore I shall make my choice upon the same ground that other people go upon, by the rules of civility and decency, or if they have no directions to give in the case, then by my own humor and fancy: for we may trust the disposition of Providence, that in every action, important or trivial, if rightly performed according to the occasion, all the good possible shall redound therefrom to every creature whom it can any ways affect.

But if upon these indifferent matters we can gather no clue of direction from the general interest of the creation, much less in those of the highest concern to ourselves: what though we may justly conclude from the floods of wickedness permitted in the world, that they are of some necessary uses, it is impossible for us to know whether it be better for the Universe, that we in particular should lead a wicked life: thus much we may know, that if better, it is so by means of the heavy punishment it will bring upon us, serving for an example or other unknown benefit to the beholders: which punishment is an apparent evil, deserving our utmost efforts and vigilance to escape; nor are we to concern ourselves with anything beyond it, but are taught to look upon it as an eternity boundless in our eye. So far as the lights of our understanding extend, there is reason to believe that we serve the Universe best by doing the most good we can to ourselves and other members of it, because we add thereby to the stock of enjoyment in Nature: we have nothing to do with additions to be made any other way; to attempt prying into them would be meddling with matters far above our reach.

4. Nor have we so much to do for the general interests of the Species as we frequently imagine; the progress of perfection is carried on by the secret and intricate windings of Providence, to us utterly unknown, and many times appearing destructive of their purpose, therefore no objects of our imitation: the only obvious

means are by embracing all opportunities that occur of advancing true Religion and reason, discretion and good manners, in such ways as our own considerate judgment, or that of other persons of approved characters may recommend. We take too much upon ourselves when pretending to reform mankind by other methods, by pulling down idols, demolishing meeting-houses, persecuting, damning, and censuring heretics, or by ridiculing things sacred, combatting received opinions, and the like, without a calm examination of what effects our procedure herein is likely to produce : for this is acting by indiscreet zeal and impulse of passion, wherein we do not copy the most perfect pattern, who proceeds upon Intelligence and Wisdom, as well in his judgments as in his blessings, as well when he restrains, as when he permits of heresy and superstition.

And though the temporal interests of mankind claim the preference before those of any part, yet do we seldom stand in a situation to look further than the prosperity of our own country whereto we belong : wherefore in lawful wars the subjects on opposite sides may do their duty, and act agreeably to the Will of God, in opposing, weakening, or destroying one another, and taking every method that offers of doing service to their respective community. Even the public good of the community is too large to be the object of our constant attention ; and in fact, in these climates of liberty and self-sufficiency, does occupy more of it than avails to any good purpose. How fond are our plebeians to sit in judgment upon laws and public measures, to pass sentence upon the ministers, and to mend the nation, when they had better been minding their shops and their trades ? It is certainly for the preservation of liberty, that every one should be ready to cry out when he is hurt, and to join in with the complaints of those who have cause for them ; but to cry before he is hurt, or has any well-grounded apprehension of danger, upon a flying report, a surmise, private interest, resentment, wantonness, or dislike, tends to discredit the voice of the people, and lessen their weight, that surest counterpoise against power, and strongest bulwark both of liberty and national strength.

Nor are we less officious in meddling with one another's affairs than those of our superiors, we must needs play the censor upon our neighbor's character and actions, lay out his expenses, regulate his dress, settle his table, and dispose of his children : and all this not with a probable view of doing any good to him or ourselves thereby, but only to gratify our vanity by the contrast of his follies and imperfections. As we are members of the species and of the community, and have our principal stake among them, it is our duty, our praise, and our truest interest to consult their

benefit preferably to our private advantage, whenever the two happen to come visibly into competition ; and as we live in society, we are to do our parts towards rendering it as beneficial as lies in our power, to every member of it within our reach. Therefore whenever the interest of Religion or practical Philosophy may be forwarded by our aid, when an improvement in any science, or art, or manufacture, or convenience for benefit of mankind can be made, any service done to the public, any real good procured for our neighbor, whether by instruction, exhortation, censure, ridicule, example, or otherwise, it is a noble self-denial to stop short in the pursuit of our own desires, that we may apply our industry to the greater advantage of others.

But opportunities of this sort rarely happen to most of us : we are not of such importance as that much of what passes around should depend upon our management ; therefore our principal attention is due to the conducting ourselves well in our own affairs and several professions, for thereby we shall contribute the most effectually we can, towards promoting all other more general interests. And in so doing we shall be of more importance than we can perceive, for we are stationed and portioned by Providence, in whose works every little engine employed is necessary for completing the great design, when acting in the sphere assigned it. This then is our province, or I may call it the little world which God has put under our government : it is our business to know the extent of our province, that we may not encroach upon territories beyond our commission, and to lay our narrow plan of Providence for the administration of it similar, so far as human infirmity will permit, though immensely unequal, to his universal one ; ordering everything therein for the best, according to the measure of understanding and power vouchsafed us. But our own discernment being short and our powers feeble, it will behoove us to avail ourselves of those methods that have been prescribed for enlarging the one, and invigorating the other : those then I purpose next to take under consideration, examining into their several uses and manner of operation, in hopes to rescue them from the contempt they have lain under with some persons, and to settle their value upon the right bottom which has been misplaced by others, whereby we may the better learn how to apply them in due measure, and upon proper occasions.

## CHAP. XXI.

## CHRISTIAN SCHEME.

By the methods prescribed for enlarging our discernment and invigorating our powers, spoken of at the conclusion of the last Chapter, it will easily be understood that I had in view the Christian institutions : the examination whereof is best pursued by a calm and careful exercise of our judgment upon their several uses and operations. But the surest basis and necessary guidance for forming a judgment upon the parts of a system, can only be found in the general scope and main design of the whole, and the spirit wherein it was delivered : which will enable us to attain a clear conception of the words and phrases as we go along. The gifted preacher, when talking most sweetly and with power, so as to raise ecstatic transports in his audience, runs on in a string of animating words, with no determinate meaning. Whether or no this be the proper method for confirming and strengthening the godly, it is certainly not the right way to succeed upon the rationalist, whom I am to deal with : for he will expect to be addressed in an intelligible language, rather calculated to inform the understanding, than to warm the heart, or touch the springs of affection. Now the common language of mankind being various and fluctuating, the same terms and the same expressions carrying a very different sense according to the occasion whereon they are employed, nothing but an attention to the purpose wherewith, and spirit wherein they were delivered, can ascertain their proper force. Neither poetry, nor rhetoric, nor argumentation, nor, perhaps, any other performances, except in mathematics, can be fully understood, without entering into the spirit of the performer. And the Scriptures being given in the language of the Jewish populace, and abounding in figurative, mysterious expressions, many times seeming at first sight contradictory, it is nowhere more eminently true than here, That the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive.

But as you must pour water into a pump, before you can draw a supply of water from thence ; and give fire to a cannon in order to excite the fire of the powder : so without a proper spirit of inquiry, you can never reach that of the object you contemplate. For a dull, or careless, or wrong-directed application will find nothing but lumpish lead, or, at most, delusive blaze in whatever it falls upon. Hence it appears, there are two spirits to be considered, that of the learner, and that of the teacher ; the former preparative for reception of the other. Therefore St. John bids us try

the spirits ; because they being the leading principles, whoever gives heed to those of a wrong turn will be misled, which is worse than no guidance at all.

2. The spirit of opposition and cavil is least likely of any to carry a man beyond the letter, to which it pertinaciously adheres for that very reason, because it is killing : or if it ever attempt to strike out a latent meaning, it finds one that is the most exceptionable, because affording the most ample matter for censure and ridicule.

The spirit of prejudice and prepossession, though not quite so pernicious as the former, serves as little to profit by : for it will admit of no improvement upon what it had brought from its own fund, but rather, like a mortification, turns the soundest parts into its own likeness. When a man has strongly imbibed the tenets of a sect, or espoused some particular notions of his own, he proceeds thenceforward with a spirit of zeal rather than improvement : he searches the Scriptures, not to learn by them, but to hunt for detached texts in support of his opinions. He forms a composition wherein several Scripture terms are repeatedly introduced without any accurate meaning, or apt connection in the places they are made to occupy, and then by help of a Concordance finds out all the passages wherein those terms occur, to be produced as divine authorities for his coarse-wrought texture.

There is likewise a spirit of vanity, which often mingles among the two foregoing, and sometimes operates alone. The scoffer and caviller move as much by impulse of vanity as crossness : the credit of shrewdness, and smartness of overthrowing great authorities, and debasing revered characters, works powerfully upon some tempers ; and good-nature may more willingly admit this for the general root of opposition, because being a less blameable principle than mere rancor and resentment. In the zealot his prepossession seems to be the first spring of motion, but quickly leads him into an opinion of excelling, of conceiting himself the sole sure interpreter of the Sacred Writings, pitying the bulk of mankind, as deluded, carnal-minded creatures, and even ascribing the preservation and property of the nation more to himself, and his associates in the same way of thinking, than to our counsellors and senators, our generals and admirals : for what avails the wisdom of the wise, the valor of the brave, or strength of the mighty, without the blessing of Heaven ? which blessing is drawn down by the pious breathings of a few true believers persevering in their uprightness amidst a sinful and corrupt generation ; so that our Sodom is saved for the sake of ten righteous persons happily found therein. Yet vanity will maintain her ground without either cap-

tiousness or prior engagement to support her. An ingenious exposition or plausible construction that nobody has hit upon before, will often beguile the most impartial inquirer to wander out of the way, and stop his ears against all remonstrances urged to bring him back again : for there is a shame in retracting an opinion one has once strongly given course to, and this will work unperceived even by the party under its influence. I have already remarked in my Chapter upon that article, that vanity will find means upon some particular occasions to insinuate itself into persons who are in general of an humble and rather diffident disposition ; that none can be too vigilant against its attacks, because none can be secure against having them made upon him in the most covert manner.

Another spirit is that of novelty, which entices by the mere pleasure of making discoveries, without any reflection on their being the produce of an extraordinary penetration, or any comparison with the oversights of others. The knowledge of any truth apprehended useful is sweet to the mind, and our eagerness to taste this sweetness makes us entertain a persuasion of our knowing a thing before we really do know it. Therefore it is dangerous to pass a judgment upon a new discovery while it is a new one, and until time shall have abated the sweetness of novelty, and given scope for reflection to flow in from different quarters.

3. Besides these, there is a spirit of terror and anxiety, and a spirit of enthusiasm, which though of opposite qualities, the one being phlegmatic and diffident, the other fiery and presumptuous, nevertheless often unite in the same person. The first of these represents every persuasion of a divine truth as sacred, and every error or ignorance as the sin of infidelity. Whomsoever this spirit possesses, he is obliged under pain of damnation to find evidences in the sacred records of what he has esteemed a sacred truth ; and that instantly, without hesitation ; nor may he suffer his thoughts to suggest for a moment a construction of any text, however obvious and natural, that seems to raise a doubt against it : for to disbelieve or even doubt the word of God would be the most atrocious offence against his Glory. So he proceeds under a perpetual dread and trepidation lest he should mistake or harbor any mistrust : not being able to distinguish that it is one thing to doubt whether the word of God be true, and quite another to doubt whether some particular article be the true sense of that word. But without the latter doubt, there is no room for deliberation : for when you are clear on one side of the question, what have you to deliberate upon ? Every searching the Scriptures implies a mistrust that our knowledge may not yet be complete, and a decent confidence that we may get information by an honest exercise



of our judgment upon them. But a fearful awe and hurrying solicitude must needs cramp the mind, not giving free scope for the balance of judgment to play, nor the weights to enter the scale ; so that it can never make a fresh decision, either for improvement of knowledge or rectifying of mistakes. The case is the same in the most common matters : if a man going to examine a tailor's bill, should have a pistol holden over him, and be threatened with being shot through the head, if he did not cast it up exactly right in three minutes, he would be able to make no use of his arithmetic in such a situation. Therefore the timid inquirer may indeed be secure against losing such knowledge as he happens to have ; but if he lie under any misapprehensions, (as what mortal man is exempt from them ?) it is impossible he should ever be cured.

The spirit of enthusiasm is no less averse to doubt and deliberation, which appear superfluous ; for it proceeds wholly by impulse and intuition. It possesses with the notion of a supernatural power and illumination accompanying the sanctified, which displays to him objects in their true shapes and colors, that never could have been discovered by the exercise of the natural faculties. So he has no use for his understanding, but only for his eyes, to carry him along the several spots whereon the light within him from time to time shall strike. This spirit naturally introduces that of prejudice and prepossession ; and its misguidings are harder to be rectified than those of any before mentioned. For being known only by the strength of glare it casts, whatever strikes strongly upon the fancy, or is rivetted therein by continual harangues chimed always in the same strain, is taken for a supernatural light : and if anybody offers to examine or reason upon it, he is rejected without hearing ; for all human reasoning gives marks of a carnal man, who cannot know the things of God, because they are spiritually discerned.

None of these spirits appear at all likely to reach the vivifying principle wanted : for either they stick at the dead letter, or extract something from it equally deadlly with the letter itself. But the most serious and sincere being liable to fall, more or less, under the influence of any of them, except the first, it seemed expedient to take notice of the various dangers surrounding on all quarters, that we may know what to guard against.

4. For if we can keep clear of their misguidings, we shall more readily imbibe the proper spirit of a learner, which is that of meekness and sobriety, of calm consideration, attentive industry, and the docility of children ; for of such we are told is the kingdom of heaven. I do not apprehend it understood that we are to come with the ignorance, but with the simplicity and inquisitiveness of

children : for he that cometh to God must first believe that he is, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him ; so that some previous knowledge is necessary for the learner to bring with him. But he must put on a disposition to receive whatever shall be taught him, in the genuine sense intended to be conveyed ; he may laudably use his old knowledge for the quicker apprehension of what is taught, but must so far lay all his old opinions dormant, as that they may not obstruct its reception.

Here I must expect the free-thinker will declaim loudly against me as a reviver of popish tyranny over the thoughts, an abettor of implicit faith ; who would suffer nobody to use his eyes or judge for himself, but would have him submit his understanding to the authority of his leaders, and swallow anything poured into his mouth with the credulity and eagerness of children. This clamor I shall endeavor to quiet by observing that it takes rise from the very mistake I have been complaining of, namely, that of sticking at the surface of the letter without penetrating into the spirit of what I recommend. It is apparent throughout this volume, that I have proceeded in the spirit of a neutral, not undertaking to demonstrate the truth of Christianity ; for this I leave to Divines, who are better versed in the external evidence and history ; but striving to examine what it is, to compare it with the dictates of human reason, in order to discover what conformity may be found, and what reconciliation effected between them. I would have every man judge for himself, but not pass his judgment until after full cognizance of the cause : while taking this cognizance, he cannot do better than assume the openness and indifference of a child : when he has examined the internal evidence, and become master of the case ; then let him resume the man together with his former opinions, contrasting them therewith, provided he has taken care to build them upon solid, rational foundations ; and he shall know of the doctrine whether it be from God.

And I must observe to the free-thinker that he has already practised more of the child than I desire of him : for he took his idea of Religion from what he learnt of his nurse while literally a child, and now passes his judgment upon her anile representation. Whereas he may please to remember I recommended the docility, not the ignorance of children : therefore wish him to study the cause afresh, now that he has acquired knowledge of other kinds and improved his faculties by practice ; laying aside the old woman, and having recourse to the written word, with the aid of Mr. Locke, and other learned expositors. If I advise a suspension of all old opinions which might obstruct his progress, it is agreeable to the golden rule of doing as one would be done by, being no more than

what I practise myself in the perusal of any system whereof I have previously heard either a good or bad account. When taking Lucretius in hand, I enter into his ideas of rough and smooth, hooked, sharp, square, and multangular atoms, their uncertain declinations, and essential gravity, though contrary to my own persuasions ; for else I could not expect to understand his plan, nor judge of its construction. The same thing I apprehend done by our judges upon a trial : if they have taken any impressions from reports without doors, they cast them aside, and during the hearing attend solely to the depositions of witnesses, and arguments of counsel on both sides ; forming their judgment afterwards upon the lights gathered from thence.

Having thus vented my thoughts upon the spirit of the learner, they lead naturally to consider that of the teacher, the main scope and end aimed at by the doctrine, together with the means and manner employed in pursuing it : whereon I shall offer my general idea without accumulating texts in support of every particular contained therein, which indeed I cannot readily recollect, and might be tedious and perplexing to the reader ; who without my suggesting will be able to apply such as may be needful, from his own remembrance, and likewise to judge whether this idea in any part of it be contradictory to reason, and his experience of human nature.

5. The very terms, Salvation and Redemption, constantly employed to express the end proposed in the Christian dispensation, direct us to regard it as a deliverance from some evil that mankind labored under : which evil is represented to have been brought upon the human race by the lapse of Adam, and is called Death. For man was created perfect, having access to the tree of life which would have made him immortal ; until upon the first act of disobedience his nature was debased, himself banished from the tree of life, and laid under the curse ; Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return. Which curse was taken off by the sacrifice of Christ, who was made a curse for him : and thus as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive.

I see no ground to apprehend that death was a direct and physical effect of the forbidden fruit, which contained such poisonous qualities as to render the bodies of Adam, and all his descendants perishable and mortal, or that a miraculous alteration was instantly worked in them by the divine power : but that there was one step intervening between the act of transgressing and death. For that introduced sin, and death entered by sin, being the wages and natural consequence thereof.

It occurs next to inquire what is to be understood by Death : the common literal acceptation, denoting a separation of soul from body on ceasing of the vital functions, cannot be admitted, as being incompatible both with reason and Scripture. For the denunciation, In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die, was not literally fulfilled ; because Adam did not die in the day that he ate. Neither is it conceivable, that death should be the wages of sin, or that if Man had never fallen he would have lived forever : for this supposition will not stand with the contemplation of the frame and nature of the human body, nor constitution of the earth, which is not contrived commodiously to lodge and maintain all those multitudes which have been, and are likely to be born into it ; besides being in its own nature perishable, so as to become some time or other incapable of affording any habitation at all.

Death upon the present occasion must be considered as an evil ; for if it were not, as the denunciation of it would be no threat, so the deliverance from it would be no Redemption. But the bare separation of soul and body, or decay and corruption of the latter, is not acknowledged an evil either in Philosophy or Religion : let us then reflect what it is that makes it so. And this we shall find to be, the uncertainty of what condition it may throw us into, the apprehension of something dreadful to ensue, and the opinion that it will cut us off from all our delights and enjoyments whatsoever, and all means of engagement in the exercises of our activity. Without these concomitants, death were not death : it would be nothing different from sleep, which we never look upon as an evil.

6. Therefore death was made what it is, namely an object of terror, by sin ; for Adam in his native simplicity of innocence was so far from fear, that he wanted even proper caution ; but shame and fear entered upon the transgression. Then death began to be death, or an evil, and he first found himself obnoxious to it. But the transgression, or rather proneness of human nature to fall into it, was manifested by the prohibition ; agreeably to St. Paul's argument in Rom. vii., I had not known sin but by the law : for I once was alive without the law, but when the commandment came, sin took occasion thereby to deceive me, and slew me : so that in St. Paul's sense of the words, it was true, that Adam did die in the day that he ate of the forbidden fruit. And for the doctrine of original sin, or extending the consequences of Adam's disobedience to his whole posterity, I have already delivered my thoughts of it in the Chapter on Redemption, tending to show that his offence was not operative upon the constitution of his descend-

ants, but declarative of human nature, like an assay made upon a little bit in a parcel of reputed gold, which being found to be base metal, must prove a condemnation of the whole mass.

If this exposition be thought admissible, it will become needless to enter into the disputes that have been raised by Dr. Middleton and others upon the history of the fall : for be it a narrative of real facts, or be it an allegorical description of human nature, the doctrine learned from it will turn out the same, which likewise stands confirmed by experience. We all esteem children in a state of innocence, as not having sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression ; and we find them not afraid of death, for indeed they know not what it is. But when they have begun to discern right and wrong, are conscious of misbehavior which has drawn punishment and mischiefs upon them, have contracted a fondness for the pleasures, been made acquainted with the evils of life, and imbibed the apprehensions of persons around them, then death assumes its ghastly form, and becomes an object of terror and dismay.

Should we take Adam in his uprightness for a representation of innocent childhood, we must imagine him as little apprehensive of death as that : he had heard it denounced as a thing to be avoided, but he knew not what hurt and evil were, having had no experience of them ; for our ideas of reflection are only repetitions of some sensation we had experienced before. So he could feel no disturbance in the thoughts of death, of the evil whereof he had no conception : the most he could apprehend from it was a deprivation of the pleasures he enjoyed, but this though undesirable, was not terrible.

But this tranquillity and indifference of mind was no more than an insensibility or exemption from fear, springing from an unconcernedness for the future ; which we may presume he would not long have remained under. Could he, and those of his descendants whom he lived to see, have escaped all attacks of temptation, we cannot but suppose they would have improved their faculties to the utmost, and attained all the knowledge that was to be attained thereby. If they had seen no premature deaths among them, yet they must have found upon contemplation of their bodily frame, and of the garden where they dwelt, that neither of them were constructed to last forever. They would have known so much of death, as that it was a dissolution of the human composition ; but still not known that it was death, that is, an evil abhorrent to the thought ; but rather regarded it as an admonition to examine what might be likely to come after. They then would have put

forth their hands and have taken of the tree of life, and lived forever.

7. I believe that tree was never suspected of bearing fruit whose juices should prove an Elixir vitæ, efficacious to cement the union between soul and body so strongly as that it should never be dissolved: therefore we must understand it as figurative of something else, and what else can we suppose it to shadow forth, unless such principles of sound reasoning, as, with due cultivation, would produce an assured expectation of enjoyment and happiness after their dissolution. They could not fail of discovering the unperishable nature of their spiritual part, which was themselves, all else being an adjunct or covering, instrumental to their uses, but no essential or constituent part of their persons. And since we with our lapsed, feeble understandings can discern much of the divine power and beneficence, we must allow them to do the same in a completer, clearer, more satisfactory manner. The purity of their minds would suffer no gross nor erroneous conceptions to mingle in their religion, nor to throw obstacles, in the way of its progress; but would rise to just sentiments of their Maker, his almighty Power, his Intelligence, his Wisdom, his all-comprehensive Providence, his unlimited Goodness. They could have no suspicion of any hurt ever to come from him, having experienced nothing but unceasing bounty. For it has been observed in the Chapter upon Goodness, that our sense of that attribute fluctuates according to the condition of our minds: our mistrusts arise from the evils we see or feel, the mischiefs occasioned by our own miscarriages or those of other people, the melancholy gloom overspreading our thoughts, and the tastelessness of every pleasing reflection generated thereby. When at ease, and successful in our wishes, we can readily see that God is good, and the world a glorious world. Therefore they would confide in the divine Goodness, to provide them another Garden, equally delightful, whenever removed from that of Eden. Their prospect of pleasurable modes of existence following in endless succession, would connect the whole in one unbroken line of duration: so that they would esteem themselves, not as we do, creatures of a few years, but possessed of a life to last forever; regarding the dissolution of their bodies as a passage from one scene of engagement into another. Just as a man in youth, health, vigor, esteems himself in possession of a long life, although he knows he shall be cut off from all his amusements before to-morrow by the slumbers of the night.

But this ripeness of knowledge and firmness of faith which would have put them in possession of a life forever, was never

arrived at: for they were fruits requiring the united endeavors of numbers to gather them, and the sin of our first parents occasioned their being driven out of reach before there was a third human creature to assist in climbing the tree. And the imbecility of human nature, whereof that sin was declarative, or as Middleton will have it, figurative, is so manifest as to make it appear a romantic supposition that any race of men, however happily circumstanced, should attain such a satisfaction and well-grounded assurance as I have just now described. Therefore we all consider ourselves as mortals, in the condition of persons lying under an irrecoverable sentence of death; who is to us the king of terrors, or at best an officer coming with a writ of execution to sweep away all our possessions, our pleasures, our instruments of action, and everything we desire, or wherein we can find solace or employment.

Thus I apprehend it may be understood, how in Adam all have died; for life is not life without enjoyment, which cannot subsist with anxiety and continual alarms: wherefore the philosophers laid down that no state can be pronounced happy, of whose continuance there is an uncertainty. From which uncertainty none but the perfect Wise-man could be exempt; who being an ideal character, nowhere actually found upon earth, the Stoics thence pronounced all men fools and mad, and consequently unhappy; or as translated into Scripture language, dead in trespasses and sins.

8. This temporal death, then, which we lie under during our animal life, must be meant by the declaration. In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt die. But if this be the Scripture sense of the text, it is not the whole sense. For the main tenor of the Gospel, as all expositors unanimously agree, aims to warn us of another death, consequent upon that specified above, namely, an eternal death, to commence upon dissolution of the body: not an annihilation, nor perpetual insensibility, nor incapacity for all enjoyments of life, but a state of actual misery and suffering. Herein Philosophy joins hands with Religion, representing this life as a preparation for the next, declaring rectitude of sentiment and conduct, called Righteousness in sacred style, as the sole and certain avenue to a future state of bliss; and acknowledging the depravity of human nature, which cannot rise to that perfect wisdom which alone can ensure a happy exit.

The philosopher indeed considers this depravity as an imperfection rather than a corruption. He thinks himself in a state of childhood, born to greater things than he can now possess, his judgment not yet ripened, and his powers not completely formed: and if he can make a good use of those allotted him, he confides

in the goodness of God for having provided his laws of Nature respecting both worlds in such manner, as that upon his emersion from matter he shall find himself invested with larger faculties, and stronger abilities, capable of raising him to that perfection which he can never reach while in this corporeal imprisonment. For he dooms it incongruous with the divine Attributes, that any creature should be placed in a situation which must lead unavoidably into misery, without any wilful negligence of his own, and against his utmost endeavors to extricate himself.

But this imagination our holy Religion overthrows, concluding the whole human race under the dominion of sin; from which no second causes, of those operating upon things visible or invisible, could rescue them without almighty power interposing for their Redemption: for as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive; nor is there any other name given upon earth whereby men may be saved.

9. But what shall we say to the comprehensiveness of that expression, All shall be made alive? Is it universally true that no man shall perish? I wish with all my soul I could find a warrant to say this: but it is what the most glowing Christian Charity dares not advance. Is it then, that all who are saved will be saved that way? or is it, that all without exception are put into a capacity of salvation, if they will embrace the terms offered for that purpose? The first of these constructions does little honor to the Christian dispensation, as leaving a total uncertainty how far the benefits of it extend, giving men only a chance for their lives, for perhaps some may be saved thereby, and some may not. And the second will not be found verified by experience of facts: for the terms propounded are Faith in the Messiah, but how many children die before being capable of such Faith? how many pagan nations in ancient and modern ages never heard of a Messiah? Nor shall we ever be able to satisfy gainsayers, that it is consistent with divine Justice to permit multitudes to be born, and die, without ever opening the door to them through which alone they can escape eternal death. Besides, the contrast and comparison with the death by Adam, which was undoubtedly universal, affixes the same sense to the life by Christ.

In order to clear up these difficulties it seems the most rational exposition to understand All collectively of the human race, not distributively of every individual comprised therein: so that it might be necessary, Christianity should prevail in the world, yet not necessary for every single person in the world to be Christian. Because if I am right in the general interest explained in my Chapter on Divine Economy, perfection once introduced among



mankind in general, will in due time work perfection in the particular members ; those who were true Christians gradually infusing the vivifying principle by sympathy and mutual intercourse into the rest of the species.

But if it be judged orthodox to believe no single soul can be saved without actual Faith in Christ, I have suggested reasons in the Chapter on Redemption tending to prove that those who have had no opportunities afforded them here, may find them in another life. In support of which idea I have drawn arguments from that almost discarded article in the principal of our Creeds, He descended into Hades ; from whence it may be inferred that there is a Christian Religion there, as well as upon earth. And at the same time have endeavored to remove all handle that might be taken therefrom to encourage indifference and procrastination, by showing that nevertheless such, to whom the terms of salvation have been fairly propounded, but rejected or neglected by them, can have no glimpse of probable ground to expect a second offer in their next state of being.

10. Before proceeding further it will be expedient to remark, that life is not given directly by the hand of Christ, but he gives it because he gives that upon which it will follow of course : as a poor man may say his victuals and clothing are given him by one who has furnished him with money to procure them. And herein the comparison continues between Christ and Adam : for though we are taught in one place, that in Adam all die, this is explained by another text which declares, that sin entered by Adam, and death by sin : in like manner are we warranted to say that righteousness entered by Christ, and life by righteousness. For as death is the wages or natural consequence of sin ; so is life the wages of righteousness, the fruit it will naturally produce without further divine interposition than was needful for planting and watering the tree.

Thus we see the deliverance it behoves us to lay hold of is a deliverance from that sin which entered by Adam, or rather that sinfulness of our nature which was manifested by his disobedience : which therefore was a prejudication of all who should partake of that nature, although they had not sinned after the similitude of his transgression. It remains to consider wherein this sinfulness or promptitude to do wrong consists : and we shall find it to lie in the prevalence of our appetites and passions over our judgment, or a thralldom of the Will.

I shall not repeat the metaphysical disquisition upon Volition pursued in the Chapter on Freewill : I need only to call to remembrance what has been said there concerning the determination

of our judgment being ordinarily taken for our Will, and that Liberty, in the most common acceptation, is understood of such a situation wherein there is no obstacle to prevent that Will from taking effect. For what we judge expedient we resolve to do, and think we shall do it : but our imbecility is such that desires and fancies start up too strong for our resolves, and carry us into a directly contrary conduct. This state of the carnal man is described by St. Paul, Rom vii. I allow not that which I do : for what I would, that do I not : but what I would not, that do I. I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.

The very essence of sin presupposes this struggle between the rational and sensitive faculties styled by St. Paul the law of his mind and law of his members. Children do many things before arriving at the use of reason for which we are forced to reprimand them, but these are not sins because they know no better : it is their discernment of what is right, or having a law of their minds, that renders the continuance of those practices sinful. Thus the same St. Paul observes that he had not known sin unless by the law, for without the law sin was dead, but when the commandment came, sin first gave signs of life.

11. This vigor and untamable violence of the sensitive faculties perpetually confines our views to objects of sense, to narrow aims, and gratifications of appetite, or worldly desire ; cramping the understanding so that it cannot open wide enough to take in a comprehensive view of Nature, nor penetrate to the origin and Author of Nature ; but lies liable to be continually overclouded with superstitions, or misapprehensions of the divine Nature and Attributes. Christ has declared that blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God : blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the Children of God. Whereby seems necessarily implied that, while impure or contentious, no man can see or be truly called the child of God, that is, possess just sentiments and proper affections with regard to him ; which in other passages is expressed by entering the kingdom of heaven, coming to the Father, loving him with all the heart, being one with him, and doing his Will.

Neither were the judicious among the pagans insensible of this truth, that purity and holiness were necessary to the right understanding of things invisible. Wherefore they exhorted to purge the mental eye from all films contracted by constant attention to sensual objects, to refine the soul by the study and practice of philosophy : they recommended a total apathy, that is an exemption from passion and all inordinate desires or aversions, as indis-

pensably requisite to complete the perfection of Wisdom; and hold that such souls as had not been so refined, would, upon quitting their bodies, still have many carnal particles adhering to them, which must weigh them down to greater depths of wretchedness than they had ever sunk into during their abode upon earth.

12. We have now discovered what is the evil from which we are offered deliverance by the Redemption, namely, that weakness and consequent darkness of the Will or understanding, which subjects it to the tyranny of appetite, and renders the soul incapable of resisting the impulses of that foulness worked thereinto from the gross corporeal frame whereto we are vitally united. The Philosopher may build what hypothesis he pleases for getting rid of foulness. He may say, that Nature has provided future punishments for purgation of contaminated souls: that as none pass out of life without a degree of impunity, all without exception must undergo some course of discipline suited to their respective complaints: some to be hung in the winds for sweetening, some plunged into rapid waters to wash away their filth; from others the dross shall be burnt out by scorching flames. It is not my business to contest the point with him, for I have not undertaken the office of a champion for our Religion, to overthrow all opponents; but have proposed only to inquire fairly and particularly what are the doctrines it teaches; and I think nobody can deny it to be one, that there was no provision of second causes sufficient to work the deliverance of human nature, but that it was effected by almighty Power interposing for that purpose.

Here it is likely I shall be stopped in my career with an objection of the free-thinker, that it is highly blasphemous and injurious to the divine Wisdom to imagine, that God should have contrived his order of second causes so unskillfully as that a whole species of his creatures must be forever miserable, unless he interfered with his own hand to correct the defects in his original plan. Upon which I shall observe, that his objection strikes beside the mark, being not levelled at the Christian faith, but the notions of it imbibed from the nursery; where the fall of Man may have been looked upon as an unexpected event for which God in his infinite mercy afterwards provided a remedy to cure an evil he had not intended should befall. Whereas, if the objector had gone a few steps out of the nursery to fetch his Testament, he might have found there that the method of Redemption was contained in the eternal purpose of God, and consequently the depravity of our Nature, which it was provided to rectify, was eternally foreseen.

Or if he have an invincible averseness against all supernatural interposition whatever, I have shown him in the Chapter on Economy what grounds he has in history and experience to regard the Patriarchal, the Jewish, and the Christian dispensations, as a series of incidents signally providential: having made appear before, in my Chapter on things Providential, that an event ought to be ranked among them which was produced by an extraordinary concurrence of causes, and attended with extensive and beneficial consequences.

13. But this representation of the Christian Faith being introduced by natural operation of a chain of second causes, proceeded from a desire of being as comprehensive as I could, so as to bring persons to entertain a favorable opinion, and make their proper uses of it, who could not digest all its articles. Which scheme we must now lay aside, being incompatible with the whole tenor and spirit of the Sacred Writings, the subject of our present inquiry: for they refer everywhere to an almighty Power interposing miraculously to rescue Mankind from an evil, absolutely inevitable and irremediable by the laws of Nature or any operation of second causes.

Now in order to maintain the character I have assumed in this Volume of a reconciler between Religion and Reason, although I cannot pretend to prove with some eminent divines that the latter conducts to the necessity of such interposition, yet shall attempt to show that it carries no repugnance thereto, nor exhibits anything that should render it incredible; and for that purpose shall recur to some discoveries already stricken out by the light of Nature, to take for my foundation.

Whoever will turn back to my Chapter on Providence, will find exhibited there so large an idea of the Divine Intelligence as to make it conceivable, that God might have finished his Creation from all eternity, and rested from his works ever since: having once for all formed so perfect a plan, and established so complete a system of universal Nature, as that it should run on forever without needing any farther touch of his hand; the causes of generation being adapted to those of corruption, and provision being made by the activity given his spiritual creatures for continually repairing those immense decays of motion, occasioned by the mutual impulses and resistance of his inanimate or material creatures.

Nevertheless, it is not incongruous with our ideas of him, that he should have acted otherwise, and constructed his plan of Nature incomplete, not for want of skill or ability to do better, but purposely to leave room for interpositions of his almighty Power, and manifest himself in his character of Governor to his intelligent

creatures. And for the probability of his so doing, I have suggested arguments in § 10, 11, of the same Chapter; and in the following sections have drawn proofs from the contemplation of this Earth we inhabit, and of the planetary system, that he must have actually interposed in the formation, or as vulgarly called the creation of this visible world. I have not indeed been able by the light of Nature to discover evidence of the like interposition in the moral world, yet the rules of analogy direct us to infer a probability of it from the manifest tendency of this sublunary system to Chaos and confusion, and remove all repugnance of reason against receiving that article from Revelation.

14. Add farther, that experience testifies there is a mixture of evil, as well moral as physical, in the world: from whence Reason concludes there is a necessity it should be so in the Nature of things as established on their original creation, evil having therein been made productive of good, and indispensably requisite to support and maintain that fund of happiness abounding throughout the Universe. Reason indeed gathers from contemplation of the divine Attributes, that the good exceeds the evil in an immense proportion, and confides that there are many forms of Being, among the whole host of perceptive creatures, totally exempt from the latter. Nevertheless, if there must be evil, there must be some species of creatures obnoxious to it; and nothing hinders that this should be man rather than any other species you can imagine. Neither can we feel a repugnance against the supposition that man came forth from the hands of his Maker without any taint of evil upon him, but was made liable to receive it from the influence of material or other agents: and that a remedy was provided to rescue him from such evil as soon as the purposes, whatever they may be, whereto it was necessary were answered.

Now whether provision be made of such remedy by natural or supernatural means, it equally obviates all impeachment of the Divine Goodness and Equity. For if a parent sends his son to stay a considerable time abroad, we expect he should furnish him with remittances sufficient to subsist him the whole time: but if he knew he intended to go over himself before it was lapsed, though he did not set him out at first with full subsistence, we should not suspect him deficient either in forecast or kindness.

Agreeably to these decisions of reason we see the Scriptures representing man as originally placed in a state of happiness, to continue while nothing external interfered to disturb it, but with an imbecility, evidenced by Adam's transgression, incapable of resisting the first temptation that should accost him: that by repeated offence he contracted a depravity which would continually grow

worse and worse, until it plunged him into the lowest depths of misery, nor could any skill or endeavors of his own prevent the mischief, neither was there any provision of second causes that could assist him. Nevertheless, God in his eternal purpose had provided a remedy for restoring him to his primitive condition, and supplying him with a vigor that should be proof against all attacks.

15. Little doubt can be made that the interposition here spoken of must be understood only of the Incarnation and occasional effusions of the Holy Ghost. I do not forget that the miracles and prophecies recorded in both Testaments are parts of the Christian belief: but miracle, as I have observed in the Chapter upon that article, is a particular species of supernatural operations. Those who hold the souls of children created from time to time as there is a foetus ready to receive them, or that there is an interposing Providence continually watching over and correcting the errors of chance and freewill, must ascribe these events to an immediate operation of Almighty Power, yet never call them miraculous because they are necessary for carrying on the order and courses of Nature.

Whereas miracles are not wanted for necessary uses of their own, but as evidences, striking to the sense, of something more important to be manifested by them. Therefore we must confine the deliverance of mankind from its state of imbecility and wretchedness to the two causes specified above.

Those two articles depend upon the Trinity, which is counted the profoundest of mysteries: but a mystery ceases to be such as soon as revealed, that is, understood. For St. Paul speaks of the Christian faith as a mystery, because it remained such to the Jews, being shadowed to them in types and figures which led them to the expectation of a temporal monarch coming with power to make the conquest of the world, but at the same time poor and mean, a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief: which things appeared contradictory, and consequently mysterious. But when it was revealed that Jesus was the Messiah predicted, who worked out deliverance, not by earthly power and dominion, but by a life of righteousness terminating in a voluntary death, this was a plain proposition intelligible to the meanest capacities; even those who do not believe it true, yet clearly understand what is contained in the assertion.

So the confusedness of our ideas concerning substantial identity and union, involves us in mystery and contradiction. We apprehend that one individual substance may be split into many, and that several united together may produce a new substance of a compound never in being before: which perpetually carries us

counter to the admonition of our doctors against either dividing the substance or confounding the Persons. I have already done my endeavors towards preventing those mistakes, in my Chapter on the Trinity, and need only observe here, what nobody can deny to be the orthodox doctrine of our Church, that it was the same indivisible Almighty Being who governs all Nature as also the affairs of men by his ordinary and extraordinary Providence, who took upon him our Nature by an union with the human soul and body of Jesus, and who works occasionally upon our hearts to will and to do according to his good pleasure. That he did not thereby become three different Beings or Substances having transactions with one another, but assumed the appearance of three Persons or Characters, each having a separate office and distinct province of action.

16. Let us now try to settle the proper conception of Union, which is not a transubstantiation, nor consubstantiation extending throughout the same portion of space, nor yet the addition of a new substance to those entering the compound; but when things are so mingled together that we cannot distinguish them asunder, and so joined for a continuance as that we never see them separated again.

Which uninterrupted continuance of coalescence I apprehend characterizes the second Person in distinction from the third: the office of the one being to unite with the subject indissolubly; of the other, to accede for small spaces from time to time to different subjects as occasion shall require, and in such secret manner as that, if I am right in my idea, we can never know, when the access was actually made.

That there is a similitude of operation between them stands likewise evidenced by the style and language of Scripture. The figurative expressions of oil and anointing are applied equally to the effects produced by both. The reception of Grace by the Holy Ghost is termed a Chrism, or anointing: and the characteristic appellation of the united God and Man is that of the Messiah, that is, the chrismed or anointed. Jesus is said to have been conceived by the Holy Ghost, to grow in Grace, and to have the Spirit descend upon him at Jordan.

Neither is the term uniting, or other expression of similar import, withholden from the regenerate Christian, of whom it is said the Father shall come unto him and make his abode with him and dwell in him, and that he shall receive power to be one of the sons of God.

From all which may be gathered that the application of the Deity to every sanctified believer was the same in kind with that

to Jesus ; but immensely inferior in degree, and temporary, with large intervals of disunion between. So that when we act under influence of the Spirit, still our acts have a mixture of imperfection ; and in far the greater part of our acts we offend daily, being left to ourselves without any assistance, whereas Jesus being styled the Holy Child, we must conclude, that holiness accompanied him constantly and uninterruptedly from the cradle to the cross.

This interpretation steers clear of several heretical notions broached in former times ; as that Jesus was a phantom, having no material body nor rational soul, but being an appearance exhibited to the senses by the divine agency impressing ideas of various actions and discourses passing before them : or that he was a mere man, and the Divinity within him nothing more than a power of virtue, like that which in a lower degree rested upon Moses and Elijah. As likewise the Arian opinion, that he was a Being of higher order than the Angels, singular in his kind, created with extraordinary power and intelligence sufficient to answer the purposes of the Redemption. For by the account above stated of the Christian Doctrine it appears, that Jesus was a real man, like unto us in all respects, sin only excepted : that the Divinity united to him, which together with his human soul and body composed one Christ, was the Supreme Being substantially and inseparably present with him, supplying all imperfections in the created parts, And that human Nature was so far lost in corruption and weakness, that no created power in the universe, nor anything less than an immediate interposition of Omnipotence, could suffice to deliver it.

17. From hence we may learn what were the immediate effects of the union upon the soul of Jesus : for we have no warrant to pronounce it produced any upon his body, being told that he was in human infirmity and in all other things like unto us, sin only excepted. Even the Resurrection was not a consequence of the union, being the work of God in his Paternal, not his Filial character : nor yet the Ascension, for he did not fly, but was taken up into heaven. Which restriction of the difference between him and other men solely to an exemption from sin, as cited just now, together with the similitude in the operation of the Holy Spirit pointed out before, directs us to understand, that the union did not produce any extraordinary intelligence, or knowledge, or enlargement of the faculties, but a continual supply of force to what St. Paul calls the law of his mind above the law of his members : so that his judgment was never perverted to decide amiss,



nor was he in any single instance turned aside from his resolution by the temptations of pleasure, danger, or pain.

So the purpose and effect of the union was to rectify the sinful nature of Jesus ; for that he did partake of a sinful nature by his birth from the woman, I see no reason nor scruple to doubt. Some I know have been carried by an inconsiderate and hasty zeal for the honor of their Saviour, to insist that his soul was originally pure and perfect beyond that of all other men : but zeal operates very variously in different subjects. For my part, I must acknowledge that my zeal for the glory of God gives me a bias to imagine him less perfect than the rest of Adam's race : for I have so high an idea of the Divine Power as to believe it capable of sanctifying the most abandoned profligate soul that ever inhabited a human body ; therefore if I could admit the doctrine of an intrinsic difference in souls, should stand persuaded, that God had chosen to unite himself with the very worst of the whole species, in order to manifest his Power the more fully.

But as I happen to have found no evidence of any such difference in my observations upon human nature, but that all souls are originally alike until corrupted in various degrees by vicious courses : it follows necessarily that the soul of Jesus was in itself neither better nor worse than our own. He was a descendant of Adam, and when it is declared that in Adam all have sinned, no exception is made of him : nor is this contradictory to the position of his being without sin. For that relates to the commission of actual sin, which we ourselves were not guilty of in Adam : for none of us were accomplices in the fact of his transgression. Therefore when it is said in Adam all have sinned, we must necessarily understand thereby, as explained in the foregoing sections, that all have partaken of a nature evidenced by the fall to be too weak and frail to stand against temptation ; which nature the child Jesus partook of, sharing it in common with us. Nor are there marks left unrecorded by the Holy Spirit, in the circumstances of the last agony, and other particulars pointed out in § 10 of my Chapter on the Trinity, which indicate a natural imbecility and struggle with the carnal law of the members rising in rebellion against the law of the mind : which attacks of the enemy, together with the distress and sufferings brought upon the champion of our cause, may be regarded as one completion of the prophecy, that the serpent should bruise the heel which trampled upon its head.

The same observation may persuade us that the human nature of Christ was not perfected instantly upon the first Incarnation : for as weakness is turned into corruption by repeated acts of sin-

ning, so it can be raised to invincible strength only by repeated acts of righteousness ; nor was it purposed by an exertion of Almighty Power to remodel the constitution, but to meliorate it. Perhaps Adam might have repaired the damage of his fall by a subsequent unsinning obedience ; his nature being capable of a recovery, and even of improvement and melioration, by applying the proper means, had he been capable of making the application. But the Scripture represents it as impossible for him to do any good thing with his lapsed powers ; and so indeed many philosophers allow that no man acts upon the sole principle of rectitude : therefore all mankind had been lost and undone forever without the coming of the Redeemer, in whom the Godhead constantly residing restrained him from all actual sin, making him grow in grace and favor with God and Man, by gradual progress bringing the mental organs to such a firm and vigorous constitution as enabled him to perform an unsinning obedience in all trials : thereby placing human Nature in a better condition than when it first came forth from the hands of its Maker, for it was created in happiness and innocence, but subject to dangers which might deprive it of both ; whereas now it was restored to the same happiness and innocence, but provided further with a security against all hazard of losing them. Thus to be consistent with Scripture and the doctrines of our Church, it becomes us to raise our idea of the purity and perfections of our Saviour as high as imagination can carry them, yet ought we to ascribe them all to the Divinity united with him.

18. Nevertheless, these effects of the Union, so far as hitherto described, seem to terminate in the person of Jesus, not extending to the rest of the world, nor showing him to have been the Saviour of Mankind. But though an interposition of almighty Power was necessary for restoring and perfecting their nature, it was not necessary that interposition should be applied directly to every particular member of the species. For I have shown in the Chapter on Providence that in all cases of supernatural interposition there is likewise a disposing Providence, ordering a chain of second causes for completing the design intended thereby. It is not the custom of our almighty Governor to do much with his own hand, he applies it rarely ; for to do more than requisite for manifestation of his Power and Dominion, might prove an impeachment of his Wisdom, nor are his works made to want it often. He comprised his interpositions in the same original plan with his secondary agents, and so contrived the latter as that they would sometimes run amiss, yet upon a few turns given them upon extraordinary occasions, they should fall into the right course, and thenceforward proceed of themselves to bring forth the destined event.

We know the force of example, sympathy, and instructions given in consummate wisdom, to work strange alterations in the characters of men. Some philosophers have been positive that could we behold Virtue in her genuine colors, unclouded by any heterogeneous mixture, she would captivate all hearts; and I have attempted to make appear in the Chapter on Economy how one perfect man may communicate his influence to others near him, who by degrees may spread it throughout a whole community. Since then the imaginary Wise-man of the ancients was realized in the person of Jesus, why should we deem it unlikely that he, by the pattern he has set before us in a life of righteousness, by the love he has shown in his sufferings and death, by the doctrines, the precepts, the institutions, the Religion he has delivered, together with some occasional aids of the Holy Spirit, should naturally raise human nature to its utmost perfection, and provide us with glorified bodies upon dissolution of our present, without needing any supernatural operation upon us at our entrance into another life, or intercession for further extraordinary favors than have been already bestowed.

Nevertheless, the effects which might be expected have not been produced in this sublunary globe; multitudes being born and dying without any possibility of sharing in them, and none having ever attained the righteousness of their pattern; for the very best, not excepting the Apostles, have offended in many things: from whence may be inferred, that what has been done here will continue to produce its consequences in the next stage of being, until it has perfected individuals, and spread to the whole human race, or such part of it as has not wilfully rejected the opportunities already offered them.

19. We have now a clue towards explaining certain technical terms much used in all Christian discourses. They are figurative and mysterious, and then most mysterious when taken most closely in the literal sense; therefore here it is particularly incumbent upon us to penetrate into the spirit contained under the letter: for as soon as a man can enter fully into the spirit of what is said to him, he finds a light instantly break forth, which dispels all obscurities, and unveils the mystery. I know there are many people utterly averse to all rational explanations; they look upon every attempt to pry into sacred mysteries as a profanation; and though they sometimes seem fond of expounding difficult articles, yet is their exposition such as casts no light but rather darkness visible. It amuses, it transports, it astonishes, fills with a sacred awe and hurry of spirits, but conveys no clear idea, nor any real information; as if Ignorance were the mother of Devotion. Ignorance

perhaps may be the mother, but a child will never grow to vigorous manhood, who is kept always in his mother's lap : and the attempt to confine him there, proceeds often from sinister design, because he will be more governable and susceptible to take any ply of zeal which may be wanted for private ends. Sometimes it arises from want of skill to do better, in such as have no more knowledge than just to qualify them for nurses, and a secret ambition of getting as many children under their tuition as they can possibly collect ; and sometimes it may spring from an injudicious imitation of the Scripture manner, which abounds in parables and dark sayings and riddles, so that seeing one may not see, and hearing one may not understand.

But it should be considered, that the Scripture language must appear more enigmatical to us than it was originally intended to be : for it was calculated for the Jews, and most of the figures employed therein having been adopted from the Jewish doctors, may be presumed familiar, and readily intelligible to that people. And for what were designedly riddles, they were delivered for holding our attention to the pursuit of one object requiring diligence to investigate it : for in the very nature of a riddle, it perplexes at first, but is not past all finding out. Therefore we may go on without fear or scruple, as under no danger of a profanation in unravelling the mysteries by that exercise of our best sagacity and industry upon them which they were given to us to excite.

20. To begin with Redemption, the leading term introductory to most of the rest : it signifies literally the purchase of a captive slave from his master, by money or other valuable consideration. But the Redemption of Mankind was from thralldom under the Serpent, and was effected by bruising his head, which can hardly be called a valuable consideration given for the purchase. Or if you will say, as vulgarly apprehended, that the purchase was made from God, who being supreme Lord and Master paramount of all captives, could command them out of the hands of their immediate owners, what money or thing of value did he receive ? what vacant space was there in the treasury of his riches that could admit an addition to increase his wealth ? what did he lose by the recovery of a fallen race that should require a compensation for the damage ? And yet in our days the term is so constantly restrained to cases of slavery or pawnage bought off with money, that I do not recollect ever to have heard it applied to prisoners of war in civilized countries, although such frequently obtain their enlargement for a certain sum ; because they are not

regarded as a property of the persons who have them in their power, nor consequently as an object of sale.

But among the Jews, Redemption had a wider latitude, being extended to every deliverance from servitude, by what means soever effected. Thus in the Old Testament God is frequently styled the Lord who redeemed Israel from the hand of Pharaoh, out of the house of bondage, the Lord that bought them: yet nobody can apprehend it done by a bargain made, or any gratuity given to Pharaoh or other princes, to resign up their right of dominion over their slaves.

Nevertheless, these expressions having been frequently used, gave occasion for introducing the like into the Christian dialect; such as the ransom for sin, that we are bought with a price, and the Satisfaction made to divine Justice. It must be owned that the phrase of being bought with a price is not quite alien to our present modes of speech; for when a person has met with many grievous accidents in the pursuit of an advantage he obtains at last, we commonly say that he has earned it dearly, that it has cost him a vast deal of pains and anxiety. Therefore Christ having debarred himself from what we esteem the enjoyments and conveniences of life, and submitted to a cruel and ignominious death, in prosecution of his work of our deliverance, we may say properly that he paid dearly by his self-denial and suffering, for the benefits he procured for us. Yet still this amounts to no more than a half purchase, where something valuable is parted with, but there is nobody to receive it.

As for Satisfaction, that is plainly a very abstract and figurative representation of Justice as a Person, who was interested in our punishment, and could not recede from her demands without receiving an amends adequate in value. By which figure was shadowed forth the immutable Nature of things established by the Creator, whereby righteousness and innocence were made indispensably necessary to the possession and security of happiness: which being lost in any part of the creation, occasioned a gap in the all-perfect plan not to be otherwise supplied unless by some efficacious method contrived for the restoration of righteousness and innocence.

21. Atonement and Sacrifice, together with the epithets Expiatory and Propitiatory, grow from the same root with that of Ransom: for equally with that, they relate to the giving of something highly prized by the receiver, only with this difference, that instead of money paid in consequence of a bargain driven, they carry the idea of lost favor regained by some acceptable present. This method of reconciliation being prescribed by the Jews in the

ceremonial law, and likewise practised by the Heathens, seems to have introduced among both an opinion, that after having angered God by their transgressions, they might bring him into good humor again by the sweet-smelling savor exhaling from their sacrifices, or the magnificence and beauty of their oblations. But who in these times of better knowledge can imagine, that God is to be bribed out of his favors, that anything can put him aside from his purpose, or render him propitious when he was otherwise disposed? The phrase of bringing him to our desires carries the same import with that in common use among sailors, when they tell you that before you make into a particular port, you must bring such a hill to bear directly over such a point of the shore: they do not imagine that any efforts of theirs can stir the hill an inch from its place, but that they can work their ship till it comes into the spot lying in a line with the two objects described. So oblations and sacrifices could have no avail to move the heavenly Powers, but operated solely upon the offerers by bringing them so far as the carnal ceremony or heathenish rite could do, into such courses of sentiment and conduct whereto the heavenly Powers were always propitious.

The same reasoning may be applied to the sacrifice of Christ: it could have no efficacy to change the immutable God, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, or to turn him from severity and Justice to graciousness, and Mercy; but was efficacious for raising the human race to that righteousness, which in his original constitution of universal Nature he had made the sole avenue to eternal life. In this light we shall see the value of his sacrifice immensely surpassing that of all others: for they could only produce an imperfect, temporary reverence and religious fear, and resolution to do right, in a few persons, whereas his will in due time work a complete and permanent righteousness throughout all Mankind in general. And we may add to our estimation by recurring to another use of the figure commonly made among ourselves: for we say a man has sacrificed his pleasures, his health, his fortune to the good of his Country, when he has pursued it by measures detrimental to them all; yet without any thought of an oblation made to Heaven. Therefore it must greatly endear our Saviour to our affection to reflect how much he has sacrificed to rescue us from a wretchedness, which by all natural causes was absolutely irremediable.

22. The greatest sacrifice being that of life, terminating in agonies, and scourgings, and despondency, and at last a cruel death upon the cross, has occasioned the Redemption to be generally spoken of as purchased by that sacrifice alone, expressed

often by another figure, not likely to be taken literally, that of our sins being nailed to the tree.

But as it is no unprecedented thing to accumulate figure upon figure, this of the sacrifice is re-painted by another, that of blood-shedding: and much talk has passed among the pious concerning the precious blood of Christ, whereby we were redeemed. As if the material blood in his body was of a richer composition than any other blood, containing an occult quality, or magic virtue, a vivifying Spirit, efficacious to purge away all seeds of corruption and mortality that could be found in the world. And the Papists carry this notion so far as to insist that no man can be saved without actually swallowing the body together with the blood included therein.

But I see no warrant to pronounce the blood of Jesus a whit better than that of any other man who was born with a good constitution, and had lived a sober, temperate life: therefore it was not the blood shed but the act of shedding that availed to our benefit. Nor yet can the shedding be taken strictly; for the crucifixion was not a manner of execution to cause much effusion of blood, excepting only a few drops trickling from the wounds made in the fleshy parts by the nails. But the Jewish sacrifices having been constantly made by letting out the whole mass of blood from the victims, this circumstance came to stand for all kinds of death in general; and so we should still understand it to this day. For I suppose anybody might allege the text, Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, in justification of his hanging a criminal who had murdered another by poisoning, or smothering, or drowning, although there were not a drop of blood spilt either in the crime or the punishment. Therefore we may say, without imputation of heterodoxy, that the blood was no otherwise precious, than as it served to sustain that life which he sacrificed for our sakes.

Nor yet can we suppose any benefit or delight accruing to the Father from seeing him expire on the cross: so that even his death was not expiatory or propitiatory in itself, nor any further than as it was necessary for establishing the authority of the Religion he had instituted, for the restoring and perfecting human nature throughout the whole species of creatures partaking thereof.

23. The appellation of Merits can no more be taken in the strict primary sense than any of the former; for then it would imply a real benefit conferred, or profit procured deserving of its adequate recompense. If anybody has done you some signal service in your health, your family, or your fortune, he has a

merit with you, and you owe him a return of the like whenever an opportunity for making it shall be afforded. But what merit had even Christ himself with the Father? what obligation could his righteousness and sufferings lay him under? what accession was made thereby to his Power, his Intelligence, his Wisdom, or any other Attribute? You will find nothing tending that way in the sacred records, which all along represent the restoration of fallen Man as a Free Grace of the Father, not a debt to the Son.

Let us then reflect on the ordinary modes of speech in daily use among us, and we may recollect that Merit is often applied to skill and ability sufficient to go through with the undertaking we have under contemplation. A man of merit in his profession is one who possesses the talents, the dexterity, and knowledge, requisite for performing the functions of it. The merits of a cause in contradiction to forms and modes of pleading, are those circumstances attending it, which we apprehend of force to weigh with the Jury. Now in this sense we cannot but acknowledge the merits of Christ all-sufficient, able abundantly to save to the uttermost, and that the stream of living waters whereof he was the fountain, will never run dry so long as there is a thirsty soul wanting to be refreshed by them.

24. That we are saved by the merits of Christ, nobody can deny to be a part of the Christian doctrine: yet I shall not scruple to assert in the same breath, that we must be saved, if at all, by our own merits. As much a contradiction, and as shocking to the pious ear, as this may seem, I hope to make it good both from Scripture and from Philosophy. Whoever will study carefully the eleven first Chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, with the aid of Mr. Locke, may see that it is the main scope of St. Paul's argument to show, that both Jews and Gentiles were under a necessity of resorting to Christ: in the course of which argument he admits the Law to be holy, and just, and good, the terms of the Covenant being, *Do this and thou shalt live*; but the Jew did not do this, that is, did not fulfil the law, for he that offendeth in one point is guilty of the whole. To the Gentile likewise the divine Power and Godhead was evidently displayed in the works of the Creation, so that being without the Law, he was a law unto himself: nevertheless forgetting the invisible God, he gave himself up to all manner of unnatural filthy lusts.

The Philosophers, too, asserted that none but the Wise-man could be secure of happiness, who became such by having a love of rectitude constantly predominant above all his other desires, and urging him invariably to shape his actions thereby; for if he ever



acted wrong, it was plain in that instance there was some other motive weighing with him more powerfully : but that there never yet has been such a Wise-man existing upon earth.

Therefore the Gospel, and I may add Philosophy, hath concluded all under sin, whereby all have fallen short of the glory of God, or eternal life : not because the righteousness of either Law, that of Moses or that of Nature, were incapable of giving life ; but because the professors of both were incapable of ever raising themselves to such righteousness by an unsinning obedience. This righteousness then is the proximate cause operating to Salvation, for without holiness no man shall see the Lord : nevertheless, are we taught to rely wholly upon the Merits of Christ for our Salvation, because they are the sole and certain cause operating to the attainment of that righteousness.

25. It is easy to see that I have hitherto spoken of Salvation as an entire deliverance from the power of death, or an actual possession of eternal life : in which sense no man has or ever will attain it in this world. We might attain it here too by our own merits, but we have none, nor can get any : our hopes of ever reaching it elsewhere must rest solely upon the merits of Christ.

But there is a looser sense wherein a man is said to be saved, when he is going on in the straight road leading to salvation : still the certainty of this road having such termination depends upon the merits of Christ, efficacious to pave a way of Religion which should conduct human nature to its full perfection. Nevertheless, we must travel the road by our own righteousness, not indeed that of works, but that which is of faith, and of works only so far as needful to evidence and strengthen our faith. The merits of Christ are the cause operating to righteousness ; but faith the pipe turning the stream of operation upon ourselves, instilling the living waters, the vivifying principle of Rectitude or Holiness, which may daily grow more and more predominant over our appetites and aversions, annul the law of our members, and bring us gradually under obedience to the law of our minds.

There is still another sense wherein a man may be said to be saved by faith alone, before attaining the righteousness which is of faith. If you knew a person laboring under a complication of distempers which must prove his destruction, and were persuaded there was some one eminent physician, of skill fully sufficient to deal with them, but against whom the patient had conceived an unaccountable aversion : though upon that account you might pronounce him a dead man, yet if afterwards by much laboring the point you could overcome his prejudices you would be ready to cry, Now he is safe, presuming that he would instantly apply,

and certainly receive benefit from the doctor's prescriptions. In this view we find it frequently repeated in Scripture, that whosoever believeth in the Son shall be saved : and Mr. Locke, in his Reasonableness of Christianity, makes the belief of Jesus being the Messiah, sufficient to denominate a man a Christian, and entitle him to all the benefits of the Gospel covenant. For this is an entrance upon the road ; and if the entrance be made with sincerity and thorough heartiness, which God only can know, although the convert should be suddenly cut off, there is no doubt of his faring well in the next world, as was the case of the penitent thief. But though the road be certain, the perseverance of the traveller is not certain, for some have fallen off from the faith they once embraced ; but if the faith, being allowed time to grow, produce no crop of righteousness, such as this sublunary climate is capable of ripening, we must pronounce it a dead faith, having no vigor to push forth the genuine fruit.

So that it is needful to observe the various degrees of force at times attending the same expression, for else it will lead us into dangerous mistakes : for a man may justly claim a rank among the saved, yet remain in a very ticklish, uncertain condition. Nay, he may actually be safe for the present, yet by too great security and supineness cast himself out of that state : therefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

26. The terms Mediation and Intercession seem at first sight to exhibit a prospect of some further exertions of Omnipotence obtained from the Father, which he grants, not of his own mere motion, but for the sake of gratifying his Son. This representation of God being worked upon by paternal fondness, and drawn by importunities to take measures he should not otherwise have thought of, must give great handle for cavil to the freethinker, against which we shall find much difficulty to make a solid defence.

Besides that the stupendous work of the Incarnation, together with occasional assistances by the Holy Spirit, have rendered all further supernatural operations needless, the touches given by them have turned the course of second causes into their right channel, so that from thenceforward they may proceed unerringly to accomplish their destined purpose, the Redemption of Man. We want nothing now from the Father, more than the continuance of his disposing providence, and support of the laws of universal Nature he has established : for he has given all power to the Son, upon whom we may place a sure dependence.

And imputed righteousness is a very abstract idea, therefore the more surprising it should be so current among persons who

affect to run down all abstractions, and to deal altogether in plain language, which he that runs may read. In the imagination of the running reader, it will carry the face of something solid, you can hold in your hand, and may be delivered from one person to another, like a purse of money, upon delivery whereof he may become rich who was poor before.

But whoever will stand still a while to consider attentively what he reads, may discern that these terms bear a reference to the completion of the plan of universal Nature by the coming of Christ. For Nature is the work of God : what she does, is done by him. For we say truly that God giveth us our daily bread, although it comes to us by the production of natural causes, and disposition of his ordinary providence supplying us with means of procuring it. When fortune frowns, it is his hand lying heavy upon us : when things fall out to our wish, we taste of his Mercy and Bounty. Now the plan of second causes was so drawn as to tend inevitably to our destruction, without any provision among them for ever delivering us therefrom. This condition of human nature is called lying under a curse, under the weight of irreconcilable wrath and vengeance : until the Christian Religion, introduced by the greatest of all interpositions, predetermined in the secret counsels or eternal purpose of Heaven, turned the second causes influencing the human Will into a salutary course, which would end in a thorough salvation from all wretchedness, and an investiture in the actual possession of eternal life.

This progressive tendency of our Nature towards perfection is termed a state of reconciliation and favor, and adoption to the privileges of children : the change of disposition in ourselves being represented by the figure of a change of disposition in the Father, from severity and anger to mercy and paternal affection. And as Christ was the agent who by the efficacy of his Religion worked that change, he is therefore styled the Mediator, having management of the great transaction between God and Man, obtaining for us the terms of the new Covenant, bringing down peace from on high, good-will towards men.

27. Yet because the perfection of righteousness, which is the cement of peace and sole object of good-will, remains unattainable in this mortal life, but we have seen reason to conclude there is a Christian Religion in the next world, whereby it must be completed : therefore the Mediation of Christ did not terminate with his death and sufferings, but he still continues to make Intercession at the right hand of God on our behalf, as well during our abode upon earth, as on our removal hence, and appearance at the day of judgment : by which Intercession must be understood,

not an importuning of God for fresh blessings he had not intended to bestow, but a gradual forwarding of our progress towards that character of holiness, which will bring down those blessings; they having been already made the natural consequence and effect thereof in the pre-established Nature of things.

Then for the word Imputation, it implies the placing some article to the account of a particular person; or rather, in common speech, the discharge of an article that had been set down to him. When we would excuse a man for some offensive behavior, it is customary to say, you must impute it to his ignorance, or indiscretion, or over-hasty zeal to oblige: thus discharging the man from the fault by laying it upon some infirmity whose misguidings are not to be deemed his act: but though it might be a sort of Catachresis in vulgar language, to talk of imputing a good deed, this form of expression is current in the Christian language: for we are not to impute our sins to Christ, for that would be laying the blame upon his instigating us thereto, but his merits to ourselves.

A man's success in the world depends upon his situation, his opportunities, and the merit he has in his profession. Now the profession of a Christian is that of Wisdom or Holiness, of sentiment and conduct, as the only way to the attainment of eternal life. He may confide in the divine Goodness that he shall never want a proper situation, nor opportunities: therefore his prospect of success must be greater or less in proportion to his merit. When he comes to state the account with his own heart, he must be conscious that he has not the merit needful; if he fancies he has, he deceives himself, and a delusive hope is more fatal than desirable; so that the only solid ground of his hopes must be found in the merit or efficacy of his Religion gradually to strengthen his Will or the law of his mind, and invest him with the merit he wants.

By this way he may turn the balance of the account in his favor, being allowed to avail himself of the merit he shall one day acquire, and the performances he shall be enabled to achieve thereby: which I take to be meant by imputing the merits of Christ, that is, placing to the credit side of our account those effects, which they will infallibly produce for the amendment of our Nature.

But they will produce no effects unless their influence be particularly derived upon ourselves by the channel of Faith; therefore it is faith that justifies: not that it makes us actually just, for no man goes out of the world a just man, but the true believer persevering to the end carries out that seed of righteousness which

is of faith, that will grow to full maturity in a more salubrious climate. So that although upon his departure hence he should not be put into immediate possession of eternal life, yet he will inherit the promise of it, and fall into the sure and certain road conducting thereto, from which there is no hazard of his being ever turned aside.

And I think any man who has a taste for rectitude, or a hunger and thirst after righteousness, must regard it as a most desirable happiness to be placed in a situation wherein he shall continually be making proficiency towards the perfection of his Nature, and feel the soothing satisfaction of having neglected none of his opportunities; but at the close of every day shall be able to say with truth, I have been moving onward in my progress, I am advanced one step nearer towards the full accomplishment of my wishes. So the death of the righteous or faithful may be the direct passage into a state of happiness, although not into a state of absolute perfection; and that it is not, may be gathered from several hints given in Scripture of a final state surpassing the intermediate in blessedness.

28. We now see the points in dispute between the Philosopher and the Christian, when they understand one another, reduced to a very narrow compass, still leaving a near resemblance in their features. The one will not admit the fall of Adam by the artifices of the Serpent; but he acknowledges that human nature lies very low immersed in the filth of a material composition, whose corruptions taint the very soul: unable to clear itself from folly and error, or rise in any single instance to the perfect character of Wisdom. He banishes the Devil from his system, yet retains the prevalence of appetite, example, and custom, called the world and the flesh; and allows they will generate anger, revenge, spite, rancor, and other devilish tempers of mind. He will not hear of an Incarnation, that is, the omnipresent God included within a human body, yet he may comprehend a continued application of the Deity to the mental organs of a human frame, and how powerful efficacy the opinion of such an event has had to make a system of Religion prevail in the world. He finds no evidence of a Holy Spirit working upon our hearts, yet is sensible there are seasons of vigor and languor, of clearness and dulness in the mind; that we do not always proceed with the same spirit; that when it is wanting, no man can make any good progress in whatever he undertakes, and that there are certain means of quickening and quenching, or raising and depressing that spirit. He thinks the current belief abounding in absurdities and contradictions, that is, while he beholds it under the disguises of the nursery; for

when stripped of them, and appearing in its native colors, with its shape and lineaments drawn out upon one uniform plan, he will discern it regular and consistent throughout, will distinguish between the forms and modes of expression rendered needful by the condition of human nature in the bulk of mankind, and the substance they were calculated to introduce : he will then perceive that the system of righteousness, sanctity, deadness to the world, and heavenly-mindedness, is the same with his own system of rectitude in sentiment and conduct, expressed only in a different language.

If he will not allow a merit in believing some particular proposition, he must be fair enough to grant there is none in disbelieving : neither of them are virtue or vice in themselves, nor make a part of the moral character. Nevertheless, the character may undoubtedly be influenced by opinion, so far as to take a total change : so that it is matter of importance what we believe, or disbelieve. Even if he should suppose an opinion erroneous, opinion being neither good nor bad in itself, he will judge of it by its consequences : and since as two negatives make an affirmative, so one error may bring a man round again to the point from which another error had led him astray, he must see the expedience of countenancing an innocent mistake, which will repair the damage done by a more pernicious.

29. But our business here is not with the Philosopher to concern ourselves about what he rejects or approves : we are to examine the Christian doctrines, and penetrate if we can into the true spirit and design of them. It has been already suggested, that the point driven at therein was to bring men to a just apprehension of their Maker, and the relation they stand in to him : and this is confirmed by many passages of Scripture. Christ has declared that he came not to seek his own glory, but the glory of him that sent him ; that the love of God is one of the two hinges whereon hang all the law and the prophets ; that we must strive to be perfect as our Father which is in heaven is perfect ; and has taught us to pray, Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come, thy Will be done ; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever and ever, all which are elsewhere comprised in the expression of coming to the Father.

Nevertheless, there are multitudes of texts which promise Salvation upon coming to the Son, upon believing that Jesus is the Christ ; how then shall we reconcile this seeming discordance ? We cannot be safe without coming to the Father ; yet we may be made safe by adherence to the Son ? I need only one citation to solve this difficulty : No man can come to the Father but through

the Son. So that Faith in Christ gives assurance of Salvation as being the remote cause of it, because he is the way and the door, by which we may certainly arrive thereat : for whoever sincerely and heartily believes in the Son, shall infallibly find access to the Father. Were it possible to disjoin a true Faith in Christ from the love of God, it would not avail alone : for many shall say in the last day, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works : yet if they have not done the will of the Father, but were workers of iniquity, they shall be rejected. It seems scarce credible to have ever happened in fact, that persons, possessed of so high a degree of faith as to cast out devils, which was a pitch the first disciples could not rise to, should yet continue workers of iniquity : but this was a case put in speculation to show us that the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, without natural Religion in that perfection whereto they were calculated to raise it, will obtain a passport for no man : wherefore the latter still remains the sole proximate cause of Salvation, and the end whereto the Gospel was designed to conduct us.

30. But what is to be understood by coming to the Father ? Not a loco-motion surely : for that were superfluous. God is omnipresent, existing substantially throughout the whole infinitude of space : he is close to us, within us, and round about us ; so that we should be never the nearer to him for any change of place. But this is a philosophical idea : the plain man apprehends him to live a great way off, some hundred of miles up above in the clouds. Be it so : then what mountains shall we climb, what springs, what carriages, what wings shall we procure to get to him ? The expression therefore is evidently figurative, and we must search for the thing signified by the figure. The Scripture informs us, He that cometh to God must believe that he is, must have his mind possessed with a sense of his almighty power and dominion : yet this alone will not suffice : he must believe likewise that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him, that is, must be penetrated with a persuasion of the divine Providence, Protection, Wisdom, Justice, Mercy, Goodness, and other Attributes. For if he leaves any of them out, he will be liable to fancy God an unconcerned spectator of sublunary affairs, or unskillful to manage them completely, or a rewarder of none, or that he rewards all indifferently whether they seek him or no. Which Coming, as above explained, is expressed in other places by the beatific vision, seeing God as he is, beholding him face to face, knowing even as also we are known.

There is still another expression, if not directly containing, yet conducting to the same sense. Those upon whom the sentence was pronounced, Depart from me, were workers of iniquity, persons who had neglected to do the Will of the Father, and therefore incapable of access to Christ, or through the sole passage opened by his intercession to the Father. Now we know our actions are all shaped by our Will, and the Will is constantly determined by motives and desires occurring to the thought : wherefore the sentiments of mind figured by Coming and Seeing, must be sentiments of the heart as well as of the understanding. It is not merely right and sound speculative opinion that will answer the purpose, unless it touch our sensibility, and give a right turn to the affections : for they must bring our ideal causes or opinions to become motives of action. When we can discern something inviting and desirable in the things we know, some profit to be worked from them, it will raise a dependence, an expectation and appetite, which must keep the thoughts steadily attentive to their object, and determine the Will to put in practice the means as they severally occur, for making the profit.

But as the wind cannot blow contrary ways at once, so neither can the affections take their right turn while attached to objects of sense, and gratification of the desires excited thereby ; wherefore those must be removed from our attention, the soul be purged from all foulness cast upon her by the gross, corporeal machine, the darkness of earthly fumes dispersed away from her mental eye before she can attain a clearness of vision. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God ; Without holiness no man can see the Lord ; and we are exhorted to die unto the world, to put off the old man, to subdue the fleshly lusts, that is, the impulses of our inferior faculties, in order that we may have our conversation in heaven.

Nevertheless, while in this world we cannot have our conversation altogether there, for the necessary cares of life will claim large intervals of our attention : yet may we obtain some intercourses by prayer, and meditation, or a little serious reflection. We cannot now see God face to face, but as in a glass, darkly, and the dust and smoke of earth will continually throw a foulness upon our glass : yet may we keep ourselves watchful to brush off the soil as fast as falling, and not suffer it to gather in pitchy blotches upon the surface. We cannot gain a near access to the Father, for the world and the flesh will continually retard our progress : yet we may hold ourselves in readiness to improve every opportunity that shall offer to advance a little onward in the way that has been opened for us.



31. We have now found what was the main scope and design aimed at in the Christian dispensation, namely to bring us completely to the Father in some future stage of our existence, and to forward us thitherward during our time of life, with as much speed as the cumbrance of our mortal bodies, the avocations of earthly concerns, and opposition of the world shall leave practicable. It remains next to inquire, by what steps the prosecution of this design is carried on.

Here enmity and zeal combine to lead into the same mistake : both look for the benefits of Christ's mission in an increase of knowledge, and the discovery of new truths : both rest their cause upon this point, and join issue upon the matter of fact. One insists that no improvement has been made in science, that nothing is to be learnt from Revelation except a few mysterious assertions, which, if true, would add nothing to the stock of knowledge. The other avers that life and immortality were first discovered in the Gospel ; that till then mankind lay under darkness and ignorance, the wisdom of the wise being nothing better than delusion, error, and trifle, that light and truth sprang forth by Christ, and without him we should scarce have known whether two and two make four.

Whereas this is placing the thing upon a wrong bottom, for the merits of Christ and his Religion do not lie in discoveries of science, not even that respecting life and manners : he came not to make us more knowing, but better men. The world knew enough before to have answered their necessary purposes, and if every one in it had lived up to what he knew, it would have been a happy and paradisiacal world : for the eternal power and Godhead were manifest in the works of the creation, but when men knew God, they glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, not by a failure of light, but because they shut their eyes against it. The defect of human Nature lies solely in the weakness of the Will to resist the impulses of appetite, or restrain the roving of imagination : it does not want quicker faculties, nor additional beams of light, but strength and alertness to make all advantages of those it has. For we have seen that Wisdom, as synonymous with Prudence, or Rectitude, or Righteousness, consists in a sensibility of the heart, and readiness of the Will to follow constantly whatever shall be discerned expedient in the judgment. This imbecility, then, destroying the soundness of Wisdom or full health of the mind, was the disorder which the Gospel was given to cure : no wonder then it should apply no remedies to those parts in the constitution where they were not wanted. Upon which account it was term-

ed foolishness by the Greeks, and I suppose is still counted so by some moderns, who, like them, expect to find some profound secrets of Philosophy laid open. But it is no disparagement of the Gospel to allow, that no such treasures are contained there, nor anything new revealed, unless some articles peculiar to its own plan, as the utter inability of human Nature ever to rescue itself from the wretchedness oppressing it, the distinction of Persons in the Deity, the hypostatic Union, effusions of the Holy Spirit, and such like.

Not that I deny it has in consequence produced an improvement of our knowledge : we may see in the Chapter on Economy, comparing § 13 and 20, how much sounder notions the plain Christian entertains even of Theology and Natural Religion, than the ancient Philosopher. For an enlargement of knowledge will ensue upon a due exercise of the faculties, without any fresh information from elsewhere. So that the sacred oracles were not issued to teach, but put us in a way of finding out for ourselves, by raising a concern and ardency for the discovery of salutary truths, turning the thoughts into profitable trains of reflection, uniting us in the same courses of thinking, and quickening our diligence in the pursuit of them.

These are the salutary remedies wanted in the distempered condition of our Nature. It is true, our knowledge is scanty at best, and our rational faculties imperfect ; but imperfection is not the same thing with disease. Our disorder lies in a sluggish indolence, unless roused by some passion, an insensibility to our own interests ever so little remote, and a perpetual misapplication of our powers. We act foolishly and madly ; but ignorance is not folly nor madness. He that snatches up the copper handle of a tea kettle, and burns his fingers, deserves our compassion rather than our censure ; but if he catches hold on a red hot iron, where he can see the heat, we shall chide him for being a fool and a madman. So it is the sensitive faculties that want to be rectified ; imagination and appetite to be disciplined and turned into their proper courses : which they are much better thrown into by reverence and authority, than by reasoning ; for they are like the deaf adder, which heareth not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

Therefore we find Jesus always speaking with authority, not as the Scribes ; the Scribe, who was expounder of the Law, and the Philosopher, expounder of the Law of Nature, could only lay their observations upon both before the audience, submitting to their judgment, whether the reasonings thereupon were just : but it is too much trouble to go through with such an examination ; the

hearer comes only to hear, or perhaps to judge upon inspection, not to reflect or consider for himself; so the reasonings missing the sanction of his own judgment, cannot have their proper force. But the style of Jesus ran otherwise, I and the Father are one; I speak not of myself, but from him that sent me, whoso keepeth my sayings, shall not taste of death. Here is no trouble needful to examine or reflect: the sound received through the ears will impress its ideas with sufficient force upon the mind.

There are many excellent sentiments of God and morality interspersed in the writings of the ancients; but those writings are studied by few, and read chiefly for curiosity and amusement, regarded as ingenious compositions, showing a sagacity and justness of thought in the authors. They may make some impression in the reading, which quickly dies away again upon laying the book aside; as Tully tells us was his case with respect to Plato upon the Immortality of the Soul. Whereas the Testament is the first book we are taught to read, to receive as the oracle of God, containing the way to Salvation, which at our utmost peril we must not disregard, and the truth whereof it is a sin to doubt; therefore whatever is drawn from thence comes accompanied with a reverence and idea of high importance, which give a force to the impression. Let a man take for his thesis the Stoical maxim, Things out of our power are nothing to us, and descant upon the imprudence of solicitude and anxiety for future events, which we can no ways prevent or provide against, it will not work the effects which the very same discourse might do, pronounced from the pulpit, upon the text, Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, and interlarded with other texts of similar import.

Thus the Gospel operates to our benefit chiefly by its sacredness, and having the authority of a law established in heaven; which authority must depend upon our reverence of the Lawgiver. Wherefore it is that we are so continually exhorted to believe in the name of Jesus; that God hath given him a name above all other names, whether of things in heaven or upon earth below, or things under the earth; that there resided a Divinity within him, that his words were the words of God, and his acts the acts of God, in the performance whereof his human powers were only instrumental.

This I take to be the fundamental article of Christian Faith: if there are other articles whereof it is pronounced, This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly, it must be because they were necessary to protect and establish the principle: for if it were possible for any man fully and heartily to acknowledge the authority

of the Gospel and of the Church, although through some misapprehension he should fall deficient with respect to the other particulars enumerated, I humbly apprehend that Athanasius himself would not anathematize him.

33. We are now come to the rock whereon Christ erected his Church, when he gave Simon the appellation of Peter; the stone which the builders refused, but is become the head stone of the corner: which we find to be the authority of a great name, supremely above all other names, entitling the owner to say with truth and propriety, I and the Father are one. And this leads to the necessity of that greatest interposition of Omnipotence, the descent of the Son of God upon earth to take upon him our human Nature, or Union of the Deity with the Soul of a man, as herein before explained. For the authority of a name cannot be firmly established, so as to become the corner stone of a durable building, unless by a real character in the person assuming it.

We are bred up from our childhood in a reverence for Jesus, whom whenever we have occasion to speak of we call Christ, or our Saviour, and should esteem it blasphemy in any one to drop a hint of his being a mere man, such as Socrates or Moses. But education only transmits opinions, which must have derived originally from some other source. I do not deny that the prophecies and miracles upon record opened an ample source of evidence to the first disciples: yet they could not have gained an unreserved credit to the words and example of one in whom any misapprehension or misbehavior had been observed. And for such of our moderns as are willing to examine the principles instilled into them, the external evidence being unavoidably abated in its force by great distance of time and change of language, they are less likely to be satisfied without a character of wisdom running uniform throughout both in the Religion and the Instituter. For though Wisdom, in the sense I have used it all along, does not necessarily imply a complete knowledge of everything, yet it does imply an exact discernment of the knowledge it has, so as to distinguish unerringly what lies within its compass, and what does not: therefore we may trust unreservedly to the words and example of the perfect Wise-man, because he will assert nothing but what he certainly knows to be true, and exhibit nothing as a pattern for imitation, whereof he does not clearly discern the expedience.

34. Therefore the Saviour of Mankind must possess the character of perfect Wisdom, consisting of a full power of endurance and forbearance; he must be a conqueror by a conquest greater than that of the World, the conquest of himself, a complete vic-

tory over all the allurements of sin, and terrors of death. Now this character, elsewhere imaginary, the object only of speculative admiration, became realized in Jesus. He was the Lamb without blemish, neither was there guile found in his mouth : his bitterest enemies could find nothing to blame either in his words or actions, though they sought it diligently, and with all their artifices ; and when bent upon his destruction, they could compass it no otherwise than by a false interpretation of his words. He had claimed to be the Son of God, Messiah the Conqueror, in the sense just now described : they resolved to understand it Conqueror of the World, particularly of the Romans ; so they made him a rebel against Cæsar, dangerous to the government, one whom no friend of the Emperor could patiently suffer to live.

Yet this Lamb was to be sacrificed as a freewill offering by his own consent : he laid down his life, nor did any man take it from him ; and during its continuance he joined temperance and fortitude to innocence. The forty days' recess in the wilderness, whether you take it as a narration of real facts, or figurative of imaginations suggested in his thoughts, shows him void of ambition, superior to the world with all its glories, and actuated solely by a principle of rectitude, or obedience to the Will of Heaven. He was meek and lowly, had not where to lay his head ; when reviled, he answered not again ; when scourged, buffeted, and spit upon, he endured the pain and the shame without repining ; he was led like a lamb to the slaughter ; that is, with the quietness, not the ignorance, of a lamb, for he knew it was to be made by a barbarous execution.

Instances perhaps might be produced of people going through great self-denials and sufferings when under influence of some strong desire. Covetousness will make men starve themselves : ambition carry them through incessant toils and dangers : a quick sense of honor or shame will render them insensible of wounds, distresses, and even the terrors of death : revenge will work a total indifference to what becomes of themselves, so they can wreak their resentment upon another. But these are no proofs of a strength in the Will to bear down opposition : it is carried forcibly by the impulse of one more powerful passion overcoming another powerful in a less degree ; like a vessel driven by the force of a storm against the torrent of a rapid river. Therefore, such exploits display no features in the character of consummate Wisdom, which achieves its arduous works with a calm, deliberate resolution, proceeding steadily against all obstacles upon one uniform plan, in contemplation of their rectitude, their necessary

tendency to some important end, and in compliance with the Will of Heaven which orders all things for the best.

35. But such invincible strength of the superior faculties is nowhere to be found in mortal man ; for God in his first formation of human nature, was pleased to give it an imbecility with which it could never gain an absolute dominion over appetite, aversion, and passion : it could only be raised thereto by an interposition of his almighty power joined in union with the manhood. Yet he had so ordered the course of second causes and constitution of human Nature, as that the union was needful to be made only with one man : for the benefits worked thereby would redound to the whole human race, whose Nature in its original constitution had been formed capable of being perfected by instruction, guidance, sympathy, and habit of right of action.

God is not profuse of his own Omnipotence : he employs it rarely, upon those occasions only wherein he had rendered it necessary by leaving deficiencies in his plan of Nature, purposely to admit these interpositions of his own hand, which he had predetermined from everlasting. Nor yet does he perform his extraordinary works wholly by his own power, but with the concurrence of second causes, turning and keeping them in the course wherein they will naturally bring forth the destined event.

Had this not been his method of proceeding, a mediation and intercession had been superfluous : for he might have changed our Nature from weakness to strength by an immediate operation upon us all. Neither would there have been need of an abiding union even with the one Man : it cannot be doubted that God, by a single exertion of his Omnipotence, the same wherewith he created all substance, could have remoulded him into a perfect creature, singular in its kind, as fancied by the Arians. But he was pleased to employ the natural force of habit for working the alteration, and used his own hand only to preserve that habit from a discontinuance by any single act of sin, which might have caused it to fail of its proper effect. So that without irreverence to our Saviour we may presume, that if the Deity had been withdrawn from his human soul just before entering upon the last trial, he would not have had strength to go through it, nor could have verified by his actions what he had expressed in words, Nevertheless, not my Will be done, but thine, O Father. Therefore it was necessary the union should be continued to the last, that he might be able to perfect and support the character of Wisdom or Righteousness, needful for giving an authority and efficacy to the Religion he established, which was by slow degrees to introduce and complete the like character in the whole species.

36. Here we may recal to mind what has been observed in this chapter before, that the reformation proposed, at least in this world, was that of the species in general, not of every individual member; there running such a connection of interests and mutual intercourse among them, that an amendment worked in some, would one time or other spread among the rest: this life being a preparation for the next, and each man fitted therein for the station he will have to occupy, and the functions he will be wanted to perform in the community whereto he is going. Wherefore it may be necessary, that many should die good Christians, though it be not necessary that all should partake here of the righteousness which is by Faith.

From hence let such as claim to be the elect, the chosen vessels, learn not to conceit themselves peculiar favorites upon that account: for their extraordinary gifts are bestowed for the public good, not for their own sakes; they are but vessels employed to hold the living waters, which are to be distributed among the whole society; the arteries for circulating the blood throughout all the members in the body of Christ. Let them not, like the sons of Zebedee, aspire to a high rank in heaven; but place their glory in being made instruments of blessedness kept in store for the human race. It is natural to wish themselves happy, but let them likewise wish sincerely, that, if possible, every fellow-creature might be as happy as themselves.

Hence likewise let the Rationalist learn which way to look for the stream of benefits flowing from the Gospel. Philosophy addresses the studious, the man grown, and the few: Religion the thoughtless, the child, and the many. One holds up light to direct the courses of thought: the other inspires the vigor of warmth to make men think. One applies to the head, which is the ruling power: the other to the heart, which is the executive. The prerogative of Reason lies very low, perpetually overpowered by the rabble of appetites, passions, and opinions: it is in this part our constitution is disordered, and here it wants amendment. You can never expect to govern steadily without gaining an interest among the populace: and it is well known what influence a great name has upon them; for they readily distinguish one name from another, but they cannot distinguish measures, to see which are beneficial, which pernicious, and which wholly unavailing, good only in speculation.

It is a common shrewd observation, that if men would follow their own reason, they need not mind what parsons preach: this may be very true; and so it is, that if they would perform all their digestions properly, and keep their blood pure, they need not mind

the Physician ; but this is the very thing for which in a distempered habit the physician is wanted to assist them in doing. But the Rationalist can digest his ideas properly and keep his sentiments pure, nor finds any help in medicine. Be it so : yet his vanity will allow me to say, there are very few of such a happy tempera-  
ture. Will he then forget that the object had in view was the improvement of mankind in general, that the Gospel was preached to the poor ? Therefore it is said, that life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel : not that they were never thought of before, but they were then brought to light when made visible to all by becoming a popular doctrine. Let him suppose Christianity banished from the world ; I do not ask what he would lose himself, but what would the world in general be the better ?

Nor yet need he be too secure against all damage to his own sweet person : for he ought to know the insinuating force of sympathy and intercourse with other people, whereby the soundest halest constitution may possibly catch an infection by conversing amongst very diseased company. Or if he pronounces this danger purely imaginary, still he may reflect on the benefit he has already received. Can he be sure of having made the same progress, had he been bred up amongst heathens and people of no Religion ? Perhaps he might have spent his time in hunting after butterflies, or poking into every puddle for a polypus. The concern for futurity and great importance of right sentiment and behavior which were the basis and first direction of his industry, were inculcated into him early by those who had received them through the established channels. Nor is it unlikely, that even the absurdities and contradictions he was taught to esteem sacred in the nursery, may have put him upon that careful examination to which he owes all his present science.

So that the wisest of us have a personal interest in the general turn of thought prevailing around us : therefore as soon as he shall please to compose a form of rudiments better suited to the capacities of children and the vulgar, than those now current, and satisfy me of its excellence, I will consent to prefer it ; provided that till then, he will give me leave to use the Catechisms already put into my hands.

37. It remains to consider by what channels of operation the perfect righteousness, produced in one man by union with the Deity, works to the amendment of the human race ; and the first of them has appeared to be, that of authority and name. But name and authority will not avail without something further, where-  
to they direct, some particular doctrines and practices they tend to introduce : and such we receive transmitted to us in the Sacred



Writings. Which writings carry a derivative authority, as being the main channel connecting nearly with the fountain : like our New-river-head, so called, because it is the head from whence all the pipes are laid to supply our occasions, yet it is but a reservoir of waters derived from higher springs. For Jesus left nothing upon record himself, but instructed his apostles, and made them so fully acquainted with the Spirit of his institution, that they could not fail of distinguishing what was conformable thereto, from what was not ; neither could they mistake in the grounds there were for the facts they related, or heard related ; and it is the persuasion of this spirit constantly possessing them, that gains them the character of inspired writers. Therefore it is not material whether the first Gospel was penned eight, or eight and twenty years after the crucifixion, nor whether we have the original or only a translation : for the whole Canonical Scripture, in its present form, having been extant and current throughout the Church in the times of the Apostles, they must have corrected all errors and misrepresentations, if there had been any ; wherefore it derives the full authority of its origin, and is received as the word of God.

This channel takes a different course from that worked out by human reason, because laid out upon different ground : therefore was counted foolishness by the Greeks, who had studied the head, but were unacquainted with the turnings of the human heart. Philosophy proceeds by an improvement of knowledge, by inquiries into the nature of things, from whence will appear what tenor of conduct is most conducive to happiness : therefore classes the virtues under the four Cardinals of Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice ; expecting that when men are once convinced what measures are most prudential, their reason will urge them to pursue them. But it is well known that reason, and judgment, and prudence, however well informed, are feeble powers. Besides that application to the reason can only be made in persons who have attained a competent share of it by exercise and experience ; but how will you deal with those who have no reason ? Some principles are necessary to be instilled into the vulgar, and children, before they come to the use of reason, to bring them into it, and put them upon the exertion of their faculties. Therefore the Gospel makes a different distribution of Duty into the three theological virtues, of Faith, Hope, and Charity ; and impresses an idea of obligation and a zeal, which may introduce them into persons who were not capable of discerning the prudence of them.

I have already given the best explanation I can of those virtues in the three Chapters bearing their titles, and need only add here,

that Faith, the foundation of the other two, receives its strength among the generality from the authority of the Scriptures. Wherefore it is a wise provision of the civil government to protect them against attacks, nor is it an infringement of our natural liberty; for genuine liberty can never consist in anything which tends to the disorder and hurt of the community. Calm argumentation upon the construction of them, and liberty of conscience are justly permitted; but open depreciations and ridicule can do no good, for they operate only upon the passions, therefore cannot improve the understanding, and tend solely to bring back that unconcernedness for the future, and indifference either to right or wrong, which is the great disorder of human nature.

38. Religion, being calculated for the lower part of our human composition, to introduce a law of the mind into such as had none of their own, to discipline Imagination, that it may fall into proper trains, therefore proceeds by methods best adapted to work upon that faculty, that is, by assertion, injunction, form, and institution, rather than dissertation or argument. So that it is an idle question of those who ask, What shall I learn by going to church? for the principal use of going is not so much to learn, as to impress a thorough persuasion of what they had learned before, to stir up an industry and appetite for profitable exercises of their understanding at home; to bring their spontaneous judgments and common apprehensions to run in conformity with their deliberate, and discipline their executive powers, the appetites and habits, to follow steadily the directions of the rational, that so there may be no wavering in their sentiments or conduct, no alternate seasons of discretion and thoughtlessness.

But as I have observed above, that the Scriptures carry a derivative authority, so that of the forms and institutions practised among us comes by a more remote derivation. I do not remember many of them enjoined expressly in the Gospel: there are two Sacraments, and one very short form of prayer; but the particular manner used in performing them, and the observation of Sundays, which seems to come next in sacredness, were no articles in the Code. In these things we copy the usages of the Apostles and primitive Christians, who must be acknowledged to know the mind of their Master; and therefore whatever has the sanction of their example, has the authority of an institution given by him; except in cases where it is visible they modelled their behavior with a regard to the time and country wherein they lived. For some of their customs, as the love feasts, the community of goods, the ministration of tables by seven deacons, the abstinence from blood, have been long since disused.

The like regard to times and countries, and incidents happening, has created a necessity of compiling several Creeds, and making alterations in our modes of worship, and rules of Church discipline. All which the plain man must take upon the authority of the particular Church whereof Providence has cast his lot to be a member, by causing him to be born and bred in it, or by some natural means working his conversion into it; and the intelligent, too, owes a deference to the same authority for order and expedience sake, as knowing that authority is the main spring employed in the Christian dispensation for the amendment of human nature.

Nevertheless, these regulations being the product of man's judgment, must be liable, and are known in fact to differ much from one another: yet this need not break the unity of the Church, nor abate our Christian charity for all the several branches of it whereon we do not grow ourselves, as the hand varying in shape from the feet, and the knee lying remote from the forehead, does not destroy the unity of the human body, for the whole composition is called an Individual, because actuated in all its members by one and the same Spirit. In like manner, Christians of all denominations, if they mean not to be of Paul, or of Apollos, but of Christ, that is, not to place their Salvation in forms and ceremonies and speculative points of belief, but honestly to search out the design aimed at, and methods of attaining it pursued throughout the Gospel, will find themselves actuated by the same spirit of a steady, unboisterous zeal for advancing daily in the three theological virtues, as being the sole and certain way of coming to the Father.

39. We have observed in a former place, that as in heathen ethics Wisdom stands for that consummate character possessing all the virtues, so in Christian language, Faith is often employed to express that full degree of perfection attainable in this world. Nevertheless, when we consider Faith distinctly in its primary signification, we shall not find it to be the saving principle: it gives us an entrance upon our journey, but it is by Hope and Charity that we come to the Father; wherefore love to God and to our neighbor are declared to be the fulfilling of the Law, that is, all the Laws, of Moses, of Nature, and of the Gospel. The love of God, as I have endeavored to show in the chapter on Charity, is not a love of affection, or desire of procuring profit or pleasure to its object, for that we are incapable of ever effecting, but a filial love of dependence and resting our expectations upon his providence, his wisdom, his mercy, and goodness; and this may well be styled Hope.

The glowing Hope of the Apostles and primitive Christians which made them long for their dissolution that they might be with Christ, was necessary to support them under the cruel distresses and persecutions whereto they were perpetually liable ; but to us, whom God has blessed with a more peaceable situation, such an eagerness might be mischievous, as it might beget an impatience which would draw us off from all proper attention to the duties of our station. The love of life is implanted in us for our preservation, it is unnatural to loath it, and those who would press such a disposition of mind as a duty upon their followers, only teach them to dissemble with themselves ; or if the profession be real, it must have become so by their being driven into such austerities and labors of devotion, such a tastelessness of all innocent enjoyments, such a contempt and aversion for their fellow-creatures in the world around them, as has made their lives a burden to them.

Yet we all know, that our lives will not last always, and it is no small benefit to have a comfortable prospect beyond. Our Religion has taught us that this life is preparatory to the next, that all evils befalling in it, otherwise than through our own wilful misconduct, will terminate in our greater good, and that God has graciously furnished us with means of making it the preparation for a happy state. Here then is a fit object for calm and soothing hope to fasten upon, which may become one of the main springs to actuate our motions : we may rejoice in the lawful pleasures afforded us, as being an earnest of that Bounty from whence we expect greater joys, we may feel a sensible satisfaction in every right performance of our religious duties, and even of our little offices in common life, which advance us continually onward in the way we wish.

And when we consider, there is one common Father of all, who is no respecter of persons, but good and gracious, equal to all ; who has connected the interest of his children so that the whole body of Christ must be perfected before any individual member can become completely happy, our Hope will grow into universal Charity. If we fancy ourselves possessed of any extraordinary talents or gifts, we shall regard them as deposits entrusted in our hands, to be improved for the benefit of the community, from whose advantage alone we can expect to reap any ourselves : so that in laboring the Salvation of others, we labor for our own, and every little good or pleasure done to our neighbor will in consequence redound to the doer. Such apprehensions must keep us in perfect charity with all men, not only with the household of Faith, but all others too, without exception even of aliens, worldly-minded, sensual, slanderers, enemies, and persecutors.

Without a competent mixture of these virtues, Faith is an un-availing form, a mere dead carcass, like the dust of the ground, when God first formed it into a human body ; but they are the breath of life, which, being breathed thereinto, make it become a living soul, and manifest its vigor by continual efforts to push forth more fruit of good works than these sublunary climes can ripen.

40. Nevertheless, Faith, being the foundation whereon to build unto edification, demands the first cares of the builder to work it strong. If there were a solid bottom of rational conviction, this would be the best ground to lay the foundation upon ; but this not being to be had among the generality, it must rest upon the authority of churches, and creeds, and canons, and customs ; like the houses of Amsterdam, which are reported to stand upon piles driven deep into the quagmire. And perhaps the most intelligent may not produce so firm a soil unyielding to pressure, as to render the expedient of piles needless for giving it a greater consistency, that the building above may never sink, nor slide, nor totter.

But the corner-stone is not the whole of a foundation : though Faith in Christ be the corner-stone, he has enjoined us further in John xiv. to keep his sayings, as the distinguishing mark of a disciple, or one that loveth him. So then barely believing that Jesus is Christ, the Redeemer, or even believing his sayings to be true, will not suffice without keeping them in mind, and heartily embracing all the articles of faith contained in them, which go to complete the foundation. It is for infixing this foundation firmly in all its parts, that our divine services, assemblies, forms and places of worship, ceremonies, and other religious institutions have been provided, and times appointed for the repetition of them. For Faith is a species of persuasion, and we know persuasions are strengthened by forms and customs, concurrence of numbers, external appearances, and frequently repeating the same thing to the ear. Wherefore it is a wrong notion of some people, that the resort to places of devotion is only to learn, and if they do not like the preacher they might as well stay away : if they should learn something there, as it is to be hoped they often may, so much the better ; but the practical benefit is done by helping them to keep the sayings they had learned aforetime. Then for the business of learning, I believe many have found experience of greater profit from texts aptly interwoven into a discourse, than they could have made by reading over a chapter in their Bible : for there, as in all other collections of proverbs, apophthegms, and dark sayings, the matters lie so thick, that they crowd into confusion in the thoughts,

entangling perpetually with one another, unless drawn out into separate threads, which the eye can run easily along, until it reaches one particular point.

From this view of the sacred offices may be drawn two corollaries. One, that they carry no intrinsic value nor sanctity in themselves, but are valuable only for the preservation and increase of faith they tend to produce ; neither is a man the more religious or acceptable in the sight of God merely for his assiduities or fervors in them, but for the proficiency he makes by their aid in strengthening his faith, and completing it by addition of the two other virtues. The other conclusion is that their rectitude and propriety may be tried by observation of the effects they work upon the practisers. If chanting and organs are found to infuse a notion into the populace that God Almighty is delighted or put into better humor with music, they ought certainly to be torn from our services, as a rag of Popery ; but if no such fancy is entertained by those who use them, who do it only because finding their minds lifted to a greater heartiness in their devotions when accompanied therewith, why should they be pronounced superstitious, while contributing to answer the main end of divine services, that of working upon the heart ? It is as much superstition to imagine that God will not receive our thanksgivings when offered in an harmonious sound, as that he will not receive them without. For he looks into the secret recesses of the heart, and tries the reins, nor is moved this way or that by any undulations of air, whether finely or coarsely modulated. But it is too common for people to judge of others by themselves : if they have been inured from their childhood to dull forms of devotion and rude screamings, they think everything shocking which is shocking to their ears, not considering that they bring with them that cast of mind, which vitiates the performance. Like persons who, having contracted a nausea for the dishes of foreign countries by being long accustomed to others of a contrary savor, will pronounce a meat unwholesome, because it sets their stomachs a keeking.

However, since the same causes operate differently upon different subjects, and tastes are known to alter, therefore forms and ceremonies must be altered too, to accommodate them to the changes prevailing among a people, for preserving their efficacy to answer the purpose intended by them. We may learn from history, there were some which have been actually changed : the love feasts, the trine immersion, exorcism of the devil before baptism, practised in the primitive times, are now become obsolete ; because they would be improper among us, and more likely to prove obstructions to our Faith, than means of confirming it.

Yet are such changes to be made sparingly and cautiously, as being always attended with some inconvenience or hazard : for we must remember, that forms derive their weight from their authority, which is mightily strengthened by long usage. Although no human institutions are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be broken, there requires great judgment and discretion to see when the mischiefs of adhering to them are greater than the inconveniences of breaking through them, and great management to gain a new custom equal credit with the old ones. When needful, it had better be introduced gently and gradually ; for all sudden revolutions, whether in Church or State, leave a party subsisting to struggle for the restoration of what has been abolished.

41. The Gospel, we have seen, proceeds altogether by way of authority and injunction, yet of reason ; by drawing the affections into a holy turn, not by directing the understanding how to strike out new discoveries in science. From whence some have unwarily concluded, that it and human reason are mortal enemies, so that every free exercise of the latter is a departure from the faith, the mark of a dangerous character not to be consorted with. It is true, the loudest pretenders to Reason, who take her name in vain, are dangerous persons, for they deal wholly in cavil, objection, and unsettling the minds of men ; but genuine Reason teaches her votaries to build up rather than pull down, to gather lights for the dispersion of darkness and confusion, to aim at some improvement of the mind, nor ever to overthrow, unless when some obstacle stands directly in the way of her salutary plans. Wherefore it does not follow, that because Religion and Reason do not always use each other's assistance (for I hope to show they frequently do), they must act in opposition : for they have their distinct provinces, make application to different persons, and aim at different purposes not inconsistent with one another.

The Gospel was preached to the poor or the populace, calculated upon their level ; it pursues solely and steadily one point, the advancement of Faith, understood in the most comprehensive sense, as including the two associate virtues ; it meddles not with the three branches of Philosophy, Nature, Logic, and Ethics, any further than while relative to its own design ; nor interferes in matters of speculation either to recommend or condemn them, but leaves all these things to those natural lights, which God and Providence have distributed among mankind.

There is a remarkable instance of this in the case of the man born blind, who was miraculously brought to his sight. The commentators agree, that the doctrine of pre-existence prevailed much

among the Jews, especially the Pharisees, and that the question, Was this man born blind for his own sin or the sin of his parents? was put in order to draw a decision from Jesus upon that point. Now we cannot suppose otherwise than that he, who came to banish all unrighteousness from the thoughts of men, would have declared expressly against that side of the question which had been sinful. Therefore from his evading a direct answer, we must undoubtedly conclude, that either opinion was a harmless but unprofitable opinion, having no immediate connection with the purpose of his mission; and that a man is not a whit the better Christian for believing or disbelieving a pre-existent state, but is left at full liberty to judge of it according as his own reason shall direct him.

The same may be said of other speculations whereon the Scriptures are really silent, and acknowledged so to be by men of the soundest judgment, although they seem to overthrow them by speaking in conformity with the language and ideas of the vulgar. The rotundity of the Earth, its diurnal and annual rotation, the Copernican system, the gravitation of all bodies even air and flame, still maintain their ground among the orthodox and religious, notwithstanding texts have been cited in times of superstition and blind zeal, to prove them impious and heretical.

And there are other speculations supposed to be proved from Scripture with as little ground as the former were supposed to be overthrown: such as the identity of the body in substance, shape, and size at the Resurrection, the winged bodies of angels, the subterraneous place of hell, the restoration of Paradise, the thousand years kingdom of Christ upon earth, and the like. These things, while entertained as speculations, are innocent, and may be useful, but ought by no means to be contended for as articles of Faith; nor is anything to be received upon the authority of the Gospel, unless what is necessary to secure the purity of our sentiments and manners, the sole design for which it was promulgated. Whatever else we find there, is to be esteemed figurative or hypothetical, partially useful, adapted to some casts of imagination for helping their progress towards more important points. Thus the speculations last mentioned may bring many persons more readily to conceive the survival of their own persons after death, the existence of other creatures besides and superior to the human, the dismal consequence of wickedness, the restoration of mankind to the happiness from whence they are fallen, and that there are gradations of glory, or more stages of Being than one, to succeed after the present: whereas, to other persons perhaps they might prove misleading, stumbling-blocks, and sources of endless dis-



pute. Wherefore Figure, Parable, and Hypothesis, whether of sacred writ or human invention, merit attention so far only as found profitable for edification, while they serve as scaffolds in raising the building of righteousness in opinion and conduct. I have already desired my hypothesis in the second Volume might be treated in this manner. If any man finds them open his imagination to a clearer conception of things invisible, enlarge his idea of the divine Glory, strengthen his hope, and illustrate the influence of his present conduct in thought, word, and deed, upon his future interests, they can do him no hurt: but if he sees them tending to produce contrary effects, let him pronounce them strange, odd, and whimsical; he may easily overthrow them at a stroke with those two invincible arguments, a laugh and an exclamation.

42. Such being the case with all systems both sacred and profane, which contain matters of universal importance, that they mingle speculations therewith of less general use, serviceable only for gaining a readier reception of the former, it requires judgment and consideration to distinguish the one from the other. Whence it appears that Religion and Reason are so far from being belligerent powers, acting in continual opposition, that they join in alliance, and give mutual assistance to each other. For the characteristic of a truth to be depended upon is its agreeableness to both: so that both unite in securing us against dangerous errors. When the workings of imagination have led us into some conclusion inconsistent with the main design of the Gospel, we may be sure there has been some fallacy in the course of our reasonings, which it behoves us to revise until we can discover wherein they have been faulty: and when the Scriptures seem to teach a doctrine contrary to reason, we have certainly misinterpreted them, and ought to seek out for a more rational construction.

Many passages, not figurative nor hyperbolic, cannot be understood without careful exercise of our sagacity and judgment. What will you make of the text, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven? I know not what the expression might signify among the Jews, but with us poorness is the same as lowness of spirits, which lies liable to melancholy and despondency, and is the soil least productive of Hope, one of the three Christian virtues, principally conducive to heaven, as anticipating the joys of it. Or if you understand it poor in the graces of the Holy Ghost, surely this can never be deemed a qualification for the blessedness annexed: therefore you must hold up the light of reason, and consider the nature of man, and the nature of things, before you can discern the true sense of the expression.

Nor is the want of reason's aid always accidental, occasioned by change of language and customs: the Scriptures often vary their own language, and involve matters of different kinds together in the same discourse. If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above. The Resurrection of Christ was a literal one: that of the Corinthians, who were still alive, could only be metaphorical: but by ceasing to be Jews or Gentiles they had died to sin and superstition; by becoming Christians they were risen to a life of holiness, to a new set of hopes and desires, different from those which had given life to their actions before; and they were risen with Christ, because the belief of his Resurrection had been the means to work their conversion.

The twentyfourth Chapter of St. Matthew, together with those of similar purport in the other Evangelists, are acknowledged to treat promiscuously of the destruction of Jerusalem, and end of the world: so that it is not easy to see to which of those great events every particular passage relates, nor possible to ascertain, without considering the nature of the things spoken of. That expression of the stars falling from heaven will be differently understood according to our astronomical theory of their being only meteors hanging in the air, or vast bodies, much greater than this Earth, stationed at an immense distance. And that of the Son of Man coming in the clouds and gathering his elect from the four quarters of the earth, will receive various interpretations according to the degree of grossness or refinement in our ideas. Besides that, perhaps this passage may not relate to the day of judgment at all, because the gathering is in the next Chapter and other places extended to all nations, including the reprobate as well as the elect.

The Jewish and Christian dispensations are distinguished by the age or world that now is, and that which is to come, by earth and heaven: so that the first act of faith in the Messiah gives immediate entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Salvation denotes sometimes admittance into the Church, as by Baptism; sometimes being upon the right road by faith; sometimes the habitual possession of that righteousness which is by faith; and sometimes a future state of happiness. Son of God is an appellation often given to men: we know not who those sons of God in the Old Testament were, who went in unto the daughters of men and begat giants; but in the New Testament the faithful are promised to be made the Sons of God. St. Luke proves Jesus to be so by deducing his genealogy from Adam, which was the Son of God. It is sometimes synonymous with the Messiah, appropriated to Jesus on account of his conception by the Holy Ghost, or of his

union with the Deity, and sometimes applied to God himself, when acting in his second person. Spirit has a multitude of significations : it is the perceptive substance within a man ; it is the rational and cogitative faculties, it is a vigor of holiness actuating the motions : it is the true sense and design of a figure or institution, in contradistinction to the dead letter or carnal ordinance ; it is the wind ; for the next translated, Who maketh his Angels Spirits, might as well be rendered, Who maketh the winds his angels or messengers ; and many learned men hold that the Angel who destroyed the host of Sennacherib, was a suffocating wind which God sometimes sends to make great havoc in hot countries ; it is the grace of God shed upon our hearts enabling us to do good works, or not unfrequently, the Holy Ghost operating to infuse that grace.

There are many other Scripture terms, as well as those of common language, which change their signification according to the stations they occupy : therefore it is a fallacious way of arguing to string a number of texts of similar sound, for it is likely they may contain very dissimilar substance. Common sense and constant use will direct us how to understand our words in ordinary discourse : but the constant usage of persons, among whom we converse, will often mislead and perplex us with respect to the language of holy writ : all the variations there cannot be discerned, nor respectively assigned to their proper places without diligent exercise of our judgment.

Texts, you say, ought to be explained by one another : this I grant the best method where it can be had ; yet even here the rational faculties and rules of argumentation, practised among mankind, are helpful, if not necessary, to make the explanation rightly. But when there is a fluctuation of language, or the same figure pursued throughout in many passages, how shall you come at the true sense, or the thing signified, without the consideration of human Nature, and those conceptions of right and wrong, and of the Supreme Being, which most men agree in ? or if you can find a rational construction, why should it not be esteemed the true one ?

I have endeavored in the foregoing Sections to give a specimen of what human reason may do in alliance with the Gospel : with what success must be left to others to judge, but I hope with no mischievous consequence. It has been my aim to show, that several terms of sacred use are figurative, and what they are figurative of, in order to draw the believer from travelling in a kind of fairy land, where all is unnatural, mysterious, and confused ; and to rescue our Holy Religion from that appearance of inconsistency, darkness, and contrariety to reason, which has made it

a stumbling-block to the considerate, and a laughing-stock to the scoffer.

43. Nor does our Religion only admit the alliance of human Reason to protect and defend it against the encroachments of superstition and absurdity, but appears purposely calculated to exercise and excite it. The Law was a compilation of forms and ceremonies to be observed respectively in their appointed manners and times : so the Israelite had nothing more to do than open his Pentateuch and he might see there, what was his duty upon every particular occasion ; nothing being left to his discretion, there was no call for his judgment to bestir itself at all. But the parabolical and enigmatic style of the Gospel will not suffer our judgment to lie idle a moment : it rouses us by terrors and the prospect of a glorious reward, to a desire of persevering in the right way ; but when we turn over the pages for the steps to be taken, we are often presented with a dead letter ; the spirit must be fetched forth by application, and industry, and mature digestion. To the running reader some precepts are impossible, Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect ; some unnatural, Turn the right cheek to him that has smitten you on the left ; others contradictory, Take no thought for the morrow, Lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven ; others impracticable, Sell all thou hast and give to the poor ; for if all were to sell there could be no buyers.

Such difficulties will occur in all treatises on morality and religion, and I believe in none more than in the Gospel ; nor perhaps is there any from which a superficial reader is less likely to learn, or, which is worse, more likely to learn what is not true. It abounds in riddles, as I have observed before ; and a riddle is not designed to supersede, but to whet our sagacity, and urge us to an exertion of our natural faculties. The solution whereof, when attempted by comparing text with text, requires the painful exercise of our understanding, and that sobriety of judgment wherein the perfection of our reasoning faculty consists. But this method of proceeding by comparison will not always answer the purpose : everybody knows what various and discordant systems have been stricken out among Christians, they all claim to stand upon the authority of Scripture ; strings of texts are drawn in plenty, and you are exhorted to compare them with one another. How then can you better determine among them, than by collation with that other word of God, which is written in his works, and taking that for the true interpretation of the texts which appears the most rational and consistent throughout with your experience of human and external Nature ? Nor need you want authority for such

procedure, derived from John vii. 17 ; for if you were sincerely willing before to do the Will of God upon the best information to be gotten from other quarters, you shall know of the doctrine whether it come from the same Author.

The Papist perpetually hits you in the teeth with, This is my body: you cannot confront him with opposite texts, for they all, where speaking relatively to this matter, concur in requiring you to eat the flesh and drink the blood, in declaring that the flesh is meat indeed and the blood is drink indeed, that the bread which came down from heaven can alone keep you from starving with hunger and thirst. But being willing to do the Will of God as manifested clearly by the natural lights he has given you, you know of the doctrine that it is not from him ; for his word can never be understood in a sense which shall make it abhorrent to reason. So the Papist is refuted by showing the repugnancy of his doctrine to all our natural lights, the absurd consequence of transubstantiation necessarily flowing from it, the contradiction of a body existing in a thousand places at once, and by our knowledge of human Nature making it evident, that a particular diet of the body cannot work an amendment of the mind, which was the sole design of the Gospel.

That passage, Verily I say unto You, that this generation shall not pass until all these things be done, was generally understood among the primitive Christians as relating to the second coming of Christ ; therefore they expected it year after year, and St. Paul expresses himself, We who are alive shall be caught up in the clouds together with the resurgents. And it is not by comparison with other passages, but by our knowledge of events, that we now unanimously refer that declaration to the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Scripture gives general rules which cannot be particularized for practice without a knowledge drawn from other funds : therefore are to be regarded as Theses for putting the mind into profitable trains of meditation and inquiry. It proposes subjects to our consideration, but often leaves it to ourselves what lights we shall strike out, what deductions we shall draw therefrom. It restrains what St. Paul calls the vain babblings of Philosophy, but encourages Philosophy when she can talk patiently for illustrating or enforcing the matters it suggests to her contemplation. Accordingly we may observe, that Philosophy runs in a sounder, steadier, more wholesome channel in the Christian world than it used to do in ancient times, and the human sciences have been made serviceable to advance the purposes of the Gospel. Astronomy displays the magnificence, the glory, the power of our

**Creator :** Metaphysics help us to understand the spiritual essence of our souls, the dominion of Providence over free agents, the independence of the soul upon a corporeal frame for its existence : the study of Man leads to the right understanding, and manifests the expedience of the doctrines and precepts delivered in Holy Writ : the study of Nature discovers the inertness of matter, thereby proving that fundamental article, the Being of a God ; and displays his stupendous Wisdom conspicuous in the wonderful variety, and regularity of our courses : and I flatter myself some imperfect sketches may be found in the foregoing work, whereby it is shown that the investigations of human reason are applicable to the services of Religion.

Christ has declared that he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil ; by which we cannot understand the ceremonial law, for that he did abolish, but the moral, the same wherein St. Paul tells us the Gentiles were a law unto themselves ; for God left not himself without a witness, having displayed his eternal Power and Godhead in the works of the Creation ; whereof Man was not the work of least importance to be known by Man. The words of Christ himself do not always profit without a knowledge of human Nature : he has said the Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for the Sabbath, but he has not directed in what particular manner Man should make his uses of it. Therefore we must presume it was upon observation on the wants of mankind requiring some rule to guide their discretion in the disposal of their time, that the first disciples appropriated a certain day in the week for religious exercises, and abstinence from all secular employments.

44. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that Religion and Reason too often do hurt to one another, when like other allies they consult their separate interests preferably to the general ; not considering that the strength of a confederacy lies in unanimity, fidelity, mutual confidence, and steady attachment to the common cause. Now the common cause of both I apprehend to be the amendment of human Nature, which the one endeavors to effect by showing men what makes for their good, the other by stirring up a zeal to pursue it. But knowledge without zeal is a lifeless carcass, it has eyes to stare with, but no hands to execute ; and zeal without knowledge is a wild colt, that keeps galloping about, but makes no way upon the road. When ceasing to act in alliance, the fondness for knowledge damps the ardor of zeal, and zeal hurries on with an impetuosity incapable of looking about : therefore their partisans, being sensible of this, entertain a continual jealousy of one another.

The Rationalist suspects every exhortation to read the Gospel as a design to ensnare him, to debar him the use of thought, to keep him in ignorance, that he may be ductile and governable, and looks upon every serious countenance as a mark of folly and weakness : his vanity makes him forward to show his opinion of others, thereby obstructing the progress of reason, by setting people against it. The zealot suspects every man who presumes to doubt, to examine, to argue, of being a concealed infidel, a secret underminer of things sacred, he abhors the like practices himself, and scorns all explanation or human reasoning ; thereby betraying his Religion by running into gross extravagancies and palpable absurdities, which give an easy victory to the adversary.

They are so averse they will not suffer the same language to be spoken among them : you cannot mention the words Righteousness or Sanctity in one company without being thought a canting creature, that loves to talk without a meaning : nor Rectitude or Virtue in another, but you are presently judged a Free-thinker. Now I would fain know, where is the difference between the Sanctity of manners ascribed to Marcia in Addison's Cato, and that character which Solomon expresses by a virtuous woman ; or between Rectitude and Righteousness, when thoroughly understood. But this both parties seem resolved not to do ; so Rectitude remains appropriated to one mistaken notion, and Righteousness to another. Methinks it would be worth while for each to penetrate into the other's ideas, and learn his language, were it only for the sake of making converts : for how can you refute a man unless you understand him ? because else you can never know wherein the error lies that you would convince him of.

And herein I think the Rationalist more blameable than the Devotee, because being generally a man of more learning and thought, he is better master of language, and better able to vest his ideas in any clothing ; and he cannot forget the advantage of appearing in a dress agreeable to the company. I must not exhort him to become all things to all men, if by any means he may gain some ; because that being an expression of Parson Paul, he would suspect me of priestcraft ; but he must see, from the nature of the thing, that if he can contrive to deliver his own thoughts in Scripture terms, he will be heard with better attention and better profit. Words are but sounds that will take any meaning affixed to them ; and styles are only tunes whereto very different odes may be set. I have shown him just now that I can conform myself to the jocular style of the Free-thinker, yet be serious all the while. Why then should he be affrighted at the letters G, R, A, C, E, ? they are harmless, inoffensive characters, sus-

ceptible either of a solid, or superstitious meaning. If then he can affix a rational sense to the term, he will be better able to lead the wanderer by gentle windings into a justness of thought, than by using a language unfamiliar to his ear.

45. The method of rational explanation is preferable to that of opposition, yet is that method to be pursued with caution, so far only as the subjects can bear it; for there are some tempers in whom familiarity breeds contempt: they cannot follow the long deduction of consequences by which measures are shown to be expedient, but the line must be shortened for them, and they must be prevailed upon to take the measures by authority and reverence. But obscurity and mystery often add a sacredness to things: therefore I do not know whether the illustrations hereinbefore attempted of several important Scripture doctrines may be serviceable to everybody. It has been remarked already, that if all men would live up invariably to the decisions of their judgment, we should have a happy world; but then it must be their own judgment, such as they are capable of framing: this then is the principal point to be driven at, and new lights to be thrown in only as we find them in a disposition to follow them.

Therefore it will be best to leave men to their own notions of Atonement, Satisfaction, Intercession, and the like, while they see no inconsistencies there, and are not led thereby into imaginations destructive of their own peace of mind, or detrimental to the Society they live in; and to stand upon the watch in readiness to clear up any difficulties that may perplex them, or check any deviations that might turn them into pernicious trains of sentiment or conduct.

For the same form of doctrine will not suit every age and country, nor every class of men in the same country alike. In times of ignorance and inconsiderate activity, a mixture of what would be superstition to us is necessary: for I have said in a former place that superstition is relative, the grossest ideas being not such to him who is capable of entertaining no better. The least sense of Religion cannot be maintained without a persuasion of the divine dominion continually over us: this the man of contemplation discerns in the course of Nature, for he knows that her works are the works of God, who gave her powers and planned her operations with exact knowledge of every minutest event they should produce, so he sees God continually before him in the productions of second causes. But the plain man cannot comprehend this; therefore we must permit him to imagine frequent interpositions in the growth of corn, the changes of weather, the actions of man-



kind, or he will think himself abandoned to the necessary agency of matter and motion, or the caprices of chance.

46. Therefore it would become the Rationalist, who complains so loudly of the headiness and hastiness of zeal, to beware of falling into the like error himself, and not be too hasty in eradicating the evil weed of superstition, before he has examined whether the roots of corn be not so intermatted with it, that he shall pluck up both together. But perhaps it is not an evil weed in the soil where it grows; it may be not superstition, but a compendious method of apprehending that which a narrow imagination cannot contain at large, a joining the act of God with the productions of Nature or Fortune, when the eye is not strong enough to run along the line of second causes, between a figurative representation by sensible images of things that cannot be comprehended in the abstract.

And let him keep an eye upon another plant which sometimes proves a noxious weed, and that is the habit of jesting and ridicule: for if a sacred dread makes one heady, a fondness for wit makes one giddy. Both are serviceable in a certain degree, but mischievous when redundant, when not managed with discretion and confined to their proper places; for it is not uncommon that the same plants deserve cultivation in one place, but require weeding out from another. We sow fields of oats with care and cost, but are very sorry to see them among our wheat: the scarlet poppy, and sun-resembling marigold, which burn up our corn, are esteemed ornaments in our gardens: the carpet-woven grass that beautifies our lawns, must be extirpated from our fallows by frequent and toilsome ploughings.

But superstition is not always a distinct plant, it is sometimes like the green leaves of corn, which protect and assist to draw up nourishment into the spire, and will wither away of themselves as that grows towards maturity. Therefore a mixture of it, more than we should think needful for our own use, is profitable to young persons, as it serves to restrain the sallies of youth, establishes salutary persuasions, before they can discern solid grounds to build them upon, and will give way and fall off in proportion as reason expands; nay, it helps in the mean while to render her vessels more compact, and strengthen their tone by a little pressure, requiring their continual exertion to overcome it.

The like may be said with respect to young nations which commonly begin in ignorance, rudeness, barbarism, and total disregard to all virtues not bearing a visible reference to military merit. Therefore the ancient legislators and founders of states have always dealt much in mystery and sacred rite. And

the primitive Fathers, in the earliest ages of Christianity, as I have been informed by citations from their remains, for I have no personal acquaintance among them, practised exorcisms, unctions, signatures of the cross, and lustrations by holy water. Perhaps the inventions of Popery, before it was strained up to an absolute dominion over persons, goods, and thoughts, might be needful to spread and enforce Religion, and give air for the seeds of Reason to bud forth. Were the times of our Saxon ancestors renewed upon this land, how glad should we peaceable folks be to have an asylum in some monastery, under protection of Saint Mary, or Saint Peter, or even of Saint Almanachius, provided he had the reputation of working miracles, and setting the Devil upon all who should presume to invade his sanctuary, where we might give full play to our rational faculties in quiet, without perpetual hazard of murder or rapine, or the terrors and ravages of war. Even the mumbling over Paternosters and Ave Marias was some submission to discipline and lifting the thought to things above, which though little enough, still was better than none : nor could the observation, that the greatest drop-pers of beads, were often the worst men, fail to put some persons upon reflection, and inquiring wherein the real essence of Religion consisted, which might open the passage for a little glimpse of the true design in the coming of Christ.

But now, God be thanked, the world is more enlightened, so that we want not so much of the fiery meteor enwrapt in clouds and darkness. The Reformation has opened a way for the advancement of useful science, and the exercise of sober, unlicentious freedom of thought : whereby the minds of men have been widened to take a larger prospect and observe the symmetry and connection prevailing among the several parts of it made more attentive to rational explanation, and capable of receiving it ; so that we can now trace the hand of God through the channel of his providence from remote distances, without the necessity of imagining it constantly close to us. Nevertheless, at all times and in all communities, there will be minds of very various sizes, some contracted by their natural debility, and others by the necessary attention to their professions or situations in life : therefore mystery and unexplained obligation cannot be totally discarded. Pythagoras had his Tetrachty, his mystic numbers, his symbols. Socrates his Demon, and Tully his system of auguries : which, though rational doctrines in their own minds, yet, as understood by vulgar apprehensions we should esteem highly superstitious.

47. Nor can we still avoid all ambiguity and equivocal language, which exhibits a very different scene of thought to different imaginations. All sciences and professions have their technical terms, their several rules of proceeding and modes of instruction, unintelligible except to the practiser: law, physic, mathematics, even commerce, manufacture, and the mechanic arts, are not without their mysteries; nor does politics abound in them the least of any. In popular assemblies the orator does not always give you the true reasons for the measure he would persuade you to follow, he prefers such as he judges most likely to prevail, and herein he acts honestly, provided the ultimate end of his aim be honest; for in this case the end crowns the work. If indeed he would bring you to his own point for serving his private interests under specious pretence of the public good, I have nothing to say in his justification; but if his point be salutary, it is laudable to employ the most effectual means of attaining it, although they should be very different from those which had prevailed upon himself to desire it.

In like manner it behoves the discourser upon religious matters to consider the importance of his principal point in view, and then to conduct those to whom he addresses along such tracks in their imagination as he shall find practicable, taking good caution that in his necessary deviations from the solid road of reason he does not tear up the ground of any cross paths whereby they might be debarred access to some other point equally important: for Tully advises to be guarded on all quarters, and attentive to do the cause no detriment through eagerness to serve it.

But there are many subordinate points tending in order successively to one another, and it is of importance to distinguish the intermediate from the ultimate: which to do requires a piercing eye to reach through the whole line, and an extensive judgment to take in the plan of all their connections. There is a multitude of laborers in the vineyard, as well volunteers in dissertations and essays, as retained servants entered upon the steward's roll: and it cannot be expected they should all have an equal quickness of optics or compass of understanding; nor is it needful. For a very few merchants suffice to import the heavenly wares from the countries producing them, the Scriptures and the fields of Nature: it is the retailer and petty shop-keeper, dispersed everywhere, that must supply the demands of the public. Importation is not their business, but to resort to the warehouse, and retail out the goods as received from thence: only taking care to inquire the general character of the merchant they deal with, for some have been known to put false marks upon their bales, being

imposed upon by mixtures of things manufactured in the regions of ambition, avarice, contention, vanity, and self-conceit. The misfortune is that we cannot easily know the size of our talents; we are apt to fancy ourselves merchants when by no means qualified for foreign correspondence: like the little Frenchman, squeezed up in a shop of twelve feet by six, who calls himself merchant of snuff, merchant of soap, and candles, and card-matches. Our London company of tailors have a better title to the dignity of merchant by their magnificent hall, capacious to hold all the lords governors of India in general synod assembled.

Yet I do not wish any one to follow implicitly his rules or his precedents: let him use such sagacity and judgment as he has, and make the best improvement he can by them with caution and sobriety. If he can penetrate into the reasons and tendencies of his rules, this will keep him to the spirit of them, and enable him to apply them more effectually to particular occasions. And for such as are qualified to discern the whole rationale of the Gospel, and lay it out upon a regular plan, mutually connected in all its parts, they cannot do better than exercise their talents that way. I have contributed my endeavors for the benefit of those among them who may want assistance, or industry, or leisure, or perhaps may profit by my mistakes: for the discovery of an error is one great avenue into truth, which else one might never have thought of, or never apprehended needful to bestow any pains upon.

It can do no man hurt to be fully master of his science, with all its uses, particular purposes to be answered by it, and manners of operation in effecting them; whatever he may communicate to other people: not that I would suppose him niggard of his treasures, nor grudging any fellow-creature the benefit of all he has to bestow, but observant of what each subject is capable of receiving, and keeping to himself whatever he sees would do mischief to another. For what is one man's meat is another man's poison: wherefore the characters of men must be studied, and discretion used to distribute what is suitable to the digestion and temperament of the receivers.

I do not hold it needful in these days, and if not needful surely not allowable, to raise any misapprehensions purposely; but people will run into them inadvertently. When taught some important truth or salutary practice, they will be adding imaginations of their own, concerning the grounds supporting the one, or effects immediately produced by the other. I have met with persons who believed the soul immaterial, because we dream in our sleep: and multitudes stand persuaded that the water of baptism directly

washes the spiritual part from the corruption derived through Adam. The injudicious zealot, who proceeds by rote and rule, without knowing *why*, increases such-like mistakes ; for he has fallen into them himself, and will defend them against every one, who attempts to set him right, by strings of detached texts, and calling him heretic or infidel. The injudicious admirer of reason, who takes it to lie solely in criticism, overthrows them with might and main, never reflecting what further ruins he may cause to follow thereby.

48. But the man of discretion uses his eyes to look around, regarding connection and consequences as well as single objects. Where he finds truth supported by error, he spares the latter for sake of the former : not out of fondness for such kind of support, but until he can provide a better by working up the solid wall, which requires time and patience to lay the stones one by one as you can get them into their places. He knows that overthrow is a very improper method of edification : for spiritual building is the very reverse of common masonry : you must begin on top, and work downwards. The learner must have a bed to lie upon in the first place, so you must contrive him garrets before he can think of the other conveniences of a family : he cannot suspend his action until fully instructed, but must pursue some tenor of conduct immediately, and be doing before he is knowing ; therefore you must urge him with rules, and watch opportunities for letting him into the reasons afterwards. In the mean while he will find reasons for himself as he can catch them at hap hazard : these our discerning artificer considers as shorings to sustain the upper story, and knows that to overthrow them all at once must occasion a terrible downfall : so he lets them alone, and goes on calmly with his building down to the chambers and lowest foundation, well knowing the slanting shores will successively drop of themselves as the superincumbent pressure is taken off by having a firmer support to rest upon.

No work can be performed in a masterly manner without continually keeping in view the principal design, and the plan of operation for effecting it : now we have seen the design of the Gospel was to rectify the sentiments, and gain an entire dominion for the rational faculties over the sensitive ; and the method employed for this end is by name and authority. For the perfection of the mind consists in a soundness of judgment, and the perfection of human Nature in a due subordination of the inferior powers thereto : but authority is the most effectual means to counterbalance the impulses of appetite, and keep the mind attentive to profitable objects ; for one may judge rightly upon trifles, yet the judgment is not

sound unless the matters exercised upon are solid and availing. Therefore the principal care to be taken is to preserve this authority in full vigor, and point it from time to time upon the services wanted ; to be cautious of weakening it by overstraining, or wasting it upon matters of no moment, or of mischievous tendency.

The sum of our duty may be comprised in two words, Bear and Forbear : this a sense of authority and obligation, when strong and lively, can alone enable us to do ; our knowledge of their expedience can never raise desire enough to carry us through the task. But endurance and forbearance are not duties in themselves : we are created to enjoy our being, not to live in continual suffering and abstinence, which are then only recommendable when they will secure us from greater suffering, or work an improvement of our happiness : so that we want some direction when to submit to them.

49. This direction the Gospel affords, informing us what to bear and forbear, not in every particular case, which would be impracticable and hurtful, like those tomes of casuistry that have burdened the world in former ages ; but by the great exemplar of Christ, by the behavior of his first disciples, and by general precepts, which instead of taking off the trouble of thinking for ourselves excite us to undergo it, and lead our thoughts into profitable trains whereby we may apply those directions to our particular occasions. It contains likewise certain matters of speculation, necessary to establish its authority and regulate our opinions, without which the contents spoken of before, could not have proved effectual, because it is well known how much our opinions influence our actions. I need instance only in the belief of a Resurrection and future judgment, which is the grand spring or primum mobile of what cares we do take in shaping our conduct.

Both these systems will take very various forms and colors in the imaginations of different persons : they will run into misapprehensions and mistakes concerning them, which it behoves such as are able, to obviate, or cure as far as practicable without injury to the sounder parts. For circumspection is needful here : the shoe must be suited to the foot ; the diet accommodated to the constitution and temperature of the body. St. Paul tells us there is meat for men and milk for babes, which is a caution to consult digestions in providing for the ordinary. The stomachs of our remote forefathers seem to have been very weak, their vigor running all into their muscles, which made them such fighting fellows : the Reformation helped to increase the concoctive powers considerably ; and the allowance to liberty of conscience and sober argumentation has I think still further strengthened the digestion

among our people in general. Wherefore it must be injudicious to adhere too strictly to forms of expression used in old constitutions and articles, for this is bringing us back to our pap again : and those Creeds and Catechisms are best which are most simple and concise, because they will bear digesting into different nutritious juices such as the body shall require, and preserve an external conformity notwithstanding a variety of inward sentiments.

Yet robust as we may think ourselves, there are still many gradations of vigor among us, which require as many various aliments, from the whey, the milk, the strong broths, the chicken, the veal, up to the salted buttock : and sometimes the craving is not satisfied with meats alone, for as the ostrich helps her digestion by swallowing stones which would destroy it in the human kind, so to some few persons, who, like animals of the winged tribe, have corneous stomachs, the niceties of abstraction and knotty speculations, though not meat themselves, assist them in grinding their meat. All which makes it difficult to know how to deal with people : for if you offer a viand ever so little softer than their accustomed diet, they are affronted at your treating them like children, and despise you for an enthusiast ; if ever so little stronger, they think you have a design to circumvent them, and detest you for an infidel. And in discourses given out to public inspection, it is not always easy to escape the hazard of being accounted bigot and freethinker, for the same performance. I have already been told my former volumes have been suspected of free-thinking, and am under some tremors lest, if this volume should ever go forth, it may draw upon me a contrary charge : but I am not conscious of any chance in sentiment ; I seem to myself to have delivered the same substance all along, only translated into the two different languages of Philosophy and Scripture.

Another difficulty springs from the indiscretion of others ; there are folks with whom substantial meat might not disagree, yet you dare not trust them with it, because they are like a child that is fond of telling all it knows, and would divulge a taste you desire to conceal, because it might draw some ignorant person to swallow an unwholesome food : I have formerly played at back-gammon on Sundays, one hand against the other ; I never do it now because I do not like it, but should make no scruple of doing it : yet should scruple to play with anybody else, for fear he might tattle, or we be overheard ; not, for sake of gaining the character of a righteous Man, but for the same reason St. Paul gives for advising his pupils to abstain from things they were told had been offered to idols.

50. To make the Religion within us complete, we must study not only what sentiments and practices belong to the essence of Religion, but likewise what there is in the ways of the world coming nearest to it. For the design of the Gospel is very extensive, no less than the amendment of the human race : and as there are various degrees of amendment to be worked in this life, and various modes of preparation for the next, it regards aliens and strangers as well as the household of Faith. The force of sympathy and intercourse are well known, whereby the Religion of some may cast a tincture of its colors upon many to whom it cannot diffuse the substance. Our Hopes are in Heaven, but the means of attaining them are by universal Charity to our fellow-creatures upon earth, by contributing to the happiness of mankind, which consists in Health, Peace, and Competence in their fullest latitude, as described in the first Chapter of the third volume.

Therefore let us stand ever watchful to do the service that is feasible ; if we cannot make a man a good Christian, let us try to make him a good Heathen, a good Jew, a good Free-thinker, or at least free from disquietudes or turbulent passions in his own mind, and a useful member of society : though we should not be able to infuse the peculiar articles of our own belief, still it is a point gained if we can infuse those of natural Religion, or public spirit, or common prudence, resulting therefrom, by any abstractions, argumentations, exhortations, or other methods most likely to succeed.

But there is a saying, Physician, cure thyself, which we may take for an admonition to begin at home, and lay down our own plan of conduct for the lower offices of life as well as the highest, that the whole may be uniform, all the parts aptly joining in concert with one another. For we cannot confine our attention solely to religious matters : some of us who have great leisure may employ it that way more frequently, but we cannot all, nor can any of us always be laboring in the vineyard ; for there are the fields, the meadows, the markets, that demand our services elsewhere. God has called us, by the condition of our bodies and circumstances of situation wherein we are placed by his Providence, to cares for our health, for our subsistence, for our families, for the duties of our profession, and even for the recreation and amusement of one another : and in all these we must guide ourselves by certain rules of sobriety, propriety, and discretion, deduced remotely from those of our religion ; or else we may prove a scandal to it, and whatever light may be within us will not so shine before men, that they may see anything thereby for which to glorify our Father who is in heaven.



51. Then for mankind in general, you cannot expect to instil much of your system into them : many are drawn out of your reach by avocations of providing for their necessary subsistence, by their trades and voyages, and by the magic circle of fashion whirling them perpetually in a giddy round of unavailing trifles ; many pre-occupied by some ruling passion for wealth, or fame, or preferment, or popularity. And it is fitting that things should be so : the supply of conveniences for life require it, the keeping up of cheerfulness and activity among the indolent require it, commerce and the public service require it : but these avocations afford admission to a very slender pittance, or a few careless thoughts of religion. If you can get a little into them, the more the better, but you must proceed discreetly, watching favorable opportunities ; for they are seldom disposed to hear you, or presently cloyed, and if you go to importune them longer or in another manner than they like, you disgust them, and will never get their ear afterwards.

I would not in this place remind you of the caution given to beware of throwing your pearls before swine ; for that is a word of contempt, and many of those who would refuse your pearls are persons of no contemptible character ; but certainly it is waste to throw anything valuable where it would be left upon the ground : you had better present them with something suitable to their relish, which may turn to good account in their hands.

If St. Paul resolved to know nothing save Christ and him crucified, it was because he was an Apostle called solely to the functions of that sacred office, which lay in magnifying the name of Christ, spreading his authority and inculcating his doctrines : but we are not so appropriated ; we stand in a lower station wherein the acquisition of other knowledge will be serviceable, called to every office of Christian Charity, or from which a profit may redound of any sort, or anywhere among mankind :

It has been shown in the Chapter on Economy, that Providence employs the sciences, the arts, the pursuits, the opinions, guiding the course of affairs relative only to this world, to co-operate with Religion and Philosophy towards perfecting the human race. Many of them have received improvement from men of little Religion and wicked lives, some of whom have been found eminently instrumental in advancing the interests of Religion : as witness that great blessing, the Reformation, which was not owing to the piety or virtues of the Monarch. For God uses evil things, and things indifferent, to bring forth good : it would be impious in us to do evil that good might come of it, because we cannot know when it will produce that consequence, therefore ought never to encourage it ; but it is highly commendable in us to raise what good we find

feasible from those evils we cannot help, or from things indifferent, and to concur with men of private views in working a benefit which was not their motive, and advancing a good purpose whereof they have not the least knowledge or conception.

52. I have now gone through my scheme from the roots to the smallest branches sprouting therefrom. The Rationalist cannot complain of me for amusing him with an unintelligible language and mystery : for he must see it has been my aim all along to unravel mysteries, to find a clear sense of expressions he may have thought unintelligible, and to show the scheme of the Gospel conformable in its most essential parts with that of sound Philosophy. The only difficulty he can boggle at is, that of Nature being made imperfect so as to need the helping hand of its Creator to make it answer the purpose intended in the original plan, and the union of the Deity with Man : and for that I have prepared him, in the sections above cited in my Chapter on Providence. That stumbling-block once gotten over, he will find all beyond run smoothly in a regular chain of consequences. But if he have an invincible repugnance against all supernatural interposition whatever, I can only send him back to my Chapter on divine Economy, where it has been attempted to do all that can be done for Christianity, considered as an event eminently providential, without aid of miracle, or anything divine descending from above.

With respect to the orthodox, I am only apprehensive lest they should esteem the very unveiling of mystery indiscreet, because obscurity adds to the sacredness of an object. I know it does so in many cases, but times and countries must be consulted, and it seems to deserve mature consideration, whether the keeping ourselves involved in clouds and darkness in the present age be not more likely to weaken, than fortify the authority of a doctrine. I hope there is nothing in the whole of this Chapter detrimental to the Christian Religion as taught in our Church, but flatter myself there are some hints at least which may prove helpful towards a rational, yet orthodox explanation of some of the most difficult and important doctrines. Those hints I have been enabled to give by my examination into human Nature, the proper ideas of Substance, Identity, Individuality, Union, and other speculations discerned by the light of Nature : which then will appear to have been objects well deserving my labors in the pursuit.

## CHAP. XXII.

## DIVINE SERVICES.

IN the four preceding Chapters we have found frequent use for the Telescope, having distant objects and spacious scenes, no less than those of universal Nature and the fortunes of the whole human species, to contemplate. We have endeavored to observe the ways of Heaven in the conduct of affairs among mankind from the beginning of recorded time, and by their bearings to discover the ultimate point whereto they tend. We have looked backward and forward, tracing the several lines in the plan of Providence, so far as God has been pleased to lay them within the grasp of human comprehension; which we have seen can hold enough to display their symmetry and proportion, and to show them correspondent parts of one great and gracious design. Researches which were not the wanton excursions of vain curiosity or unavailing speculation, but may turn to good profit by making us more sensible of the Goodness and Equity of our almighty Governor, alike beneficent to all his creatures; better satisfied with the lot of our existence, admitting us to our full share of his inexhaustible bounty; better contented under evils we feel or behold, as being sooner or later productive of an incomparably greater advantage to the sufferer.

We then reviewed the stupendous scheme by the light of the Gospel, which discovered to us wheel within wheel, and intricacies of Wisdom undiscerned before. For it appeared now that the Pantology of second causes had been purposely drawn imperfect to leave room for the Divine interpositions: Man being made in weakness, by which he would undoubtedly fall into perpetual misery, nor was there any remedy provided among the laws of Nature for his deliverance. But God in his eternal councils had prepared a remedy, by an exertion of his Omnipotence, whereon he established a plan of Soteriology for the restoration and perfection of human Nature, to be advanced by gradual progress from the foundations of this earth through the next stage of being, and until the final consummation of all things.

But those large ideas are too spacious for every imagination to contain, and too refined for every palate to relish, nor where they do find entrance and reception can they continue long in full strength of impression, or vividness of color: for the necessary attention to our bodily wants, to the common business of life, our troubles, our passions, and importunate desires, cast a veil

around, confining our view to the little spot before us, nor can we raise a concern for anything beyond the present moment or occurrences of the passing day. A man in pain or sickness has no spirit to handle the Telescope, and in the hurry of business, pleasure or company, has not a thought to spare for the Mundane Soul, or laws of universal nature.

Therefore we must use management with ourselves, and endeavor to work by art what we could not compass by the strength of reason; striving to imprint in lasting characters upon the imagination so much of our contemplative scenes as her coarse canvass can take off, that is, the conclusions resulting therefrom, which when well inculcated make the essence of Faith, and Hope, and Charity. For we may have a lively sense of the Power, the Wisdom, the Goodness of God, when we have not in display before us the particulars whereby those Attributes are manifested: we may have an unreserved trust in his Mercy, an acquiescence in every dispensation, a content under evils befalling us without an actual discernment of the manner wherein they operate to our good: we may have a cordial benevolence to our fellow-creatures without an immediate apprehension of the connections whereby their interests are linked with our own. If these sentiments can be fixed upon the imagination by the clear and full convictions of our understanding, I conceive they are likely to be most durable; yet whatever way we can get them to take strong hold there, is well worth the pursuing.

For it may be remembered that the mechanical motions among our ideas bear a large proportion to those excited by premeditated design. Imagination is the seat of our persuasions, conductor for the most part of our actions, and often the employer of our understanding. It is like a house-clock, which may be set right now and then by hand upon careful observation of other regulators, but ordinarily is itself the regulator of all business in the family. And this faculty depends altogether upon the condition of our internal machinery, which is affected by habit, custom, external appearance, and sensible objects. These things then judiciously applied, may bring it to run spontaneously for a continuance in those trains which the most exalted exercises of our understanding can only throw it into for a while.

2. Most of us, as remarked in the last section of Chapter XX. who live in a private station with no more than common abilities, rarely meet with opportunities of doing an important service either to Religion, or the public, or our neighbors: therefore our business lies almost entirely with ourselves and our own minds, to cultivate such dispositions there as may keep us ever attentive and

zealous to labor for the general interest, and the good of others whenever an occasion shall present, and may prepare our internal part to become a fit member in the kingdom of the just.

These dispositions, wherein the theological and moral virtues consist, are best improved by the practice of good works done in pursuance of their impulses: for a man can never strengthen his charity or his public spirit, so much by theory and meditation, as by acts of kindness or real patriotism, where neither fame, nor interest, nor private affection, nor expectation of a return has any share in the deed. But since we have not a call to such good works, sufficient to keep up our propensity to do them, it would quickly languish and become extinct if expedients were not provided to supply it continually with fuel: therefore certain things indifferent in themselves are enjoined, that we may have an opportunity of exercising our obedience in performing the injunction.

In these consists Religion strictly so called, when distinguished from morality: and they are termed divine services, not that we can suppose them of any service to God, but because being of no direct apparent service either to ourselves or our fellow-creatures, we perform them upon an opinion of their being pleasing in his sight: which gives them a similar efficacy upon our minds with actual good works done upon the same motive of pleasing him. Therefore are they consequentially of important service, both to ourselves and all whom we may have to deal with, as they nourish in us an habitual trust and dependence upon the Almighty: which may insure us tranquillity of mind in times of difficulty or danger, and beget in us a readiness to that which alone he will esteem a service to himself, the doing good to his creatures, and joining in every general interest wherein he shall be pleased to afford us an opportunity of becoming in any little degree instrumental.

This then being their design, if we keep this in memory, it will help to direct us in the use and application of them: for we are not to imagine ourselves the better merely for having attended divine services, sermons, private prayer, psalm-singing, reading, meditation, or the like, but for the effect worked by them upon our hearts, in the improvement of any good habitual sentiment there. But that effect will correspond exactly with our management in the exercise of them. If we go through it only to please the world or our superiors, it will be of none avail at all: if we perform the outward actions perfunctorily upon a persuasion of their being duties, it is better than nothing; for every act of obedience, however slovenly paid, will help to fix the sense of a superior

power, to whom some duty is owing : yet it is very little better than nothing, as it can beget only a servile dread of a rigorous master, whose orders we must comply with that he may not be angry with us. And if we do our work by starts, or remissly, the effect will be proportionable to the temper wherein we receive it.

Wherefore it behoves us all along in our divine services to endeavor casting our minds into the posture suitable to that speculative or practical virtue, whether trust, or hope, or humility, or self-denial or prudence, or charity, which they are respectively adapted to encourage : for their operation is not like a charm, by supernatural efficacy, but by mechanical influence of language, gestures, and objects, upon the imagination ; and if the Holy Spirit be aiding, it is not so much by giving additional force to the means of grace, as by co-operating with the endeavors of the recipient. But some of our services being considerably long, there are persons who complain they cannot keep up the proper attention throughout : it may then be recommended to select such parts as are most profitable, or they can most heartily join in : however, let them try what they can, and if they really do so, they will do enough. And perhaps the length was calculated for the benefit of such persons as can pick up ten minutes attention here and there out of an hour, who could not carry it on the whole ten minutes at one stretch : if this were the case, we must suppose every generation grows more giddy than the former ; for additions have been made every now and then to our offices, but never any retrenchments.

3. But the manner of performing our religious exercises will depend in great measure upon the spirit or motive wherewith we enter upon them, which I conceive had better be that of hope and advantage, than fear or obligation. I am not ignorant that you cannot bring people of no religion into any without suggesting motives of terror and necessity ; for Religion has nothing inviting to their palate, by which you might allure them, nor anything profitable in their estimation by which you might tempt them, because they have no idea of profit unless in the increase of their possessions, or gratification of their desires and humors. So you must represent it as an indispensable duty, which they must acquit themselves of at their utmost peril : therefore I am not for discarding those engines, as being needful enough with persons and upon occasions, where wanted. But for such as have made any intimacy with Religion, and have tasted the sweets of a rational and regular conduct, a dispassionate, benign, and holy temper of mind, I think they may find more noble inducements to carry them

through the exercises that tend to increase those blessings in them, than the dread of mischief, or thought of a task that must be finished.

Nor do I pretend to deny there is an obligation to those exercises, nor that grievous mischief will ensue upon the omission ; but it is not unusual in common life to do things we are obliged to, without any thought of the obligation, where we have other incitements starting foremost to the notice. He that passes through a turnpike, must pay the toll, or his horses will be seized ; but if the road be very convenient for him, and made safe and smooth from miry and foundrous it was before, the toll comes from him in the nature of a voluntary contribution, nor does he once think of the seizure. He that should behave rudely, indecently, and offensively in company, would run the hazard of being turned out of it, and losing his character : those would be very disagreeable events, yet who of us ever finds occasion to carry them in contemplation ? for use and the pleasure and credit of civil deportment engage us to it effectually. In like manner, how obligatory soever the duties of Religion be, while we have a just sense of the benefits accruing from them, this will turn the obligation into matter of choice and prudence, so that we shall escape the danger without thinking of it : we need only reserve our apprehensions as motives lying dormant in the box, ready to assist in the scale at seasons when passion, pleasure, or indolence press so hard upon us that our moral sense becomes too feeble to actuate us alone.

But that Religion has been made so much a task and terror, I apprehend owing to the craft of former ages : for there is nothing like frightening men to make them governable, and to open an easy introduction for gainful superstitions. Our modern enthusiasts, though perhaps they have not so deep designs as their predecessors, employ the same engine to draw crowded mobs around them. They persuade men that nobody can be saved who does not first believe himself actually in a state of damnation : they have the words perdition, reprobation, hell flames, and eternal torments, perpetually in their mouths : delight to describe the terrors of the last judgment, when the rich and mighty of this world shall be haled about by devils, and mankind in general be overwhelmed in the unfathomable gulph, except a very few of their own followers : yet are these continually liable to be drawn aside among the multitudes, unless they neglect their lawful professions to follow lectures and practise austerities prescribed them ; so are always kept in the terror of a person walking along the icy brink of a precipice, every moment in danger of falling irrecoverably, if he chance to cast off his eye upon any other object.

These topics of rhetoric might do good service, judiciously applied, would but the professors submit to the government of more discerning heads than their own, who should put into their hands only the voluptuous, the debauched, the giddy, the gross-minded, and the sanguine, upon whom they might work more powerfully than any rational discourses; but to the phlegmatic, the serious, the weak-nerved, and the timorous, with whom Hope is the virtue wherein they are already most deficient, but who I believe make up the gross of their congregations, this regimen is arrant poison, fit only to drive the patient into desperation or madness. In short, they too much resemble Doctor Sangrado, who prescribed bleeding and copious draughts of warm water for all distempers, the dropsy and the atrophy, as well as the fever, the surfeit, and the plethora.

Nor are other more reasonable teachers, especially among the sectaries, wholly exempt from the like indiscretion, probably through laziness or incapacity to do better, because fear is the easiest passion for an orator to work upon: and being more fond of producing great effects upon their audience than careful to consider whether those effects be good or bad, they apply to the most sensible part of the human composition. By this management Religion becomes a melancholy burdensome thing, which nobody would submit to if it were not for the dreadful miseries consequent upon the neglect of it. The pious are affrighted, instead of being exhorted or persuaded, into their devotions, which vitiates the performance of them; for a man can never do his work so well in a fright, as by a calm and determinate resolution to do his best upon a persuasion of its being for his benefit.

Hence come the anxieties and suspicions of having failed in due reverence and devotion; the sighs and groans, the turned-up eyes and mortified countenances of the godly; which besides the hurt and disquietude it brings upon them, does an injury to Religion itself, by making it the aversion and laughing-stock of the world; and I suppose gave occasion to my Lord Shaftesbury to object, that so much care is taken of our future happiness as to make us throw away all our present. For this were not true of genuine Religion, which though it may sometimes, and that very rarely, require us to sacrifice our private pleasures and interests in its service, yet is there no real act of sound Religion that does not tend to the good order, the benefit, and happiness of mankind in this life. As God loveth a cheerful giver, so is he best pleased with a willing obedience, unforced by the terror of punishment or necessity of obligation. Therefore we serve him most acceptably when persuaded that thereby we serve ourselves; for he wants



nothing of us but that we should embrace the means of improving our nature which he has vouchsafed us.

4. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, but perfect love casteth out fear : while the love remains imperfect, and at intervals wherein it cannot raise a glow of warmth enough to set our spirits in motion, we must supply the deficiency by fear ; but whatever we can do by love will be much better done than by any other spring. But the love of God, as explained before in the Chapter on Charity, is a different kind of sentiment from that we ought to bear our neighbor : it is not the desire of benefiting the party who is the object of it, for we cannot anywhere find fuel to feed such a desire ; it is a filial dependence upon God as the author of all good, and a well-grounded persuasion that whatever we do with a rational idea of pleasing him will prove most beneficial to ourselves, or the common interest of our fellow-creatures. Yet there are great mistakes in the exhortations to this love : for men are enjoined it as a duty, and threatened with what will happen to them if they fail in it. So fond are some folks of fear, that they would make it do everything, and extract the flame of love out of this chilling principle : which seems an unnatural way of proceeding, not unlike the Virtuoso's scheme, who would needs try to make burning glass of ice.

But affection and persuasion do not lie under our command to raise them in what degree, or turn them upon what objects we please, by mere dint of resolution : so the duty can extend no further than to the diligent application of the means naturally efficacious to produce them. We cannot possibly fright ourselves into love, nor into the belief of a thing whereof we do not discern the evidence : all that fear can do in this case is to stifle our consciousness of wanting the affection and the belief, that the shame of it may not stare us in the face, which can only tend to teach us an hypocrisy so covert as to deceive our very selves, and thereby prevent our using the proper remedies for curing the sore, because not perceiving that we have one. Love can no otherwise be acquired than by a sense of amiableness in the object, and that sense must spring from a discernment of its tendency to something we desired before. Therefore the only way to make it sincere and hearty is by observation of the benefits accruing to us from Religion, in improving the serenity of our mind and regularity of our conduct.

By praying to God we increase our trust and dependence on him, as a sure protection in all situations : by praising him we recall many blessings to our thoughts we should otherwise have overlooked or forgotten, and thereby become better satisfied with our

condition : by confession, we grow acquainted with our defects, and which way to apply our cares for curing them : by profession of Faith we inculcate the convictions of our understanding upon our imagination, making them habitual and practical persuasions : by intercession we extend our Charity to all around us, not excepting the worthless and the wicked : by expressions of forgiveness we quench the sparks of revenge, envy, anger, animosity, and all unruly passions that would make havoc in our breasts : by acknowledgment of the Divine Wisdom in bringing forth good out of both good and evil, we find encouragement to the exercise of our little powers, and learn patience under misfortunes, cross accidents, and injuries that fall upon us : by pious resolutions we gather strength to give our judgment the mastery over sudden humor and fond inclination : by compliance with ceremonies we inure ourselves to discipline, and render our inferior faculties more tractable by the prudential rules of our own reason. To go through every particular would be endless : but we may say, in short, there is no religious exercise rightly performed, which does not help to improve the growth of some salutary virtue, and no virtue which may not receive nourishment from some religious exercise.

I do not doubt there are many persons who have experienced, that on coming out from their devotions, they feel themselves in a manner new creatures ; they seem above the world and all its allurements ; they have no sensual desires, nor vanity, nor selfishness, nor resentment, nor ill will to anybody ; no bias to indulgence and indolence, no repining at their condition, fretfulness at accidents befallen them, nor uneasy dread of dangers whereto human nature is liable : but are inspired with the stoical love of rectitude for its own sake, and could almost do and suffer anything for the glory they have had in contemplation before them. And though they find those impressions quickly obscured by the common business of life as soon as they begin to engage in it again, yet will they gather some additional strength upon every renewal, until at length they come to have an influence upon the general tenor of mind and practice, moulding them into the frame wherein solid happiness and usefulness of character consist. The knowledge of these desirable effects will make them feel a sensible joy on having succeeded in performing their religious duties well, and give them vexation whenever conscious of not having improved their opportunities as they might : which of course must excite an earnest desire to manage better another time, as matter of the highest expedience, and would urge them to their

duty, although there were no threatenings annexed to the neglect of it, nor obligation to render it indispensable.

5. Yet when raised above fear by having gotten another principle, enabling us to do our work better without it, there is still a danger to be guarded against, and that is from vanity. There are some people who do not so much desire to be good, as to be better than others; as if Religion was only a secondary aim, to raise our credit with the world or in our own estimation. But this motive will vitiate our performances more than that of the fear we have discarded; for there are few things more opposite to the spirit of Religion than vanity, as being incompatible with Charity, and a hearty zeal for any general interest. The vain man has always a separate interest of his own, which is promoted by the ill success of his neighbor, and whoever comes upon a line with him stands in his way: therefore he is perpetually tempted to censure, misconstrue, and depreciate, nor can ever heartily endeavor to improve a virtue in another person, unless in order to boast of his own performance, and triumph over him thereupon; neither will he be secure against the temptation of making a merit of his piety, secretly in his own imagination even with God himself.

But it is very unsafe to be fond of drawing comparisons with others upon any subjects, especially those relating to religious and moral virtues: or scrutinizing into their actions, unless for our own instruction by observing their successes and miscarriages impartially, together with the causes of them. The best way will be to consider Religion as a beneficial thing, and study diligently how to make our own advantages of it; never troubling our heads with what other people do, unless as occasion offers to assist them. For we need not be afraid of retarding ourselves by helping another forward: Heaven is big enough to hold us all, nor shall we find a whit the more difficulty in getting in for seeing thousands besides travel with greater speed: on the contrary, since the general interests of the species, in the perfecting human nature, is to be completed by the joint labors of multitudes, the more we see setting their hands to the work, and the greater proficiency they make, the better reason we have to rejoice.

And the custom of regarding religious exercises as matter of prudence and advantage, will assist us in adjusting the measure, as well as the manner of them. Not that I would persuade anybody to rely solely upon his own judgment in this point, but have a due regard to authority, established usage, example, and recommendation of persons of a judicious piety: but it should be remembered there are extremes on both sides: a man may be righteous

over much, as righteousness is understood of assiduities in externals, as well as too little ; the learned and pious sometimes have their whims and extravagances, as well as the beau and the giddy girl ; and the circumstances of situation and temperament will make that inexpedient at one season which was profitable at another. Every man has some judgment of his own if he will take care to exert it, and though it does not become him to refuse any helps at hand to assist it, yet neither ought he to forbear making the best use of it he can. Therefore it is dangerous to pin an implicit faith upon some particular doctor or writer, because his whimsies happen to strike our fancy by tallying with our own : we are not to cry, I am of Paul, nor I of Apollos, but I am of Christ ; that is, of that head whom we follow best and serve best, by doing any little real service to his body, or any the smallest member of it ; not forgetting our own spiritual part, which is one of his members.

It behoves us to try all things and hold fast by the best ; but if we do not try calmly and carefully, we shall run a hazard of holding fast by the worst. Whence it appears highly expedient to exercise what judgment we have, both upon persons and things, observing from time to time what effect our religious exercises produce upon our minds and our manners : for they have no intrinsic value, but it is their tendency alone to work a good effect that makes them duties pleasing to God ; we may be a little awkward in making our observations at first, but practice will bring us gradually to be more expert. If then we find they leave none, or a very transient impression behind ; if they call us off from the active duties of our station, from our attention to the services we may do one another ; if they make us melancholy, desponding, fretful, morose, contemptuous, vain, censorious, or inequitable ; if they nourish our indolence under a notion of superseding the practical duties by atoning for the omission of them ; if they make us too important in our own estimation, urging us to vie with the Apostles and primitive Martyrs, and undertake exploits far above our talents ; we may conclude assuredly, that we have been faulty, either in the choice of them, or in the manner or the measure of performing them.

For some of those inconveniences above mentioned will ensue from the excess of devotion, when carried on so long until it becomes a dead form, without any alacrity of mind to give it life : for even our mental functions depend upon the organs of our machinery which can continue their play only for a certain time, and if we go on to force them beyond their strength, they will throw in uneasy sensations, quickly corrupting to all the gloomy

and sour humors. It is true, the commerce of the world is apt to render them stiff, so that some force and exertion is necessary to make them do what they can ; but it is our business to find out by experience and observation, what they are capable of performing with spirit, beyond which we can expect no service from them either agreeable to God, or profitable to ourselves.

6. But there is one set of religious exercises, those I mean relating to humiliation, the use of which seems very little understood, and therefore deserves a particular consideration. I believe it is now pretty much out of fashion, because the generality of mankind are too fond of indulgence and thinking highly of themselves, ever to cast their eyes willingly upon an object that may tend to mortify them : but for that very reason it might prove the more serviceable, if they could be prevailed upon once in a while to do it. Those who practise this exercise perhaps are the least susceptible of benefit therefrom, considering the idea wherein they enter upon it, being persons of cold and timorous constitutions, who esteem it their duty to afflict and think the worst of themselves possible ; whereby they only increase the defect in their natural temperament, and persuade themselves that the very act of humiliation without reference to consequences is an acceptable sacrifice. But it is an unworthy notion of the Giver of all blessings, to imagine him delighted with the affliction of his creatures, unless when it tends to their greater benefit : it is then worth while to inquire what are the benefits of humiliation, and whether the same may not be obtained without making it a melancholy and afflicting work.

A man living in some of the back settlements in America, on hearing there is a party of enemy Indians coming that way, will, I suppose, examine carefully into the state and condition of his house, particularly the weak parts of it, inspecting the doors and windows, and searching for any loosened panel in the walls where they might possibly break in : he will look over all his arms and ammunition, to see what he has in store, and whether there be any rust or damp or defect among them : and all this he will do without taking pains to afflict himself at what he finds amiss, but in order to provide for his necessary defence upon having a thorough knowledge of his wants and his weaknesses.

He that has an infirm constitution will do wisely to make himself well acquainted with his particular infirmities, to observe what kind and quantity of diet, what accidents, employments, and exercises have disagreed with him ; that he may not think too highly of his stoutness so as to brave weathers, undertake fatigues, or indulge in entertainments that would hurt him. If he vex and

fret at being no stouter, it will do him no good either in his health or in the eye of Heaven : nor can the knowledge of his infirmities profit him otherwise than by exciting his vigilance to use every caution against whatever might increase them, and pursue every regimen and management that may help to amend them. In like manner it is highly expedient for us, who are all of very crazy constitutions in the internal part, and have dangers and enemies perpetually surrounding us without doors, to take ourselves into close examination, particularly on the worst side of our characters : but we ought to do it impartially, not thinking to merit by making matters worse than they are : for we have gross failings enow to contemplate, and if we dwell too strongly upon the trivial, it is a shrewd presumption we have overlooked the more flagrant.

Nor is there any Religion in trying to afflict ourselves at the discovery : our groanings make no sweet melody among the heavenly choirs, neither can they answer any good end to ourselves unless we be so lumpish a composition as never to stir without the dread of smart, and have no desire for anything beneficial, nor laudable ambition to rise a little step higher in the scale of virtue. Some displeasure will naturally arise upon the view of our disorders the first time we turn our reflection that way, but he that has been used to the exercise knows beforehand what he is to expect ; so his imperfection is nothing new to him that he should be mortified at the discovery : the particular examination of it is rather a cheerful work, because giving him hopes that he shall gather information from thence how to proceed in the rectifying it ; it is like the search made by a mariner, who knows his ship is leaky, and thinks it the luckiest thing in the world if he can find out all the leaks, because till then he has no chance of stopping them. Therefore he will search industriously into all his corruptions and all his weaknesses, what irregular desires he has, what unruly passions and inveterate habits, in what particular virtues he falls most deficient, wherein he has done amiss, or not so well as he might upon the occasion, what temptations have been most apt to prevail upon him, and what were the real motives of actions for which he has been most forward to applaud himself.

These inquiries will teach him not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, nor to be too secure against attacks, nor yet above improvement ; yet neither need they make him despond, as knowing that forewarned is forearmed, and that the sense of his imperfections will bring him within the verge of that protection which will raise him so far above them as is needful in this vale of mortality : they will convince him that he is not a completely rational creature, nor entire master of his own thoughts and

actions, therefore must use management with himself and proceed with caution, taking the benefit of whatever helps are afforded him ; and will give him a candor, a compassion, and fellow feeling towards imperfections he sees in other persons. Some such examination, I apprehend, would be particularly salutary to the Free-thinker, as it might abate his super-abundant self-sufficiency, and his high opinion of human reason, which is his grand infirmity introducing a thousand others : for he runs into errors and absurdities by thinking too highly of himself, and he thinks too highly of himself for want of knowing himself.

But our blemishes and foibles are a very unwelcome prospect, which the eye does not willingly fix upon, but is apt to skim lightly over, unless there be some additional weight besides expedience hung upon the attention to keep it steady to the work. Therefore it is commonly recommended to make this exercise a matter of devotion, and rank it among the divine services : because by placing ourselves more immediately in the presence of God, and drawing out the list of our corruptions as it were for his inspection, we shall be likely to do it more completely. For we dare not prevaricate with the Searcher of hearts ; and the awe of the divine Majesty before whom we stand, will make us more earnest, more honest and impartial in the scrutiny : whereby we may discover lurking corruptions, secret propensities, and many unjustifiable motives, having given the real spring to our most specious performances, which would have escaped us in the ordinary way of meditation without the check of that bridle upon our imagination.

7. Very great stress has been laid upon the duty of fasting, which being a medicine in the spiritual dispensary, the qualities and uses of it deserve to be well considered before it be prescribed. Now I conceive it operates as a damper of the spirits, and weakener of that attachment we have to the common enjoyments and engagements of life : therefore ought to be administered to such patients with whom that intention is requisite to be pursued, and in no greater measure than suffices to answer it.

But there are various degrees of fasting : the abstinence from all food, or from flesh meats, for whole days together, was strongly enjoined in former times, perhaps not so much for the sake of Religion, as to force men by the inconveniences of it to purchase a dispensation with their money : so that he was the best son of the Church, not who starved himself most, but who gave most largely to be excused from the obligation to starve. Such abstinence might be very advisable for your turtle eaters, city feast hunters, and persons who live in a continual round of pleasures ; but for old women and others who have frequent occasion to con-

verse with their apothecaries, I hold it stark naught : for they have more need of something to raise their spirits than to depress them, and their scruples, despondences, and murmurings, proceed in great measure from poorness of blood or stagnation of the circulating juices, occasioned by the feeble tone of their vessels, want of exercise, or of seasonable recreation ; and if they could apply with more glee to their common employments, they might return from them with better alacrity to their devotions.

For my own part ; who am of a rather melancholy temperament and cold digestion, I could never reap any benefit from fasting, though I have tried it formerly, but found it enfeeble my understanding, and make me less fit for religious exercises : and had I continued it till this time, I believe my Chapters would have dissolved into a water gruel style, and been still more deficient than they are in a rational, cheerful strain of piety.

Nevertheless, moderation and temperance can do hurt to no man ; he may keep a continual fast in this sense with good profit, and if he rise up now and then with half a meal, he may find himself lighter and more alert for any serious application ; at least it will inure his appetites to discipline, and help to give him the command over them ; which is the more needful because civility and custom, often laying temptations to excess in the way, it would be doubly dangerous to have a domestic enemy importuning him. As to higher degrees of abstinence, I shall not pretend to decide upon them : since they are strongly recommended, it becomes every man to make the trial ; once or twice cannot spoil his constitution, and then he may consult experience, than whom he cannot have a physician of better authority, for the continuing or leaving them off.

But in whatever measure or manner he practises them, it will be expedient he should think them not so much duties in themselves, as means assisting him to perform his other duties the better : for if he regards them as actual services, he may be apt to imagine that after having gone through so laborious a task, he may be allowed a little relaxation from attending to his conduct. This must needs throw him off his guard when entering into the common transactions of life, and then his passions and desires having been kept suspended for a while, would return upon him with fresh vigor : which might make his case too much resemble that of the man out of whom a devil had been cast, and he returned to his house and found it swept and garnished, and then took unto him seven other devils more wicked than the former, so that his last state was worse than the first.



8. As there are few of our religious exercises which have not a considerable mixture of prayer, it will be worth while to examine into the nature of that species of devotion. Prayer is one of the principal means of grace, and therein lies its whole efficacy. I have endeavored in the Chapter under that title to explain the idea of Grace considered as an effect worked upon us, which was a disposition of mind to some sentimental or practical virtue, with more than common vigor and alertness: and though we are taught that this cannot be effected without aid of the Holy Spirit, yet he never produces it of himself, but only co-operates with our endeavors to supply their want of strength; therefore some natural means must always be put in use to obtain an effusion of grace.

Now prayer is a serious meditation and expression of our desires in the sight of God, and as it were in conversation with him: we are indeed never really out of his sight during any one moment of our lives, though upon common occasions we think nothing of it, nor is it always convenient that we should, therefore can receive no effect therefrom upon ourselves: but when imagining ourselves actually before him, the solemnity of his immediate presence will give an acuteness to our meditations, and a sincerity to our desires, which will make us judge more impartially and soundly than we could otherwise have done, and desire things heartily to which at other times we had a secret reluctance. And since habits are learned by repeated single acts, an assiduity in prayer has a natural tendency to beget virtues in us that could not have been acquired by reason and instruction: in which way alone I apprehend it is that we receive an answer to our prayers.

It is written, Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you: but no expositor ever understood thereby that we should receive indiscriminately whatever we please to ask for. The wisest among us may sometimes ask for things that would be mischievous to them if granted: and though they should confine their requests to increase of grace and virtue, from which there is no hazard of mischief to them, yet the granting it may be improper, as frustrating those grand designs of Providence, which we have seen, in some preceding Chapters, are worked out by frailties and imperfections among the creatures. Therefore we are taught to understand by the promise, that God will give the devout worshipper what he knows in his wisdom will be good for him, whether contained in the petition or not, so far as is consistent with the good of other creatures with whom he stands connected.

But we cannot believe otherwise than that God, who is the Author of all powers, the fountain of all good things, will of his own

free Bounty give unto his creatures all the good that is proper for them, and has already provided measures in his courses of nature and fortune, requisite to produce it: therefore prayer does not operate upon him, but upon ourselves. For there is no room to expect that our importunities should prevail upon him to depart a tittle from the determinations he has made in perfect Wisdom, which comprise everything, that is to befall us: we are not to look for miraculous interpositions among the motions of matter on our behalf, neither does the office of the Holy Spirit lie in turning the course of events, nor causing alterations in external bodies, but solely in working upon the minds of men.

But it has pleased God to make the right exercise of our Free-will one among the causes procuring the good that shall befall us, and to render the good he gives us effectual or not, according to the disposition and temper wherewith we receive it: therefore prayer, having a natural efficacy to mend the state and disposition of the heart, will enable us to reap the benefit of those good things he has procured for us and put into our power. So it is truly said, Ask and ye shall receive, though we cannot move God to do any single thing he would not have done without our prayer, because we may move ourselves thereby till we come within the stream of his blessings.

Hence it follows, and divines constantly recommend, that we should pray with resignation, for though we ought never to prefer a petition which we do not believe in our sincere judgment beneficial and proper for us to attain, yet we may be mistaken, in which case God will not give us the thing we desire, but a better in lieu: nor will he alter his measures upon our request, but give that which he has already made our devotion a natural means to obtain. So that if we ask with devotion we may be sure of receiving, not perhaps the very thing we have set our hearts upon, but some improvement in our spiritual part, more valuable and more conducive to our present solace of mind and to our future interests.

Hence appears likewise that the benefit of prayer depends entirely upon the manner of performing it, for if we do not pray with faith we might full as well have let it alone: but by Faith we are not to understand a confident assurance of prevailing in the particular point we pray for, for this has no foundation to rest upon either in reason or Scripture. If any one desires to know the proper idea of Faith, it is beyond my skill to explain it better to him than I have already done in the Chapter upon that article, where he will find it the being possessed of a just sense of the divine Attributes, and of the government throughout the Universe

being administered in perfect Wisdom and Goodness, so as to order all things for the best. While this sense can be kept up lively and vigorous in the imagination, we may be sure of reaping good benefit by our prayers; whenever it evaporates, they will become empty form of none avail. Therefore it was that in § 2, I proposed to such as cannot keep their attention throughout a service, to select some particular parts, for one tenth performed with Spirit is worth a million of mere words and formal genuflections: but then the omission of the rest must be really owing to inability and human infirmity, not to laziness; for nine parts in ten will not suffice, if it were feasible to have gone through the whole.

9. From what has been said it appears, that increase of grace and virtue are the proper and primary objects of prayer, because having a natural tendency to procure them, but not to procure anything else: for prayer, as observed before, being a pouring out our sentiments and desires before God, the awe of his presence upon our imagination, will give them a purity and sincerity they had not during our commerce in the world, and by putting our minds frequently into that posture of desire and sentiment, we shall bring them by degrees to fall habitually thereinto of their own accord; just as a man may bring his feet to turn outwards spontaneously by often holding them in that position.

Nevertheless, prayer may very usefully be preferred for externals; for though it has no influence to procure them, it may sometimes procure what will procure them. By praying for health, for success in our callings, and for deliverance from evils, we shall impress upon our minds a sense of those blessings coming from God, who will be propitious according as we conduct ourselves before him: and this will engage us to an industry, a sobriety, a vigilance and prudence, that may not improbably bring us into possession of the things we desire: so that health, success, and deliverance will be the real effects of our prayer. If we pray for the peace, the good order, and the prosperity of our country, we shall become more sedulous and hearty in doing our parts towards promoting them, and help to inspire the like sentiments among our neighbors: whereby, it is not impossible that our country may really be the better for our praying.

In like manner, whatever we pray for with a reflection obvious to the very heathens, that God will grant nothing to the prayers of the idle and the negligent, we shall obtain so much as our own right disposition of mind can contribute towards attaining it, and this is much more conducive to the procurement of good things without us, than people are commonly aware of: for if the wants,

vexations, and troubles we bring upon ourselves by our own misconduct were subtracted, I believe few of us would find cause to complain at what remained. Yet our prayers are not certainly lost, although the diligence and management they nourish in us should prove of none avail towards supplying our wants, because they may furnish us with what will answer our purpose as well without.

Suppose a man having none other subsistence than ten acres of land which are worth him five pounds a year, and of so infirm a body that he cannot possibly earn a farthing more by his skill or labor; if upon finding himself in want of necessities he should pray to have his land increased, but instead of that it should please God miraculously so to fertilize his land, that it should yield him a hundred pounds a year, everybody would allow this to be a full answer to his petition: for however he might express himself, it was not the quantity of land, but the income arising from it that he desired. In like manner when we ask for externals, it is not the bare having them in custody, but the ease and pleasure to be received from them, that is properly the object of our desire; and we ask the things for sake of the enjoyment we expect they will give us in the possession: therefore, if God refuse us then, but so fructify the soil of our hearts, as that it shall yield the same income of enjoyment we could have expected from the addition of them, it is a complete answer to our petition. For it has been shown, in a Chapter of a former volume upon the Ultimate Good, that it lies solely in satisfaction or complacency of mind; all other things are good or valuable only in proportion as they tend nearly or remotely to yield us an income of that.

Now prayer devoutly performed with due resignation to the Will and Wisdom of God, and a persuasion that he orders all things for the best, will make us better pleased with the blessings he vouchsafes us, better contented under his dispensations, and more hopeful to draw some good profit from them: whereby we may receive greater satisfaction and complacency of mind, and pass our days more happily, than we might have done had the petition been granted in the form it was offered. Therefore I can so far allow confidence of obtaining a favorable answer to our request, as an ingredient in the faith rendering it effectual: for the devout worshipper may be assuredly confident of receiving the thing he asks in value, though perhaps not in specie.

Not that I would give into the stoical extravagance of expecting to do everything by the temper and disposition of the mind, so as that this should always keep us easy and happy under the severest pressure of wants, distresses, and pains: for God has not

made such firmness practicable in this imperfect state of mortality. He has given us wants and natural appetites with various means of gratification, wherein he has placed a considerable part of our enjoyment in this life, and has made our desires the avenues leading into prudence, industry, sociableness, and many other virtues ; there is nothing then, blameable in pursuing our conveniences and accommodations by all lawful and innocent methods ; but the principal fund of our happiness must spring from the state of our minds ; this then we ought to improve with all possible diligence, for it will make us reish our pleasures while we have them, and prove a sure refuge in disappointment when all other things fail. Nor need we scruple to make externals the subject of our petitions ; for if offered in sincerity and pu eness of heart, we have ground to hope assuredly that God will either give us the good things seeming requisite to our well-being, or if he judges otherwise, will enable us to enjoy our minds with peace and tranquillity without them, or at least make our pressure the passage to some greater advantage.

10. Upon the same grounds is founded the duty of praying for others, for their deliverance from wants and distresses, for their patience under them, their drawing some good profit from them, for their health, their improvement, their success in lawful undertakings, for the peace and prosperity of our country, for the advancement of sound Religion and practical Philosophy, those hasteners of the coming of that grand blessing to the human species, the kingdom of the just, which is the kingdom of God, wherein his Will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. For though we cannot move God, nor retard, or hasten, or make the least alteration in his measures, nor influence the hearts of other persons by our devotions, yet we may move and work alterations in ourselves thereby. And the tenor of our minds may be of greater service to other people than most of us are careful enough to observe, for from the desires of the heart the actions proceed : according as that stands more humanely, benevolently and piously disposed, we shall apply with better inclination to assist all we can, as well in their distresses, as their successes : and when it is remembered how great a force there is in sympathy, we shall see that they may catch a spark of industry, of prudence and patience from us to their own emolument ; at least they will receive a considerable comfort and pleasure on finding us take a sincere part in either fortune befalling them.

Neither are our good wishes unavailing to the community, as they prompt us to contribute our share towards promoting the prosperity we wish for. We are all members of the community,

whose good is advanced by the united efforts of its constituents ; nor is the most inconsiderable among us of no consequence, if it be no more than to abstain from doing mischief by his private passions and indiscretion. If the politic, the aspiring, the hot-headed, the discontented, and the wanton, had not too sovereign a contempt of prayer ever to join in it devoutly or otherwise than for form and fashion sake, I think there could not be such unwillingness to part with power nor greediness to get into it, such struggles and party-animosities, such virulence and obloquy in declamatory prose, or scandalous versification as we are now-a-days pestered with : however, I cannot but congratulate my country, for that I believe those evils have never run shorter lengths in any age or nation, than our own.

Then for that grand interest of the species, the progress of perfection in human nature and bringing forward the kingdom of the just, the seat of this I apprehend lies not in external nature but in the hearts of men ; and it has been shown in the Chapter on Divine Economy, how Providence carries on this great work by a multitude of operators concurring in their several stations thereto : but we cannot better qualify ourselves for performing our part than by an increase of our Charity, which our prayers are particularly efficacious to strengthen in us, so that we may be sure thereby of advancing one person somewhat nearer towards perfection, and have a chance of advancing many more by our example and sympathy. For while praying for the good of others or the advancement of true Religion, we cannot in reverence to the Divine Majesty then fully striking upon our imagination, but heartily wish and desire what we pray for, which will gradually bring the like heartiness to be habitual and practical : and it has been observed in former places, that if a hearty and judicious Charity were once become universal among mankind, that alone would suffice to restore a Paradise upon Earth.

Hence may be seen the foundation there is in reason and nature of that injunction to pray for our enemies, and those that despitefully use us and persecute us, because by so doing we shall preserve our universal Charity unimpaired, our opposition will not be enmity, nor rancor, nor resentment, but unwelcome necessity, nor proceed further than prudence and self-defence require : we shall continue ready to do them all the good offices consistent with our own just rights, and the rights of others to whom they may be dangerous : we shall not resent private injuries whenever greater inconveniences and disorders would ensue therefrom to the public : and should be able, if our considerate judgment should so pronounce expedient, to turn the right cheek to him that has

smitten the left, and give up our coat also to one that has taken away our cloak.

11. I am apt vehemently to suspect that the prayers of our Church frequently concluding through or for the sake of Jesus Christ, gives an idea to many persons that God has no immediate regard for us at all, but bestows his blessings purely to gratify his Son, upon those to whom he has happily taken a liking : and that by the use of that name we may move him to do a thing he was indifferent to before. I need not take pains to show how repugnant this notion is to reason and rational Faith : neither do I believe it was in the thoughts of the compilers of our Liturgy, nor designed to be inculcated in the Scriptures. I own indeed there are several expressions which seem to look strongly that way, and perhaps it might be necessary that such opinion should be contrived at for the Jews, who looked for a temporal deliverer to rescue them by his might and prowess, or for the gross-minded Gentiles, who could take their apprehensions of the Almighty only from the likeness of earthly princes, in order to lead them by the avenue of their own conceptions into an expectation of benefit from the Gospel.

But for such as have ears to hear, they are told expressly, that God so loved the world he gave his Son to be a propitiation for our sins : so the Redemption was a joint act of love in the Father as well as in the Son. And he is all along represented as the God of love, sending his sunshine and his rain upon the just and the unjust, long-suffering and merciful, ready to forgive, unwilling the sinner should perish, but that he should turn from his evil ways and live. This being his character, there is no doubt he is always ready to give his creatures all the good things proper for them, and consistent with the order of government respecting his spiritual Natures established in perfect Wisdom, of his own mere motion, without needing an intercession prompting him thereto. Besides that, however we may understand the distinction of persons in the Godhead, they can never be imagined so different in temper and character, as that one should take a liking to objects indifferent to the other, or one should importune for things not already judged proper by the perfect Wisdom of the other.

But the Gospel teaches that Christ is the way and the life, for no man can come to the Father unless through the Son : he came from God to direct us by his doctrines and assist us by his institutions, and goes before to lead us by his example in the road which is the natural avenue to the divine blessings : therefore he is styled the Intercessor, Mediator, and Agent going between God and Man, as I have endeavored already to explain in § 26, of the Chapter

on the Christian Scheme. But then we must travel the road ourselves, or shall receive no benefit from the Intercession, which operates no otherwise than by bringing us into the way: for even his death and passion will avail only such, who strive to imitate his endurance in a good cause, to crucify the lusts of their flesh, the pride and indolence, and unruly passions of their heart, and to subdue the carnal or sensual part under subjection to the spiritual or rational.

Therefore I apprehend we are not warranted to expect that Christ will do anything for us at a distance in heaven, nor otherwise than by the instrumentality of our own powers towards bringing our hearts into that frame which may qualify them for reception of those blessings, that God in his Wisdom and Goodness has prepared for his creatures. And by the phrase *Through Jesus Christ*, is to be understood that we hope to obtain the things we sue for by the way he has opened to us for arriving at them: and for his sake, implies that God will give them to us in consideration of our employing the means he has put into our hands for attaining them. So that those expressions are of similar import with that ending one of the sentences in the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*: or something in the nature of an oath, as if we should say, *So help me God in my present wants as I shall strive faithfully to persevere in the tenor of sentiment and conduct prescribed me, and avail myself of the aids afforded me in the Gospel.*

I do not mean to condemn the literal sense of Intercession in persons who cannot understand any other, for there are many among our vulgar of as gross conceptions as the ancient Jew or the Gentile; and as there is meat for men and milk for babes, we must allow every one to take what is most suitable to his digestion: therefore I would not wish anybody to disturb himself that he cannot fully enter into the explanation offered above, for whoever applies to his devotions with the purest ideas he is capable of entertaining, performs them well, and will receive all the benefits from them promised in the Scriptures. But I think the literal sense ought not to be countenanced, much less encouraged, in whomsoever is susceptible of the other: because experience testifies into what mischiefs it has unwarily led mankind. For if God had no bowels of compassion for us since the disobedience of Adam, yet might be moved to give us eternal happiness by the Intercession of his Son: the Son too, after we had forfeited his favor by actual transgressions, might re-instate us upon the recommendation of St. Peter, or St. Mary, or St. Bennet Sheerhog, or St. Vedast, alias Foster, or some other prime favorite: but if



we happen to be strangers to the foresaid Saints, still it is likely they, in imitation of their Master's example, will take us under protection, if we can get some priest or holy man upon earth to present our petition. Thus have men been led to imagine that in the Court of Heaven, as in some Italian Court, points are carried by interest and favor : and thus Religion has been turned into an infamous trade.

12. But though we have now in these countries gotten rid of those corrupt excrescences, yet there are others which sometimes creep out from the vulgar idea of Christ doing anything for us while we lie still, or otherwise than by enabling us to do what we could not have done of ourselves : for dependence on him and the practice of good works being promiscuously inculcated as the necessary steps to salvation, many are apt to place them out of their proper order, reckoning that the first which ought to be esteemed the last. They apprehend good works no otherwise beneficial than by giving them a claim to the protection of Christ, by whose sole operation the mercy of God is turned upon them. He has commanded righteousness, and declared he will love those who seek it, so they must be righteous only to please him and gain the effects of his love : whence they value themselves upon their orthodoxy, and place salvation in externa's, thinking themselves good Christians in proportion to the staunchness of their belief, or assiduities and fervors in their devotion. Whereas whoever consults the Scriptures will find by the whole tenor of them, that Christ came to deliver us from sin, but from punishment only in consequence of the other, by delivering us from that which would incur it.

I am far from laying a stress upon the merit of good works : they are generally though not always efficacious to our better accommodation and enjoyment in this transitory life, but have none effect upon our future interests, otherwise than by strengthening the virtues wherein the health and vigor of our spiritual body consists. Now virtue lies solely in the mind ; it is an habitual disposition in the heart or imagination to follow readily the dictates of judgment or understanding, and is the same while lying dormant unexercised as when exemplified in outward acts : but our actions constantly flow from the dispositions of the heart, therefore good works are the surest evidence of our possessing the virtues, and if we fail in the performance of them according to our skill, ability, and opportunities, however fondly we have flattered ourselves, we may be sure of falling deficient in the particular virtues prompting thereto. But religious virtues are not such, while remaining in speculative theorems, nor until taking strong hold on

the imagination and become habitual and practical persuasions, comprehended under the name of a saving Faith : which, as I have endeavored to show in the Chapter upon that article, consists in a quick sensibility of distant good and evil, equally with the present, and in possessing just and lively sentiments of the Power, the Wisdom, the Goodness, the Holiness, the Equity of God, and his government of the Universe together with all things great and small contained therein : from whence will naturally grow a soothing unshaken Hope, a thorough satisfaction in the lot of our existence, and an unreserved Charity to our fellow-creatures as connected with ourselves in one general interest.

This I apprehend figured in Scripture style by coming to the Father, living to God, being his child, or becoming one with him. Had we our rational faculties in full perfection and our sensitive under entire command, as they are believed to have been in Adam before his fall, we might perhaps attain this saving Faith without foreign aid, and then should need no Intercession to bring down that happiness which would follow therefrom in the course of nature established by our Almighty Governor. But every man's experience, who consults it fairly, will testify, that this is not the case, and it is the doctrine of our Church that we cannot rectify the disorder in our internal machinery by our own management, nor without aid of the rules prescribed, and the remedies dispensed in the Gospel : for no man can come to the Father unless through the Son ; we must become incorporated with our elder brother to become children of God, and must live to Christ before we can live to Him. Yet the bare conviction of our understanding that such rules and remedies are necessary, will not urge us to apply them without a firm persuasion of mind of their efficacy, nor can this be generated without a full dependence upon the skill and ability of the prescriber.

So that Faith in Christ is effectual only to make us follow his regimen, and the regimen beneficial only for the health whereto it will restore us : for if it were possible for a man to perform all the peculiar duties of Christianity without performing those which are not peculiar, I shall not scruple to question whether he would be ever the better for so doing. But Faith in Christ, is called a saving Faith, because being the sole and certain avenue to that which is properly so : therefore the conclusion of our prayers operates in the same manner as the other parts of them, not by moving God or Christ to make them more favorably disposed towards us, or prevail on them to do anything further than they have already done on our behalf, but by bringing ourselves into a frame of mind capable of receiving benefit from the provisions they have

made for our use, and impressing deeper upon our hearts a dependence upon the all-sufficiency of our Saviour, which will urge a greater attention and diligence in applying the means he has prescribed for attainment of a saving Faith.

13. Prayer is commonly parted into four kinds, Petition, Confession, Intercession, and Thanksgiving: I have already said enough of the three former, and need only now add a word upon the last. This deserves the name of a Divine Service more properly than any of the others, for we seem directly to serve God herein, and not ourselves: we approach the throne of Glory not with our troubles and wants, nor those of one another, nor yet with the mortifying prospect of our frailties and corruptions; we come in joy and alacrity of heart to offer our tribute of grateful praise, that only return in our power to make for all his manifold blessings.

And to render the tribute complete, it behoves us to recollect as many of the blessings poured out upon us as we can, our being, our health, our faculties of body and mind, our accommodations, our conveniences and pleasures of life, the gifts of nature and fortune, those we share in common with our fellow-creatures, with the species, with the community, with our friends, and those we possess in particular ourselves; exemptions from danger, escapes from mischief, deliverance from troubles, what progress we have made in any virtue or useful improvement, what opportunities we have employed well, and what favorable accidents have befallen us. But then our sacrifice must be of the choice firstlings of the flock, without spot or blemish of vanity or flattery, but the spontaneous produce of the heart: for a force put upon the mind here will vitiate the performance more than in any other kind. The praise must be a voluntary oblation, not a grudging payment, for God loveth a cheerful giver, more especially in offerings made to himself: he searches into the heart, and is not to be imposed upon so far as to accept whatever does not come freely from thence.

There are some zealots who would have us always kiss the rod of affliction, and thank God for every exercise of it upon us. I do not deny that afflictions work to our benefit, and have taken pains in the course of this work to show that they do so, therefore whenever we can discern the particular benefit accruing therefrom, we are in the right to be thankful for them; but this is very rarely the case, and there are many other things we may be convinced in our judgment are for our good, yet if they be not apparently so to our imagination, they are no proper topics of thanksgiving. I have shown in the proper place, that our tastes and inclinations fluctuate, we do not always relish the same pleasures with equal

glee, nor value the good things we possess always at the same rate : but we ought to take the matter of our thanksgiving from those objects which then most strongly touch our hearts ; for to thank God for what we are not sincerely glad at possessing, is arrant flattery and compliment, it is telling him he is good, when we are not sensible of his goodness ourselves.

The tribute of praise and acknowledgment is undoubtedly a duty expected from us, but we cannot pay it well out of duty : the thought of obligation can serve no further than to put us upon searching in our reflection for proper topics of thankfulness, but we must have some nobler principle to actuate us in the performance. And surely among the innumerable blessings we receive, it cannot be hard for any man to pick out such as at that instant he may feel a sensible joy and hearty gratitude in reflecting on. But though the consciousness of having done well in any part of our conduct is a very reasonable matter of thanksgiving, because ascribing the whole glory to God, and the sense of blessings, is strengthened by contemplating the want of them elsewhere, yet we must take great heed that the comparison be made upon things, not upon persons, for this would lead us insensibly to assume the glory to ourselves.

The fondness for excelling is a wily enchantress never sufficiently to be guarded against, it is apt to insinuate into all our actions and all our thoughts, and too frequently even into our religious exercises : but vanity is the worst ingredient we can mingle among our offerings, it is worse than fear or obligation, for they only render them insipid, but this like dead flies in a pot of Ointment, turns the sweet smelling savor into a noisome stench. The Pharisee, who fasted thrice a week, paid tithe of mint, anise, and cummin, and gave alms of all he possessed, if he believed those things duties, was very proper in giving thanks for having performed them, had his joy arisen from the benefit they were of to himself : but it seems his joys sprung from the pride of telling God how much superior he was to the wicked Publican : therefore he went down to his house less justified than the other, who had only smitten his breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner.

14. There is a seeming contradiction among the directions given in the Scriptures upon this subject : for we are warned against the Battology or vain repetitions of the heathens, yet on the other hand commanded to pray without ceasing, to continue instant in prayer, and expect to prevail by our importunity, God being likened to a man who would not rise out of his warm bed until teased into a compliance by incessant knockings. Wherein we cannot suppose any variety either in the matter or manner of

the application, for the person knocking wanted only one thing, a loaf of bread, nor does it appear that he played any change of tunes in drumming against the door. But whenever there are seeming contradictions, we may consider the two branches of them as intended to guard us against two opposite extremes; for so the exhortations to industry, and to take no thought for the morrow, are levelled against the contrary vices of idleness, and anxious solicitude: and if we recollect what has been argued above concerning the effect of prayer being worked solely upon ourselves, not upon the Almighty, it may help to discover what those extremes are.

For while we conceit ourselves able to move the Heavenly Powers, we shall be apt to imagine the effect owing to the vehemence and repetition of the impulse, not to the temper and disposition of mind wherein we gave it: just as a man who goes to push a stone along, it is no matter whether he does it in anger, or fear, or wantonness, or out of obligation, the stone will move according to the strength and number of his thrusts, not according to the state of his mind. And so the Papists seem to apprehend the matter, for they believe that twenty Ave Marias run off without any devotion, like twenty shillings dropped carelessly into a man's hand are worth just as much again as ten. Or if we look upon the manner of performing them as material, still while retaining the opinion of their changing the disposition of God towards us, we shall value ourselves thereupon, and claim the title of obedient servants, and very righteous people for our assiduities and devotion. Or if we get rid of that notion, but have none of their operating upon ourselves, we may regard them as superstitious and foolish, to be complied with only now and then for fashion sake, and to avoid giving offence.

Whereas if we look for the benefit of our prayers in the effect they work upon ourselves, and reflect on their manner of operation, we shall see sufficient reason for being assiduous and importunate in them; because else they cannot produce an habitual and permanent change in the mind. I have observed in a former place, that there are two ways to happiness, one by procuring the objects we desire, the other by bringing desire to fix upon the objects in our power, or that are proper for us, or upon courses of conduct conducive to our benefit: the former depends upon fortune and external circumstances, the latter lies more under our own management; and herein consists the art we are to learn from Religion and Morality. I have likewise shown that desires have their seat in the imagination, for what we know very well in the judgment of our understanding to be good, does not touch us in the

expectation, nor give us a pleasurable sense in the possession, until we have gotten an appetite towards it, which appetite, if it be not among those given by nature, can be acquired only by habit.

Now prayer has a natural efficacy to raise a desire for the things we pray for, and a relish to the objects then holden under contemplation, but it must be by continual bending that desire and sentiment can be brought to remain in their proper ply, which will give us a permanent habitual, happy temper of mind, rendering us willingly obedient to the Will of God, easy and satisfied within ourselves, prudent in our conduct, and heartily disposed towards one another. Therefore we need not regard style nor variety of expression, any further than we find requisite upon our own account to keep our reverence and attention alive : for whatever, and how lately soever repeated, we can offer with unabated vigor and earnestness, will answer the purpose as well as if it were new dressed, and furbished up.

Hence appears there is no irreverence in a common form of liturgy : for we must not expect to please God by the novelty and copiousness of our diction, but by the sincerity and heartiness of our application. Then as most prayers begin with an exordium alike suitable to introduce deprecation, confession, intercession, petition, or thanksgiving, and the gifted in extempore prayers are extremely slow in their pronounciation, I should think the hearer must lose several minutes in expectance before he can know the proper posture to cast his mind into, preparatory for what follows.

15. Nevertheless, how little ground soever there may be, either in reason or Scripture, to believe seriously that we can move God, it may be serviceable to take up such an idea for the time while employed in our devotions, as it will help us considerably in the due performance of them. For as observed in former places, we find it many times convenient to conceive of things otherwise than we know them to be ; we commonly apprehend the Sun moving from East to West, though in our considerate judgment we are convinced of the contrary ; we give way to a temporary persuasion of the transactions being real as we see represented in a play, or described in a poem or novel, without which we could receive neither pleasure nor instruction therefrom ; Tully directs the orator to possess his imagination strongly with the cause being his own, or he will not be able to plead it effectually ; and he that enters upon a difficult undertaking, will be more likely to succeed for believing that he shall : in like manner by putting on a temporary persuasion of wresting a favor

from God we may be encouraged to apply more strenuously, and shall work a stronger impression upon our minds.

And this temporary persuasion is so necessary as to make it expedient for the vulgar, or those who live almost wholly by imagination and very little by understanding, to indulge in them a permanent persuasion of the like nature, rather than they should be wanting in the temporary : for they will see no absurdities flowing therefrom, and so cannot be hurt by it, unless misled by designing or enthusiastic persons. But for such as have any command over their imagination, and are able to make the distinction, considering the dangers before mentioned appendant to the notion of prevailing upon God to alter his measures or his disposition towards us, it is better they should cast that notion aside as soon as they come out from their devotions ; that they may not regard them as virtues, but rather as means prescribed by their Saviour for the attainment of virtue. Yet even in that light they may rejoice at having performed them well, as a man may rejoice at having gained something that he can turn to his advantage : still estimating their condition, not by their religious exercises, but by the habits and sentiments of mind they possess, which are best evidenced and strengthened by works, but by divine services only in failure of sufficient opportunities for performing good works.

They may then escape the danger of being righteous overmuch, which can only happen by placing righteousness in that which it is not, for it is impossible to be really and truly righteous overmuch : and so it is to live too well, but by living well is commonly understood eating high and plentifully, and in that sense it is certain that many live too well, so as to hurt their health and fill their bodies with humors and distempers. But if it be said that our spiritual food be of too pure a nature ever to surfeit, this I shall not dispute, but then our food does not consist in acts of devotion, for if we will imitate our Saviour, our meat and drink ought to be doing the Will of God : so that the externals of Religion are not our food but our spiritual physic, necessary in this fallen state to correct the vicious humors in our constitution, and bring our internal organs into a proper tone for digesting their natural food. But everybody knows physic may be overdone, and it may be misapplied, as it certainly is when the timorous and low-spirited are driven into perpetual self-denials, fastings, and humiliations.

Therefore if we consider prayer as a remedy in the spiritual dispensary, though no part of it ought to be omitted in due proportion, yet we shall see cause to prescribe the four several species of it more copiously for particular patients : confession for the proud, the sanguine, and the pleasure-hunters : petition for the

thoughtless, and the worldly-minded ; intercession for the selfish, the ill-natured, and the passionate ; and thanksgiving for the fearful, the melancholy, and the discontented. This last may be thought an improper application, for where shall the discontented find any matter for praise ? I expect they will be at a loss at first, but after some practice, beginning with evils that might have befallen worse than those they complain of, and noting well in memory whatever touches them at any time, they will perceive the list increase suprisingly, and soon discover many things to rejoice at and be thankful for, which they could not have thought of before.

But though I would have every man be so far his own physician as to observe the success of his remedies, yet he ought not to rely solely upon experience, but consult the written and received rules, and take the recommendation of persons who in his best judgment he sees reason to confide in : for it is not uncommon with medicines of the alterative kind, as are all those we have been speaking of, to take good effect though the patient himself does not perceive it. However, let him beware of Quacks, lest they draw him in by their vehemence and positiveness to place a faith in their Nostrums and Panaceas, as efficacious to cure all distempers, past, present, and to come.

16. There is another religious performance, which if it cannot take rank as a species of prayer, yet bears a near affinity therewith, because operating in the same manner, viz. by impressing the ideas it contains more strongly upon the imagination ; and this is, Singing. It answers more particularly to that species called Thanksgiving : therefore St. Paul directs, if any be sad, let him pray ; if joyful, let him sing psalms. We have observed that importunity and repetition work more upon the imagination, than argument : now in Singing, the words are drawn out, and the same thoughts made to dwell upon the mind longer than in any other way. Therefore you find that in clubs and parties they have their songs, which are known to encourage them greatly in their several ways of thinking, especially among the populace.

It was much used by the primitive Christians, by the first Reformers, and in the beginnings of most sects : but what vitiates it in the established Church is, the fondness for an exquisite taste in Music, which wholly draws off all attention from the thought to the sound, and renders it impracticable for the vulgar to join in the Chorus. Go to an Italian Opera, and you will hear the singers so clip and mangle their words, that, without a book in your hand, you will lose even the little sense they contain. Not but that good Music may be employed to give strength to the expressions, as witness the Coronation Anthem the Messiah, and other of Han-



del's performances : but there are few of the composers who know how to do this, or even endeavor it. Besides that those pieces ought to be executed by good and skilful voices, who cannot be followed by a common congregation.

The songs inspiring party-zeal and the spirit of drinking, are generally very bad music, badly executed, being rather roars or squalls than songs : yet have they the full weight upon the company. I doubt not that many a jolly toper has bawled out, *The Soph* he is immortal, and never can decay, for how should he return to dust, who daily wets his clay? until he has sung himself into a full persuasion of that witticism being a solid argument, which would justify him in his assiduities at the bottle. And though the Quaker never sings professedly, yet the whine and awkward cadence and see-saw action, wherewith the spirit vents itself in his sermons, may be called a bastard-singing : and perhaps that is all there is affecting in them. Thus it appears by manifold experience, that singing even of the most hideous kind is a powerful engine for working sentiments into the mind. I never was a singer myself, so can speak only upon observation of things around ; and I think it manifest from thence, that singing, judiciously applied, might be turned to excellent service.

It is our business to study human nature, by what media it is affected, and in what manner they severally touch it. In matters relative to our own conduct, we must consult our own temperament and constitution, but when the public is concerned, regard ought to be had to human nature in general : nor may we pretend to faint away at the screamings of a country Church, because we happen to have a fine ear, and delicate taste for music. The custom in some places of breeding up a set of singers to perform according to the rules of art, has, I apprehend, proved a greater hindrance than furtherance to devotion ; as the rest of the people let them sing by themselves, and attend solely to their quavers, without heeding the substance of what they sing. If they were permitted to sing as long as they pleased after service is over, it might be of good use to withhold such as chose to stay with them from other amusements less suitable to the day. The only help to the congregation seems to be that of an organ, whereon the operator may flourish about as he likes in the symphony, but when he comes to lead the tune, there should be nothing of levity or wantonness, nor affectation to show a nimbleness and dexterity of finger.

In composing manuals of devotion and collections of hymns, regard should be had to the nature of the mind, particularly her sensitive faculty, which is the seat of persuasion ; in order to in-

culcate such sentiments there as may conduce to a happy and useful life. The former is applicable for rectifying our desires, and the latter for those joyful reflections that spring from Religion: but then provision should be made for improving all of them, not confining the thoughts to one, or a few. The Methodists, and others of similar turn, who deal most largely in hymns, lay them all out upon the Redemption: but though this be the principal topic of joyful praise, it is not the only one. They are so zealous for the Son, that they totally overlook the Father: whereas the Son himself has told them that he came not to seek his own glory, but the glory of him that sent him; that he is the way and the life, that is, the way to life, which cannot be attained by saying, Lord, Lord, nor unless by coming to the Father. Let them then consider by what sentiments of mind they may come nearest to the Father, what sources of comfort and hope and joy may severally arise from contemplation of the Attributes and government of Providence, and prepare forms for encouraging these in the breast: so that every pious Christian may find a ready help for speeding his approach in that particular track, which, in his present disposition of mind and of external circumstances, he feels himself most apt to pursue.

17. I do not know whether I shall not be counted an old-fashioned fellow in recommending those unpremeditated addresses to Heaven called ejaculations, especially of the laudatory kind: but I cannot help thinking they contribute greatly to preserve a habit of cheerful piety, to keep the mind serene and easy within itself, to double the relish of our innocent pleasures, and wean us from such as are not quite so. But those exercises must be short, flowing spontaneously from the occasion, not studied nor made a task of: our business is to watch the little emotions in our heart, and encourage, never to force them, nor suffer them to leave a solemnity upon the thoughts or countenance, so as to supply fuel for spiritual vanity, or prove an interruption to other matters in hand.

Profane swearing has a like efficacy, only works the contrary way, and therefore may not improperly be styled ejaculating to the Devil, who is sometimes addressed therein by name: for it helps to confirm an habitual contempt of Religion and all the terms belonging to it, and for that reason I presume was first introduced by such as thought they had too strong a sense of Religion inculcated into them by the nurse and the priest, in order to get rid of it, and must be owned a sovereign remedy for that purpose. For a like reason probably, it was encouraged among the soldiery, because he who is to be afraid of nothing, should learn

to fear neither God nor the Devil : and this maxim may be right while courage is understood to be an insensibility of danger, not a principle of prudence enabling to despise an imminent evil in contemplation of a greater distant good.

If this practice ever did any good, it must be by silencing cant and hypocrisy, and so, like one poison, serving as an antidote to expel another. Nevertheless, as the disciple is taught to imitate the unjust steward in his provident forecast for the future, and the saint may strive to copy the devil in his industry and perseverance ; so the pious ejaculator may learn of the common swearer his spontaneity and ease of expression, and his readiness in mingling it among common transactions, without breaking off the train of thought he was engaged in by other business : but I would not have him imitate his vanity, nor aim to be thought a saint as the other does to be thought a wit, by the vehemence and fluency of his performances aided with gestures and turns of the eye respectively suitable to the occasion.

There is another form of devotion, which for the shortness may be reckoned approaching to the ejaculatory kind, called grace at meals : this our forefathers used to regard as a serious affair, but it is now growing obsolete. The master of a family, or parson, where there is one present, mumbles over a few words which nobody can hear, as if he was ashamed of his office ; the ladies adjust their dress, the citizen eyes the smoking viands, the beau pretends to rise from his chair just when it is over, the servants clatter the plates and glasses, everybody looks upon it as an antiquated ceremony still kept up they do not know why, only because they were used to it. When a company of young fellows get together, who in all ages and countries have ever been wiser than their fathers, they despise it as a ridiculous form. In polite assemblies, gentlemen of fortune and knowledge of the world, scorn submitting to vulgar customs whereof they see no use.

But why should it be deemed of no use, because so frequently none is made of it? and this may be presumed owing to their looking for the use in the wrong place, namely, in making the victuals more nutritive or assisting our powers of digestion, which savoring too strongly of the marvellous, I do not wonder they reject it. Whereas this exercise tends to cherish the habit of referring those things to the gift of Providence which we receive from natural causes : that main support both of Philosophy and Religion, without which the former would degenerate into Atheism, and the latter become all miracle, occult quality, and superstition. And since the continual converse among sensible objects, which we are obliged to keep up by our bodily wants and occasions, draws

us unwarily into a forgetfulness of intellectual truths ; it must be of no small service to break the attraction by casting a glance beyond the stream of second causes up to their original fountain, at the opening and close of every meal. Surely there are no pleasures of company so precious, but we might afford a little quarter minute from them for this service.

But religious thoughts are such stiff and heavy things that people are afraid, lest, if they suffer them to possess their minds for a quarter of a minute, they shall not get rid of them again in a quarter of an hour, nor be able to resume their gaiety. If any find inconveniences of this sort, it is rather owing to the stiffness of their faculties than unwieldiness of the objects : therefore they have the greater need to practise an exercise which will bring their mental organs more supple. We are all extremely fond of having our will ; but the greatest and most valuable command is that over our thoughts, enabling us to think of what we will, and when we will, and as long as we will.

18. In the Chapter on Reason in a preceding volume, I have compared understanding and Imagination to a rider and his horse. The complete horseman is master of all the paces of his beast, can turn him to right or left, put him suddenly into a round trot or gallop, and stop him again in an instant ; he may let him sometimes prance and caper and curvet when he judges proper, but never against his liking : so it is the perfection of reason to have the inferior faculties under control, to put imagination into any train, and resume the former again at pleasure ; there are not wanting examples of such pliancy of imagination among mankind.

When Counsel at the bar are in the middle of an interesting argument, the Crier calls out, Make way for the Grand Jury : the orator suddenly breaks off, jokes and laughs among his acquaintance, and as soon as the bills are delivered, and the Foreman has made his bow, instantly resumes his thread of argument where he had left off. A man expert in business, being called out of a room full of giggling girls, may talk seriously of important affairs, give his orders completely, and then upon his return enter fully into the merriment going forward. We are told Cæsar could dictate to three amanuenses together, in doing which he must cast his attention to and fro successively between the trains belonging to three different subjects. So that it is possible to gain the art of grasping our ideas without letting them grasp upon the mind, or take such gluey hold as that we cannot wipe off at pleasure : and though we must not expect to run such lengths as Cæsar, it will be worth while to make what progress we can, especially with respect to the most serious subjects. For since our condition of

life necessitates us to be perpetually conversant amongst other matters of a very different kind, we shall have the more time for applying effectually to both, the less we lose in the passage from one to the other, and shall be able to intermingle them more frequently without damage or hindrance to one another : whereby all parts of our conduct, as well the trivial as the momentous, like the main timbers and embellishments of a building, may become one whole, constructed upon a uniform and consistent plan.

But we shall never compass this without learning to think easily on religious topics ; for laborious tasks cannot be gone upon without painful preparation, nor will presently leave the reflection at liberty for anything else : and one would imagine, there should need little exhortation to think easily upon Religion with our compatriots, who are so fond of doing everything easily, and value themselves so much upon it. Only the ease they admire is not that arising from expertness, but from negligence and averseness to trouble : the ease of the idle boy who slubbers over his lesson, not that of the proficient who has it current at his fingers' ends. They follow the present impulse of fancy or gale of fashion in everything, and this they call moving with ease ; never considering there is a wide difference between doing things easily, and doing things that anybody can easily do : whereas the true masterly ease is the child of application and practice, nor will ever be attained by him who resolves to do nothing he cannot easily do.

And this art of performing the most serious offices easily, and yet effectually, would be very serviceable for the godly to study, as it will clear them from affectation of godliness : which is the grand obstacle against its spreading, because rendering it distasteful to others. For affectation is always a stiff and forced thing, the very reverse to easiness : therefore whoever would gain this quality must attend solely for the time to the thing he is about, assuming no countenance nor gestures that do not flow naturally from it, having nothing of other people in his thoughts. For though he may wish to cast a good influence upon them, it would be improper to take pains upon that account : he had better leave example and sympathy to their chance of what effect they will work upon the by-standers. For virtue, like other beauties, is ever most amiable when appearing unconscious of her charms ; and does greatest execution, when most undesigning.

19. Having examined the nature of divine services, and found their efficacy lies in impressing salutary dispositions and sentiments in the heart or imagination, it is obvious that an operation upon that faculty may be aided by forms, ceremonies, external appearance, example, and sympathy : whence springs the expedience of

public services, wherein a whole congregation joining in the same form of worship, may do their work more effectually than they could have done singly by themselves. For if persons in the same way of thinking upon secular affairs fortify themselves in their sentiments, and become better united by assembling frequently together, why should not the like effect flow naturally from religious assemblies, were they resorted to in the same view, and not out of mere custom or obligation?

But if there were not certain stated times appointed for assembling, how should each man know when the rest were disposed to assemble? Nor perhaps would they ever stand so disposed, or turn their thoughts upon their spiritual concerns at all, without the idea of an obligation urging them to it at particular seasons: for it is well known how backward people are to find a time of their own accord for matters of business not of diversion, which they apprehend might be done at any other time. <sup>a</sup> Therefore the command to keep holy every seventh day had a rational foundation in human nature: not that there was an intrinsic sacredness in the day, which then could not have been changed from the seventh, to the first, for the alteration was not made by divine command issued from the mouth of our second lawgiver, nor recorded in the Gospel, but by unanimous consent of the first Christians probably to overthrow the superstitious notion of an intrinsic virtue in the day.

I make no doubt that worship performed with the same sincerity, heartiness, and devotion on a Thursday would be as effectual to all intents and purposes as on a Sunday: but it is not supposed that a man who neglects it at the appointed time, will perform it at any other. And a cessation from all common business, other than works of real necessity and charity, on that day, is likewise requisite as men are constituted: for else they would be perpetually finding excuses for non-attendance on their religious exercises, from avocations and impediments unexpectedly falling in their way. Besides that very few have such a compliant imagination as recommended in the last section, which will bear turning suddenly into the most opposite trains of thinking, without leaving a tincture of those engaged in before, or a hankering after those to follow next in succession: therefore it is absolutely necessary to keep clear of all worldly attachments, that their minds may stand ready to fall into the posture proper for the business of the day. At least I would not advise anybody to indulge himself in taking liberties with Sundays, until he can say a grace with full devotion, in the midst of gaieties immediately before and after, without suffering a single idea of them to intrude during the few moments of his address to Heaven.

Nevertheless, if any man imagines Sundays of no use to himself, for that he can think of Religion as much as becomes a gentleman without them, yet it is an unpardonable negligence to take no concern for other folks. People are apt to cry, What shall we be the better for going to Church, or nodding over a musty book in the evening instead of taking an innocent game at cards: but they should go on to ask one little question further, what hurt may we do our neighbors, or the family? If I stay away from Church, I may probably apply to my Chapters, which often turn upon matters not wholly unsuitable for a Sunday's employment: if my neighbor the Cobbler stays away, he goes to the alehouse, an employment less useful than that he follows on his working days; and he thinks he copies my example herein, because we both agree in that circumstance of absenting from the public service.

For the generality can look no further than to the outward behavior, and think a conformity in that necessarily infers a thorough conformity of character: therefore it behoves us to remember St. Paul's maxim, All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient, and apply it to the present occasion; if what I am about to do be ever so harmless for me, yet while it may offend my brother, I will refrain. Hence appears that, to use the softest name, it is a high degree of inconsiderateness to do or omit anything, whereby Sunday may fall into disregard: for how much soever we may persuade ourselves a form is needless for us, it is certainly needful for the greater part of mankind, who cannot enter into the reasons of things, but must be led into the substance by means of the form, and will catch at any authority or example of their betters to excuse them from the form, which is irksome to them because they do not discern its relation to the substance.

The cessation from business makes Sunday more improper for a day of jollity to the populace, than any other: for on other days they are restrained from wasting too much of their time by the necessary attendance to their work and professions, and kept in some decorum by persons of sober deportment mingling among them: but on Sundays the serious are all drawn off to attend their devotions; riot and wantonness has no check nor control, but the giddy and the libertine are left to themselves to improve one another in their extravagances. Assemblies of such persons, all in the same way of thinking or rather of thoughtlessness, may be termed anti-divine services: for as I said in the last section of profane swearing compared with ejaculation, they will naturally have an equal influence with the Church services, but working the contrary way, especially since those anti-ejacula-

tions commonly bear a great part in the ceremony. Wherefore it must be expected they will bring upon the frequenters a calousness against all sense of Religion, decency, and order, and fit them for practices most opposite to the Will of God. Accordingly we find that such of our malefactors as make a penitent exit, and will give any true account of themselves, always declare, that the beginning of their ruin was owing to the custom of sabbath-breaking.

20. The same reason that directs to the appointment of times, avails likewise for the appropriation of particular places to divine worship : for as our lives pass in a continual succession of sensitive and reflective ideas, those of both sorts will run together in clusters, and whenever any one of the bundle happens to be excited, the rest will follow in train mechanically. This has been noted by persons of thought and observation in different branches of learning : Mr. Locke has a Chapter upon Association, which whoever takes the trouble to peruse, need not long remain unsatisfied : or if he has the curiosity to see the same subject handled in another manner, he may turn back to my two Chapters upon Combination and Trains in a former volume. Tully observes, the connection that prevails between places and things deposited in them by the fancy alone, from whence he says Simonides took the hint for striking out his art of memory : by which an orator, taking a large place, containing a multitude of compartments, all perfectly familiar to him, and stationing therein the several materials of his oration, represented by figures or images, in his imagination, they will occur to him again readily in their proper order as wanted. And there is scarce anybody but must have taken notice that on going into a school, a council chamber, a work-shop, or a ball-room, where he has been frequently engaged, he will find his thoughts run spontaneously upon the subjects then used to occupy them in those places.

In like manner, the entrance into a Church, set apart for holy purposes, casts something of an awe and solemnity upon the mind, and would cast more, were people careful to carry none but holy purposes in with them. Therefore a sobriety and decency of deportment is necessary to give the Church its sacred influence : for it does not operate by charm, nor magic, nor occult quality of the building, but by the natural cohesion of sensitive ideas with those of reflection, wherewith they have been constantly united and kept clear of foreign mixtures.

And to our shame it must be owned, that the common people are better behaved in this respect than their superiors, for though they gather in knots in the church-yard to talk of their private affairs,



of news, of fairs, of cricket-matches, yet when entered the doors, they throw aside all those amusements, and during their continuance within, preserve at least an appearance of seriousness : whereas the polite vulgar nod, and laugh, and giggle, and fidget to and fro, and whisper, or play antic tricks, and loll about with an affectation of carelessness, resolved to do wrong rather than not assert their liberty of doing what they will : I suppose the difference is owing to the meaner sort standing in awe of the parson, as believing him a great man ; but the gentry esteeming themselves above him, stand in none. If this be the case, it shows the greater need of something external to strike a mechanical awe upon persons who have not judgment and discretion enough of their own to keep them in decency and order.

The Church is the most improper place in the world for asserting privileges, and keeping up distinctions : when we come there, we are not 'squires and ladies, shopkeepers, ploughmen, and dairy-maids ; we are Christians and nothing else, all equally entitled to the privileges and benefits of that place, according as we comport ourselves in it. Therefore if I were Pope, I would decree that the poor man should put on his best clothes and the rich man his worst, that there might be the nearer expression of equality. For the same reason I would prohibit all pompous titles and courtly epithets : these things are very proper in the world, to increase our reverence for those whom God has set in authority over us, but let everything be done in its proper place ; let us render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. When entered upon sacred ground, we are to pay our court solely to Heaven, not to our fellow servants though placed in office above us : there should be no majesties or highnesses, nor most noble patrons, reverends nor right reverends, nor by what style or title soever dignified or distinguished ; but the same decent plainness of style preserved throughout as in the morning prayer for the clergy and people, and that in the Communion Service, entitled for the Church Militant.

It is written, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them : but then the gathering must be in his name, that is under a sense of his immediate presence, or it will have no avail, for that it is which brings him down among us. For God is really and substantially present everywhere, alike intelligent and observant in the common parlor as at the altar, the only difference is made by the state of our internal optics : whenever they are set towards him, he stands before us ; when they discern nothing of him, he is absent ; and is more or less immediately present, according to the disposition whereinto

they are fallen, which disposition the solemnity of the place helps to cast them into.

Wherever devotions can be paid with equal piety of heart, they will be accepted alike : but this cannot be done in all places indiscriminately without some extraordinary circumstance to fix the attention. Suppose a man seized with a distemper that will suffer nothing to pass through him ; he has tried several remedies in vain, and given himself over : if at last he finds them begin to take effect, I conceive he may offer as pure and acceptable a thanksgiving from his close-stool, as he ever did from a hassock in his pew : but ordinarily, when there is no uncommon incident to raise a strong emotion upon the mind, it is of great moment what objects are surrounding us. Let any man try whether he can throw his thoughts into whatever posture he pleases, while kneeling down upon a dunghill in the midst of cows, and hogs, and poultry : therefore he need not despise the aid of external appearances, but let him remember they are only aids ; for neither they nor the holy Spirit will do anything for us, they only assist our endeavors in what we strive to do for ourselves.

From what has been said above it appears, there may be a real use in the consecration of Churches : not that it conjures down a supernatural influence into the stones or the mortar, the pulpit or the pews, but because it begins the association between the place and devout ideas to be connected therewith, and serves for a warning to the people to admit no discordant ideas to mingle in the train. Therefore there is an expedience in keeping places once appropriated to sacred uses, from being employed in any others, which would dissolve the association that gives them their salutary influence. After the care I have taken all along to examine everything by nature and natural causes, I shall hope to stand acquitted of all fondness for charm and for the marvellous : yet for all that, should make a scruple to play at cards, join in a country dance, bargain for a horse, or apply to any other profane employment in a Church. Not that I should think my profanation could draw any virtue away from the material or structure of the edifice, or render it less fit for the uses of other persons who should never know what I have been doing : but because I should apprehend it might by natural effect prove an unconsecrating the place with respect to myself, and such as might know of my levities, by making it introduce them mechanically to the reflection at other times, and thereby disassociating those trains it was intended to assist in striking upon the mind.

21. Nor do places alone deserve regard for their natural effect to keep imagination to her proper cue : but likewise things employ-

ed in them, vestments, utensils, and stations for performing the several offices. There is a greater exactness requisite upon those articles for a gross and ignorant people, wherefore we find very minute directions given thereupon in the Jewish ceremonial, for which we must presume there was a good reason; for if we will needs deny them to have been of divine appointment but the impositions of Moses, still upon this hypothesis, we must allow him to have been a shrewd and crafty politician, who knew well what he did, and that they would work a strong effect upon the minds of the people, or else he would never have thought it worth while to employ them. But as mankind grows more rational, there is less occasion for application by the senses: perhaps little more is needful for us than such a neatness and decency in external appearances, as may not catch away the attention either by their finery or their slovenliness.

But that objects surrounding have no influence upon the minds of the company, is contrary to experience in the common customs of life: why else have we our drawing-rooms, where things are kept a little more spruce and elegant than in the common rooms for family use? A parcel of young folks might once for a frolic be very merry together in a barn hung all round with enormous cobwebs; and even in that case the novelty of the thing, and oddity of the furniture might have an effect to increase their merriment: but whoever should make a practice of receiving his company in this equipage, I fear would find the ease of conversation greatly clogged thereby; unless it happened to turn upon rallying him for the peculiarity of his taste. Therefore such as aim solely at the pleasures of conversation, and think nothing of drawing an admiration of their wealth or elegance of taste, will be careful to exhibit a scene that may neither offend, nor engage the eye.

Not that I mean to condemn all regard to elegance in private houses, but in a Church none other aim is allowable besides that of the benefit of conversation with Heaven: therefore the pomp of Popery is as faulty as a total negligence; it might indeed be very right to answer the purposes intended by it, which were to draw off the veneration for Religion, and turn it into a veneration for the persons officiating. Yet it seems expedient there should be some distinction of dress, and some little reserve of behavior in those who make professions of dispensing holy things, that the appearance of the person may co-assist with the appearance of the structure. Neither is there a visible impropriety that he should officiate in one garb when acting as the mouth of the congregation to lead them in their adorations to the throne of Glory,

and in another when he takes the part of a teacher, employing human reason to expound the sacred oracles, and apply them to our particular uses : for something more solemnity of mind is proper for the people to exercise their Religion, than to learn it.

Nor is the variety in our service without its use for relieving and awakening the attention, for we shall find now and then that some parts of it are long enough to afford time for a comfortable nap. If short forms and ceremonies are so necessary, that Christians of all denominations, even those who affect to declare loudest against them, find it impracticable to do without them : they all have their particular places of worship, which they are careful to keep in what they esteem decency : and their badges of distinction, be it a black cap, a cloak, or coat of a peculiar cut, for their ministry. Even the gifted priestess among the Quakers is known by her green apron ; and the brotherhood, though pretending to regard nothing but the inner man, yet are so conscientiously attached to externals, that I suppose they would sooner burn at the stake, than abate an inch of their broad-brimmed hat. In the last century, while a real sanctity was endeavored to be placed in externals, it was a noble struggle for religious liberty to prevent this notion from spreading among the people by opposing other externals against them : but now nobody retains such notion of their containing an intrinsic virtue, the charge of superstition lies at the door of those who imagine them to carry an intrinsic malignity. For reason pronounces them alike indifferent either way : therefore there is as much superstition to the full in believing the service cannot be read devoutly in a surplice, as that it cannot be so read without one.

22. Having thus essayed an explanation of the manner wherein externals help us forward in the work of Salvation, by assisting to bring the mind into a disposition proper for our most important duties, and so becoming the natural means of grace, the result will be, that a due regard for them deserves to be carefully inculcated, especially upon the young, the giddy, and the ignorant, who will be least capable of understanding their method of operation and wherein their real efficacy lies. Therefore they must be made to prevail in such way as can be effected, the more rational undoubtedly the better : but theory must sometimes give way to practicability, and he that cannot do as he would, must do as he can, rather than do nothing, to attain a good end. Where the natural effects cannot be rendered manifest, God may be represented as giving us arbitrary commands : yet whatever is enjoined by him, or by persons delegated under him to give directions in

matters of indifference, may be taken upon credit to carry a real expedience we cannot discern.

If this be too refined and abstruse to sink into some imaginations, recourse must be had directly to command, obligation, and fear : the duties must be enjoined as indispensable, issuing from divine authority, or human derived therefrom, whose commands are not to be disputed not disobeyed, without drawing down heavy mischiefs upon the transgressor. But then particular care should be taken, both in the choice of things to be enjoined and manner of expression concerning them, to give no handle for apprehending an occult quality inherent in them, or supernatural efficacy annexed to them : it seems the best way to pronounce them in general sacred and necessary, without descending into particular explanations. If any person not content with the general idea of obligation will join thereto a kind of magical virtue, because incapable of conceiving an efficacy any other way, it is not to be avoided, nor will it do him any hurt : for superstition we have said before is relative, and the grossest apprehensions are sufficiently pure to him, whom God has not endued with an understanding capable of better.

Religion will accommodate itself to all capacities, and if not designedly corrupted by politic or enthusiastic mixtures, will turn into nourishment salutary to all constitutions : just as the same bread turns into one kind of flesh in men, another in fowls, and another in fishes, proving nourishment alike to them all. Therefore to judge soundly of Religion it is necessary to study human nature, and what effects may be worked thereupon by the several parts of it : but the Free-thinker pronounces hastily without cognizance of the cause, for he studies nothing of human nature, but proceeds altogether upon an abstract nature of things ; a mere cant phrase, of which he has no clearer conception than the lowest vulgar have of their mysteries, and would be as much at a loss to give a steady intelligible explanation.

Then for the other part of his subject, Religion, he takes his idea of that from the nurse and the priest, whom he affects to hold in such sovereign contempt : for he apprehends it to contain nothing more than the first rudiments imbibed from them. But he might reflect that perhaps his nurse, or some other old woman first taught him to read, yet he would not now take his estimation of our language from the spelling and pronunciation of the old woman : and the priest who taught him his accidence, might not be the most enlightened of his order ; or if he were ever so knowing, could convey no more than a child was capable of receiving. Who as soon as he began to think himself a man, which was probably

before he left school, resolved to regard no more what was said to him by priests upon the subject, so could learn nothing more from them.

But it should be remembered that as in some sciences there is an exoteric and esoteric doctrine, both many times couched under the same language and the same figures, the latter not capable of being conveyed completely by all the teaching in the world without honest and careful application in the recipient to digest it well for himself: so in the science before us, we are told there is a killing letter and a quickening spirit, which may be relative; for a popular system designed for everybody's use, cannot be expected in all its parts, equally to suit everybody's digestion; so that the literal sense, which is poisonous to one man, may prove wholesome to another, and the spiritual, which is vivifying to one, may seem as dry and tasteless chaff to the other. Therefore it becomes every one who thinks himself a profound reasoner, to search fairly for what rational construction things are susceptible of, and to whose rational uses they are applicable, before he pretends to decide upon the merits of them: if anything herein before suggested in this and the preceding Chapters shall afford hints to help forward such an inquiry, I shall esteem it the luckiest thing I could have wished.

## CHAP. XXII.\*

### WORD, OR LOGOS.

HAVING in the last Chapter explained the Divinity of Christ, in a manner consistent, as I hope, both with reason and orthodoxy, I may now proceed with more freedom and less liableness to be suspected of evil designs, to examine some other ideas of that Divinity, particularly those concerning the Logos or Word, Creator of the World; I have already touched upon this subject in my Chapter upon the Trinity, where I have committed an oversight in saying, § 11, that I had not happened to meet with any person of repute in the Church since Beveridge, who held Christ to be the Demiourgos or Maker of the World. But I have since seen a discourse, in four parts, of a late Bishop of London's [Dr. Sherlock], whom I shall never deny to have been a person of very great repute in the Church, wherein that opinion of my lord of

St. Asaph seems enforced with great strength and acuteness of argument. As I was one of his Lordship's flock, attended his discourses with much pleasure, and I hope with some emolument, and had read them when first published; I had probably heard and must certainly have read, the very discourse alluded to above, yet it proved like the seed scattered by the way side, which the birds of the air came and picked up and carried away. I could easily conceal this slip of memory from the world by changing a few words in the Manuscript, which still remains locked up in my custody: but I choose to let it stand, agreeably with the character of the Searches, unsolicitous to hide their defects, but rather willing to put their readers upon the guard against admitting too hastily whatever they may advance.

For the like reason I shall take notice of another mistake, falling naturally enough to be considered in the way of my present inquiry, wherein I have been set right upon an article in Mr. Locke's Essay, by a very learned and judicious Expositor\* more intimately acquainted with that excellent author, who by telling another person, has very lately told me, that we had misapprehended him; for that Mr. Locke used Person, not as a metaphysical term, comprehending what belongs to a man in real existence, but as a forensic, denoting some such quality or modification as denominates him a moral agent, and renders him a true object of rewards and punishments. This discovery proved no mortification to me, as the reader will easily believe; for he must have perceived me always uneasy whenever fancying myself in discordance with Mr. Locke, and therefore will conclude it must give me sensible pleasure to find myself relieved from such uneasiness.

2. But as that other person, through whose correction I received mine, appears to have the prying eye and sedate industrious countenance of a Search, I am willing to acknowledge him for a relation, and beg leave to stand up for the honor of the family, by defending the commendableness of his attempt to settle what it is that distinguishes one person from another, understanding that term as relative to the real existence, which is now proved upon us not to have been the object had in contemplation by Mr. Locke.

This is going as far as I can, for with respect to the success of his attempt, I find myself forced rather to take side with our reprover. I always look upon my consciousness as an evidence where I was, what I did or saw at any former time: but if I had a continuation of thought all last night while asleep, I am sure I

\* Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, in his Defence of Mr. Locke's Opinion, in answer to an Essay on Personal Identity. 1769.

know nothing of it now, therefore it can be no evidence of anything done by me, or happening to me yesterday. Consciousness, indeed, may, and sometimes does, give false evidence. I have myself been conscious, that is, firmly believed, or seemed to remember, leaving a paper in one particular place, and afterwards found it in another, under my own lock and key. I once was conscious of having read in my bible that the tower of Siloam fell upon certain Galileans, and quoted the texts so in the separate edition of my Chapter on Freewill: whereas anybody that pleases to consult his own bible, will see that I never really read any such thing. Nevertheless, the distribution of reward and punishment in another life being the act of God, nobody can suspect he will suffer a fallacious consciousness to take possession of any man: therefore whatever condition we may find ourselves in, whether in the body of a bear, or a lamb, or a man, or in one of those the angels are supposed to have appeared in, or without any body at all, provided we have a consciousness of our present conduct, we may take that for a certain evidence of our being the very persons who held that conduct, whether good or bad, and become the proper objects to receive the wages respectively earned thereby, either of sin unto death, or of righteousness unto life eternal.

But our inquiry tends to discover what constitutes our identity, not what gives us our evidence of it: and I fear we shall hardly find it in a continuation of thought. For in the first place the matter of fact, that the soul does always think, seems very disputable: in the next, supposing that point demonstrated, one cannot presently tell what is to be understood by such continuation of thought, as shall constitute an identity of person. When eight bells are chimed for an hour together, there is a continuation of sound the whole time, yet this does not constitute an identity among them, nor consolidate all the eight into one and the same bell. If upon a large army marching along, the General commands Halt, the word is given successively from one corps to another until it reaches the remotest ends of the columns, I presume every man has an idea of the word as he hears and repeats it: so then here is a continuation of the same thought running throughout the whole host, yet this can never make it all to be one identical thing. No, you say, there is no occasion it should: for it is not the same kind of thought, but a continuation of thought in general, that constitutes the identity. Well, then, how shall we know which way to distinguish one continuation from another? for there are multitudes of them in the world, and there may be a continuation of thought in general imagined, where there is a change of the subject wherein the thought at different times is found.



Romantic suppositions, I find, are not to everybody's liking : but my good cousin Search, I am sure, will not be angry with me for making them, because he practises the like himself. Let him then please to suppose a new Planet or habitable Earth created with a thousand men, who should continue to think during their abode thereon : but at the end of twenty years one half of them were annihilated, and as many new men created in their room, who should begin to think the moment the former left off. Suppose further, that after a second twenty years the remaining half of the first men were likewise annihilated, and succeeded by an equal number of fresh men, who should go on with their trains of thought for a third score of years. Here would be just a thousand uninterrupted continuations of thought, and no more, during the whole time : yet who will say the men of the last score were the same persons with those of the first? Besides that thought in general, taken abstractedly, is one and the same thing wherever found. You say you think without ceasing, and I presume you would say the same of me : and it is our thinking that makes us persons ; for the table, which never thinks, is no person. Be it so : then our thinking constitutes us persons ; but what constitutes us different persons ? for I am not you, nor you me. Surely not our thinking, for in that respect we are exactly the same : what else then can it be unless our substantial or numerical diversity ? We may have different heights, shapes, gaits, gestures, voices, or wear different colored clothes, and folks may know us from one another by those marks : but these are evidences of our being different persons, not what constitutes us such. Neither in our fictitious Planet, can you ever make out a thousand continuations subsisting at one time, any otherwise than by considering them as the thoughts of so many persons, each distinguished from the rest in some other respect than that of their thinking. Thus you see the same objection actually lies against the continuation, as I had supposed lying against consciousness, in my Chapter on the Existence of Mind, page 430. For the idea of person must precede that of continuation : so it is no help to tell me I may find my personality by my continuation, because I must settle my idea of personality before I can make use of the explanation.

3. We Searches, although many of us are not clever at handling the telescope, are observed to be in general very fond of the microscope. This leads us of course to pry about amongst objects difficult to be discerned : but I humbly conceive there are difficulties in the world which are not nugatory difficulties. We often find them useful to ourselves for keeping our thoughts distinct and steady : and sometimes if we can get a good pencil to

delineate our microscopic observations neatly, may make them serviceable to other people, and give a little check to the fluctuation of language and ideas common among mankind. Now for the credit of my new relation, and myself, I shall endeavor to make out that this object, which we have holden under the microscope, is a matter of importance : nevertheless, as it does not suit with the honesty of a Search, to extol things higher than they deserve, I shall first point out in what particulars I think it of no moment.

Our inquiry does not seem to promise a result that can at all contribute towards advancing that main purpose of Religion, the keeping mankind in order by the hope of future rewards, and dread of future punishments. For our people do not build their expectations upon a nice and accurate survey of their own frame and constitution, but upon the proper foundation whereon they ought to rest them, namely, the Word of God, who has promised to recompense every man according to his deeds. Now in the word Man, they include their idea of Person, so as to believe that each and every of them in his own person shall receive the adequate recompense of his doings. And as their assurance depends solely upon the divine Promise, they may be safely left at large, to fix or fluctuate in their own ideas of person : for whatever they apprehend for the time to constitute them the same person, they know that God is able and faithful to continue or restore it to them. If consciousness makes the person, when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, their consciousness of things they have now forgotten will return. If the thinking soul be themselves, he will preserve the soul entire after dissolution of the bodily frame, and invest it with a glorified or diabolical body, capable of receiving blissful or tormenting sensations. If their body must consist of the very same matter, he is able to call back all the dusts whereinto they shall rot, and replace them in vital union as before. If they must have the same stature, shape, complexion, features, limbs, and organs, it is no hard matter for Almighty Power to give them a second time what they see and feel he has given them once. Or even if there should be any one so idle as to think he cannot be the same person without having the same coat on, this would make no difficulty upon the present point ; for he would not doubt the power of God to gather together all the threads and hairs and single particles whereinto his coat may be dissipated by water, or fire, or time, and re-instate them in their present texture, fitted for his wear. Wherefore it seems prudent to forbear perplexing them with subtle questions concerning the identity of person, and if they perplex themselves, as sometimes they will, to draw them off from the

subject as well as we can, and evade a direct answer, which we shall never be able to make them comprehend. For it matters not what conception they have of the thing so long as they adhere to this general truth, that their own person, whereinsoever it consists, shall be made accountable for the actions performed by it in this life.

4. But there are some other respects wherein I cannot yet persuade myself but that a right notion of person, as expressive of our real existence, is of great importance to the interests of Religion, particularly in that fundamental article, the Being of a God; in proof whereof I have already drawn arguments in the seventh, eighth, and ninth Chapters of my Third Volume, from the primary properties of spiritual substances, or persons, differing from those of the material, for which no cause can be assigned among the powers of nature, therefore, recourse must be had to an Author of nature. But besides this benefit, a persuasion of the unperishableness of our persons must take off all that unwillingness to acknowledge a God, which is well known most of anything to have driven men into Atheism. They look upon God as an object of affright, a controller of their actions, a restraint upon their pleasures, and therefore resist the most cogent arguments that would draw on a conclusion they dread.

Lucretius took advantage of this prejudice among mankind, and threw out a lure for proselytes by the promise of an indemnity for all the wickedness they might please to commit: well knowing that any specious sophisms would serve to prove his point, if he could once get them to wish it true. For if the soul be nothing more than a result from the disposition of certain material atoms in a very curious organization, whenever the organization is broken up, there is an end of the soul, and all possibility of punishment removed. It had been objected against him, that since chance never ceases working, she might at some future time cast the same atoms together again into an arrangement precisely the same with that they stand in at present, in which case the same soul must return. He granted that the atoms, some thousands of years hence, after infinite tumblings and tossings about, would fall into their former situation, from whence a thinking, feeling soul must necessarily result: but he denied that this would be the same soul. Just as when a company of dancers assemble together and dance for six hours, the whole is one ball: but if they leave off at the end of three hours, and a fortnight afterwards a second party is proposed whereon they meet to dance for three hours again, this is a ball too, but another ball distinct from the former. So the soul, which is but a dance of atoms, cannot be the same

ball with that performed by the same company a thousand years ago : therefore, whatever wretched fortune may befall it, we, that is, our present souls, have no concern therein.

5. This being the state of the argument, I much fear that my industrious fellow-laborer, who I am persuaded intended no harm, has unwittingly furnished arms for the enemy ; who will eagerly lay hold on the continuation to enforce his own tenets. Suppose the same collection of atoms, erst called Lucretius, should return to their pristine arrangement, and converse among us here in old England under the same name. If we went to put him in mind what a wicked dog he had been in his first appearance upon earth, he would reply, Prithee, do not twit me with that : it was not I, but somebody else, that was the wicked dog you cry out upon. Mind what your namesake there says : he is an excellent master of argument, and has demonstrated beyond all controversy, that it is the continuation of thought which constitutes the person. What have I to do with that old fellow, the predecessor of Virgil ? when he hung himself up, like a dog as he might be for aught I know or care, there was an end of his continuation : and if I began to think five and twenty years ago after a discontinuance of eighteen centuries, this was the commencement of a new continuation, a new person, that has no connection in the world with the former, who strutted about the streets of Rome in my pretty shape.

And your friend in like manner has fortified me against all alarms of a future reckoning. If your God designed me an accountable creature, he has managed very ill in making me mortal, because he will thereby put it out of his own power ever to call me to an account hereafter. What if he should work a resurrection of my atoms, and set them a thinking again ? this would be a new creation, another continuation of thought, another person, not me, nor anywise affecting me. Therefore I will think freely and act freely, kiss the girls and put the bottle about, as long as I can : and when I can think and act no longer, then good night to you all, I shall sleep sound enough, I warrant. Why should Lucry the Second care what becomes of Lucry the Third ? let the devils pinch and scourge, and burn, till they are tired, I shall feel nothing of them. But sure he can never be so unjust as to have another boy flogged for naughty tricks played by me.

I am well satisfied my honest friend had no thought of such a turn being given to his system, being persuaded that the belief of a divine Power, which would preserve to us our continuation of thought after dissolution of our bodies, was so well established that nothing new can endanger the shaking it. I believe he is right so far as to our compatriots, among whom I have scarce ever

heard of an Atheist upon principle, though I fear there are too many in practice. But across the Channel they seem to be not so scarce, if one may guess by the compositions of their favorite poet and romancer, besides some other squibs thrown out occasionally on the other side the water: for that volatile people are more prone than ourselves to mistake essence for existence, our evidence of things for the things themselves, take thought and a thinker for synonymous terms, and are led by notions similar to that of the continuation, to deny the immortality of the soul. Now though the politicians, whose duty it is to preserve the balance of power, must look upon the French nation as our rivals, and avoid everything that may advance their interests: yet the Searches, being citizens of the world, will esteem a Frenchman a fellow-citizen connected in interest with themselves, and abstain carefully from venting opinions which may be employed for overturning all Religion from the very bottom among any denizens of the same city, wherever dispersed throughout this terrestrial habitation.

6. Now the doctrine of the same individual substance cannot be perverted to such mischievous purposes: for though I find no repugnance amongst my ideas against believing it possible for God to annihilate a substance, and at any distance of time create it again the same identical substance it was before, yet I see no shadow of probability that he ever does so. And the Atheist cannot admit the possibility of such annihilation, for he denies a God, and there is none other power capable of either producing a new substance into Being or thrusting out an old one. So that if the same person be the same substance, there can be no discontinuance; but though it should lie a thousand years in utter insensibility, yet, whatever good or evil shall befall it afterwards, will affect the very same person who receives either now. Let him then turn back to the two concluding sections in the Sixth Chapter of the Second Volume, where he will see what a dismal, disconsolate prospect lies before him. Let him reflect how many requisites there are for our sustentation and enjoyment; the wonderful organization of our bodies, the curious structure of plants and animals, the disposition of the earth, in hills, and soils, and waters, all needful to supply us with externals: and whenever taken from these, he will find his expectations reduced to the lottery of chance, wherein there are a million of blanks to one prize. This must make him heartily wish to find a God, and a beneficent Providence, directing all the courses of events among things as well visible as invisible: and give a willing ear to whatever solid arguments can be adduced for the reality of such a governance.

But to prevent confusion of ideas, I shall beg the favor of him, if it be not too much trouble for a fine gentleman, just to take one peep with the microscope in order to distinguish between the identity and the essence of person; only desiring him further not to forget what he sees the next instant after he lays down my glass. Consciousness may do well enough for Mr. Locke's purpose, and that most useful one of impressing the idea of an after-reckoning upon the generality: but for the Searches' purpose, that of accurately understanding our nature, I humbly conceive it necessary to place the identity of the person in that of the substance, and its essence in the faculty of perceptivity. Substances are ordinarily ranged under two classes distinguishable from each other by their primary properties of solidity and perceptivity; these then constitute their essence, make them respectively to be what they are, and denominate them, the one matter, and the other spirit.

Bodies, or compositions of mere matter, cannot apply to themselves, nor do we ever apply to them, the personal pronouns, I, Thou, He: whose grammatical meaning, I am warranted to say, generally points out the true origin of our ideas primarily annexed to them; because bodies want perceptivity or the capacity of receiving good and evil. But I apprehend those pronouns are used, not to express the essence of a person, but to distinguish some one person from all the rest: nor are they applicable to perceptivity in the abstract, but to one particular percipient; which term includes the idea of substance. Even among bodies, though we commonly distinguish them by their qualities or appearances, yet where they are exactly similar in appearance, still we can make the distinction: as between two eggs, for we know that a right hand egg is not the left, although for anything we can tell they are essentially the same; therefore the diversity we discern between them can be none other than a numerical or substantial diversity. In like manner, as it is said there have been twins so much alike that nobody could know them apart, when in talking to one we speak of the other and employ the word You, I, He, we appropriate those terms to each, solely upon account of their being different substances.

7. Mr. Locke tells us he had a very confused idea of substance. I believe so, because he was an accurate inquirer, who loved to examine everything distinctly. And I am apt to think the idea lies more confused in the minds of the studious than of the vulgar. Though the microscope be an excellent instrument of vision for curious objects, it is hurtful upon many occasions: for if you walk in the street with a pair of microscopes tied to your eyes, you will be perpetually running against people. We plod-

ding folks, who deal much in abstraction, want to abstract a substance from all its qualities; and in that naked state it must certainly exhibit a very confused idea, for it discovers itself solely by its qualities. What, though I know this egg is no otherwise than substantially different from that, I should know nothing of either egg if it were not for the whiteness and oval shape before me.

If we consider the matter fairly, we shall find it full as hard with the best microscope to abstract a quality from its substance and fellow-qualities, as the substance from them. But we deceive ourselves by mistaking the quality for the effect produced in ourselves: which has put some sophists upon undertaking to prove that a rose is not red. For, say they, color is a sensation of the mind, and the rose has no sense of any color at all. But redness, when spoken of the rose, is a power of raising a particular sensation in us. It remains in the flower after we cease to look or think of it. We can easily recall the sensation by our reflexive power at any time without thinking of any source from whence we received it, that is, we can put our minds into the same situation they had been thrown into by the rose, and this we term an abstraction: but we cannot by any effort of imagination conceive a redness really subsisting without us, and actually striking sensations, detached from all shape, size, solidity, and the rose whereto they belonged. If in common discourse we talk of a noise, a smell, or a light, without thinking from whence they proceeded, yet upon a little reflection, we know there must be some sonorous, or odorous, or luminous body occasioning them.

There are some things we can clearly conceive in conjunction with others, though we cannot apart. I seem to myself to have a very clear conception of the surface of my table being smooth, for mine eyes exhibit that appearance without taking in any of the thickness: but I cannot conceive that surface separated from the table without an underside distinguishable from the upper upon turning it round. So I seem as clearly to conceive a substance possessing certain qualities, whether of solidity or perception: yet I cannot easily conceive either substance or quality existing apart without the other. Indeed, I can frame some confused idea of the former, so far as to believe it possible though never happening in fact; but none at all of the latter. When we speak of things external we do not apprehend them groups of qualities, but bodies possessing them; when of persons, we do not express them by their faculties, whatever we may hold to constitute them persons. I may believe myself a conscient, not a consciousness; nor a continuation of thought, but a continual thinker; nor a perceptivity, but a perceptive spirit. Even God himself we do not

apprehend to be a collection of attributes, but the **I AM** to whom they belong. In all these expressions there is an additional idea over and above the attributes or qualities : and this **I** call substance, which is therefore one of the most current ideas among us. If anybody dislikes the name, let him term it **Being**, or existence, or agent, or whatever else he pleases : for non ego verba moror modo rem teneatis, amici, I matter not the words so we understand one another's meaning.

8. Then for individuality, without which we shall often mistake in the identity of things, our idea seems somewhat confused too, or rather fluctuating, and sometimes fallacious. We cannot find it in the bodies affecting our senses, which are all undoubtedly compounds : and if we recur to subtle speculations, we shall find insuperable difficulties attending both the admission and rejection of atoms. Whatever strikes in one sensation, or rises to our thought in one complex idea, or suits our convenience to consider entire, we deem an individual. Thus in the map of a county, we expect to find every individual town and village and river : we may employ an upholder to take a list of every individual piece of furniture in our houses : and speak of a general examining into the state of every individual regiment in his army. For with us an individual is not what cannot be divided, but what we cannot or do not choose to divide.

These individuals may lose their real identity while preserving their apparent, by their parts being successively exchanged for others : sometimes without our perceiving, as is probably the case of plants and animals ; and sometimes with our knowledge, as in rivers and winds, whose very essence is incompatible with a real identity. For the essence of a river consists in having a stream, that is, a perpetual change of waters : stop the influx and efflux of water, and it becomes another thing, which you will call a canal. And it is the current of air from one quarter that makes an east wind : if the air be stagnant, it is no more an east than a west wind ; it is no wind at all, but a calm. So that here a diversity of substance is necessary to constitute the identity of an individual. But we term these individuals, because we cannot separate any component idea without destroying the complex or turning it into some other complex : take away the waters from your river, and it is no river, but a den or dry ditch ; take away the banks, and it is a pool, or lake, or flood.

The clearest idea of a true individual I apprehend may be gotten from the contemplation of ourselves ; but then we must take some pains to look for it, for the current conception will not help us. We know one another by our faces and shapes, therefore



conceive our bodies to be our persons or selves. If you ask any common man for a description of his person, you will find him including his whole corporeal frame, hair, and nails, and all; which is certainly a very complicated individual containing a multitude of parts. But if you watch men in their ordinary motions, you may perceive them contracting their idea to the parts of their compound severally according to the occasion. When I look, it is I and mine eyes that see, my ears have no concern in the business: when I hear, it is I and mine ears, for mine eyes take no share in the sound: nor do I for that instant apprehend my feet as any part of the person who sees and hears. If anybody desires more upon this topic, let him talk with another nearer relation of mine, one Cuthbert Comment, to whom he may procure an introduction by Mr. Dodsley for a silver shilling.—[*A pamphlet entitled Man in Quest of Himself.*]

9. There is yet a further separation in many very familiar expressions wherein the personal pronouns have a place: and I may say again, because it has been said once by a better man, that the grammatical meaning of those words generally points out the true origin of our ideas primarily annexed to them. Now I might, with propriety of the language current among us, talk of having seen a thing with mine own eyes, heard it with mine ears, pushed with my foot, spoken with my tongue, or paid a tradesman's bill with my own hands. All which phrases imply the idea of our limbs and organs being instruments: for we apply the same preposition to things avowedly so, as I wrote with my pen, I mended it with my penknife, I have stopped the bottle with a good cork, I can draw it out again with a screw. In all those phrases of doing or perceiving with our limbs and organs, there is a selection of the person distinct from our corporeal frame and every part of it then in our thoughts.

This selected person, which perceives and acts upon all occasions, seems the thing expressed by the word I, in its grammatical sense: for it is the same I who see and hear and push and speak and pay bills, although the parts of my body respectively concerned herein are various. Neither does the term denote any of our faculties or some particular exercise of them: for the pronoun Our, grammatically implies a possession distinct from the owner; and in the expression, I slept sound for six hours last night, there is no idea contained of any exercise of the faculties at all. Therefore the pronoun there must denote a Patient, or Being, or existence, not dependent upon the body as a modification, or in my language a substance. And I conceive everybody apprehends the word I to signify a true individual without

parts, when he uses it in his common discourses, how little soever he may reflect upon his so doing : for if I were to say that one half of me saw a thing with mine eyes while the other half did not, or that in looking at a chess-board one part of me saw the yellow king, another the black, another the queen, another the bishop, and so on of the rest, I believe I should not be understood, nor could any grammatical meaning whatever be found in my words.

10. I have been more prolix and minute upon these points of the individual and of substance, because every now and then I meet with very sensible men, who either slight them as idle curiosities or say they can form no clear conception of them. How clear I have made them by my endeavors in former parts of this work as well as here, must be left to the judgment of others upon making the experiment by perusing me carefully : for I do not pretend to stand exempt from that self-deceit which beguiles us often to think ourselves extremely clear upon matters, wherein others more sagacious see plainly that we are inconsistent or cloudy.

Yet I cannot easily allow them to be matters of trifling import, because from them may be drawn the fullest proof, discoverable by the Light of Nature, of our perpetual duration, and the strongest inducement to examine carefully what is likely to befall us in after times, and what we can do now to secure to ourselves a happy issue then. It will be urged we have a better light by which he who runs may read all the necessary truths concerning those things : but there are people who love to kick about in the sandy deserts of abstraction until they raise a dust which obnubilates that better light. And it is no contemptible service if one can draw such into a train of reasoning, suitable to their taste, which shall corroborate instead of weakening what they had been taught before.

Nor can it take us off from our dependence upon our Maker, for nobody doubts that he who created can annihilate : but when we reflect on his immutability, it must afford us no small evidence of his will that he should continue forever, to find that he has already given us an unperishable nature. Then it is obvious to every eye that Being is nothing worth without well being, for which we depend entirely upon his goodness and mercy : nor is there even a conjecture to be formed upon our future condition unless from contemplation of the Attributes.

11. Another use springing from the right notion of an individual substance, though perhaps some may not think it a use, is that it has been helpful to me in prosecuting the main design pro-

fessedly aimed at throughout these, my latter volumes, which was to strike out what might be called either a rational Christianity, or a Christian Philosophy. Now Philosophy proceeds by the study of nature and builds its expectations in futurity upon natural causes. I do not forget it is the common doctrine that future reward and punishment is distributed by the immediate act of God; nor do I desire to controvert it, nor to inculcate any other whenever going forth upon the thigh of flesh, because despairing to make any other method comprehensible to the vulgar. But when standing upon the golden thigh, attentive to the music of the spheres, although I still ascribe all to the act of God, yet it is not his immediate act to be performed hereafter: for he has already so established his laws of nature, as that vice shall naturally lead into misery, and virtue into happiness. Even that greatest of all interpositions, the sacrifice of Christ, operates by turning the courses of nature, from a destructive into a salutary channel, as I have endeavored to show in the last chapter. And I have observed that the idea of natural causes slips insensibly into the thoughts of the most orthodox, even in their popular discourses. You can scarce attend a preacher ten times but in some one of them you will hear him urging, amongst other arguments for a holy life, that if we could suppose God to admit a wicked man into heaven, he would be miserable, because, he would find no gratification there for his corrupt appetites, but everything abhorrent to his gross and carnal taste.

From hence we may gather the general opinion, safely to be entrusted with the vulgar, that it is of the essence of wickedness to be incapable of tasting the joys of heaven: and it is likewise a general opinion, that wickedness and righteousness may be exchanged for each other, for the wicked may repent and be saved, the saint may fall from his righteousness and be lost. Whence follows unavoidably, what I have remarked in former chapters, that in our distinction between soul and body, we do not make the separation clean, but take some part of the latter into our idea of the former. The rational soul, surviving upon dissolution of the body, and entering into a state of bliss or wo, carries with it a character of righteousness or wickedness, which had been interchangeable with each other during life: therefore, besides the perceptive spirit, must contain an ethereal body or vehicle, wherein the essence of righteousness or wickedness resides; for individuals can never change their essence.

Existence belongs solely to substances, and essence solely to qualities. Even if I were asked for the essence of a substance, I could not describe it otherwise than by the confused idea of a

quality of possessing qualities, and of existing independently of them ; wherein it differs from all qualities, which cannot actually subsist, though they may be thought of, without a quale to possess them. It is the essence of matter to be solid, that is, resistant and moveable : it may lie for ages without either resistance or motion for want of something to strike or shove against it, yet retains its capacity of both. It is the essence of spirit to be perceptive : it may remain for ages under a total insensibility for want of objects to perceive, nevertheless continues capable of perception all the while ; as we believe ourselves to do during sound sleep, for how sound soever our sleep had been last night, had a pistol been let off in the chamber, we think we should have heard it. Which capacity of resistance and perception are primary properties, given to their respective substances, on their creation and inseparable from them : for neither matter nor spirit can ever lose its essence, or exchange it for the other while retaining its existence ; yet are such essences distinguishable in idea from existence, though few people care to make the distinction.

But there are secondary essences, much more numerous than the primary, resulting from composition, which may be produced, destroyed, renovated, and altered ; yet not otherwise than by some change in the substance of the compound. I will not presume to limit Omnipotence, but I dare pronounce that no created power, or second cause can work a change of essence in any subject, unless by some accession of new parts, or subtraction of old ones, or change of disposition among them : all which cannot take place in individuals which have no parts nor can admit of any. Hence it seems to follow that all perceptive creatures are intrinsically alike, what varieties are found among us of wise and foolish, good and wicked, sedate and giddy, angels, men, and animals, coming to us respectively through the various dispensations of providence ordinary and extraordinary : which I have taken for the basis of my Chapter on Equality. At least I can find no solid evidence of an intrinsic difference, and if there be such it must have been the work of God at our creation. He must then have said, Let these spirits be more perceptive than the rest, or have another faculty superior to that of perceptivity : and it was so.

12. But the most important service to be drawn from knowing that person implies an individual substance is the keeping us orthodox upon those two sacred articles, the Trinity and the Logos. I have already shown in my Chapter upon the former, that Person, among the Romans, carried a very different signification from what it does among us ; and might have made a good use of

the passage in Tully's oration for Sulla, if I had recollected it. The want of being acquainted with this change of meaning, together with the awfulness of the sacred mystery which must be believed in all its branches under pain of damnation, has made our common Christians at the same time both Tritheists and Unitarians, though they do not know of their being the former. For when charged with it they will deny the fact, and sincerely: yet if you watch their ideas in discoursing upon the subject, you may perceive them apprehending the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as much three distinct Gods, as Thomas, John, and Peter, are three distinct men. Nevertheless, they really believe the Unity of the Godhead, and so are made to swallow the camel with the bunch of round contradiction upon his back. In order to escape the mischief of an equivocal term, I crave leave throughout the rest of this Chapter to import the Latin word *Persona* to stand for the classical sense, appropriating *Person* to the idea conveyed in common acceptation.

The reader will now perceive me entering upon my subject, from which it is likely he has thought me wandering all this while. I have never forgotten it, nor ceased making towards it as fast as I could; but there started up a crowd of objections and difficulties in the way, which, like so many independent freeholders kept pushing and punching and terrifying me about, so that I have been forced to twist and twine over a great deal more ground than had otherwise been needful. And now I am gotten into the open road, another danger presents. For I see the mitred coach coming rolling along, with the quadripartite discourse upon Phil. ii. 6, to 11, peeping out at the window. It is drawn by six stout horses, named Divinity and Learning for the wheel pair, Acuteness and Smartness at the pole end, Oratory and Elegance for the leaders. It drives in a track so near me that I am afraid lest my little chair, lugged along by the one horse Puzzle, should hitch upon some of the wheels: which alarms me greatly, for that strong-built carriage is one of the last I would venture to hit against. I wish the same masterly hand who has helped me so well off with Mr. Locke, could find room to do me the like kind office with my late much-honored Pastor. But a remedy cannot be applied until the particulars of the complaint are known: so I shall proceed to draw out my thoughts with the sober freedom and honest *Persona* of a Search, unconscious of any evil intention or hostile disposition, which might constitute me the true object of that species of punishment called blame or censure.

13. I shall take for my text some of the first verses in St. John's Gospel, which it is but within these few weeks I have seemed to

myself to understand. I had touched the clue in my Chapter on the Trinity, but could never catch hold of it, so as to guide me through the labyrinth till now. By the *Word*, I do not apprehend St. John understood a distinct Substance, or Agent, or Person, the same with Jesus Christ, but employed it as a figurative term well known among the Jews and primitive Christians. Whose manner of figuration being different from our own it seems expedient to introduce our explanation of an ancient figure by the example of a modern; and because a man is likely to talk clearest upon what he is best acquainted with, I shall take my rise from my own works.

As I am a great personifier, I have, in the prelude to my Chapter on Charity, addressed that virtue as a person in the following words. Well may I style thee everlasting, for thy years are not to be counted, nor of thy Being is there beginning or end. Thou wast with God before the Worlds were made, coeval with the Attributes: thy mild persuasions moved him to create: it was they first prompted infinite Wisdom to contrive, and employed Omnipotence to execute the glorious, universal Plan.

In all these preludes I write under inspiration of the slender stripling Genius, for mine is but a slender spark: and had he happened to dictate the latter part of the passage above-cited in a different turn of phrase, as thus, By thee were all things created: thou in his presence and with his approbation employedst infinite wisdom, &c. I do not imagine the old gray-beard, Judgment, whom I always desire to stand at our elbows upon these occasions, would have rebuked him: for he must have known that our countrymen would enter readily into the spirit of the figure without hazard of their taking us literally. But supposing that we lived interspersed among heathens, and that many of our Christians were converts newly brought over, used to a plurality of Gods; there might then be a danger of their mistaking the Goddess Charity for a distinct Deity independent on the Supreme. Still he might let the passage stand, only would think proper to subjoin a note of his own hand to this effect. Now I desire it may be understood I do not mean by Charity an Agent or Being operating in the creation, but an Attribute denoting that God created in his infinite Goodness and Mercy.

14. The grave gentleman might suggest, too, that the doctrine of final causes, of which Goodness is the ultimate, was the only clue for leading into a right understanding of the Divine Economy, the knowledge whereof would secure us peace of mind, that principal source of happiness, without which life is not life. This his pupil might express by saying Charity was the light and the life.

Then he would recollect of his own accord, for the chit has a pretty good memory in things hitting his fancy, that people are sometimes called by the name of a quality they possess in an eminent degree, as that such a one is innocence itself, or patience itself, and that in some of the classic writers it is said of a fine woman, when dressed out she is beautiful, when in undress she is beauty itself. And having been taught early by his mother Mnemosyne to read the Testament, wherein is manifested the transcendent Goodness of Christ, to do and to suffer so much for the sake of mankind, he might think it no improper appellation for the Saviour to style him love or charity itself. Having hit upon this thought he might pursue it a little further by adding, that Charity clothed herself with flesh, and descended in a visible form to converse among mankind.

But as the little urchin is imitative as well as inventive, if he should attempt to copy the simplicity of Gospel style, old Vigilant would certainly take him to task, telling him, Look ye, child, I cannot suffer such a playful wanton to take what liberties you please with the sacred oracles. Remember what a blunder you committed with Stahl. I will never hazard a profanation of the Scriptures by mimicry : so if you will take anything from thence, you must do it in the very words recorded there. The most I can allow you is to substitute a modern figure in the room of an ancient, where you can find the same language applicable to both. Under this restriction, together with the admonitions and instructions given above, I suppose the boy might run on as follows :

In the beginning was Charity, and Charity was before [the face of] God, and God was Charity. The same in the beginning was before God. All things were made by her, and without her was not made a single thing which was made. In her was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. That was the true light which enlighteneth every man coming into the world. She was in the world, and the world was made by her, and the world knew her not. As many as received her, to them gave she a capacity of being begotten the children of God, to such as confide in her name. And Charity was made flesh, and pitched her tent among us, full of benignity and truth. And we beheld her glory, the glory as of an only child before the Father.

Perhaps the English reader will charge my boy with taking liberties, notwithstanding the admonition given him to forbear : but I appeal to the Greek reader whether our translators have not taken greater liberties, particularly by transposing, God was the Word, into, the Word was God, which is not quite so easily

susceptible of the construction put upon it above. Nor am I conscious of having altered anything in the text, other than the figure, except one little transposition in the last verse, to escape the old-fashioned style of a parenthesis; and addition of, *The face of*, in the first Verse, which was a needful and explanatory paraphrase, to prevent before being understood of time instead of place. Therefore if there is a change, Mr. Locke must allow it was not **I**, but some other *Persona*, who made it.

15. If anybody asks me, **Do I** believe that *Charity* was meant by the *Word*? he must have forgotten that **I** produced it as a new figure introductory to an understanding of the old one, not as directly explanatory thereof. For **I** do not take it to be any *Attribute*: the nearest of them is that of *Wisdom*, yet the *Word* seems to denote rather a particular production of *Wisdom* than the *Attribute* itself. The learned, in treating upon this subject, choose to retain the original term of *Logos*, well knowing it is susceptible of more various significations than the *English, Word*, some of which will not bear translating thereinto. I am not well enough versed in ancient authors to display this variety by quotations from the old dons of Greece, and if **I** tried to rummage out a few by help of *Scapula*, it might not much edify the *English* reader. But it happens very fortunately that here is no occasion: for *Logos* makes its appearance so often among us, and finds a place in so many of our words, only transformed after the modern fashion into *Logy*, that **I** can let my countrymen into the secret without making them hurt their eyes by poring upon the nasty crooked letters.

Sometimes *Logos* is words, as in philology, tautology, etymology; sometimes the structure of them, as in phraseology; sometimes a particular manner of speaking, as in eulogy and elegy, which are the speaking well and speaking out or highly of a man. In apology it is throwing off or obviating a censure; in doxology, a form of thanksgiving; analogy is the similitude or correspondence of particulars between things; logic is the art of reasoning, and the logical worship is rendered reasonable service in Rom. xii. 1. Astrology is the pretended knack of telling fortunes by the stars; zoology, the knowledge of animals, their species, forms, and names; meteorology and mineralogy, that of vapors and fossils; ontology, physiology, and theology, are sciences; genealogy and chronology can scarcely be called sciences, being no more than memorials or plans of lineages and alliances, or of events recorded in history in order of time as they happened. This last **I** take to be the sense belonging to the *Logos* of St. John, craving leave to give it a new name manufactured out of Grecian materials; and



as Genealogy is the plan of descents in a family, so I would call this Soteriology or the Plan of Salvation.

This plan formed in the eternal counsels of God, I apprehend represented throughout the Gospel as taken by him for his guidance in the first formation and subsequent administration of the moral world. It was necessary for the execution of it that man should be made a peccable creature, for there could have been no Salvation where there was no sinfulness to be saved from; and that there should be a remedy provided for the recovery from his lapsed state by means of the seed who was to bruise the serpent's head. Christ therefore, who by another figure is called the Corner Stone of the Building, was the point whereto all the preceding lines of Soteriology converged, and from whence they diverged again afterwards for diffusing righteousness among mankind, and as I have argued in my Chapter on Economy and in the last Chapter, will continue diverging through our next stage of Being, until the final consummation of all things, when the kingdom shall be delivered up to the Father.

16. Christ, therefore, being the centre and principal object in the plan, is called the Word, by a metonymy of a part for the whole; the same figure whereby we frequently speak of so many hands on board a ship, or of a general taking a town. By this light we may see how Christ is the Wisdom of God and the Power of God, which by the Greeks was counted foolishness; and discern the full scope of St. Paul's meaning, where he determines to know nothing save Christ and him crucified, for nobody can doubt that he did desire to know and to teach the whole of the Soteriology. His first eleven Chapters to the Romans appear to be wholly occupied in teaching this science (for though it was but a plan before God, the study of it is become a difficult science among men;) and to set right the Jews, who had misapprehended it as running in a multitude of forms and ceremonies with a temporal monarch for their centre. And in the rest of that Epistle he pursues some other lines in the hinder part of the same plan, drawn for spreading righteousness upon earth. Therefore when he confines himself to the knowledge of Christ, in whom all the promises of God, that is, the eternal counsels laid down in the plan, are yea and amen, he means no more than to disclaim all pretence to rhetoric and human science, or the vain babblings of Philosophy: nevertheless, if Philosophy can furnish anything in confirmation or illustration of the Soteriology, I do not imagine he would call her a vain babbler.

Among the Jews and primitive Christians derived from them, it was customary to pursue their figures much further than would

be allowable or intelligible among us. By this means we sometimes quite lose the resemblance, and understand them literally when speaking figuratively. We find Christ called the Word upon occasions where the figure does not appear : so we take them for synonymous terms, personifying the latter, and making it a distinct agent or person from God, but the same with Christ. This involves us in perpetual obscurities and contradictions, and so mangles our Religion as to disfigure it quite, laying it open to attacks, of which we may say, *Pudet hæc approbria nobis, et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli*, It is shameful to find both that such reproaches can be cast upon us, and we not able to wipe them off.

Whereas we should consider that the name Christ is a complex term, comprehending the human body and soul of Jesus together with God the Son united thereto, as set forth in the last Chapter : and this third part, though a distinct *Persona*, is the very same individual Person with the Father who created all things visible and invisible, and with the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth mè, says the Catechumen, and all the elect people of God. Therefore the work of creation being, as observed in my Chapter on the Trinity, within the peculiar province of the *Persona*, called Father, Christ could not in any sense be the agent or operator in creating. He could at most, by help of the hard-featured metonymy above-mentioned, be styled the Word by which, or according to the scheme whereof, all things were made : and by the like far-fetched metonymy of taking the whole for a part, he may be said to have come down from the Father, been made flesh, or embodied in Jesus, and pitched his tent among us.

This seems the only way for effectually taking the admonition of Athanasius against either dividing the substance or confounding the *Personæ* ; and this I apprehend, may help to unfold that great mystery, which Saint Paul says had lain hidden for ages, proving a stumbling-block to the Jews, and counted foolishness by the Greeks, until revealed in Christ, and which contained the spirit piercing through the dead letter, whereby the disciples were enlightened to a clear comprehension of things the carnal man could never know because they are spiritually discerned. Nor can we desire a better clue than the Soteriology for leading us safely through several dark passages in the Scriptures wherein there has been much confusion and wandering, particularly Saint John's introduction to his Gospel.

He is going to give a history of Christ's ministry upon earth : this he ushers in by a brief account, in the concise apostolic simplicity of what occasioned his coming ; which was, the original constitution of mankind established upon a plan or word, some-

thing similar to Phythagoras' oath of Jove, regulating the courses of all events which were to follow. This word was before God, that is, God held it in contemplation before him, as we hold a paper of directions before us when we would proceed in exact conformity thereto.

17. Then, the Word was God, upon which such mighty stress has been laid to prove the divinity of Christ as a distinct Person from the Father, if read as in the original, God was the Word, will appear inserted purposely to prevent the notion of a distinct actor, by declaring that God himself was the Agent proceeding to creation in pursuance of his Word; and we may presume this little sentence was thrown in for the sake of the Gentile converts, who having been accustomed to the notion of twelve greater Gods, whom one may style the Senate, or supreme Legislature of Heaven, might have fancied St. John only reduced them to two, and by the Logos understood another God, like Minerva, the daughter and first begotten of Jupiter.

The three first verses are supposed by some to speak of matters passing before this visible world had a Being, as the creation of angels and hierarchies of heaven; and to prove the eternity of the Word, coeval with God. But though I have said the plan was laid in the eternal counsels of God, I gather this by the light of nature from his immutability, which will not permit me to imagine him striking out new plans on a sudden, which he had never thought of before. I cannot infer it from the expression, In the beginning was the Word, which in my apprehension contains nothing prior to this sublunary system. For St. John had nothing of the preadamite belonging to him: nor did he meddle with the babblings of philosophy running out into speculations concerning a Chaos, the grave of a former nature, and womb of the present. His business lay solely with his fellow-creatures upon earth, to transmit his master's doctrines for their benefit in the plainness of a Gospel-writer: so that he cannot with any plausibility be supposed to carry his thoughts any further back than to the formation of Man, the forbidden fruit, and the promised seed; and with him the beginning was the entering upon those first dispensations leading to that of the Christian.

18. Then for all the things which were made, I can extend them no further than to all the courses of Providence respecting the moral world, and scheme of the Redemption. If anybody insists that the courses of nature were appointed with a reference to the others, I feel no repugnance against agreeing with him: nor do I doubt the animals, and plants, and other material works were performed with a view to the uses of man. The trees of

knowledge and of life, the condition of Paradise, and curse of God upon the ground, have a visible connection with the moral economy. Or if it be insisted further, that the higher orders of creatures have a concern in the events befalling Man, I can make no objection here neither, without recanting what I have endeavored to maintain in a former Volume; as believing that every line in the divine plans, nearly or remotely connects with every other, and affects the interests of every creature. But this is another larger plan, which we may call the pantology, or plan of universal nature, comprehending all the works of God, visible and invisible, whereof the Soteriology was a part. It is a very telescopic idea, tending greatly to enlarge the mind; wherefore, I am willing to entertain as much of it as I can hold in my imagination.

But Saint John never troubled himself with physiology, astronomy, metaphysics, nor the laws of universal nature. He, we may presume, had determined with his brother Paul to know nothing save Christ and the Soteriology: therefore we can expect nothing from him but what relates immediately thereto. And this manifests the wisdom of choosing such simple men for Apostles of a Gospel which was to be preached to the poor. We philosophising folks cannot mingle our own discoveries among the Christian verities: we may be serviceable herein to one another, but are by no means fit for preaching to the poor; nor indeed for preaching at all, unless to congregations very rarely to be met with, who have golden thighs to stand upon, and ears to hear the music of the spheres like ourselves.

I have remarked already that the Word is frequently applied as an appellative to its central point; and I may add, that is sometimes used promiscuously in both senses of the whole and of a part, in such manner as makes it difficult to distinguish in which sense each particular expression ought to be understood. But here I apprehend the metonymy first takes place at the 8th verse. The world said to be made by him, I suppose is commonly understood in the sense it bears generally in familiar discourse, including all sublunary productions, whether rational, animal, or inanimate. But we often use it in a much more restrained sense, as when we exhort a retired person to converse a little more in the world, or talk of publishing a thing to the world, or telling it to all the world. And it appears evident that St. John took it in some such confined signification; first, because it is not true that the light did enlighten every man who came into the world in China, or Tartary, or America: in the next place, because the 11th verse seems an explanatory repetition of the 10th, received him not, certainly carries the same force with knew him not: and we may presume the

world in one verse explained by His own in the other. Therefore it was the world of Jews which was made by, or through, or for sake of him; for I humbly apprehend the preposition will bear translating so; that is, the Mosaic law was given purely to introduce and prepare for the evangelical.

19. To those who received him he gave a capacity of being begotten the children of God: and in the 13th verse, they were begotten, not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Here is a variety of begettings: the Israelites were begotten of bloods in the plural, that is, their bloody sacrifices, a metonymy for the whole ceremonial law; some of them were begotten by the rectitude of will and good principles, or expectations derived from their ancestors from whom they were descended in the flesh; others, not Israelites, were begotten by the happy disposition of mind in the man, as those antediluvians mentioned by Milton, whose religious lives titled them the sons of God, and so the sons of Belial spoken of in the Old Testament were begotten by their wicked dispositions, but the believing disciples were begotten by the special Providence of God bringing them to the knowledge of the Word, which gave them a capacity of such generation.

If you object that the negative annexed to the three first implies they were no begettings at all, for which I see no grounds, yet you cannot reject the last. So it still appears that in the Apostle's sense, God had begotten more children than one. Therefore when one is styled in verse 14, the only begotten of the Father, it must be from some peculiar manner of begetting whereof the other children did not partake. And what that was may be gathered from a word in the same sentence, which directs our eyes to behold the glory, or estimation, or consequence which none other can come up to, and wherein he was singular. Observe further, that he is styled the first begotten in several places of Scripture, which implies that others were begotten in the same manner of generation. But this I conceive relates to the state of perfection and glory whereto Christians hope one day to be raised, when they shall become one with Christ in Personæ, though still distinct in Person: and then he will be the first begotten who was the only begotten before; as every only child becomes an eldest child, as soon as another is born of the same parents. And this is further confirmed by the text wherein he is styled the first born of every creature, where creature must not be taken in the common acceptation, including all mankind, but of the new creature by regeneration: and is sometimes rendered building or edification, to denote that state of perfection and unsinning obedience,

whereto the Saints will be raised gradually in this life and the next, by building improvement upon improvement.

Should it be admitted the flesh denotes a particular lineage, as St. Paul makes it do when he distinguishes the Jews by calling them his brethren in the flesh; for the Gentiles were as much his brethren in the flesh, if that term signifies an investiture in human nature, then the expression, was made flesh, and pitched his tent among us, must mean no more than was made one of the flesh, of Jacob's lineage, and lived all his time in Judea.

20. One little remark I have omitted, concerning Cometh into the World, in the 9th verse : which cannot mean, Born into the World, for children who go out again in the month have no display of the light before them : therefore it must be construed, Comes to converse in the World, or to know what passes there. This the Jews would naturally understand of their own tenets, as we should do now of the Christian established among our people in general, which a man cannot come into the world but he must quickly hear what they are.

These things being premised, I shall hazard an attempt to guess how St. John would have expressed himself had he been writing now, and to Christians : adhering to the ancient simplicity as near as possible, though I cannot undertake to do it entirely without slipping in a word now and then from the modern style.

Prior to Adam was the Word : and the Word was ever before God : and it was the Word of his mouth. From the beginning God departed not at any time from the Word which he had spoken. By it were all his dispensations made : and without it was not any one of them made which was made. In it was life : for the light of the mind is life unto men. And the light brake forth upon men of dark understandings, and their darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for an evidence unto them, that he might bear evidence of the light. He was not the light himself, but came to point out the object wherein the light was to be found, that they might rest their dependence thereon. This was the true light, which is displayed to every man who cometh out into the world. He was in the world, and the world was fashioned by him, as the shoemaker fashioneth a shoe by the foot ; and the world knew him not. He came unto his own peculiar people, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he means of becoming the children of God by the new birth ; to such as confided in his name. Their birth was not by ceremonies, nor by descent in a peculiar lineage, nor by their human powers, but by special Providence of God. And

the word was made visible in one of the chosen lineage, and dwelt among them, abounding in love and truth. And such of them as had eyes beheld his glory, the glory as of an only child in the sight of the father.

21. Thus much for the Evangelist : I come now to consider the epistle to the Philippians. Archbishop Tillotson and the bishop have both given up the vulgate translation, Thought it no robbery to be equal with God : and the latter has substituted in its room, Was not fond, or tenacious, of appearing as God. But why his lordship should afterwards change his own translation into, Did not eagerly retain his equality with God, I cannot tell. Not that I am going to deny there are evidences of such equality elsewhere in the Scriptures ; for I know it is the orthodox opinion that they are to be found, and it is my custom to presume everything true that was taught me, until upon mature consideration I see cogent reasons to think otherwise. I am only acknowledging my own want of discernment to find a proof in the words of the texts before us. As well as I remember, Homer applies Isotheos to people whom he did not esteem equal to the Gods : and in the parable of the woman who had seven husbands, I never heard of anybody rendering Isangeloi equal to the Angels. Therefore if Isa Theo be susceptible of both senses, Equal or Like, it must be determined to either by the context and drift of the argument.

I readily enter into the justness of his lordship's reasoning that what Christ was not tenacious of must be something he had a title to claim, and been in possession of before : and what was that but the form of God ? Which we may understand by the form of a slave mentioned presently afterwards. He never was a real slave, nor reduced to a state of slavery, but submitted to be treated like one, and died the death that slaves were put to when convicted of capital crimes : therefore cannot by this be proved real God, but honored as God.

Had his lordship adhered to his first version, the passage had run on all of a piece : for form, appearance as, likeness, and fashion, I take to be synonymous terms, introduced only to vary the phrase. If a piece of French plate be made exactly in the likeness of a silver mug, it must have the form, and fashion, and appearance of that. When God made Man in his own likeness, he did not thereby make him equal to himself ; and when it was said to Moses, thou shalt be a God unto Aaron and he shall be thy prophet, he was then in the form of God, yet without participating of the divine nature.

22. The Messiah was chosen in the eternal counsels of God to be the principal object in his great plan of the soteriology, the re-

storer of mankind from the way of utter perdition to that of righteousness and eternal life. And this I apprehend alluded to in that passage, Father, glorify me with thine own self, the glory I had with thee before the foundations of the world. His name was had in high honor and reverence among men from the beginning. He was esteemed to centre in himself the three most respected characters of king, priest, and prophet, to be the redeemer of Israel, the blessing of all nations, the seed that should bruise the serpent's head, the Emmanuel, or God with us. These were high and divine honors, and to whomsoever they belonged, he might well be said to be in the form of God.

His conception was announced by an angel: his birth declared by a choir of angels: his star appeared in the East, filling the Magians there with exceeding great joy, and bringing them a long journey with precious offerings in their hands to worship him: the spirit of piety inspired Simeon upon sight of him to burst out in transport, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

In all this he appeared as God. This then was the appearance he was not tenacious of retaining, the form he emptied himself of. Which expressions exclude an equality by having the divine nature joined with the human: because this he was tenacious of retaining to the last, he never emptied himself of. He could not do it: it would have defeated the purpose of his coming to have done it: for had he been a mere man when suffering upon the cross, we should have been never the better for him.

It is an axiom of the schools that nothing like is the same: therefore, the likeness of men cannot belong to the assumption of human nature, for that gave him the real essence of a man, made him the same thing. But I take it the likeness relates to his laying aside all dignity, and conversing among publicans and sinners like a common man. From this humble state, as the bishop observes with great advantage to St. Paul's argument, he descended another step still lower by taking upon him the form of a slave, submitting unto death, even the death of the cross: which went so much against the grain that he prayed with agonies, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me. Nevertheless, with the submissiveness of a slave, he became obedient in this hard service to the Will of the Father.

23. Wherefore, as St. Paul goes on in pursuit of his topic, God hath also exalted him. I do not know whether any stress may be laid upon the preposition joined in composition with the original verb, which seems to denote an over-exalting, or raising to a higher state than he stood in before, but certainly the exaltation,



to make it an encouragement to humility in the Philippians, must be a reward greater than what had been laid down. Therefore, it cannot relate either to a real equality or the estimation of one ; for then it must have been an exaltation to a nature greater, or esteemed greater than that of God himself.

Besides, the next verb *Hath given*, which might be more fully expressed by *Hath gratified*, implies a free donation, not a restitution of something whereto the party had a prior title : yet in this case seems to import a gratuity of the same kind, though higher in degree, with the thing departed from : therefore, it must be a dignity of name, or character of Christ or Logos, which he emptied himself of, and was not tenacious of retaining, because he was gratified with a name above all names ; so that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that our Master Jesus is the Christ ; for so the words might be more fairly rendered than that Jesus Christ is Lord, as any one may be satisfied by consulting Mr. Locke's notes upon the appellation, Lord. 1 Cor. viii. 5.

It is not easy to guess what was meant by things in heaven, or things under the earth. It cannot relate to the angels, for they have no knees to bow : they may put them on when sent upon errands to earth, as we do boots upon a journey, but it does not appear at all likely that they ever wear them at home. Nor were they ignorant that Jesus was Christ, even during his lowest state of humiliation.

No more can it relate to the devils : St. Paul, be sure, had no faith in Pluto and his subterraneous host, neither did he preach the modern doctrine of devils living in a burning cavern somewhere under ground. They are called in Scripture style princes of the air, and powers of the air. Nor yet do they honor the name of Jesus now more than they used to do heretofore, but dishonor him wherever they can, as much as ever by perplexing the minds of Christians daily with absurd, enthusiastic, and unchristian fancies, and tempt them into all kinds of impurity, contention, and malice.

It seems the most probable conjecture, that bowing the knee answers to the very vulgar expression of knocking under, and imports that at the name of Jesus every other name shall stand eclipsed : whether those of the blessed Spirits currently believed among the Jews to reside in Heaven ; such as Enoch, Abraham, and Elijah ; or of persons illustrious for exploits not likely to raise them to Heaven from out their graves and sepulchres under ground, as Nebuchadonosar, Alexander, and Cæsar ; or of princes

and potentates, and men famous in any science, or art, or accomplishment upon earth.

This we have seen verified down to our own times, for we know how sacred the name of Jesus is holden throughout the most enlightened, though not largest, part of the globe from him called Christendom: and that more than one worthless creature has gained a dominion over nations, and kings, and emperors, merely by pretending to be his vicar.

24. It will be worth while to bestow a little thought in examining how this exaltation came to be so desirable a reward in the eyes of the meek and humble Jesus as to make him endure the cross, and despise the shame for the joy that was set before him. It has occurred to me formerly that this seemed representing him overrun with vanity and ambition, that he should be ready to do and suffer anything for sake of an unbounded popularity among men and angels, and making all the other highest dignities crouch under him. But when I reflected on the importance of his having such a name, and the principal line of his character, my scruple instantly vanished.

We have seen in the last Chapter, that the authority of his name is the channel through which the benefits of his sacrifice flow upon mankind: it is the power operating unto salvation, keeping the Church steady to his Religion, and enabling her members to attain that righteousness which is of faith therein. So that it was not the name, but the inestimable consequences of it, which exhibited the joyful prospect before him. Then upon turning our eyes to the character of our Saviour, whose ruling passion, if I may be pardoned the term, was a glowing charity towards God and towards Man, who came into the world to save sinners, to give himself a ransom for many, to whom it was meat and drink to do the Will of the Father, who sought not his own glory but the glory of him that sent him; we cannot imagine a reward more worthy of him, nor a gratuity more acceptable to such a temper.

For by the sacredness of his name he was enabled to rescue the race of men from utter perdition, and display the glory of God before all the hosts of Heaven, to whom the great pantology, or plan of universal nature laid down in the courses of events dependent upon second causes, had appeared imperfect. They saw the introduction of evil and a lapsed race of creatures was made necessary to sustain their own happiness: but how the soteriology was to be completed by the restoration of that race, remained a mystery, which they stooped earnestly down to look into, lying hidden in the secret counsels of God, until revealed in the humiliation and consequent exaltation of Christ.

Let us then, in gratitude to our deliverer and prudence to ourselves, labor all we can to preserve that name unsullied, and beware of an indiscreet extravagant zeal which might give occasion for the adversary to blaspheme, by saying that we rob the Father of his creation in compliment to the Son, and that we can support the honor of his name upon none other foundation than contradictions and assertions impossible to be understood. What language might be proper in former centuries, or how they might understand it, cannot easily be ascertained: but now in this age of freedom, nothing inconsistent or unintelligible can be received with honor. Wherefore it behoves us strongly to purify our system from everything carrying an appearance of that sort, which might give a handle for exceptions: and with this spirit I have endeavored to guide myself throughout this and the preceding Chapters.

25. There are other passages of Scripture in his Lordship's discourse, that possibly might be travelled through by the help of the same clue, which will bear twisting up with the line of reason, and both together form so strong a thread as all the strength and artifice of the free-thinker could not break asunder. But it does not fall within the compass of this Chapter to consider them: for I have no desire to measure swords with so great a champion, whom Homer would think deserving the appellation of ἰσθμῖος Φῶς, a godlike soul possessed of χεῖρας ἀάπτους, the hands whose grasp one dares not hazard, and Cicero admit to an equal share of the title he claimed to himself in confidence with Atticus of κρηττοῦ μυσώρα λόγιστάς, a powerful artificer of language. I had none other view than to corroborate my exposition of St. John by the passage in St. Paul, who seems to have proceeded upon a similar idea. And I have the happiness to agree with his lordship in this opinion, though to my mortification we have delineated the resemblance in strokes that I fear will not exactly coincide.

Now should another Edwards do me the honor to make another Mr. Locke of me by calling out, Racovian! he would give me little disturbance. Whether I am Racovian or no, I cannot tell, because not knowing what tenets passed current in Racovia; nor if I did should I reject them merely upon that account, until finding them to my own thinking unsound. If a native of that place coming here believed London bigger than Islington, I should not alter my opinion either to please Edwards or vex the stranger. When the devils declared, we know thee: thou art the Son of God: I should not be ashamed to join with the devils upon that article.

The Persona of a neutral which I have assumed in this fourth volume, the better to keep up my credit with both parties and

thereby bring on a reconciliation between Religion and Reason, requires me to go on calmly and carefully my own way without regard to what other people believe or disbelieve, any further than as an admonition to consider the matter more maturely. I do not set up for an advocate of the Christian doctrines determined to support them at all events; but a fair and unprejudiced inquirer into what they are. Neither do I meddle with the external evidences, for they lie in the fields of ecclesiastical history, beyond my reach: my business is only with the internal, and to lay them clearly open to inspection, rather than to enforce them. Therefore I have pursued the scheme of Reason, by the light of Nature, as far as I could in my former volumes, and some first chapters of this: and in the remainder of my course am endeavoring to discover what the Gospel teaches, and with what spirit the true interpretation may be found; the better to enable my countrymen to judge for themselves of the doctrine whether it be from God.

26. In all my speculations how much soever they may have seemed matters of curiosity, I have constantly kept an eye to use, though perhaps nothing more than an eye, without being able to lend a helping hand; and in each of them to some particular use. Even my sallies of sprightliness are not wanton gambols; they help my purpose of gaining some credit with one party. For the free-thinker lays down for a rule that every man loves a joke, who is able to make one: therefore all your serious people must be humdrum fellows, because if they had the least taste for ridicule they could not fail of seeing the absurdity of old saws esteemed sacred. And here he agrees with his furthest opposite, the enthusiast, in holding that to be a good Christian, one must throw aside all one's understanding, and all one's humor. Now I want to show him that other folks can flourish about, and jest as well as he: that without pecking at the Bible, they can find matters to joke upon elsewhere, sometimes in his own sweet self: and that it is not necessary the old saws should fall into contempt with a man as soon as he ceases to be a humdrum.

In both cases, whether of close combat or light-horse skirmish, there is the appearance of some important post before me, which directs or beguiles me to push forward. This dissertation upon the Logos, upon Person and Persona, exhibits a prospect of doing two services. The one, for removing those insuperable difficulties in making a satisfactory defence against the cavils of the scoffer, arising from the doctrine, that it was the person of Christ, distinct from that of God, who was the operator in the creation. The other for preventing those enthusiastic, and I might say idolatrous,

notions perpetually inculcated among the Methodists, who in the fondness of their passion for Christ, extol him above the Father, and would have us place our whole dependence upon ecstatic acts of faith in his name, to the utter contempt and neglect of that degree of righteousness, attainable by faith, which was the purpose and end of his mission.

When the doctrine of all things made by Christ is daily pressed upon the thoughts by lectures, hymns, prayers, meditations, and sweetly-written books, what kind of conceptions must it produce? You may make what nice distinctions you please between the divine and human natures in Christ, the plain Christian cannot follow them: he knows nothing of your Latin *Persona*, but to him the two natures will blend together in one Person, composing one individual substance: and as he takes his ideas of other people from their outward figure, so whenever he hears mention of Christ making the world, he will have the idea of a human body, with legs and arms, very improper instruments for creation, or even for making out of pre-existent materials, as being incapable of reaching to all parts of this terraqueous globe. Therefore he will fancy the figure of a man, hovering in the air with a creative power, in the abstract, going out from his fingers or mouth: which must prepare his imagination to receive all kinds of magic, and conjuration, and fairy wonders, if he should ever fall into company where they are chimed with the same vehemence and assiduity as practised by his godly teachers.

It may be sometimes expedient to connive at misapprehensions of the vulgar, for I have said upon a former occasion, that the same notion may be Religion in one man which would be superstition in another: but it must always be mischievous to cultivate and expatiate upon them. I have aimed to steer the course least productive of misconceptions: it is likely some oversights have escaped me, and certain that an addition may be made to what is here presented. The distinction between Person and *Persona* will not answer every purpose, this latter term still fluctuating among various senses, which therefore require a subdivision to range them under their several classes. For I presume Cicero had the same consciousness all along while under his two different *Personæ* of severity and mildness; and so had Jesus together with his triple *Personæ* of king, priest, and prophet, his form of God, likeness of man, form of a slave, and exaltation to a name above all names: neither do I imagine the *Personæ* of the Trinity exactly similar to any of those just now specified.

It may happen that some more skilful performer will take hints from hence to draw out a correcter and fuller explanation, which

shall contain nothing appearing either to shock Reason, or wound Religion, in the most scrupulous eyes. The more the vulgar can be taken off from knotty points, so much the better : nor do I believe they ever think of them unless urged thereto by the wrong-headed or such who have none other way of making themselves popular and important. The material points to be generally inculcated seem to be the belief of the Scriptures being the Word of God, and a reliance solely upon Christ, and his Religion for attaining the righteousness needful for their future interests. These points I have taken my best pains to secure in the last Chapter, and labored to remove what might endanger the security in the present.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

### SACRAMENTS.

**THERE** has lately been some difference among doctors concerning the nature and efficacy of these sacred rites, wherein I am so far from intending to take part on either side, that I have not so much as made myself well acquainted with the state of the controversy : therefore if what is here offered shall prove favorable or displeasing to the litigants, it will be purely accidental, nor will any of them have cause either to thank or be wrathful with me for intermeddling. For I shall still, as heretofore, proceed quietly my own way, without the spirit of opposition or partiality, collecting whatever occurring to my thoughts may appear pertinent to the subject upon the best exercise of my judgment. The province I have professed to undertake is that of human reason, by which must be meant my own reason : for so every man who talks of reason ought to be understood if he speaks sincerely, because he cannot have jurisdiction in any province further than the scanty limits of his own understanding.

Being apprized of this, I shall not presume to dictate, nor demonstrate, nor venture to say, which last is the modern phrase for the most confident assertion, nor even wish anybody to adopt a sentiment of mine until he finds it agreeable to his own judgment : for were the thing I suggest ever so right, yet if he does not see the justness of it with his own eyes, he will not apprehend it rightly, and it will do him no good. And if I chance to fall into mis-

takes introductive of mischiefs I do not foresee, for others I shall be very careful to guard against, there not wanting able champions enow to prevent their taking effect by giving warning to the unwary. But reason being my province, it is obvious I have nothing to do with the evidences proving those rites to be of divine institution, which cannot be fetched from the storehouse of human reason : therefore taking such institution for granted, I shall make it my business to consider what rational idea can be entertained of them, their design and effects, presuming that if such can be found, it is the genuine and true one.

Now in order to know how our Church expresses herself on them, we need only have recourse to the Catechism, which we have all learned, perhaps most of us forgotten again, yet we may presently borrow a book to refresh our memory : wherein we shall find a sacrament defined to be an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof. Now a sign we know is ordinarily an indication only of something happening : when the weather-glass falls we think it a sign it will rain ; when on looking through the window, we see the women pulling their handkerchiefs over their heads, we take this for a sign that is beginning to rain : but neither the mercury nor the handkerchiefs, can have any influence upon the clouds to bring down their contents, being declarative only, not productive, of an event befallen or to befall. But there are other signs, which are not discoveries of something unknown, but admonitions of something slipt out of mind : as when you make signs with your finger to a person who through mere inconsiderateness is going to blurt out a secret he knows well enough to be one.

The sacramental signs I apprehend are of the latter sort : as signs they are not efficient causes of any external event that may concern us, and as monitory signs they are not declarations of any operation performed upon us : but being ordained by Christ himself, the sight of them solemnly administered serves naturally to impress a strong remembrance of him, and remind us of the inestimable benefits received by his procurement. Hence follows that there is nothing conjured down into the elements on consecration, nor have they any quality, power, or property different from other elements employed in common uses ; and the priest, agreeable to his title of minister, acts ministerially, not authoritatively herein, declaring or expressing a former act of Christ, not performing an act of his own : neither can we expect to receive any other bene-

fit from them, than what effect the sight and the ceremony may work upon the heart and imagination.

And the term pledge may lead us into the like train, for though we often use the word for an earnest given to bind a bargain, or a deposit left in pawn for performance of an engagement, yet, it is likewise employed by persons, who, intending considerable favors to another, but being apprehensive he may doubt of their sincerity or remembrance, give him some little thing in hand as a pledge of their kindness, and to satisfy him they will keep their word : to which latter sense the expression of our Church directs us by calling it a pledge, not to secure, but to assure us thereof. In like manner when God is said to bind himself by an Oath, it is in reality no security, for if he were disposed to break it, we could not help ourselves as a man might who receives an earnest or deposit, but a certain assurance leaving no room for doubt.

Now assurance is a state of the mind, which it may be cast into by sensible objects, working a lively and vigorous persuasion of what we know in our judgment well enough before, but had a very faint sense of in the imagination : therefore the Sacraments are not evidences to convince, nor conveyances to put us into possession of anything promised, but methods for turning conviction into persuasion, which in the Chapter on Faith has been shown necessary to make it a virtue. For being ordained by Christ himself, and administered according to his institution, they are visible transactions between him and us, as direct and immediate as can be since his departure from earth ; therefore proper pledges of his kindness to assure us of all these inestimable benefits we hope to gather therefrom.

2. But our Catechism has the words, as a means whereby we receive the same : is not this contrary to the nature of signs as just now described ? Not at all to my thinking : nor do I apprehend that signs and means denote two distinct qualities in the Sacraments, but they become means by being signs : and this may appear when we consider what it is we receive thereby, namely, Grace. It has been shown in the Chapter upon that article, that Grace, considered as an effect, is an extraordinary disposition and vigor of mind to apprehend religious truths, which a sign and a pledge, described as above, leave a natural efficacy to produce : and in this sense it must be understood here, being spoken of as something given to us, not as something operating upon us ; for we cannot be said to possess the Holy Spirit as a gift, otherwise than figuratively by a common metonymy of the cause for the effect.



Therefore we are not to imagine a spiritual influence infused into the elements, nor accompanying the ceremony, nor the Holy Ghost more peculiarly present than at other times, unless in the manner God and Christ are said to be peculiarly present where two or three are gathered together in their name, that is, solely by the greater clearness of our optics to discern them. I cannot, consistently with the doctrines of our Church, deny, that the Grace comes by the power of God co-operating in his third Person with our endeavors in the application of the means; for since no good thing can be done without such assistance, the devout celebration of the Sacraments and Grace consequent thereupon being good things, such assistance must have been afforded. But the Sacraments I apprehend obtain the divine aid in the same manner as other means of Grace, though being the most sacred of our devotions, they do it in a larger measure, and may be said to bring down the Holy Spirit as prayer is said to bring down a supply of our wants from heaven: not that it can move God, but because it moves ourselves within the stream of his blessings, so they do not draw the heavenly power to shed his influence more copiously upon the heart, but draw the heart further into the current of his influence.

I am not so rigorous as to expect that persons of all sized apprehensions should enter clearly into these refinements: let them believe the rites to be principal means of Grace, without troubling their heads about the manner of operation: if they should happen to mingle a spice of the marvellous, because they cannot satisfy themselves any other way, there will be no great harm done: but for such as have ears to hear the voice of sober reason, or eyes to discern the distinction, it seems very material they should observe it. For when once a man begins to persuade himself that he feels the very finger of God, or hears his whisper, because he feels a sensible impression upon his mind, and unusual vigor in his powers of action, he is in imminent danger of sliding insensibly into the wilds of superstition and enthusiasm.

But though whenever we find a favorable alteration within us we must ascribe it to divine assistance, upon the authority of Scripture interpreted by our doctors; yet as argued in the Chapter last cited, the touch occasioning such change may have been given hours, or days, or months before, at a time when we could not perceive it. For we are warranted upon the same authority to compare the divine effusion to the wind, which bloweth where it listeth; thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth: we feel and hear the draught of air, and see the commotions it raises among the trees, but know

nothing of the powers setting it in motion, where or how far off they lie, nor the time when they gave their impulse.

3. To the question, How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church, we are taught to answer, Two only as generally necessary to Salvation. One cannot presently discern the force of the adverb Generally. It seems at first sight to imply, that there are other Sacraments necessary for particular persons, though these alone be generally so; but this we know our Church disavows. Perhaps if necessary had been used alone, the world might have joined with it in their thoughts the adverb universally or absolutely; which might have given them the idea of an efficient virtue in the rites, putting us in possession of certain privileges without which no man can be saved, as no man can live without eating, nor purchase lands in a foreign country without being naturalized there: but whatever may be thought of Baptism, I hope it will be allowed that a child dying under seven years old may be saved without ever having communicated of the Lord's Supper. Therefore by Generally I apprehend we are to understand no more than necessary for all ranks and conditions of people, laics as well as clergy, the poor, the low, and the ignorant, as well as the rich, the noble, and the enlightened.

Let us next proceed to consider in what sense they are necessary, and I conceive them not directly but remotely so, that is, not immediately productive of salvation in themselves, but necessary preliminaries conducting to something else whereby we may attain it. Were future happiness a gift conferred by an immediate act of God, as vulgarly conceived, there would need no preparatives to fit us for the reception: for he who was able to raise up Children to Abraham of the veriest stones, is likewise able to invest any creature, however qualified in any state or condition of Being whatever, to make a Saint of a damned Soul, an Angel of a Devil, by an exertion of his Omnipotence. But Religion and Philosophy unanimously agree, that we are placed here in a state of probation, this life being preparatory to the next: which it could not be, at least to our comprehension, unless there were certain stated laws of universal Nature, rendering every man's condition hereafter dependent upon that wherein he quitted this earthly stage.

From whence, together with what has been argued in former places, it appears, that that nearest approach to perfection of the spiritual body wherein we are to rise again, which any man is capable of making in his present situation, is the thing directly productive of salvation. Which state the spiritual body is cast into by habitual just sentiments of God, and a tenor of conduct con-

formable thereto, called in Scripture language coming to the Father, strengthened and evidenced by the practice of right actions, styled in the same language doing the Will of the Father. And that this coming to the Father is the sole thing necessary, may be gathered from the words of Christ himself : who has declared that all the saying, Lord, Lord, prophesying, casting out Devils, doing many wonderful works in his name, will avail nothing without it : nor can it well be doubted that if Adam had continued steadfast in innocence, he might have been saved without knowledge of Christ, or application of the Sacraments.

But the Gospel has declared that no man can come to the Father unless through the Son : we are so debilitated by the original sin or sinfulness and imbecility of our Nature evidenced by the experiment made upon Adam, that we cannot possibly attain that health of the spiritual body wherein salvation consists, by our own strength and sagacity without aid of the precepts, the institutions, and example of Christ, which therefore are the sole and necessary passage conducting to the Father. What other passages may lie open to other persons, or whether the same degree of preparation in this life be requisite for everybody, I have already considered in former places, particularly that relating to the doctrine of the strait gate, in the Chapter on Redemption : but to us to whom the Gospel has been propounded in a manner convincing to our understanding, and to such only it must be supposed to speak, because such only will hear it, there is none other passage by which we have any chance of arriving at our desired haven.

But since we cannot always see the expedience of his rules, nor discern the good of that endurance and forbearance whereof he has set us a pattern, our attachment to them will die away by degrees without an habitual reverence and trust in his name continually stimulating us thereto : for it is well known in common life, how much a name avails to bind things together in the remembrance which otherwise might dissipate, and the regard to a particular person fixes a proportionable regard upon everything relative to him. Now those sacred rites ordained by Christ himself, actually delivered by him to our own persons, so far as can be done by representation, as signs, pledges, or tokens of his love to us, will have a natural tendency, if taken and received in that idea, to strengthen our trust in his name, and our reverence of his authority.

Thus the Sacraments are rather Christian than divine services, efficacious to invigorate our Faith in Christ, which is called the saving Faith, because introductive of that which is directly and immediately so. Therefore we may presume the Church pro-

nounces them necessary, as being necessary equipments for our journey, rather than an actual progress in it : and upon having received them devoutly, we are not to look upon ourselves as a whit more in possession of salvation, but better provided with the means of attaining it. For the benefit, if any, must appear in the improvement of our sentiments and conduct afterwards : or, to use the Stoical allegory, we are still as much in a state of drowning as before ; but have laid hold on the cords, by which with hearty lifts we may raise ourselves into the pure air of rectitude and holiness.

If there be any who conceit they can do as well without them, or have found no improvement of their piety from them upon trial, it does not become us to judge of another, we must leave every man to his own conscience, and his own experience upon that article : yet even admitting him right, still they may be generally though not universally necessary. I cannot indeed suppose the compilers of our Catechism had any such construction in their thoughts, but the words may be true in that construction ; for the practice of them may be necessary in general to keep up a spirit of Christianity among us, which spirit will diffuse itself imperceptibly by sympathy among particulars not using the means appointed. Whereto must be owing that our modern Philosophy has a greater mixture of Christianity among it than the ancient : and I have met with profound reasoners, seeming to retain very little respect for the name of Christ, who yet have more of the Christian in their character than they know of, so have actually received a remote benefit from the Sacraments, though they will not acknowledge it.

4. Perhaps it may be alleged, that if Sacraments operate none otherwise than upon the mind and imagination, then Baptism is a mere empty form, being administered to infants, who can have no imagination of what is doing to them. But if they have not then, they will when grown up, and come to reflect on the solemnity wherewith they have been admitted to a participation of the benefits procured to mankind by Christ, and in their own persons receive the sign and pledge of his love ordained by himself. It would likewise operate upon the by-standers as a means of grace, were they careful to assist at it with a little more seriousness, and not as a mere customary form : for it would remind them of their own admission by the like ceremony, and engage their charity to a new fellow-traveller to whom an entrance has just been opened into the same road of salvation with themselves.

Therefore it was a very wise provision of our Church, that all Baptisms shall be celebrated publicly, except upon extraordinary

occasions ; and it is no less prudent in our present clergy to administer privately without asking for your extraordinary occasion : because else, as the world goes, there would be no baptizing at all, and I have said more than once before, that a wise man will do as he can, when he cannot do as he would. Indeed as our places of worship in this humid climate are stone vaults, many times half under ground, and our children born with more delicate constitutions than those of our forefathers, who were a nation of soldiers and huntsmen, there may be a good reason against exposing them to the damps of a quarry in winter season : but since the rubric has not limited the time, why might not the ceremony be deferred till vernal Suns have exhaled the dangerous vapors and blunted the cutting edge of Eurus ?

There is one obstacle against this method, that the nurses would lose their fees, and it is well known the laws of fashion are holden more indispensable among us, than those of the Church : but this might be removed by the sponsors coming early to make their offerings to the air-born Goddess, and at the same time appointing their substitutes to attend for them at the sacred font, in case themselves should be engaged in the more important transactions of Tunbridge, or Newmarket : whereby both our credit and our consciences might be saved harmless at once. But though the clergy must do as they can with the laity, one should think they might do as they would with their own body, and prevail on them to certify all private Baptisms as the rubric directs, for which it might not be amiss if a short prayer were framed suitable thereto. From what has been said it appears matter of consequence to a grown person, but not to a child dying young, whether it has ever been christened or no : nevertheless, I am for a speedy administration in cases where life is in danger, were it for none other reason than a little to open the narrow minds of the vulgar, by advancing one step towards the idea of a general interest, and making it received as a popular doctrine, that a soul may be saved without actual faith in Christ, or knowledge of him during his abode in this earthly tabernacle.

5. There are folks who pretend to be mightily shocked at the absurdity of a child promising by proxies not appointed by himself, which promise says our Church, when come to years of discretion, himself is bound to perform : but I hope none are stricken with this shock who hold the Revolution principles, and ground the liberties of this nation upon an original contract made between the kings and people of our Saxon ancestors ; nor any of the French writers, who lay down that if the reigning family should ever happen to be extinct, the Estates would have a right to choose

whomsoever they pleased, but are bound to the present family by the choice made by their ancestors of Hugh Capet.

In these cases there is an obligation, not otherwise binding, laid upon children born or to be born throughout all succeeding generations, which there is not in the principal case, where the child enters into no new engagement, nor gives up any natural right belonging to him : for let us consider what it is he promises, To renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, which translated into philosophic language is vanity, indulgence, and malice ; to believe the Articles of the Christian Faith : and to keep God's holy will and commandments. The first and last of these three branches the child is already bound to by the condition of that nature whereinto he is born, under a peril of forfeiting all his hopes in futurity : and it being the doctrine of our Church, that in this lapsed state none can sufficiently fulfil those obligations without aid of the Christian doctrines and institutions, he is by the same condition of his nature likewise bound to the second branch, as a necessary passage introductive into the other two. So here is no engagement made for the child by his Godfathers, nor promise of anything he would not, when come to age, himself have been bound to perform, though they had undertaken nothing for him : and their part in the ceremony amounts to no more, than a declaration made with a solemnity proper to strike a strong sense upon the mind of an obligation lying upon the child, and upon us all, by the provisions of God and nature, upon our being formed human creatures.

If it might be permitted to offer one little alteration, I would propose that the word *Dost* in the second interrogatory, might be changed into *Wilt* : for there does seem to be some handle for scoffers to be arch upon making a new-born babe actually believe a set of articles, when he can have no idea of a single term among all those wherein they are couched. I presume it was this mistake of looking upon Baptism as the actual agreement to a contract not subsisting before, rather than the declaration of one where-to we are obligated at our birth by the necessity of our nature, that made the Anabaptists scrupulous of administering it, unless to adults : for taking it in that light there seems to be a foundation for their scruples. However, if anybody thinks himself not sufficiently obligated, nor consequently entitled to the privileges of a contracting party, without an act of his own, the Church has provided the ceremony of confirmation, by which he may take upon himself all that his sponsors undertook in his name, and then he may be satisfied upon the maxims whereby we govern ourselves in our temporal concerns : for I think it is a rule of law, that if an infant, after he comes of age, assents to a deed executed by him

in his minority, it becomes as good and valid as if he had been forty years old at the original time of sealing.

But there might be many inconveniences in delaying the celebration until children were grown up : I have observed before, that it is notorious how apt people are to put off a thing for which there is not a fixed time wherein it must be done. Some would never think themselves sufficiently instructed to qualify them for the undertaking. Some would delay it on purpose that they might not double the guilt of complying with the world, the flesh, and the devil, by a solemn renunciation. Some would be cruelly tortured by the dilemma of precipitating the sacred rite before they were well prepared, or else running the hazard of being cut off by a sudden death while delaying longer than they ought. Multitudes would omit it through carelessness, so that we should never know who were even nominal Christians among us, and who are not. Besides, as a great deal of wickedness may be committed before seventeen, which I think is reckoned the adult age, many sprightly young people would imagine they had a license to do as they pleased, presuming upon the laver of regeneration for washing away all former scores.

For this notion is apt to arise from the rite employed, water being serviceable to wash away foulnesses remaining from prior defilements : but there is no more fruitful source of errors in Religion, than the too rigorous interpretation of figures, by applying all the properties and operations of the image to the thing signified thereby. But I apprehend the effects of Baptism, though similar are not the same with those of water, having respect to the future rather than the past, working a deliverance from condemnation none otherwise than by the prevention of sin : the original, or other sin washed away thereby, being not an actual guilt, but a sinfulness or depravity of nature, which the inward and spiritual grace, given to us by means of this outward sign, removes by helping to produce a thorough repentance or *Metanoia*, that is, a change of mind from a carnal or sensual habit to a spiritual or rational.

6. The like application of the properties in the sign to the thing signified, together with a fondness for the marvellous, has proved the source of many dangerous errors, and fatal dissensions concerning the Eucharist ; by which thousands have been vexed, ruined, persecuted, tortured, and murdered, and the prince of peace made the authoriser of havoc, desolation and carnage. For the reception of this Sacrament being termed eating the flesh of Christ, the properties of flesh must needs be annexed to the bread : and because this flesh is supposed to contain pecu-

liar qualities not belonging to other flesh, it is necessary the priest should call down his very body crucified upon the cross into the bread ; which must be transubstantiated therein, or consubstantiated therewith, so that Christ himself may be really and corporally present in the elements. It would become those who pretend to stickle so strenuously for the letter, to recollect that text which teaches, that the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive ; and indeed this letter has killed its thousands.

But let us observe how well they do adhere to the letter in the form of the institution, comparing the Evangelists with Saint Paul's account of it to the Corinthians: Christ says, *This is my body which is broken*, *This is my blood which is shed* ; the priest says, *This is his body which is whole, entire, and unbroken, containing the mass of blood unshed within it*. Christ says, *Drink ye all of this* : the priest says, *I will drink this myself* ; so there is none to be had for the communicant. Oh ! but all things are possible with God ; he who could make the same body exist in a thousand places at once, can make the same mass of blood exist at once unshed in the wafer, and shed in the cup ; so that the lay communicant, has already had the blood together with the body. Very well, but then he has eaten, not drank it : neither, since here are two same bloods, has he had that which was shed : both which particulars were ordained in the letter of the institution.

But these absurdities are now pretty well gotten rid of, I believe, among the thoughtful in all countries, but certainly among the generality in our own : yet I am afraid the expressions employed in the Catechism leave a notion in some people of something divine infused into the elements, from thence entering into the substance of the Soul, which is nourished thereby, as our bodies are by the bread and wine. But they may please to remember, the Church declares them an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. But the reception of grace is not an accession or alteration of substance, no more than the acquisition of a new virtue, a language, a science, or accomplishment, which are only habits of the mind ; and a sign is the same to the senses, as a figure to the understanding.

The Scripture abounds in figures, oftentimes of that kind called by the writers on rhetoric, enigmas or riddles, on purpose to set us upon a diligent exercise of our judgment, without which hearing we shall hear and not understand, and seeing we shall see but not perceive. The Jews had many far-fetched figures current among them, which seem uncouth and mysterious to us : but this was too dark even for them, for they boggled at it, saying, *How*



can this man give us his flesh to eat? Yet it is not more harsh than that used with the Samaritan woman, to whom Jesus declared that the drink he should give would prove a fountain of living waters in the belly : but it would sound very strange in our ears to talk of a man's carrying a fountain about with him in his belly. Therefore in the interpretation of figures, how remote soever the allusion lies, we must pursue it on till we find it terminate in something consistent with common sense, reason, and human nature.

Nor need we want a clue to lead us among the allusions frequently drawn from eating, and things relative thereto, as well in our familiar as serious discourses : mothers, say they love their children so well they could eat them ; mischief is said to be nuts to some folks ; we talk of a thirst of knowledge, a glutton of books, cramming down divinity, of digesting what we read, of a meagre and starveling style, of crudities in expressions : of the marrow, nerves, and sinews, to which Tully adds, the blood and complexion of a discourse, of feeding the thoughts on a subject, feasting them on a pleasurable reflection, receiving the cordial of comfort, imbibing opinions, swallowing the tenets of a party or particular person ; and many more figures of the like sort, taken from the same fund. Now it is not unlikely, the Jews might carry their allusion a little further remote, and where we should express ourselves by swallowing the doctrines, they might talk of eating the man himself.

And that the deglutition was of this sort appears manifest, because our Church, and I believe all Churches, hold that Christ is eaten effectually, so as to prove nourishment, by none but the faithful : but the faith here spoken of, operates only during the celebration, therefore the nourishment we receive is taken in then, not after the elements are down in our stomachs. Yet our Church although disavowing the corporal, maintains the real presence of the body and blood of Christ ; which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Which restriction to the faithful shows, what kind of body is really present, namely, that which is discernible only by the eye of faith, not by any of the bodily senses : for whatever body and blood, and whatever supernatural virtue or nutritive faculty, the priest has infused into the bread, are verily and indeed taken and received by the unfaithful. So that the real presence here is the same with that of God in places where two or three are gathered together in his name : if there be a man among them, who did not gather in his name, who looks upon the Church services as an idle, insignificant parade, but must come to qualify himself for a place upon the test act ; to him God is no more present at the

communion-table, than the gaming-table, notwithstanding that he remarks, and will in proper time remember, his behavior at both places.

It was necessary to be express concerning the real presence, because else a handle might have been taken for apprehending the ceremony a mere form which might be complied with or let alone, an imaginary transaction without any real effect. And the verily and indeed taking of what before was called an inward and spiritual grace, must denote that the devout communicant does actually receive the benefits understood in the Gospel by the figure of eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, that is, the confirming our trust and faith in his name, the quickening our remembrance of all he has done and suffered for us : which will naturally help to strengthen our disposition to virtuous and good actions, refresh our languid hopes in the administration of Providence, and rekindle our cooling Charity towards our fellow-creatures.

7. If we consider what it is the Church requires of them who come to the Lord's Supper, we shall find it to be nothing more than to examine themselves, whether they already possess in some measure the very things they expect to receive more completely by coming thither : so that the sacred rite infuses no new grace or virtue into us, but gives us a powerful lift in the progress we had begun before. Therefore the right preparation for this Sacrament is made by calling over in our serious thoughts whatever dispositions of mind, and courses of practice may prove most beneficial to our spiritual interest, and summoning up a hearty resolution to pursue them : we shall be able to do this very imperfectly, but if we exert our endeavors, not in a fright and a flurry, but with a calm, steady determination, we shall find ourselves strongly assisted therein by the visible signs and pledges ordained by Christ himself, and so far as representation can go, delivered by Christ himself to us in our persons.

One of the requisites mentioned being repentance of former sins, some good women hold it necessary to afflict and humble themselves for a week beforehand by way of preparation : I have shown in the last Chapter, that humiliation and a thorough scrutiny into our failings may be performed without making it a melancholy task. It is like the work of a country, upon whom some calamity has befallen, preparing a list of their distresses to lay before the prince for relief ; which I suppose they would go about with alacrity, and yet with exactness. However, if any have such a constitution of mind, as that they cannot bring themselves to hearty repentance without a great deal of sighing and groaning, I

have nothing to say against it : only let them throw aside their sorrows when they approach the sacred table, for they are to bring thither a lively sense of God's mercies, with a thankful remembrance of their Redemption ; but the voice of thanksgiving is the voice of joy, and melancholy is utterly incompatible with liveliness. We are told indeed that upon some occasions the most acceptable prayer is, God be merciful to me a sinner, which carries an air of dejection and distress ; but for a Eucharist, which by the very name requires a cheerful and hopeful spirit, it will be a more suitable ejaculation to say, Assuredly, O God, thou wilt be merciful to me a sinner.

There are those of scrupulous consciences, who terrify themselves strangely at the danger of receiving unworthily, warned against in the eleventh of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. I would recommend to such, to read over Mr. Locke's paraphrase and notes upon that passage ; where they will find it relates wholly to a perverse custom, crept in amongst the Corinthians, of each man bringing his own dinner with him to Church : the rich gormandized upon their dainties without suffering the poor toads, who had nothing to bring but a few crumbs of bread and cheese, to partake with them. But there being no such custom thought of now, we cannot run a hazard of the judgments there denounced by St. Paul.

And the manner wherein he directed, and this Sacrament is constantly administered among us, may convince us of the intrinsic equality among mankind : for bread from the same loaf, and wine from the same cup are distributed, the same spiritual nourishment afforded, the same signs and pledges of love delivered in representation by Christ himself, to all, without distinction of noble and honorable, rich and mighty, learned and sagacious, reverend and secular ; but the poor, the simple, and the ignorant, are admitted to the same mess at the Lord's table, the same hopes and the same promises : so that though our conditions in this life are very various in all respects, yet the spirits of men are by nature homogeneous and similar, without other difference than what they make themselves by their respective manner of conduct.

But the expression which gives the greatest disturbance is that of not discerning the Lord's body, which though Mr. Locke has shown ought to have been translated in another manner, and so this text has no relation to the matter causing this disturbance, yet it is apparent from the nature of the thing, as explained above, that such discernment is the act whereby the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received : therefore more or less spiritual nourishment is taken in, and the Sacrament more or

less worthily received, in proportion to the strength or faintness of the discernment.

Yet the damage is barely negative, the non-discernment, if owing to inability, being not a wickedness committed, but only a loss of advantage that might have accrued : so that if any with all their efforts cannot raise so full a discernment as they wish, or as others do, or as they have done themselves at other times, they need not affright themselves upon that account ; for should they not discern at all, they would not be the worse, but only never the better than if they had forbore to communicate. Nevertheless, it is dangerous thus to receive unworthily, or approach when under an utter indisposition of mind to discern the Lord's body ; lest it should grow into a habit, whereby they will be utterly debarred the benefits intended to be conveyed by this sacred rite.

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## CHAP. XXIV.

### DISCIPLINE.

**MATTERS** of Discipline belong to Ecclesiastical polity, a different science from those of Religion or Philosophy, as respecting rather the outward forms and rules of behavior in society, than the inward sentiments or manners : it takes in the consideration of what is practicable and suitable together with what is right in theory, and builds as much upon knowledge of the world, as upon that nature of things which is the object of contemplation in the elect. Yet reason upon observation of that nature of things, may discern, that some rule and discipline in religious matters is necessary for order and convenience sake : for a certain portion of our time having been appointed to be kept holy by divine command, sacred rites having been ordained by Christ himself, public assemblies, places of worship, provisions to be made therein, persons to officiate thereat, having in the foregoing Chapters been shown instrumental to the substantial of Religion ; all these things could not be commodiously supplied without established regulations prevailing among a religious community.

It may be fancied, the people might fall into such regulations of themselves upon view of their expedience, without aid of authority to interfere : which in this case being human authority, will always be liable to error, and in fact has proved more mischievous than serviceable to Religion in former times. I shall

not deny that grievous and crying abuses have been committed, and so there have in secular government under all its forms, whether democratical, oligarchic or monarchical : but will any man therefore wish to live in anarchy, among a people who had none other guide than their own discernment of what measures were requisite for their general security and well-being ?

A few friends of reasonable tempers and similar characters might live together well enough, without other law than their own discretion : for they would agree in the same judgment upon most occasions, and where they did not, would quickly be brought over into one another's sentiments. So a young sect in its beginning may subsist and grow, without aid of authority : for being few in number, they will be friends to one another, will all have the same scheme at heart, which consists of two or three particulars whereon they perpetually confer, with a real desire of mutual agreement in their common support. And yet though I have admitted this possible in theory, I should be puzzled to produce an instance of it in fact : for there has always been some particular person of high repute among his brethren for extraordinary sanctity and knowledge in spiritual matters, whose decision is sacred, and whose word is a law to all the rest. Our modern innovators exhibit strong specimens of the force of such a prepossession, upon which they wholly depend for cementing their flock together : for they pronounce upon everything with the peremptoriness of an absolute monarch ; and I have been informed that one of them in particular, if anybody scruples doing as he bids, never stands to reason the case, but tells him with a confident air, You will be damned if you do not. This was all the Pope ever had to say : yet we know too well what a mighty influence this little terrifying word gave him over kings, and states, and all temporal affairs.

But whatever may be done among a society of friends or in the infancy of a system, when it once is spread among multitudes, or become national, there must be some public regulations for keeping things from running into disorder ; for the members being numerous, strangers to one another, dispersed in different places, of different humors and turns of thought, there would be a thousand various modes of discipline among them : which being seldom distinguishable from essentials by the generality, they would become a disjointed body, perpetually at variance, or at least incapable of that benefit they might receive from their mutual intercourse. Besides that provision is to be made not only for convenience of such as are well disposed, but likewise for instructing the ignorant, for engaging the thoughtless, for preventing those who will do no

good from doing hurt, and restraining the licentious within some bounds of decency.

For when we reflect on the force of appearance and sympathy, we must acknowledge that every man's outward behavior may be of consequence to others, where it is of none to himself: and though hypocrisy may prove as pernicious to the owner as blasphemy, yet it is much more innocent to the public. Therefore we see that in all countries upon earth that have any Religion among them, there is some established discipline; and though the wisest and most rationally religious of them tolerate other forms than their own, they have their institutions and usages for the generality, and for such as have none but opinions and but little thought of their own. And even the tolerated systems of any considerable currency, though not supported by law, have their forms, their customs, and their discipline enforced by the authority of some kind of consistories amongst them.

In making provision for the purposes above mentioned, regard must be had to the temper and character of the people, to their former persuasions and customs, to the civil constitutions of the nation, and to the sentiments of neighboring nations, that as little peculiarity and opposition may appear, as possible. All which being out of my sphere, it would not become me to pronounce upon the perfection of any ritual: therefore shall presume of our ecclesiastical polity, as ought to be presumed of our civil, and indeed of every private man's behavior, that it is right until apparent reasons occur to the contrary, and until standing in a situation to have full cognizance of the cause with all its circumstances and dependences. Therefore I shall only make observation upon one or two particulars, in hopes to explain their use and tendency to such as may have misapprehended them.

2. When I was at the University I remember to have heard the young fellows, intending for holy orders, descant upon the call they must profess themselves to have, before they could obtain ordination. They seemed in general to look upon it as a remnant of the Romish superstition, and that our first Reformers understood by it a secret intimation or impulse of the Holy Spirit, urging them to the sacred function. Those of a more serious turn, yet too rational to pretend to methodistical experiences, wished they could be excused the question, as knowing of no such impulse they ever had, which might entitle them to answer in the affirmative. Others regarding it as an antiquated form, which had no real meaning, but to which for decency's sake they must give some meaning, thought a nominal appointment to some paltry curacy or chaplainship a sufficient call within the words of

the institution. And thus it ever happens, that when things are not presently comprehended, there arises an idea of something supernatural: but there are so many unaccountable things in the operations of Nature, in the workings of chance, so many mysteries in all arts and sciences, as one would think might cure us of the humor of making Mysterious a synonymous term with Miraculous.

I have laid down in the first section of the Chapter on the Trinity, though without any thought of having a use for the observation here, that the delivery of the talent is the proper call to whatever work may be completed thereby: for God calls us by the voice of nature, by the situation and circumstances wherein his Providence has placed us. He has made us sociable creatures, capable of giving help, or doing damage to one another: by this he calls upon us to contribute our part towards every general interest wherein we can be serviceable. He has likewise distributed to us various talents, temperaments, externals, and opportunities: by which he calls to that particular scheme of life for which they are the most suitable, and which will be most beneficial to ourselves, and others with whom we have connection. And that I am not singular in this construction, appears from the appellation given to all common trades and professions, which are termed lawful callings, that is, employments whereto each particular man is called by the courses of nature and fortune, those two ministers of Providence, for making his own life easy, and supplying conveniences for the public.

This last effect is not had in contemplation by persons entering into common occupations; the shoe-maker follows his calling to get a livelihood thereby, and has no further thought of obliging his customers than that it may bring them to his shop again; so the benefit accruing to the public from his labors is purely accidental with respect to him. But the Church, I presume, judged it requisite, that those who undertake the profession of instructing others in the relation they stand in to their Maker, and their obligation to pursue a general interest, should first be sensible of the like themselves: and should look upon their profession, not solely as a livelihood or temporal advancement, but likewise in the light of a calling, as the course of life wherein they can most effectually perform the Will of God by being most serviceable to their fellow-creatures, and best contributing their part towards the general interest.

Therefore I cannot think this demand of a call an insignificant or useless ceremony, as it would be to a shoe-maker before he were permitted to set up his trade. For the shoe-maker, if he

have a due regard to his private interest, will upon that motive make the strongest and neatest shoes in his skill and power; nor could he do better if he had the public accommodation ever so strongly at heart. But the office of a clergyman may be performed in very different manners; either perfunctorily, as a task necessary for entitling him to receive his tithes or his stipend, and to escape the censure of the world, or carefully and conscientiously, as a trust reposed in him by God, for the maintenance of Religion and benefit of the flock committed to his care: which last manner he will not be likely to pursue, without a full sense of its being a calling in the construction offered above.

Upon this view of the matter I may be allowed to suppose the Church expects that a young man, before he determines upon the ministry, should make a serious and thorough examination of his talents, his education, his taste and disposition of mind, and his situation in life: and thereupon should stand persuaded, that he is called to this function by God, not in his third Person of Dispenser of Grace and Giver of supernatural assistance, but in his Person of Father, the Author of Nature, Ordainer of Providence and Disposer of all events; as being the way wherein he is likely to serve God and mankind to best purpose. I should imagine any man might go through this scrutiny, so as to satisfy himself whether he has such call, or no; and if upon the result he sincerely thinks he has, may rationally and honestly answer to the question proposed.

As for the appointment to some certain duty, there may be other good reasons for requiring it, but I apprehend it not at all necessary to warrant his profession of having a call. For as the shoe-maker, when out of his apprenticeship, and expert in the trade, may set up his lawful calling though he has not a single pair of shoes bespoken of him; because he may provide all his implements and materials to supply any who shall be willing to set him at work, and may prepare shoes to lie ready made for such customers as are nice in their measure: so I apprehend the young divine may be said in part to answer his call, by putting himself in a readiness to enter directly upon any work that may offer; and as expertness comes by practice, he may better qualify himself to act as a master, by doing journey-work in the interim.

But there is a scruple apt to start up in some serious minds from a secret vanity, which will insinuate itself into every man, in some shape or other, in spite of his utmost endeavors to keep it out. We all fancy ourselves of prodigious importance; if we have a notion of doing service to the public, it must needs



be great service or it is nothing ; hence some well-disposed persons being conscious they are not qualified to convert infidels, to silence gainsayers, to enlighten the ignorant, to soften the reprobate, are doubtful whether they have a call. But all are not to be Apostles, nor Tillotsons, nor Barrows. The Church militant, as well as the army, requires officers of all ranks ; without subalterns more numerous than the field officers, neither can be complete : and in this, as in all other professions, every man does well, who does his best, be it ever so little. Without this consideration I could have no encouragement to go on with my Chapters, as expecting no mighty matters from them : but if I, circumstanced in all respects as I am, could not have employed my time better any other way, I am justified ; and so is every man who bestows his pains in any work upon a considerate opinion, that he could not have bestowed them to greater advantage elsewhere.

Therefore I conceive the call is not to be looked for in the absolute quantity of good to be done by a particular person in the ministry, but in the greater comparative good he may hope to do, all circumstances considered, in that profession, than any he could turn himself to beside : and if he have a reasonable prospect of such greater good, he is justified in assenting to the interrogatory. If there be any among the Clergy who might have served their country better as intriguing statesmen, compliant courtiers, intrepid soldiers, busy traders, ingenious artificers, disputatious lawyers, or sturdy ploughmen, I leave them to their own consciences, having nothing to suggest for assisting them in their justification. Nevertheless, I am not so merely speculative as to insist that no temporal considerations nor direction of parents ought to weigh in the scale, being sensible this neither is practicable, nor would be convenient for the public service : therefore, I said, all circumstances considered, for our situation in life and the authority of superiors are of the provision of Heaven, and consequently deserve to be taken into account as parts of the call, which ought all to be regarded as they may explain and qualify one another. But if all things have not been duly weighed, or if upon the result it still remains visible, that better service might be done in some other course of life, it seems a direct prevarication to pretend a call.

3. Another source of debate sprung from the words Receive the Holy Ghost, which were thought to imply an actual delivery of something : for being in the imperative mood, like the recipe of a physician, and accompanied with a solemn act, they seemed to express a direction to the party to take what was administered to him by such act, and to carry the idea of a certain efficacy

transpiring from the fingers of the Bishop upon imposition of hands, which might invigorate the faculties, and infuse powers wanting before. But there are innumerable instances in discourses of all kinds, where the imperative mood is used without any such meaning. When St. Paul began his epistles, or a preacher concludes his sermon, with saying, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be among you all; when we say, God grant or God send; when on parting company we bid one another Good by, which is an abbreviation of God be with you, we have no thought of anything delivered, or of giving directions to receive it: it is no more than a petition or cordial wish, that the thing may happen as we express. So the expression may be understood as if it had run, May you receive that assistance of the Holy Spirit without which no good thing, more especially not this sacred office, can be performed effectually.

But the words being construed as a prayer or wish, does not make it necessary they must have no real effect beside: for the whole solemnity of which this formula is a part, may still operate as a natural means of what is here called the Holy Ghost, by a very useful metonymy of the cause for the effect. We have seen in the two last Chapters, that forms, ceremonies, and sensible objects have an efficacy to strike impressions upon the mind; and produce there that disposition and vigor of sentiment which in religious matters is termed Grace. In the commerce of the world, when a man enters upon a new course of life, he considers himself in a new character, assumes different sentiments and forms, a new plan of conduct suitable thereto: the change of character must be completed by degrees, but if there be some solemn act or ceremony accompanying, it will at once give a strong turn to his thoughts, and serve as the leading idea of an association continually introducing the others, connected in train therewith, to his remembrance. For this reason the entrance upon most offices is opened with a formal investiture, from the crowning of the king down to the delivery of the staff to a constable: which though intended likewise as a notification to the public, of the quality and authority of the person, yet by that very circumstance will have an additional effect upon him, when he reflects in what light he will be considered by others.

In like manner I apprehend the solemnity of investiture in the sacred function of one who considers it as the work whereto he is called of God in the sense a little before explained, and reflects that from thenceforward he will be regarded in a new character by the world, may produce in him a considerable *Metanoia*, a new turn of mind, a change of sentiments, aims, and schemes,

with a calm and steady but strong determination to conform his whole future conduct thereto : and thus, without magic or miracle, but by natural means, may actually convey what is figuratively called the Holy Ghost, because without his secret concurrence, the conveyance will not be complete, nor the effect of it durable. But the word Receive implies something to be done by the recipient : from whence may be gathered, that as the body and blood in the Sacrament are not verily and indeed taken by the unworthy communicant, so neither is the Holy Spirit received by him who undergoes the ceremony only, as a mere form necessary to come at the income of a living.

4. There are some people disturbed at the dignities and revenues established in the Church : if they have so contemptible an opinion of Religion as to wish it were utterly lost out of the world, there is good ground for their disturbance. But I will not suppose this of them, and as those who complain loudest are such as would be thought very rational men, they will hardly expect the world should be well instructed by means of extraordinary illuminations, and supernatural impulse imparted to private persons, qualifying them instantaneously for the office : or if the thing were doubtful in speculation, experience testifies what wild work has been made by persons undertaking it upon those pretences. For it is well known the doctrines of Religion may be grossly misunderstood and perverted to very mischievous purposes, as well through mere ignorance, indiscretion, or hastiness of zeal, as by design. Therefore the due management of it must be allowed to be a science as difficult to be learned as any that are current in the world, as well deserving to be made the profession of a man's life, and to have a particular education suited thereto.

If we do not think a common artificer well qualified for his business without having served an apprenticeship, surely this, which is a more dangerous edge tool than the saw and the hatchet, requires an early preparation to handle it skilfully. Now if we consider how early the preparation must be begun, and the determination made, between an equipment for the shop or the pulpit, we shall quickly find it necessary that some temporal encouragement should be cast into the scale. It is a great thing, too great to be compassed, for a man mature in years, experience, and judgment, to act invariably with a cheerful industry upon the sole motive of doing service to his fellow-creatures without aid of private interest : for we are but sensitive-rational animals, incapable of attaining the Stoical love of rectitude for its own sake ; to require it of us would be expecting to find us Angels instead of Men ; the highest

use we can make of our understanding is to restrain the exorbitances of our desires, and choose such among them as may serve to spur us on in the prosecution of our rational designs.

But nothing of this is to be looked for in a boy who is to go to school or to an apprenticeship, neither is there one in a thousand who makes the option for himself, being generally put upon their line of life by their parents or friends : and even when a lad does take a strong turn himself, if the truth were known, I believe it would appear owing to something constantly chimed in his ears, rather than his original choice. But the friends and parents have the temporal advancement of their children in view, grandeur and riches are their incitements : they consider life as a lottery, and would not venture their child in a class where there were no great prizes, for those are the necessary lures to draw in adventurers : if they propose an apprenticeship, it is a step into my Lord Mayor's coach : if the law, they have in view the great purse and the Seals ; if divinity, they think of the lawn sleeves and the Lordship.

It becomes not me to pronounce upon the honors and possessions of the Church, whether they be more ample than necessary, whether properly distributed in proportion to the duties annexed, or whether rightly conferred according to the true intent of their institution. Those are matters belonging to wiser heads and higher powers. All I contend for is, that without temporal encouragements sufficiently inviting to those who have the disposal of young people, laborers would be wanting in the vineyard. I knew a very good man, a dissenter, whose son desired to be bred up to the ministry ; but he would not let him, because he said there was nothing to be gotten in their way above a hundred pounds a year. Now the talents of the lad were such as, I believe, would scarce have raised him to a hundred pounds a year, if he had gone upon the established line : but the father thought higher of him ; and so I suppose do most fathers.

Therefore if there were not a possibility of some considerable matters, few would be put upon the lists who were not of such unpromising genius, as that even the partiality of their friends could not judge them fit for anything else ; or in such low circumstances as that the bare exemption from bodily labor would be deemed a prize. But if it be thought that anything can be taught to read over a service intelligibly, yet I hope it will be allowed that some better qualified officers are requisite in the Church militant : for there are so many attacks made against Religion, so many misapprehensions and perversions of its doctrines, so many new vices and follies continually starting up, that plodding industry and downright probity alone cannot manage them without acuteness

and sagacity of parts improved by a compass of learning. And there is the more need to provide for store of hopeful plants, because out of every score of ingenious boys in the mother's estimation, it is good luck if one turns out an ingenious man when come abroad into the world.

Neither will acuteness of parts and depth of learning answer the purpose completely without aid of other qualifications ; men of a scholastic turn are commonly too abstruse and rigid, they cast Religion into a form which is fit for nobody's wear but their own : therefore it is requisite there should be some mingled among them, who by a competent knowledge of human nature, of the manners and characters of mankind, may be able to turn the labors of the others to general use, to render speculation practical, and discern what is feasible as well as what is desirable. But discretion and knowledge of the world are not to be learned at grammar school, nor at college ; they must be gotten at home, if gotten at all, from the parents or persons with whom they use familiarly to converse : whence it appears fitting there should be such prizes in the lottery, as may look tempting in the eye of families where there are opportunities of studying this science.

But lest I should give offence by thus making private interest, ambition, and vanity, the avenues to the sacred function, I shall observe, that this cannot be thought a reflection upon the order in me, who have been as little complaisant to all orders whatever among men : having laid down, that private satisfaction is the constant spring of all our actions, that every man's own Good is his proper ultimate end of pursuit ; deduced all the virtues, the purest love and benevolence from selfishness ; and grafted the scions of Uranian Venus upon the wild stocks shot up spontaneously in the garden of Nature. For our own desires are mostly of the translated kind, having been transferred from the end to the means, which from thenceforward become an end or ultimate point of view : and a translated desire generally contains a vigor and firmness proportionable to that of the original desire from whence it was transferred : therefore I see nothing should hinder the desire of advancement in the world from serving for a proper stock whereon to graft a solid and genuine piety.

The young adventurer, I suppose, will be exhorted to make himself master in his science for gaining the better credit and success therein : if he have any spirit and industry, he will endeavor to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Religion he is to teach to others ; and the principal part of what he is to inculcate being a command of the passions, a preference of future happiness before present advantage, a glowing serenity of hope in the

divine Goodness, a sincere attachment to the general interest, and an unreserved charity to all mankind ; to press those things by the most animating topics, and enforce them by a justness of reasoning and solidity of argument ; he cannot well avoid taking a tincture of them himself in his progress. So that by continual application of his thoughts to those trains he may acquire as much indifference to worldly concerns, as pure a holiness, as strong a love of rectitude, as hearty judicious zeal to do good, as human nature, in this diseased state, and under the circumstances surrounding it, is capable of attaining. And if the student in divinity will ruminate seriously upon what has been suggested above in the second section concerning the call which is to qualify him for admission into the sacred office, I apprehend it will contribute not a little towards making the scion take good hold and imbibe the vigor and succulence of the stock : which being mellowed and meliorated in the passage, may produce a plentiful crop of excellent fruits.

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## CHAP. XXV.

### ARTICLES.

**G**REAT outcry has been made against imposing articles of belief upon men's consciences, and invading their most inviolable and unalienable rights by denying them even the liberty of thought. One would think the persons who join in this clamor were foreigners, who had just gotten some history three hundred years old, and from thence taken their idea of our constitution and polity upon what they read there of the Popish tyranny and persecutions. But I know of no imposition now put upon the conscience, nor fetters attempted to be cast upon the liberty of thought. An English gentleman may believe the world was made by chance, or the moon made of cream cheese, if he pleases : no scrutiny will be taken into his thoughts by the Courts of Justice, nor if discovered will he incur any corporal or pecuniary penalty thereby, since the writ de heretico cumburendo has been taken away. Very true, you say ; a man may think what he will because you cannot hinder him by all the laws you can contrive, but then he must keep his thoughts to himself, and this it seems is a grievous

bondage : for liberty of thought is nothing without liberty of expressing the thoughts upon all occasions, and in all companies.

It may seem surprising, that in a country where liberty is our idol, it should be so little understood : but each man's notion of liberty seems to be an unbounded license for him to do whatever he fancies, without regard to his neighbors or compatriots. Whereas liberty subsists by restraint, therefore if unbounded must necessarily destroy itself ; for the law, its only safeguard, operates no otherwise than by penalties restraining from the practices prohibited thereby. The law can give no liberty to anybody directly, but by consequence of the restraints it lays upon others : for as two negatives make an affirmative, so the restraining of him who might use his natural or civil power to infringe the rights and liberties of his fellow subjects, preserves them therein. And where they may be invaded by an expression of the thoughts, it is for the interests of liberty to restrain them from being vented. A man may think another dishonest, or write down such opinion in his closet without offending the law : for if somebody should steal away the paper, whereby his sentiments might be proved upon him, I apprehend no conviction could be obtained thereupon. But if he calls him rogue to his face, by way of abuse, or behind his back, to discredit him with other people, this is an infringement of his liberty to enjoy the benefit of a good name, and the tranquillity of his own mind : therefore the law restrains such practices out of its regard to liberty.

2. Nature pours out her produce in common among the whole species : she leaves every man at liberty to gather the fruits of the earth wherever he can find them. This will appear manifest upon imagining a number of persons not bound together by any compact or government, cast upon some uninhabited island : where there would be no prior claim of one person above another, but each would be entitled to make his uses of anything falling within his reach. It is easy to see what waste and destruction must ensue upon the general exercise of such liberty : how prone the stronger would be to abridge the weaker in their share of it, and how many advantages and conveniences might be procured by the proper limitation of it. These considerations, I apprehend, are the true foundation of order, regulation, and government : which draw men out of the state of Nature to place them in a better state, wherein they may have larger scope of liberty to work out a distant benefit for themselves, without being hindered in their progress or defeated of their purpose by one another.

Thus there are two kinds of liberty : that of Nature, of the savage, and the wild beast, subject to no restriction, nor control of

every present fancy that shall start up : and that of reason and prudence, which cannot subsist without some limitation upon the former, but is much more beneficial, as securing the profits of industry and contrivance, and extensive schemes requiring time to bring their fruits to maturity. For as the road to pleasure lies sometimes through self-denial, so a seasonable restraint is a necessary avenue to a larger extent of our powers and freedom.

Now this latter kind must be had in view by whoever sets up for the champion of liberty, or he betrays the cause he pretends to maintain : for if the essence of liberty be placed in anything prejudicial to society, it must quickly and deservedly fall into discredit among mankind. They may be perhaps beguiled for a while with the speciousness of a name, but when experience has made them sensible of the evil consequences, it will soon become a name of reproach and abhorrence, as much as ever it was esteemed a privilege and a blessing before : nor is there anything more dangerous to religious or civil rights, than a mistaken or outrageous zeal for either. Even liberty of conscience respects only the free exercise of those we esteem religious duties, but does not justify us in obstructing other persons in the like exercise of what are judged so by them : for this would be falling in to the common error of placing our own liberty in the right of cramping that of our neighbor.

Therefore I can come so near to the exceptionable passage in Tillotson's sermon upon Joshua xxiv. 15, preached before King Charles II. as to think it no breach of the liberty belonging to private persons to overthrow a form of religion established. For though there are cases wherein this might lawfully be done without waiting for a special commission from heaven authenticated by miracles, yet those cases must be such as shall make the omission of it sinful. A man to merit excuse for so doing, must believe himself authorized and enjoined thereto by the precepts of the Gospel : so that his act is matter of obligation and necessity, not of liberty, any more than paying his debts or saving the life of one whom he can rescue from danger. And if the punishment of him be wrong, it is so, not as being an infringement of his natural rights, but as exacting obedience to the commands of men preferable to those of God.

Liberty has commonly been joined with property, as necessarily standing or falling together : but how can a man be said to enjoy his property, or the liberty of making what uses are to be made of it, unless all other persons be restrained from reaping the corn he sows ? Nor can there be liberty to pursue any plan, for the benefit of mankind, while there is liberty left to all others to ob-



struct its operations. And the case is the same with respect to communities, who can no more carry their salutary plans into execution while liable to continual interruption from any quarter, than a private man can avail himself of his property. Therefore the law and the magistrate are armed with authority to restrain the wanton and the selfish from giving such interruption, that so there may be free course for every good provision to take its full effect: the preservation of which free course, and consequently the maintenance of a proper authority, is a species of liberty as much as any other more commonly understood by the name.

Nevertheless, it must be owned, that power, either through design or mistake, is sometimes extended further than necessary for the purposes above mentioned, in which case it becomes pernicious to liberty: and then he that can, will merit applause, by refusing submission to it himself, and lessening its influence upon other people. But all opposition upon any other motive, and even upon that motive if hastily taken up without good grounds to support it, must be pronounced licentiousness, refractoriness, or at best, inconsiderateness.

Every impediment thrown against the exercise of a power, whether belonging to private persons or communities, or rulers entrusted by them with authority, comes within the definition of Restraint, and the exemption from it within that of Liberty, but since the powers of men frequently interfere, their operations being incompatible with one another, the interests of liberty will be best supported by securing a free scope to those which are most beneficial. This then is the proper subject of careful examination by such as find themselves prompted to employ the means in their hands for obstructing the schemes and endeavors of others, namely, the consequences expectant upon following or forbearing to follow their impulse: for nothing deserves the name of liberty, from whence more damage than profit will redound upon the whole.

3. One of the most valuable liberties of mankind is that of forming into societies, and enjoying the benefit of regulations made for public order and convenience, whether fallen into by general agreement among themselves, or established by governors to whom the care of making public provisions has been committed by the constitution of the community: and he that should endeavor to propagate opinions tending to disunite or disturb the society, to weaken the authority of those regulations, or hinder the good effects of them, would be an infringer of that liberty, and consequently a proper object for the restraint of the law. Therefore in ascertaining what liberty may be allowed to be taken with the liberty

of mankind above mentioned, consideration should be had which of the two liberties is the more valuable, and whether of the restraints is likely to be attended with the greater inconvenience and mischief to the public. But I believe if it were fairly considered how great indulgence is given in this country to every conscientious declaration of a man's sentiments, how large a freedom to all kinds of sober argumentation, and that none other restraints hang over us unless against wantonness, self-conceit, anger, and indiscretion, which may do hurt to the vulgar and unwary: there will be found much less inconvenience in obliging private persons to suppress some of their sparkling notions, than in a general license to throw out indiscriminately whatever comes into their fancies.

We are a religious as well as civil community, and rules have been established for our guidance in both; nor could it be otherwise, for the people will have some imaginations or other concerning the things unseen: if you do not provide them with a rational system, they will run after conjurors, diviners, tales of fairies and apparitions, and lie open to the first crafty or enthusiastic deceiver who thinks fit to take them in hand. For Nature has given us all a propensity to look further than the bare objects of sense, which propensity is capable of being turned to excellent or pernicious purposes: therefore it is highly expedient, that due order should be taken for the management of this, as well as of our other appetites, which are the objects of civil government. And it is likewise fitting, that what order is taken should have the protection of the laws, which are not more scrutinizing into the sentiments upon matters of Religion, than of civil polity; for no man is allowed to say whatever he pleases of the latter.

If there be any man so wrong-headed as to fancy the privilege of certain persons against the common process of law for their debts unjust, and oppressive upon the subject; while he keeps his notion to himself, nobody will question him about it: or if he happens to drop it inadvertently, I suppose no notice would be taken: but if he takes pains to publish and maintain it in the world, he would very soon be had up before his betters, and incur the censure of that House whom we all regard as the guardians and protectors of our liberties, as well of thinking as acting. But what more is desired on behalf of the Church, than that if any man entertains an opinion subversive of her doctrines, he should keep it to himself, and not endeavor to propagate it in public?

4. Nothing need be urged here to prove the expedience of inculcating a sense of Religion among the people: but multitudes want either capacity or leisure to think sufficiently upon this subject, of themselves: they may pass some judgment upon particu-

lar points or arguments proposed to them, but could never form a complete and consistent system : greater multitudes would bestow very little thought upon it, unless continually reminded or exhorted thereto : and none have any judgment of their own so early as it is necessary to imbue them with principles to be the foundation of their future reasonings. Therefore the polity of a nation would be defective, if there were no provision made for instructing the ignorant, warning the thoughtless, and educating children : but how can such provision be made, without a summary of doctrine and set of articles composing the system to be taught ? For would you have a law enacted that the people shall be duly instructed, and that parents should educate their children, without giving the least direction in what manner, or upon what points the instruction and education shall be carried on ? This would be leaving mankind in their state of Nature, and withholding that benefit of a community which might be procured by persons in public character, whose extensive views and large information may enable them to discern what is expedient for the generality, and guard against specious notions drawing pernicious consequences, not foreseen by persons in private station.

In the infancy of a Religion the principles of it may be few ; but when those few come to be branched out by comments, inferences and corollaries, grafted thereupon, some of them perversions and corruptions of the originals, it will be necessary to make a more copious provision for correcting those enormities. We ought to presume the compilers of our Articles framed such as in their judgment contained the soundest system of Religion, and most expedient for instilling salutary sentiments into the minds of the people. As they were men, they certainly were not infallible ; and in articles prepared for national use, there may possibly be something occasional, not necessary for the maintenance of true Religion at all times, but calculated upon the condition of the present : if anything of this sort should appear, there is a legislator always in being who may rectify whatever, upon proper examination, might be found amiss, and accommodate what might be judged unsuitable to the temper and occasions of our own times.

And for the manner of understanding them, this may be and has been accommodated to the current ways of thinking, by tacit consent of the people themselves : for whoever will examine the writings of the last century, comparing them with those of our cotemporaries, may perceive, that although we still retain the same set of articles, we find in them much less of the mysterious, the marvellous, and the magical, than our forefathers did a hundred years ago. Therefore I hope it will be allowed a law-

ful and honest intention, however defectively executed, with which I go through my present labors ; for implicit faith will not go down now-a-days : men are not easily silenced without being convinced, nor will they be made to swallow mysteries, to them unintelligible, by the drenching-horn of ecclesiastical authority. It is then working in service of the Church to endeavor showing, that without change of a single word in her doctrines, they may be so expounded as to render them consistent with the discoveries of Reason and Philosophy, and to bear standing a close inspection by the light of Nature.

If the system of doctrines established is believed beneficial by those who have in charge to make provision for the public welfare in all its parts, it is natural and incumbent upon them to have the benefit secured by the protection of laws ; and this is all that is had in view : for if the vulgar, who want the aid of public provisions most, are not disturbed in the enjoyment of them by jokes and sophisms, and other attacks upon things recommended to them as sacred, the law is satisfied. It makes no inquisition into men's private sentiments, nor discourses among their friends or in their families, nor whether they breed up their children in orthodox principles : neither does it prohibit the publication of works not perfectly reconcilable with orthodoxy, provided they do not directly tend to shake the popular tenets. For Berkeley's denial of body, space, and motion, Hartley's performing all human action by the mechanical impulse of vibratiuncles, and Burnet's theory of the earth, must I doubt be counted heterodox by a rigid believer in the thirtynine articles : yet they never fell under the lash of the law, nor even suffered in their reputation of being good men, and pious Christians.

As for those things which some affect to call persecutions, they are civil and not ecclesiastical provisions : Tythes and Church rates are not levied upon the Quaker by authority of the Articles, but of the common and statute laws. The former of those payments are sometimes lay estates, wherein the Church has no concern : and it is easy to see how ruinous it must prove, so far as to unstring the very sinews of government, if the plea of conscience was admitted to exempt any man from the payment of money. You would find a sect spring up in the home counties, who would pronounce all taxes unjust that are not equally laid : so because the northern and western parts contribute a small proportion to the land tax, it would go against their consciences to pay any. Others would quote the Craftsman and Johnson's dictionary, to prove all excises wicked things : therefore would scruple submitting to any upon their malt, or their beer. In short, we should grow so

squeamishly conscientious, that the Parliament would never be able to find ways and means for raising the supplies without the severities of a persecution.

The discouragements cast upon the Papists were designed for security of the state, not upon account of their religious principles : and if the dissenters are accidentally involved in some of them, it is not a clog upon their liberty of thinking or acting, but only an exclusion from places of profit or trust. Nor does it prove a bar to the most sensible among them who consequently are fittest to serve the public ; for we find they can conform occasionally, just enough to satisfy the law. As for others, who are not likely to be ever the better if the bar were taken off, I would entreat them to examine whether it is really conscience the bar lies against : for there are other springs of action that will veil themselves under the appearance of conscience. The heart of man is deceitful above all things, extremely hard to be fathomed even by the owner, so as to distinguish the true motives of proceeding upon every occasion, from plausible colorings occurring in justification of them. There is an attachment to the customs one has been bred up in, a shame of departing from old acquaintance, a fear of incurring their secret dislike, a trouble and awkwardness at being put out of one's way by new forms : and the reluctance springing from those causes may easily be mistaken for scruples of conscience.

Nor is it so likely that conscience should interfere in the case now as in former times ; for when a superstitious value was placed in externals, it might go against the conscience to countenance the superstition by joining in the use of them : but now that nobody regards them otherwise than as expedients for decency and order, the superstition lies on the other side in imagining them to contain an intrinsic depravity which will vitiate the purest devotions of the heart : therefore it must be a very particular constitution of conscience that should make it boggle at them. I do not urge this with a desire that either the public or private persons should interfere in matters of conscience : I only mean to exhort every man to study carefully his own motives, and know what are those which really actuate him : for there are frequent and flagrant mistakes committed in the world upon this article. And since I suppose it will be acknowledged that a voluntary, not compulsive uniformity of Religion would be a desirable thing, it behoves every man to consider how far the regard to old friends, old customs and habits, will justify him in forbearing to contribute his part towards so desirable an event : the judgment belongs to none other

than to himself, only let him make it maturely upon thorough and impartial examination of the cause.

But why should we complain of the laws in force 'for preservation of our Religion, when those made for security of the state go a great deal further, yet without affording a handle for finding fault to the most zealous asserters of liberty? for our political creed is more narrowly scrutinized into, than our religious: inquisition is made there into our private sentiments and the secret thoughts of our heart. It is not enough to behave quietly and submissively under all lawful commands of the magistrate, to make no endeavors to propagate an opinion contrary to the act of Settlement, nor even drop a word in disparagement thereof: but we are called upon solemnly and sincerely to declare upon oath, that without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever, we do believe in our conscience the Pretender has not any right to the crown of this realm. It will not suffice that we never try to persuade anybody, nor maintain either in writing or discourse, that Princes deprived by the Pope may be deposed: but are required to swear, that we do from our heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position.

The law in both cases will not rest contented with obliging people to keep their thoughts to themselves; but insists upon knowing whether they are orthodox, and that under penalty of being subject to double taxes. Observe further, that this last declaration may seem, in some people's understanding, to contain a matter of mere opinion: for they may conceive that declaring a thing damnable upon oath, is the same as swearing they believe every man must be damned who holds it. Now though it is certainly of concern to the state whether an English subject holds this position himself; yet it seems a mere speculative question, whether he believes that all other persons whatsoever and wheresoever, who do hold it, shall assuredly be damned for their impiety and heresy.

5. Having taken notice of this eagerness of style we are enjoined to use in the most solemn expression of our loyalty, I shall venture a short comment upon it: not merely by way of dissertation, but as leading into a clearer understanding of what little I have further to offer upon the subject of this Chapter. It would be highly irreverent to suppose the wisdom of the nation could be so possessed with a paroxysm of zeal, as, like a common swearer, to throw out a string of passionate words without weighing their import: therefore we must seek for some rational meaning in the epithet Damnable.

As openness of heart is now universally and justly esteemed an honor to the possessor, we may without offence suppose the legislature did not themselves believe that every poor villager in Spain and Portugal, bred up from his cradle under the Jesuits, who should really believe in his conscience that the Pope had full power ecclesiastical, and temporal, over all nations upon earth, would certainly go to the Devil for that error : therefore could never intend, that by calling the position damnable, we should understand it must necessarily damn every person without exception who should be deluded into it. But we must presume they regarded the doctrines contained in the Act of Settlement as necessary to the salvation of the State, and the Papal authority here so palpably absurd and groundless a notion, that nobody in this enlightened country could entertain it without his judgment being blinded by some party madness, or private interest, or seditiousness and turbulence of disposition, or other damnable perverseness, inconsistent with that temper of mind which is our preparation for future happiness : and they judged it expedient for the public security, to throw a discouragement upon all who would not declare the same upon oath.

Upon this construction it appears that our Governors concerned themselves solely with preserving the peace and safety of the constitution, and with the sentiments of persons under their jurisdiction, nor had any thought of foreigners, nor of deciding what doctrines and positions might be fatal or innocent to them : why then may not we understand the Church with the like restriction, where she pronounces upon an article of Faith? For those who clamor against her as an enemy to liberty, object, that besides the sanction of laws restraining them from gaining the superlative credit they might raise by their wit and shrewdness ; she endeavors to blast their character in the world by teaching her-children to condemn them as reprobates devoted to eternal perdition : therefore, they must be careful to keep their tongue between their teeth, lest if they should drop out a disrespectful word against any form or ceremony, or unintelligible theorem esteemed sacred, they should be thought wicked men capable of everything bad. And this they call an infringement upon the liberty of thought, because I suppose they have such an incontinence of tongue, as to render it unsafe for them to think what they must not utter.

But if they meet with this treatment from anybody, why should they charge it upon the Church? for they may well know that children will get many notions in their heads they were never taught by their masters : and they ought to be the more candid in this case, because they themselves are liable to the like infirmity of

judging hardly of others for an article of belief; for if they hear anybody drop a word in favor of miracle, prophecy, or revelation, or use the words Faith, Grace, Sanctification, or the like, seriously, they presently know him to be a weak man, half-witted, capable of being persuaded into anything silly, and undeserving to be dealt with as a rational creature; which is their kind of anathema.

But the Church, like our temporal Governors, must be presumed to concern herself only with those under her authority: she decides nothing concerning the Turks or Tartars, or others out of her pale. It became her to enjoin the cultivation of such sentiments as she esteemed salutary to persons who would listen to her, to point out such as would overthrow the good purposes intended by them, and to warn against any who might discover a disposition to insinuate notions contrary to those she had recommended. This is no more than what I suppose our objectors themselves would do: they would instruct their pupils in some system of opinions; would tell them, This is a useful principle necessary to be kept in mind, This is a fatal mistake, This a pernicious absurdity; and would caution them against persons instilling opposite notions. Therefore her children may learn from her to stand upon their guard against opinions she condemns as heretical, and against persons who give just cause to suspect their being infected with them: If they go further to pronounce upon the persons themselves, in what condition they stand with respect to their own salvation, it is an excursion of their own beyond the bounds prescribed them, for they have no warrant from her for so doing.

6. The harshest expression I can recollect, is that used in the eighteenth article, where is declared, that those are to be holden accursed who presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth; but why should we give the Accursed here a larger compass than the Damnable in the oath of abjuration? or understand any more thereby, than that he should have her members look upon it as a pernicious and fatal error, to imagine the choice of one's Religion a matter of indifference, to be made at pleasure lightly, or upon temporal convenience, amongst all that are current in the world; and would have them shy of persons attempting to justify that error, as dangerous persons for them to converse with.

Nor yet is this a decision of her own making, but a repetition of that made in the Gospel, which declares, He that believeth is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten



Son of God. Now in order to determine the latitude of the word Accursed in the article, let us go to the fountain head, and examine whether the condemnation in the Gospel be so rigid as to extend to all persons whatever, who are not Christians. In the first place I presume it will be admitted, that the Scriptures were given solely for our instruction in matters of faith and practice, not to satisfy our curiosity upon points of speculation : now I conceive it to be matter of mere speculation, no ways affecting our interests, what shall be the fate of any other man in the next world ; therefore we are to look for no information there, nor construe anything therein as a decision upon that point. But if this be not enough, let us turn back to the verse immediately preceding, where we may find that God sent not his Son into the world, to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.

We learn from St. Paul, that God left not the heathen world without a witness of himself, having manifested his eternal Power and Godhead by the things that were seen, and that the Gentiles, not having the law, were a law unto themselves by means of that written in their hearts ; but a law implies some benefit to be obtained by obedience thereto, nor have we any foundation to imagine, the Gentiles before Christ might not find acceptance with God. If then he sent not his Son to condemn the world, they could not be put into a worse condition than they were in before ; and if he sent him to save the world, observe, the world is here used collectively, and since as I have shown in the Chapter on Divine Economy and elsewhere, there is a general interest of the species, and a progress of human nature towards perfection, faith in Christ may be necessary for the salvation of mankind, and yet not necessary for that of every particular person. Or should it be proved universally necessary, still those arguments deserve consideration which I have offered in the Chapter on Redemption, to show, that an opportunity may be given for embracing it in the next world to such as had none afforded them here.

Then if we go on to the next verse following, we shall see what are the grounds of censure, and who the persons incurring it. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. Here appears to be a voluntary choice made between darkness and light, by persons severally conscious of evil or good deeds ; but the good deeds spoken of two verses below, as being manifested by the light, must be such as were performed before coming thereinto : therefore it is possible that persons not in the light may do good works wrought in God, and consequently be good men accepted before him. Since then a criminal infidelity

must be a wilful rejection of the light because of evil deeds, we can never know a man's character merely by his creed, even among persons who converse daily with Christians : for there are so many various ways of conception, so many absurdities and corruptions sometimes fastened upon our holy Religion by its professors, as may turn it into a darkness impenetrable by the most careful eye. Nor unless we could pry into the heart to discern all the motives operating there, can we safely pronounce upon any man, whether he refuses to come into the light, of free choice, or through misapprehension and invincible ignorance.

It is necessary for our own security to judge upon actions and sentiments, that we may know how to take our measures properly, and what degree of vigilance to apply for, avoiding such as would be poisonous to us, in proportion to their degree of virulence. But there are wide differences as well in the mental as bodily constitutions of men ; and as poisons are some of the vital juices in scorpions, vipers, and many animals, so there may be men in whom poisonous opinions are innocent, or even contributive to their health of mind ; but it is our duty to think the best of every one. For the same God who created the glorious stars in their constellations, created also the crooked serpent, whom we must therefore believe complete in his nature and useful in the situation wherein he is placed : for when God looked upon all the works that he had made, behold they were very good. It behoves us then to beware both of the natural and metaphorical serpent, to keep out of his way lest he bite us ; but we have nothing to do with the light wherein he stands before his Maker.

Therefore what severe expressions we read against the Scribes and Pharisees, and others, we must presume were given the Jewish converts for the hardness of their hearts, because they were too gross to distinguish in their aversions between the man and his opinions ; but it was not so from the beginning, that is, not in the original design of the Gospel. And we may say to the rigid and censorious, as Jesus did to the disciples who wanted to call down fire from Heaven, Ye know not what spirit ye are of : certainly not the spirit of Christianity, which is a doctrine of peace and love, and of that Charity which believeth all things, hopeth all things, and thinketh no evil. So it is no proof of our orthodoxy, that we are forward to judge other persons, but a direct opposition both to the spirit and letter of the Gospel ; for it is one of the precepts in the sermon upon the mount, Judge not, that ye be not judged : and if there be any practice deserving our detestation as impious, heretical, and damnable, surely this must be so, which Christ has expressly declared, will draw down judgment upon the practisers.

## CHAP. XXVI.

## DOING ALL FOR THE GLORY OF GOD.

WE have now traversed the holy ground of Religion taking with us the candle of Reason to assist in discovering those spots that had been obscured by error, misapprehension, and injudicious zeal: we have found all the Buildings there erected upon the basis of human nature, calculated to supply its most pressing wants, and so contrived as to join in one uniform plan with the structures of soundest Philosophy. We have adventured, but with reverential and cautious boldness, to approach the sacred mysteries, have minutely examined the theological Virtues, which are the sum of all the law and the prophets, and I may add of the Gospel too, traced the divine economy along the steps taken for perfecting the human species, and inquired into the nature and efficacy of those called divine services, and of the ritual, endeavoring to clear them from the idea of magic and arbitrary command, too frequently annexed by the ill-designing, or the unwary. It is now time to issue forth from the sanctuary into the open world, that we may there exemplify in our practice the good sentiments we have stored up in our hearts: for we have seen that divine services are not righteousness in themselves, they are only if duly performed the sure means of attaining it, and necessary expedients for keeping it alive; even Faith, though the sole saving principle, is better strengthened by works done in pursuance of its impulses, than by any devotions or meditations whatsoever.

And the very precept which I have taken for the text of this Chapter, though at first sight it may appear to attach us more closely to our religious exercises, yet upon a nearer inspection will be found relative to our commerce in the busy world. For we cannot live always in a Church, we cannot pass our whole time in hymns and hallelujahs; the supplies of our natural wants demand a share of our attention, the care of our families, the duties of our calling, the defence of our persons, properties, and characters against injuries and dangers, and the intercourse among mankind must not be neglected.

If then we are to do all things for the Glory of God, we must learn to do these things for that end; for since they must be done, if we have not that principle to actuate us in the doing, we shall fall defective of our obedience: hence it becomes a considerable part of Religion to study how we may fulfil what we owe to the divine Glory in the common transactions of life; a harder science

to be attained, than that of paying our devotions rightly at the altar. For here the solemnity of the place, and all around us, help to lift our hearts to heaven, and nothing more is needful than vigilance to keep our thoughts attentive to their object; but to sanctify our business, our conversations, our pleasures, to keep steady along the line of our grand aim when there are a thousand by-objects soliciting on all sides, this is a difficult task to manage; so difficult, that to many it will seem impossible.

For they will be apt to say it is not in human nature to have God always in the thoughts: dangers, pressing necessities, and urgent engagements will force our whole attention from us, the transactions of the world severally require a train of imagination peculiar to themselves, familiar conversation and necessary recreation are not of a nature to mingle with heavenly ideas. All this is very true, but why should they think it necessary, that to do all things for the Glory of God we must have him always in the thoughts? I can see no reason for such an apprehension unless from the injudicious zeal of some writers, who seem to require perpetual devotion of mind even in the most trifling employments. Whether they really mean so much as they express I cannot take upon me to determine, their admirers will not allow them capable of this extravagance, but insist they are to be understood with some restrictions: if so, they are surely to blame for not having marked out those restrictions, for the strain wherein they talk of a devout intention running through all our actions universally, is enough to make an unwary reader imagine he is to buckle his shoes, to wash his hands, to call for the newspaper at a coffee-house, with a direct intention of pleasing God thereby, or they will be so many sins and desertions of his service.

But besides that such incessant adoration is utterly impracticable, it would be mischievous in many cases; for there are vile and trivial offices whereto we are subjected unavoidably by the condition of our nature, as has been already observed in the Chapters on Purity and Majesty, among which to introduce a thought of God must tend greatly to his dishonor, as defiling and debasing the idea of him in our hearts. Thus it is so far from being a duty to have him always in contemplation, that our duty obliges us to banish such thoughts as would intrude upon some occasions, wherein to give them reception would be highly irreverent, and a direct breach of the third commandment: for it is not for the bare sound of words uttered, but for the intemperance of mind giving vent to them, that none will be holden guiltless who taketh the name of the Lord in vain.

2. Nevertheless we are taught, Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God; and reason joins in with the dictates of authority to add her sanction to this precept. The Stoics held, that the wise or perfect man would act right because it was right, and therefore would act invariably so, for there is a right and a wrong in every minutest action: he then to whom rectitude is the sole motive, will pursue it in trifles as well as matters of moment: but the unwise, though many times doing right things, never act rightly, because they do them upon some other motive without which they would have omitted them, having no immediate love of rectitude for its own sake.

We have found in the course of this work, that rectitude has not a substantiality or distinct essence of its own, but subsists in the relation to happiness, those actions being right which upon every occasion tend most effectually to happiness. We have acknowledged that God can receive no benefit at our hands, not the least accession of pleasure, or power, or dominion, or greatness from our services, yet is he jealous of his glory, because the glorifying him aright is of the utmost importance to the good of his creatures. It is true there have been many pernicious and destructive things done under pretence of glorifying him, but those were the errors of superstition and intemperate zeal; and so there have been errors in Philosophy and intemperate zeal for virtue, which have caused great mischiefs: but whatever is really and truly done for the Glory of God, advances the happiness of the performer and of his follow-creatures, and thereby becomes the fundamental rule of rectitude.

But whoever possesses a full and lively sense of the divine Glory, which we have before called the saving Faith, will manifest it in his conduct by a constant readiness to do the Will of God, in all things; whereby must not be understood doing the things he is willing should be done, for that we all do without intermission: but doing them upon the motive of their being his Will. For nothing ever befalls throughout the universe without the appointment or permission of our heavenly Father; therefore, when we sin, we do what he was willing should be done, because he was able to have prevented us, and his permission of the sin proves him willing to let our wickedness take its course, and is an evidence that some great good will accrue therefrom to the universe, redounding to his glory. Hence it appears, that we cannot be said to do the Will of God unless when we act upon that intention, when we choose one out of several actions in our power, as being in our judgment apprehended most agreeable in his sight, and most conducive to his glory, of anything we can

turn our hands to at present : and whoever could act invariably throughout all parts of his conduct upon this motive, how small soever were his natural talents and acquired accomplishments, would be that perfect or wise man imagined by the Stoics, but never yet found, except once, among the Sons of Adam.

It remains to be explained, how we can act always with intention to do the Will of God without having him always in our thoughts, or how can we pursue an end without holding it in contemplation during every step of the pursuit : and this way we may quickly learn by reflecting on the narrowness of our own comprehension, which is seldom capable of retaining the whole plan of a design while attentive to the measures requisite for completing it. If we may pass a conjecture upon the blessed Spirits above, component parts of the Mundane Soul, they probably never lose sight of their Maker for a moment ; because their understanding is so large, that at the same glance it can extend to the Attributes, to the plan of Providence flowing from thence, and to all the minute objects requisite for their direction in performing the parts allotted them in the execution of it : so that while busied in giving motion to little particles of matter for carrying on the courses of Nature, they can discern the uses of what they do, its tendency to uphold the stupendous order of the universe, and happiness of the creatures wherein God is glorified.

But our understandings are far less capacious, wherefore our prospects are scanty, and of those lying within our compass there is only one small spot in the centre that we can discern clearly and distinctly, so are forced to turn our eye successively to the several parts of a scene before us to take the necessary guidance for our measures. When we have fixed upon the means requisite for effecting a purpose, our whole attention to them is often little enough to carry us through in the prosecution, and were we perpetually to hold the purpose in contemplation, it must interrupt and might utterly defeat its own accomplishment. He that travels to London must not keep his eye continually gazing upon Paul's steeple, nor his thoughts ruminating upon the business he is to do, or pleasures he is to take there : he must mind the road as he goes along, he must look for a good inn, and take care to order accommodations and refreshments for himself and his horse. But whatever steps we take in prosecution of some end, are always ascribed thereto as to their motive, and we are said in common propriety of speech to act all along with intention to gain our end, though we have it not every moment in view. So if our traveller come to town upon a charitable design to succor some family in affliction or distress by his counsel, his company, his

labors, his interest, or any other seasonable assistance, his whole journey and every part of it, while inquiring the way, while bustling through a crowd, while baiting at the inn, was an act of charity performed with a benevolent intention.

In like manner whatever schemes we lay out upon the principle of glorifying God by promoting the happiness of his creatures or any one of them, whether they lead us to the care of our health, or our properties, to common business, or recreation, we may be truly and properly said to act with intention to his Will, though during the prosecution we should be totally immersed in worldly concerns, and taken up with sensible objects.

When busied in my Chapters, laboring to trace the mazes of Providence, and show that in the severest dispensations they never terminate upon evil, how defective soever the performance, the intention seems to be good : after toiling awhile the ideas begin to darken, the mental organs to grow stiff, and the spirits exhausted ; I then perceive the best thing I can do for proceeding on my work, is to lay in a fresh stock by some exercise or diversion, which may enable me to resume the microscope and telescope with recruited vigor. So I sally forth from my cavern in quest of any little amusement that may offer : perhaps there is an exhibition of pictures ; I gaze around like Cymon at Iphigenia, with such judgment as uninstructed nature can supply : I meet with my acquaintance ; one being a connoisseur in painting, entertains me with criticisms founded upon the rules of art, which come in at one ear and go out at the other ; others tell me of the weather, of general warrants, of a very clever political pamphlet, a rhapsody of Rousseau's, or a slanderous poem, which because I am a studious man and a lover of wit, they recommend to my perusal : I endeavor to join in the conversation as well as my penury of fashionable materials will permit, and cut such jokes as I can, to enliven it. If an interval happens wherein there is nothing to engage my senses, presently the Mundane Soul, and links of connection forming the general interest will be attempting to intrude upon me, but I shut them out with might and main, for fear they should draw off the supply of spirits as fast as it comes in : for recreation is now my business, and the sublimest idea which might draw on a labor of thought, would defeat my purpose. Nevertheless while engaged in this series of trifles, am I not pursuing my main intention, even in the very efforts made for thrusting it out of my sight ? and if my first design bore any reference to the divine Glory, may not I be said without impropriety, still to act for the same end more effectually than if I had passed the time in thought-straining fervors of prayer and devotion ?

3. Since then whatever under purposes branch out from one principle, and were taken up because conducive thereto, are esteemed parts of that, and everything done with a view to accomplish them is done for the main end whereto they conduct; since the ability, instruments, materials, and opportunities for performing the most important services we are capable of, depend much upon the condition of body and spirits, upon external accommodations and conveniences, and upon our intercourse among mankind; and since upon every trivial occasion there is a right and a wrong choice to be taken, some little present accession or remote advance to be made towards increasing the stock of happiness in the creation, wherein the divine Glory is manifested: I conceive it possible in theory, that a man may lay out his whole plan of conduct, his common actions and amusements as well as his devotions and exercises of virtue, upon that one foundation, the Glory of God. So that in the business of his profession, in the management of his family, in the cares of his health, in his contracts and his contentions, in his familiar conversations, his diversions and pleasures, whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, he may be truly said to do all with intention to please God, though he has him not always in his thoughts; provided the several intentions he successively pursues became such upon an opinion of their being the properest measures could then be taken for contributing towards that principal end.

But before I begin to explain my notion in what manner this may be done, I shall premise two observations, very needful to be kept in mind for our better success in the attempt. One, that such perfect holiness of life, although possible in theory, I do not apprehend feasible in practice: the other, that we shall make a nearer approach by considering it as a desirable advantage, than being driven to it by fear as an indispensable obligation.

We cannot get so entire mastery over our passions and appetites, but they will often impel to action without waiting for our command, and many times we have not understanding to discern what relation our present proceedings bear to our principal concern, so must take guidance from inferior rules and desires, or shall stand wholly inactive. Wherefore it is commonly supposed, that our provisions for this world and for the next, have their distinct provinces belonging separately to each; sometimes we are to labor for one, and sometimes for the other: for to make one in every single instance subservient and aiding to the other, however conceivable in speculation and desirable in idea, is beyond the skill of mortal man to compass. This must be acknowledged true: for my part, I cannot pretend to come near it, nor do I know the



man that does ; but we have all reason enough to join in the confession, We have not done those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us. To what purpose then, may it be said, is a plan of conduct requiring the soundest vigorous health prescribed to us, who can never expect to execute it with our infirm diseased constitutions? To this purpose, because by constant diligence we may rectify some of the disorders in our spiritual body, and since we know not in what particulars that may be capable of amendment, it behoves us to try in all, and extend our aim beyond our expectation, for so we are warranted to do by the best approved authorities.

The Stoics proposed their consummate Wise-man for their model, which yet they owned was an ideal character nobody could come up to : we Christians are taught to look up to the perfect pattern of unsinning obedience, of endurance and forbearance in all trials, which our Master has set before us, who has likewise expressly enjoined us to be perfect, as our Father which is in heaven is perfect. Which absolute perfection cannot be an indispensable duty necessary to Salvation, because it far exceeds our forces, and whatever is impossible to compass, cannot be a duty, but is propounded only as a constant object of our wish and desire. Therefore we need not be terrified on finding ourselves fall short of it, nor uneasily anxious for the success of our endeavors : for an over-solicitude retards the speed and misguides the judgment. Accordingly we find that those who proceed under the strongest idea of obligation to perpetual holiness, too frequently mistake the essence of it, which they place in continual fervors of devotion, and extraordinary exercises of virtue, despising the common transactions of life as unworthy their notice : by which means the greatest part of their time, unavoidably spent in worldly concerns, appears lost to them, and they find very few portions of it wherein they can be conscious of proceeding upon the motive of their duty. Whereas if they had a well-grounded persuasion, that the Glory of God and happiness of the creatures were convertible terms, everything well and truly done for the one being done for the other, they would pursue them as matters of inclination and profit, rather than of command and duty, which of course must banish fear, for so long as a man can proceed upon an habitual, sincere desire of pleasing God, he need never stand in fear of the devil ; and their minds would be more at ease to examine the remote tendencies of their actions, and discover little profits to be made of those which are not productive of greater.

Thus the idea with which we shall be likely to make the largest progress in our work is this, to esteem absolute perfection an invaluable treasure, the ultimate object of our wishes, but without expectation of ever attaining or even making any large strides towards it, yet fond of every little advance that can be made thereto as a profit gained : for this will always be the case with him who has any purpose strongly at heart, if he despairs of effecting it completely, he will be vigilant, industrious, and joyful to compass it partly, in every instance where he can.

It is commonly said, a trader will never grow rich who despises small gains ; and, with equal truth it may be said the man will never grow virtuous who despises small accessions to his virtue. Therefore as we are taught to learn prudence from the unjust steward, in like manner we may take the wise of this world for our standard, whereby to try the sincerity of our love of rectitude, or zeal for the divine glory. The merchant enters upon his traffic without bounds to his wishes, he would be glad to get a million if he could, but judging that impossible, he fixes his expectations lower : he pursues them without anxious solicitude which would not help him forward, nor does he think himself undone if he should fall short of them ; nevertheless, if an opportunity chances to offer for surpassing them, he will embrace it joyfully, for he proceeds by desire, not by fear ; and his desires will keep him attentive to all advantages for improving his fortune, making the most of such as are present, when greater do not fall in his way. So the man who seeks to make a fortune in heaven will wish to become a Saint, or an Angel, if it were possible ; but knowing this far above his strength, he will not expect to run extraordinary lengths, nor give himself over for lost if he should fail of them : for being persuaded that all good things proceed originally from the divine bounty, he will rest content with whatever portion as well of spiritual as temporal estate, the courses of nature or Providence shall put into his power to acquire : yet being sensible the acquisition must be of his own making, his content will not abate his industry, which is not the less for being void of such solicitude as might obstruct its operations ; if opportunities unexpectedly offer for making great improvements, he will pursue them eagerly ; when no considerable profit accrues, he will contrive how to turn whatever lies before him to some account the best whereof it is capable. For where the treasure is there the heart will be also ; and where the heart points, thither the feet will be moving forwards by any passage that opens.

4. Having laid down these preliminary cautions, I shall now proceed to draw out my notion of the perfect Wise-man or christian

Sage, acting always invariably for the Glory of God, which yet I acknowledge an ideal character, not to be found exemplified in any corner of the earth ; and shall endeavor to trace the steps by which he arrives at such perfection, wherein I do not pretend to speak upon experimental knowledge, but only in speculation, as describing the progress through a country I never saw.

His first step I apprehend must be by a thorough conviction of his judgment, that acting for the divine Glory is acting most for his own benefit : for while he pursues that end because continually chimed in his ears, because it will raise his character above the rest of mankind, because he shall incur the divine vengeance by neglecting it, custom, or vanity, or fear, is his real motive, and the Will of God only a secondary aim subservient to the others. Those motives may be expedient and necessary for rousing the thoughtless to a sense of their duty, but they are only avenues leading into the right way, nor is any man set in it until he can proceed with a hearty desire of advancing therein, without other incitement to drive him : which desire cannot be acquired without his being perfectly satisfied, that it will conduct to happiness more effectually than any other way he can take.

For I have observed all along, that Self lies at the bottom of everything we do ; in all our actions we constantly pursue the Satisfaction expectant on something apprehended beneficial in our judgment, or soothing in our fancy : the purest affections grow from one or other of those roots, and the sublimest of our virtues must be engrafted upon the former ; therefore the love of God, to be sincere and vigorous, must spring from the settled opinion of his goodness and beneficence, and that every act of conformity to his will is beneficial to the performer.

Now to have this foundation firm and stable, it will be necessary to examine the ground whereon it lies : such as are so happy as to repose an entire confidence in the dictates of authority, are taught from thence that God will love those who love him, and will give them unspeakable rewards with his own hands in proportion to the endeavors wherewith they have strove to live in constant obedience to his commands. But there may be some persons less pliant to conviction, desirous of having the doctrines taught them explained, and corroborated by human reason, and believing God the Author of universal Nature, which he wanted neither power nor intelligence to plan out in such manner as should answer all his purposes in every minute particular, they may think it more consonant with this idea to suppose, that reward accrues by natural consequence of the provisions made in the original con-

stitution of things, than that it should be conferred directly by an occasional act of Omnipotence.

If there be anything in the foregoing sheets conducive towards explaining how this may come to pass by means of the spiritual body and the general interests, it will deserve their consideration : but by whatever process they arrive at their conclusion, it will behave them to proceed calmly and cautiously, that there be no breaks nor weak places in the line, to examine well their several deductions to see they follow closely and evidently from one another. This conviction being well established, there need no longer be retained any thought of Self : for it is not uncommon in the investigations of reason, for assent to pass by translation from the premises to the conclusion, which from thenceforward takes the nature of a self-evident truth, assented to upon inspection without aid of any proofs to support it : and so desire is frequently translated from an end to the means believed certainly conducive towards it, which thenceforth become an immediate object of desire, exciting an appetite thereto without thought of the end that first made them desirable. Therefore in whomsoever the translation is perfectly formed by having thoroughly satisfied his judgment, that consulting the divine glory is consulting his own truest interests, the latter object may safely be discarded as superfluous and cumbersome to his thoughts, and following of course upon the former, which he will take up as his ruling principle of action the main intention wherein all his schemes and contrivances centre.

5. But bare conviction, how well soever established in the understanding, will not suffice, as resting in speculation alone ; for it is apt to grow languid and feeble by time or be overwhelmed by continual converse among objects of a different kind, and it is notorious we have often a very faint sense of things we are fully convinced in our judgments to be true. Therefore the next step in the progress towards perfection I conceive must be, by turning the conviction into an habitual and lively persuasion, possessing the imagination strongly with what was evident to the understanding before ; by which way only it will become a practical principle of action.

For persuasion is the spring that constantly actuates our conduct ; our pleasures, our pains, and our desires, except the few excited immediately by sensations, arise from an imagination that the thing desired will prove satisfactory in the possession, which gives a present pleasure in advance made towards it, and an easiness on being obstructed in our passage. And though many of our common desires are delusive, because fixing upon objects

that will not prove satisfactory when obtained, yet while apprehended satisfactory they will have the same effect upon our mind and our motions, as if they were really so.

Now persuasion in matters relative to Religion is termed Faith, as I have already explained in the Chapter upon that article : when following upon the best use of what understanding we have, it is a right and saving Faith ; when built upon prejudice, passion, or vanity it is a false faith, a superstition, or heresy. Therefore the judgment being well satisfied of the universal dominion of Providence, of the divine Goodness ordering all things for the greatest happiness of the creation, of the connection of interests among the creatures, that doing the Will of God with intention so to do is incomparably more advantageous than doing it accidentally and unknowingly, that every act of such doing will redound to some benefit of the performer, and that the tendency of actions to the greater good or pleasure of our fellow-creatures here upon earth is our sure direction to know what is agreeable to his Will ; these points having gained full credit in the understanding, the business will be to acquire a strong and steadfast faith in them, that they may rise spontaneously to the imagination with a striking vigor and unreserved assent ; from whence will naturally grow a serene unmistrustful Hope, and a sincere universal Charity.

Now the practice of religious exercises having, as was shown in the foregoing Chapters, a powerful efficacy to turn conviction into persuasion, and strengthen the theological virtues, the proficient in moral or Christian wisdom will be duly assiduous in prayer, meditation, reading, or hearing, and all other divine services, with a view to invigorate his faith thereby. And he will enter upon them with that sole intention : not with the imagination of their doing a real service or giving a real pleasure to God himself, nor of their being an indispensable obligation, nor in dread of incurring his vengeance upon omitting them, nor for gaining the credit of Saintship, nor for the sake of surpassing others, nor because esteeming them good in themselves ; but in expectation of fixing the love of God deeper in his own heart, and improving his disposition to labor in all things for the divine Glory.

I am not unapprised that fear, obligation, shame, and the desire of excelling must be employed sometimes and with some persons ; for where the true principle is wanting we must supply its place with such succedaneums as can be got, but they are only succedaneums very imperfectly answering the purpose expected from them, nor is devotion ever so completely acceptable, as when performed upon inclination, because apprehended a profitable ex-

ercise. It is the want of this intention that makes people righteous over-much, which can never be unless a mistaken righteousness placed in the very acts of devotion, and not in the habitual tenor of mind to be produced thereby. Which habit may be compared to the pulse in the human body, supplying life and vigor to the whole, giving the spring to all motions as well natural as voluntary, working smoothly and uniformly, and continuing constantly to beat even at times when we do not perceive it. But raptures, transports, and ecstasies may be compared to brandy: it is an excellent cordial when the stomach is cold or the spirits fatigued, and may be prescribed somewhat copiously to lumpish phlegmatic constitutions; but the continual use of it will infallibly weaken the pulse, and enervate the body, overthrowing that very purpose it was first given to promote.

Thus we see it is not merely the sincerity but the rectitude of intention which gives the full value to our most pious performances, for as St. Paul declared, that if we had all faith so that we could remove mountains yet have not charity, it is nothing; so if we rise early to pray, and sing psalms every third hour of the day, which bespeaks a strong faith of some sort or other, able to remove the mountains of indolence standing in the way of such laborious exercises, yet if there be not a reasonable prospect of increasing our love of God and of our neighbor thereby, and they be not undertaken with that intention, they are not genuine righteousness, and consequently may be done over-much.

Therefore a rightly-aimed intention will prove a guidance both in the manner and measure of our religious duties; I do not expect that every man should presently discern their particular uses by his own judgment, therefore let him follow the rules of his Church, and example of persons whose character he has an opinion of; presuming they were founded upon good reasons though he may not see them; but let him observe their effect upon his own mind as he uses them, and if upon competent trial he finds they add nothing to his hope in the protection and dispensations of Providence, his heartiness of charity towards God and towards man, and that sound faith in the Attributes which is the support of the other two, much more if they make him gloomy, mistrustful, desponding, peevish, censorious, vain of his piety, or remiss in the duties of his station or common intercourses of kindness, he may be assured of having been faulty in the performance, or that they are not for his purpose, but better forborne than continued.

6. But many a man feels a strong disposition to righteousness during the solemnity of a church service, or pious meditations of his closet, which quickly vanishes away when he becomes immers-

ed again in his ordinary occupations : nor can it ever be known whether a virtue be completely formed, or yet but in its embryo state, while kept fostered by the helps that Religion affords, until it can subsist by its own strength amid the bustle of worldly concerns : and when once able to act of itself will gather more vigor and robustness by its spontaneous efforts in good works, than it could have done under the most careful nurture. For this reason it may be presumed that God has subjected us to the necessity of so much attendance to sensible objects ; for it had cost nothing to Omnipotence to have provided us food and clothing as well as air to breathe, without any care or trouble of our own to procure them, that we might have had our whole leisure to employ in praises and adorations in the manner the Seraphs are currently supposed to do. But he has so constituted our nature, as to be made perfect by trials, temptations, and avocations : therefore, though we are not to seek temptations purposely, yet have we cause to rejoice at them when sent by Providence, because then there is also a way provided for our escape in better plight than when we fell into them.

The condition of human nature upon earth, and everything belonging thereto, is of divine appointment, and we may trust the Power and Wisdom of God for having so ordered it, as that in every particular it contributes some way or other to his Glory ; therefore in all our occupations there is something relative to that end ; and it is our business to find out the reference : for though we may answer the end undesignedly, yet it has been shown above, that doing what God is willing should be done is not doing his Will, unless discerned to be such, and entered upon with that intention.

Hence in every measure lying under our option, there is a right or a wrong course to be taken ; the right is that which to the best of our discernment will tend to add something, great or small, nearly or remotely, to the good of the creatures, wherein the Glory of God is manifested. Nor need we be disheartened at the triflingness of the addition, for it was all that the opportunity given us would allow, it was all that was wanted for us to do ; while we do our best upon the occasion, we do the whole of our duty in that instance, and both follow and strengthen our main intention as well in trifles, as in matters of greater moment.

7. The man then whom we are attempting to describe, will endeavor to lay out his whole plan of conduct upon one basis, beginning with the principal branches from whence the rest are to grow : he will survey his talents, his improvements, his circumstances and situation of life, in order to discern how they may be

best turned to answer his main intention, not esteeming it necessary to do important services, but to acquit himself of those where-to he is suited, be they greater or less. For nothing is insignificant in the hand of Providence who perfects mighty works by a multitude of agents, and assigns a necessary share therein to the feeblest, so that the common laborer and the dairy maid performing their part well, are of equal importance in the eye of heaven with the king and the hero.

Having fixed upon his way of life, and principal courses of employment, he will next consider what aids he may avail himself of for carrying him through them; well knowing that everything is not to be done by mere dictate of understanding, but recourse must be had to appetite, habit, and imagination, to execute what reason has planned out. For God and nature has given us various appetites, and the situation in society wherein Providence has placed us, throws upon us many aims and desires which we imbibed by example and sympathy before we have any judgment to choose among them: but those springs of action furnished by nature, or fabricated by the courses of Providence, must be presumed to have some good use: on the other hand, continual experience testifies, that they often take an unlucky bias destructive of our principal design.

Therefore the business is not to eradicate appetite, nor those propensities we catch from the world, for then we shall make no progress in anything we take in hand, but to study how they may be employed most effectually to answer some good purpose; that if possible they may never run riot, nor begin their play spontaneously, but constantly take the train that discretion and prudence have put them into. So he will cultivate such desire of self-preservation, of health, of accomplishment, of the accommodations and conveniences of life, of advancement, of success in his profession, of approbation and credit, such moral senses, inclinations, and tastes, as may keep him steady and best help him forward in the way wherein he may be most useful to himself, and others with whom he has any connection; always preferring the more beneficial desire before the less, so as to hazard life, or health, or reputation, or ease, whenever the prosecution of some more valuable good shall so require. If pains and troubles fall upon him, or toilsome tasks require his despatch, he will strive to go through them with as little reluctance and disquietude of mind as possible; for God sends not evils to afflict his creatures, but for some gracious purpose, and whoever receives them as such, and can preserve the most tranquillity under them, best fulfils his will and promotes his glory. Nor will he despise the embellishments, en-



joyments, and pleasures of life, nor those little arts and modes which contribute to increase them : for the Glory of God is manifested in the happiness of the creatures, but happiness consists in the aggregate of pleasures ; therefore every smallest pleasure being innocent, that is, unproductive of any subsequent mischief, is a mite added to the sum of happiness, and whatever tends to promote it, does not only not contradict, but is an actual furtherance of his main intention.

But besides the direct addition to happiness that innocent pleasures make of themselves, they may enter as parts into some of the principal lines of the design : for they give a motion and briskness to the business of mankind, they promote commerce and encourage industry, they find employment for the time, whet ingenuity, afford room for prudence and discretion in the management for obtaining them, they associate men more closely together, bring them better acquainted with one another's characters, capacities, and ways, assist the growth of charity, make them readier and more capable to join in any important work ; they help to preserve the health, to keep the vital juices from stagnating, and the spirits from languor ; nor is it a small service they do even towards strengthening our religious sentiments by spreading a serenity and cheerfulness over the mind. For we are more strongly affected with what we feel, than what lies only in prospect before us ; most of our discontents, our murmurings and distrusts arise from some grinding uneasiness or apprehension of danger hanging over us, but when the heart is at ease within itself, it can take a fair survey of the blessings of Providence, behold with a hearty thanksgiving that bounty which is indulgent even to present gratification, and be in good humor with all around, delighting to communicate the joy it feels ; which must avail considerably to strengthen our Faith, to enliven our Hope, and increase our Charity.

8. Thus the common occupations of life, the appetites, the ordinary pursuits of the world, the familiar intercourse among society, the propensity to diversion and amusements being capable of yielding salutary fruits, our learner in holiness will contrive how he may sanctify them all by turning them to some profitable account. He will form general rules, divide them into others, and from thence by many subdivisions under one another, furnish himself with motives for every occasion that is likely to happen.

But he need not carry the whole chain perpetually in his head, for if he be careful to hang the several links upon each other without suffering any passion, or prejudice, or secret propensity to slip its own line into his hand, they will carry a general idea of being right, and he will acquire an expertness of judgment or

moral sense enabling him to distinguish the right and wrong in every action, upon view, without wanting to refer back to the first foundation. And whatever is done with a consciousness of being right upon the occasion, may be counted done upon the grand principle from whence the opinion of its rectitude was derived, even though appetite and imagination should be the actuating springs: because in this case they do not act originally by their own impulse, but as agents employed in executing the work assigned them.

But there being a difficulty in working downwards from his highest aim, to deduce methodically from thence all the motives which are to guide him in the common transactions of life, he will find it often expedient to proceed the contrary way, endeavoring to hang his ordinary employments upon that aim by observation of the reference they bear thereto, and consideration of what consequence must follow upon their omission. If he were to give over his trade or profession, would the world be better supplied for his inactivity? if he could throw aside all desire of profit or credit in his profession, should he proceed in it so briskly and effectually? if he sings psalms every third hour, and perpetually hunts sermons to hear preaching of Christ and him crucified, will it make him more industrious or expert in his business, or in any way more serviceable to his fellow-creatures? Were he careless of his health or his estate, or negligent in his economy, would any benefit redound therefrom to himself or the public, or any Glory to God? Should he bestow all his goods to feed the poor, why should not that which is a duty and a praise to him, be so to other people? and if all others did the same, would the poor be more industrious, or the world better supplied with accommodations and necessities, or the honest trader, who does not deal in commodities wanted by the poor, have better custom? Had men no attention to self-interest in making bargains, would there be less imposition, or more sagacity, or truer estimation of things passing in commerce? Were they tamely to put up with all injuries, overlook all misdemeanors, nor seek redress from the law upon any occasion, would good order, honesty, and justice abound more in the world? Did he forbear laying out a garden, ornamenting his house, or taking a tour of diversion he is inclined to, should he bestow his time, his thoughts, or his money to better purpose, either of his own or of the public, in any other way? Did he surcease the common civilities and little intercourses of kindness practised among acquaintance, would he have better leisure to perform more important services? and if these things have their uses, is there not a use in learning

the forms and rules which may render him expert in them? Did he abstain from all diversion and pleasure, should he pass the minutes saved from them with more solace of mind, or greater emolument to himself or others; and could they be pleasures, were he totally to damp that taste and appetite which constitute their essence?

9. Having by such inquiries satisfied himself that all these things in their proper seasons, are nearly or remotely subservient in some degree to the main end, he will strive to comprehend them all within his scheme, marshalling each in due order, attentive to important advantages when opportunity serves, but on failure of such, esteeming every little profit that may be made upon the occasion, be it no more than that of a transient amusement, worthy his notice. And as in every engagement how trifling soever, there is an aim to be pursued, he will apply such judgment and observance to attain it, as the object deserves: but having well settled the reference his under aims bear to the principal, he will follow them severally for the time, taking that for the line of rectitude, which will conduct most effectually to his present purpose.

By this means his outward deportment will appear for the most part nothing different from the carnal and worldly-minded; because he will follow the same pursuits and occupations, proceed under the same views, be actuated by the same appetites and desires, partake in the same engagements and amusements. For Providence has so moulded the desires and inclinations of men, that those who act primarily upon their impulse advance the **Glory of God** by contributing to the good, the accommodation, and the enjoyment of their fellow-creatures: yet they do not his **Will**, because not discerning it to be such, nor making that the motive for taking up the other motives which successively influence them. Whereas he who derives his inferior aims from that principle, and suffers them to prevail with him because bearing a reference thereto, though he has nothing of God nor religious subjects in his thoughts during the prosecution of them, may be counted doing the **Will of God**; because if at any time they appeared contradictory thereto, he could, and would withstand them; and to be paying that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and which sacrifice is no otherwise good, than to bring the mind into. Hence it becomes manifest, that Religion is no such melancholy, laborious, austere, romantic, and forbidding thing, as too commonly imagined, and that it ever appears so, is owing to the rags of disguise sown upon it by craft, by error, superstition, enthusiasm, and inconsiderate zeal. For the common business of life, the cares of our health, of our possessions, of our reputation, our prudence in

dealings, our contentions, and animadversions, may be brought to bear a part in it ; our appetites, tastes, aversions, and acquired habits may be employed in its service ; our familiar intercourses, our customary modes and forms of behavior, our recreations, amusements, and pleasures may be made subservient to it ; and we may many times be serving God by doing the same things that are done by those who never have him in their thoughts. It forbids us no pleasures, but such as we should rue for in the consequences ; it enjoins us no labors, but such as a prudent man would gladly undertake for the profits accruing from them ; it drives into no troubles, that are not the purchase of greater enjoyments ; it doubles the relish of innocent pleasures by a thankful and joyful reflection upon that bounty from whence they flow ; it lightens the infirmities of nature and pressures of fortune, by teaching us to consider them as necessary burdens for some important service whereof we shall share in the advantage, and to strive for our present tranquillity of mind in supporting them manfully, it finds constant engagement for our attention, because in every situation there is something to be done which we may esteem a profit gained.

For God and reason bid us be happy, and Religion is but the science of attaining happiness ; while pursuing our real advantages, and contriving wisely to increase our stock of pleasures, we do his Will ; it is only when for want of thought and contrivance, or of resolution, we follow present pleasure in preference to greater which will be lost thereby, that we disobey and dishonor him : so that we may say no man ever yet offended his Maker, merely by pleasing himself, but by overlooking those evil consequences which such indulgence will draw behind. Whoever, therefore, has arrived at such knowledge of the uses and tendencies of Religion, as will make him discern it to be, what it really is, the true art of pleasure, need no longer think of duty or obligation : for when the idea of duty is gone by being turned into inclination and prospect of advantage in those particulars which were the objects of it, no damage can ensue from the loss.

Perhaps it will be urged, that such discernment is not presently to be gained : I believe it is not, nor is any science or skill I ever heard of to be acquired without time and application, and during the progress there will be doubts, difficulties, and perplexities, which yet will gradually lessen. But men are so unreasonable they expect to buy understanding and sentiments as they do wares, ready made, at a shop : if they give orders to their upholder to furnish a house, as soon as he has sent in what is proper, they find themselves instantly in possession of everything useful and convenient for a family : so they expect that by running over a

book of morality by way of amusement, cursorily, forgetting each page as they go on to the next, it should, like the upholder, without further care of their own, immediately throw in, as it were by inspiration, all the good qualities recommended therein. But all the exhortations and reasonings in the world will avail nothing without a spirit of industry to weigh, to digest, and practise them.

For it is impossible to compile a system of rules and instructions that shall suit all capacities and answer all occasions, but the learner must add something from his own fund to accommodate them to his particular use. Or could he be supplied with a perfect *Vade mecum* to carry in his pocket, which should contain directions for every minute case of conduct that could happen, he would go like a horse guided by whip and bridle, nor have any use at all for his own observation and understanding.

But what was our judgment given us for, unless to exercise it? and what better have we to do, than employ it for our own benefit? Whoever has such a listlessness as never to stir spontaneously, can only be roused by terror, duty, and obligation, and must be kept drudging under those severe task-masters, until experience and practice shall bring him to a discernment of benefit, and a liking in the work. But where there is a willingness, I conceive that as all the precepts of the Law and the Gospel are said to hang upon Charity, so by continually observing the tendencies of actions and dependences of aims upon one another, he may hang both his greater schemes, and his occasional motives of behavior upon that one purpose of performing the full part assigned him, in advancing the Glory of God, and good of the creation.

10. Nevertheless, there is great caution to be used, that we do not mistake the real dependency of our under aims, nor fancy them hanging upon their proper centre, only because they happen to lie in the line pointing directly towards it; for gross mistakes of this kind are committed daily. I have declared all along, and cannot too often repeat, that nothing is more deceitful than the heart of man, nor harder for him to discover upon many occasions, than his own true motives of conduct. We are apt to take any reasons that may be alleged in justification of our actions for the reasons inducing us to perform them, and if some unthought-of good should result therefrom, are sure to claim the merit to ourselves. The merchant boasts that he supplies the public with useful commodities, finds employment for industrious poor, nurses up seamen, and increases the customs; but it may be those benefits were purely accidental, and the sole motive carrying him through all his toils was that of amassing riches. The sailor glories in having spread the fame of his country, and made her a

terror to remotest nations of the globe ; but perhaps the objects in his view during the service were none other than pay and prize-money. The politician is necessary to preserve order and good government in the nation : yet possibly the nation might never be half so much in his thoughts as his own power and aggrandizement. Our indecent and outrageous champions for liberty may have given occasion to some little further security being added to it ; yet I fear the love of constitutional liberty is so little their passion, that they do not so much as know what it is. Therefore it is not enough that our actions yield a real profit without having good ground of assurance that they were really entered upon with that view, or some derivative view or impulse licensed and encouraged, because being judged conducive thereto.

But when apprized how strong delusion the mind is prone to fall into upon this article, we cannot be too frequent nor too careful in examining our motives closely, tracing them severally to their source, and observing what variety of them might be influencing upon each particular occasion. For I have so good an opinion of mankind as to believe the rule of rectitude does always prevail with them, where there is not some secret bias pre-occupying, or drawing a contrary way.

Therefore if we can certainly know what must have been our motive or motives ; if it were not the right one, and are conscious of having gone contrary to them all, this seems the firmest ground we can have to build the assurance above mentioned upon. If the merchant has slipped an opportunity of gain because it might have proved detrimental to the public : if the clamorous patriot has ever been prompted by the love of liberty to speak well of persons he does not like, to resist an impulse of vanity, envy, or petulance : in those instances they may claim the merit of having acted upon a motive of rectitude ; and if they have frequently done so, may be satisfied of having a right principle of conduct. For as the weight of goods cannot be better ascertained, than by weighing other things of certain standard against them ; so the strength of our principles is best evidenced by their success in overpowering their antagonists. And that our principle may be able to cope with all antagonists it will behove us sedulously to employ every opportunity for nourishing and strengthening it, first by often reviewing the grounds of conviction recommending it to our judgment as the jewel above all price, the sure fountain of happiness ; then by pursuing the methods efficacious for turning that conviction into persuasion, among which in the foremost rank stand our religious exercises of all kinds, as well of the Church as the closet, of adoration as meditation, which were

given for that purpose, and avail to none other, nor need they to make them inestimably valuable.

Therefore ought we to be duly assiduous in the practice of them, and that we may be so, neither excessive nor deficient in the measure, neither impetuous nor careless in the manner, it will be necessary to see that we enter upon them with a right intention, which is that of answering the purpose above mentioned: I say to enter upon them, for during the performance it may be sometimes expedient, as has been shown before in the twentyfirst Chapter, to take up a temporary persuasion not exactly tallying with the convictions of our judgment. But if we go to our devotions with an expectation of meriting by them, of doing an actual service or pleasure to God, of changing his disposition towards us, of acquiring a pre-eminence in sanctity above our fellows, or with an idea of their being arbitrary commands imposed only to try our obedience, or under terror of punishment upon the neglect of them, they can scarce be called doing the Will of God, because not proceeding from that aim which ought to lie at the bottom of all our proceedings, and rise uppermost to our thoughts in these, I mean the divine Glory manifested in the happiness of the creatures.

I know those other topics are frequently inculcated, and with reason, because necessary where a better cannot be explained or made to touch the heart; for so the school-boy must be kept to his lesson by the rod and by injunctions or the lure of applause, because he has not a just sense of the value of learning: but I conceive it is from the urging them too strongly that the extravagances of the Methodists and others inclining that way have arisen. They may be the proper ways conducting into holiness, but I apprehend we are not fully arrived at it, nor is our Religion pure and rational until we can proceed in the exercises of it with the sole expectation of rivetting and habitualizing the three virtues thereby in our hearts, and obtaining those rewards which are made the natural consequences of them by the provisions of Heaven, ordained for the progress of the human soul through her several stages of existence.

And if this be our proper ultimate point of view, it must be highly important to fix our eye upon it, when going upon those exercises which are designed to give it an influence upon all our other courses of behavior. But when coming forth from divine services, though we cannot expect to retain the spiritual ideas accompanying them, amid the bustle of the world, yet we may take care to preserve the effect of them upon our demeanor in that bustle, by considering our general employments of life or particu-

lar occupations of the day that we shall or are likely to be engaged in, how they may be best pursued to our own future or present advantage, or that of others, regard being had to abilities, habits, opportunities, and other circumstances, and to practicability upon each several occasion, and deriving our several aims of pursuit under one another from that grand purpose, the increase of happiness among the creatures : so that whether we work or negotiate, or contend, or prosecute, or discourse, or eat, or play, however we may be totally attentive for the time to the object before us, that object may have been recommended to our attention by having traced its reference to some good, either of body or mind, the greatest that was feasible upon the occasion, wherein God is glorified.

A man that has used himself to run over his schemes of conduct for all occurrences, while the spirit of piety raised by his devotions remains fresh upon him, will be able to give a reason for all that he does, not always a pious reason, but always one that grew from his piety. If he be asked why he works at his trade, why he takes care of his estate, why he goes to law, or paid a visit, or went to the play, or played at cards yester-evening, to answer, For the glory of God, would be untrue ; or, if true, would be a profanation of his name, and a spice of that righteousness which is over-much : but he may say, In prosecution of some rule or maxim of behavior which in his most serious moods he had examined by that standard, and judged more conducive thereto than any others he could have taken upon the particular occasion wherein he follows them.

11. By such practice begun upon an intimate conviction of obedience being our truest policy. I apprehend it may become the fundamental rule of action, the governing principle giving force to all other rules occasionally guiding us, and thereby sanctifying whatever is done under their direction : and though it be not a passion because founded on the soundest reason, yet may have the strength and efficacy of a predominant passion. For it has been laid down by persons most observant of the characters of mankind, that every man has his ruling passion that attracts and swallows up all the rest : I presume we are not to understand them, so strictly, as that other appetites will not solicit at intervals when that has no work to carry on : for the covetous man will go to a feast or a play if you treat him, and it interrupts no gainful scheme going forward, though he expects to get nothing but mere entertainment by his compliance : but though his ruling passion lies all the while inactive and unperceived even by himself, it is not asleep, for how deeply soever he be engaged in other amuse-



ments, the moment anything offers to affect his pocket, it will gain his attention in preference to all objects beside ; so that we may say his appetites only act by license granted during pleasure from that. In like manner wherever there is a thorough principle of obedience, it will continually keep awake though not continually finding matter of employment, and though utterly out of sight during engagements in business or diversion, while taken up in trivial, necessary, and base offices incompatible with the sublimity of its ideas, nevertheless, when anything contradictory to it offers, it will instantly take alarm, or if something practicable for promoting its principal purposes presents, it will immediately fly to the pursuit.

Nor will it, like the ruling passion, barely give license to other desires and appetites, thereby keeping them within the bounds of moderation and innocence, but will bring them subservient to its own aim : for knowing what they are severally capable of, and what damage must ensue if they could be totally eradicated, it will find means to use their ministry in carrying on the great design ; thus having continual employment to be executed either by itself, or by those its inferior ministers. Neither yet will it want force to attract and swallow up that, which swallows all the rest : for well perceiving the mighty strength of a ruling passion, and how much greater works may be achieved by its aid than by the mere dictate of reason, it will turn that powerful agent into such courses, where it may be most useful, and restrain it effectually from others that might work havoc and devastation.

And whatever is the main spring of our movements will perpetually catch the thoughts at times, when they are not necessarily engrossed by other objects. The covetous man loves to count over his bags, he will not indeed be telling his money, when he should be getting more, but at leisure hours, when he has nothing else to do, he can find entertainment in contemplating his riches, laying schemes for increasing them, ruminating upon golden projects, and even feeding his fancy upon wishes of lucky opportunities that are not likely to happen ; and in the midst of his most eager pursuits many a pleasing reflection of the profit to accrue from them will occur spontaneously whenever there is room for it, without interruption to the business in hand. So the miser in righteousness will find his thoughts run of their own accord when not called off to other necessary service, he will be continually ruminating upon the ways of Providence, the connection of interests, the bounties of Heaven, digesting and perfecting his schemes of conduct, tracing the reference of his common transactions to their main end, and searching into the uses of everything that passes around him : and though when neces-

sitated to immerse himself in worldly cares and trivial engagements, he will apply the full attention which the present purpose requires, yet a thought of his obedience, his grand concern, and expectations as citizen of the Universe, will slip in uncalled whenever there is room for it, and it is proper, together with a pleasing reflection that in doing his worldly business he carries on his spiritual, and every pleasure that is innocent is profitable : for God has so ordered his courses of Nature and Fortune, that this life in all particulars is preparatory to the next, and whatever he calls us to thereby, whether labor or play, though we do not discern it, will work to our advantage.

But this vital principle which ought to be sober, rational, determinate, steady, and uniform, degenerates in some persons too frequently conversant among methodists, and enthusiasts, into a passion ; and then takes all the irregularities of that uncertain spring of action ; it becomes convulsive and agueish, sometimes boiling in transports and ecstasies, at others stagnating in terrors and despondences, unable to lay out a regular, practicable plan of conduct, or make the proper junction between religious exercises and the common occupations which Providence has rendered necessary to the condition wherein we are placed, striving to mingle them together as ingredients in the same mess, rather than unite them as distinct members of the same body ; whence their piety intrudes unseasonably to the interruption of business, and continually disturbs the operation of the very measures itself had recommended as expedient. Care therefore must be taken for guarding against this corruption, for if the light that is within us be darkness, how great is that darkness ! But when the governing principle has been established upon the solid grounds of rational conviction, when the methods have been pursued for turning it into an habitual persuasion, and for distributing its influence among the several engagements of life, in the manner before mentioned, recalling it frequently to mind at convenient times, it will be a principle of reason, sobriety, and discretion, not a predominant passion.

12. And I imagine the business of life would go on never the worse, if men were to take this governing principle for the prime director of all their motions : for it would not lead them into idleness, nor sullenness, nor neglect of their persons, nor insensibility to pleasure or reputation, nor perhaps would it much alter the measures they already pursue. We must have food and clothing or we cannot live to do any important services, we must take due care of our healths and our spirits, or we shall perform them but feebly and ineffectually, we must gather such innocent enjoyments as Providence has hung in our reach, or we shall be-

come melancholy, unthankful, and murmuring, we must conform to the customs of mankind and join in familiar intercourses among them, or we shall be utter strangers in the midst of society, without means of learning by observation from others, or communicating improvement to them, or doing them any good offices.

The day laborer, the mechanic, the merchant, the soldier, the mere squire devoid of learning, military skill, or accomplishment, the delicate *petit maître* versed in no science but that of dress, and cards, and tea-table prattle, the poet, the songster, and the fiddler, are of some use in their several stations, contributing more or less to the necessities, the conveniences, the security, or the amusements of life.

The appetite of hunger, the love of health, the desire of improving our fortune, the regard to reputation and the taste for pleasures respectively urge to the care of our persons, to industry in our professions, to merit the esteem of our companions, and give a relish to our diversions: therefore have their uses, as being necessary to stimulate and carry us through the performance of things useful. It is only the discernment of those uses and reference thereto in entering upon our courses of behavior, that is wanting to sanctify and render them steps taken in prosecution of our main intent: for where such reference has constantly been practised, nothing will be done originally upon impulse, nor for we know not why, though appetite may be and commonly must be aiding to carry on the work with the strength of its impulse, but appetite always receiving commission to act from the governing principle, whatever measures it impels to, which were before accidentally productive of some good, will now become an obedience to the Will of God. And one would think it should prove no small encouragement with men to cultivate a holiness of temper, to see that thereby they may turn most of their habitual attachments and desires into virtues, most of their common occupations, many of their amusements, their trifles, and their follies into good deeds, only by finding out and contemplating the unobserved good uses whereto they were subservient: and thus learn to live unto God without totally departing from the ways of the world.

It scarce needs to be repeated, that when holiness has set appetite his task, and limited the extent of his commission, it must leave the execution entirely to the servant for fear of demeaning and fouling itself among those gross ideas to which the eye must then be held attentive. But if habit and desire be thus inured to discipline, and to take direction from an impartial reference to the grand aim of attaining spiritual happiness by a steady prosecution of temporal among our fellow-creatures wherein God is glorified,

it will never run out into spontaneous sallies, nor courses palpably mischievous, nor anything wherein that reference cannot be traced : it will lie so quiet when reason and duty command silence, that the left cheek may be turned to him that has smote the right, and he that has taken the coat permitted to take the cloak also, and kind offices be performed to enemies and persecutors ; and the whole conduct will be rational, pious, uniform, profitable, and satisfactory.

13. Nor would this principle do hurt to men of the richest talents and highest stations whose ruling passion is name, power, and greatness, which it would not eradicate nor stifle, but employ as an able minister in its own services. For such persons above all others, may be expected never to act upon mere impulse, but to have a Why for all their proceedings : nor is it enough that their measures are dexterously contrived to answer the aim they drive at, unless they know likewise why they took up that aim, and if because conducive to some higher aim, have examined that too, and so pursued their views from point to point to the furthest boundary of human reason.

For to use uncommon judgment and abilities in the attainment of an end, but pursue the end only because their mother taught them, because delighting their fancy, because the constant subject of panegyric, because raising the admiration of the multitude, because everybody wishes to attain it, seems a preposterous way of proceeding : it is subjecting the man in servitude to the beast. For wiser heads than mine have of old compared reason and appetite to the rider and his horse : but it would be ridiculous to see a man on first setting out give his horse the choice whether they shall travel north or west, and then exercise the most consummate skill and management for arriving at the meadows two hundred miles off, which he knows his horse is fond of.

For their choice of the ultimate object to be pursued in the journey of life I shall not send them back to the Catechism nor the pulpit, nor pretend to lead them on the process whereby they may find it : for their own judgment, provided they will use it, will direct them better than any instructions by persons of less extensive views and less ample capacities, yet it may save some trouble to suggest a few topics whereon to exercise their judgment. They may please then to consider, whether happiness be not the proper ultimate object for reason to pursue, whether there be anything else to be found beyond, which renders it desirable, and whether all other things do not become desirable for their tendency to that. Whether happiness stands confined to the gratification of a few years, or that distant good is likewise to be taken into the compu-

tation: whence it appears a mere impulse of appetite that would attach them to the splendor of their present situation, were it certainly to be of half a century continuance, but as in the schemes they lay for the prosperity of the nation, they contrive for future ages to the remotest posterity, so prudence and considerate judgment will incline them to consult their own happiness in the most distant futurity. Whether their care to have their names shine in history and be remembered with honor by succeeding generations, be really a concern for the future, or only the gratification of a present appetite; or there be any probable assurance, that they shall know a hundred years hence, or shall feel any real pleasure therein if they do know what is then said of them, in which case they will reap no other benefit from their fame than what arises from the contemplation of it while they live.

They may examine what is properly themselves, what only an instrument, habitation, or adjunct separable from them, to which of the two their family, their fortune, their knowledge, their accomplishments were owing, and whether they can depend upon being born into another state of being under the same advantageous circumstances as they came into this.

It may then be expedient to cast a thought upon the origin of things, whether Necessity and Chance be substances, active powers, or efficient causes of anything, or only manners of acting in other substances; whether a perceptive Being can be formed by the composition of unperceptive principles; whether the order of nature and variety of diversely qualified substances we behold, must not be the production of a free and intelligent agent, and what the character of that agent may be conceived to be. Whether there be not rational grounds to conclude the whole universe governed by one general scheme of polity, having a mutual dependence of all its parts upon one another, with a strict impartiality of favor among the perceptive members, preserving an exact equality in the portion of each, computed throughout the whole extent of their existence; from whence follows an intimate connection of interests, every individual having a personal concern in whatever good or evil befalls every other: therefore the many were not made for the few, but the few for the many, and what extraordinary abilities are given to some, were not given in particular fondness to them, but for the sake of the public, or for all those who may be benefited by them.

By competent reflection upon these topics, it may possibly appear to their satisfaction that the happiness of all for whom they can procure it, is the ultimate point which reason and judgment will recommend to their pursuit, as standing next in order to their

own happiness : and it will readily occur that the happiness of the people does not consist solely in the riches and prosperity of the nation, but likewise in good internal polity, decency of manners, propriety of sentiments, variety of engagements, innocence of desires, peace and tranquillity of mind, all which they will be attentive severally to promote by such ways and methods as may offer. They may then contemplate the weakness of human nature in which reason is too feeble to work its purposes without aid of some passion to assist in the execution : therefore it is expedient to cultivate in their breast a nobleness of sentiment, a love of fame, a desire of eminence, power, and influence among their compatriots, making this the ruling passion to absorb and overwhelm all other desires incident to the human heart, as well knowing that without such powerful incitement they could never have spirit enough to go through all the troubles, the fatigues, the self-denials, the contrivances necessary for the public service.

So they will not take this impulse for the prime director of their conduct, but employ it as a vigorous agent for the better furtherance of those designs they had determined upon before in their calm and sober judgment, as a man uses his horse to carry him further upon his journey than he could possibly have gone with his own legs. But they will not suffer the horse to take the bit between his teeth and run away with them, nor give into measures detrimental to the public for sake of gratifying the beast : for the rider will never drop the reins though sometimes loosening them to give scope to a full career, much less will he use his sagacity to justify the wanton sallies of the horse, or find out by an after-thought, that they have advanced him forward on his journey, but will keep a constant eye beforehand upon the courses he is going to take.

And if they have a principle of reason strong enough to rule the ruling passion, it will find employment in many cases where the servant cannot assist, or even would stand inclined to oppose : they will be careful to encourage no vices, extravagances, nor fashionable follies, to lead insensibly into wholesome sentiments by their discourses and example, to watch all occasions of doing a real good, though by ways not contributing to increase their credit or interest, to comply with forms, ceremonies and customs useful for the people, though perhaps not esteemed needful for themselves, to forego opportunities of enlarging their power, to resign it peaceably and contentedly, to bear undeserved treatment, abuses, and slander, whenever the public good shall so require ; a harder task than that of turning the right cheek to him that has smote

the left, or giving up the cloak also to him that has taken away the coat.

Thus the divine Glory pursued by the good of the creatures is capable of furnishing the plan of conduct for all stations of life, and directing the choice in all circumstances that can happen ; and measures of every kind would be better laid than upon any other foundation. For nothing can fall within the compass of our activity but there is one course to be taken productive of better advantage than another, be it no more than of a present, momentary pleasure : for this is an accession to happiness when no greater can be made. Not that the grand principle can actuate all our particular motions, for this is both impracticable and improper ; but it may give sanction to the rules directing them, generate the aims inviting to them, and license the appetites exciting them. And he that should proceed in all his actions upon aims derived directly, or by the medium of other aims, from that origin, and by the impulse of appetites commissioned thereby, might be truly said to be pursuing his main intention in them all ; and whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, to be doing all for the Glory of God, even at times when he has nothing of that object in his thoughts.

There is no occasion to affect a singularity of behavior, nor seek for uncommon ways of employing our time, in order to live a life of holiness : there needs only to consider the station wherein we are placed as the call of God, to acquit ourselves well in all the parts of it, momentous or trivial, in such manner as that we could not have done better upon the occasion, all circumstances regarded ; and to have our desires under such discipline as they may never stir of their own mere motion, but run always in the courses marked out beforehand by considerate judgment, upon the plan of fulfilling our little part in promoting the gracious designs of Providence : for this is that obedience which is better than sacrifice, and is the genuine product of an un mistaken sanctity.

14. But it will be counted a romantic expectation to think that appetite can ever be made a so completely managed horse, as to move in all its paces at the word of command, or that we can have skill enough to trace a reference in our common transactions to the general interest of the creation. This I have acknowledged before, and shall not now recant ; therefore I would have no man depend upon achieving it ; yet he may propose it for his constant aim, and endeavor upon all occasions to come as near to it as possible, but without being terrified when he misses his mark, or if at any time the air be so darkened that he cannot discern it.

For God and nature first put us under conduct of appetite, from whence discretion and wisdom are afterwards to grow ; but we must not expect to see the perfect tree shoot instantaneously from the seed. Therefore appetite is our proper guide whenever we have no better to follow ; but experience, instruction, and converse among mankind, quickly discover to us the errors of appetite, and create other desires of health, security, improvement, profit, advancement, or reputation, which supply us with fuller engagement than the natural, because finding a pleasure in prospects before us, and giving a present interest in gratifications yet to come.

But those pursuits proving often delusive, obstructing one another and leading into mischievous consequences, there needs a higher rule to guide them ; and this can be had only from contemplation of universal Nature, and the power by which it was established. Thus during the reign of appetite which gave beginning to our infant actions, we were little different from the brutes ; discretion, common prudence, and knowledge in the ways of the world made men of us, and Religion if it were perfect and practical would make us Angels, or as near to Angels as our present condition is capable of being raised. It would still retain enjoyment or happiness for our ultimate end, rating that at a distance as high as if it were near at hand, and allowing that at hand the full value it deserves : it would forbid us no present pleasures that could be had at free cost, and would teach us to feel a present satisfaction in prospects of the most remote. Therefore would restrain either the natural or acquired appetites in nothing that can add to the sum of our enjoyments ; it would only withhold them from running into mischiefs they do not foresee, and turn them into courses that would yield profit as well as gratification ; making our whole lives a continued scene of satisfaction either in the present fruition of innocent pleasures, or the joyful reflection of being at work in the acquisition of future.

For whoever has a hearty desire of doing always what he discerns to be right, will seldom fail of having that desire gratified : and a state of continual gratification in a predominant desire everybody will allow to be a state of enjoyment. But the uneasinesses we feel, spring either from the want of a quick discernment and strong persuasion that the measures we take will conduce to our principal end, or from the desire being too weak to overpower any pain or trouble that lies in the way.

Now if we think this discernment and strength of desire too hard a task for us ever to attain completely, as indeed I think so too, yet when making due reflection upon the value of them if



they could be attained, we shall wish to approach as near to them as possible : and without vexing ourselves at what we cannot do, shall watch for every opportunity of making a little advance towards them, as being an advantage gained, with as much attention as a miser does to the profit of every shilling he can get in a bargain. For those are seldom the most thriving people, who drive at none but vast projects, and will needs grow rich at once : nor is he likely to make the best proficiency in holiness, who expects to become a saint by one eager resolution, to practise uncommon virtues, and never do a wrong thing again. But treasures in Heaven as well as upon earth are raised by continually accumulating to the stock in hand, and more is to be done by vigilance and industry, than by strength and impetuosity.

15. By due performance of our religious services with a view to that effect for which alone they are profitable, the improving our dispositions and sentiments of mind, every exercise will add something to their vigor, and help to render them more habitual : so that after paying our devotions rightly at any time, we may depend upon having made a profit, which will manifest itself in our subsequent conduct : the next thought will be how to exemplify our sentiments by our practice.

And here we shall certainly find an insurmountable difficulty in laying out all parts of our conduct upon this plan, and discovering a reference in every employment we must unavoidably engage in to our principal intention : but this need not trouble us, for this world is a school wherein we must not expect to be masters in the science we were sent hither to learn. Yet we may continually make some proficiency therein, observing references where we had not discerned them before, finding uses in things we had esteemed unavailing, deducing new rules from our more general suited to the variety of circumstances that may befall, correcting them from time to time and learning better how to turn particular opportunities to the best account, either for promoting some solid good or innocent pleasure, or for escaping the mischiefs and inconveniences that might ensue from the neglect of them.

For experience and diligence will do great matters by imperceptible workings : we know the frugal proverb, a pin a day is a groat a year, and if we make ever so little advance every day in our progress, it is scarce to be credited what lengths we may arrive at by the year's end, so as to feel the truth of that promise, To him that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance : and all this without toil or terror, but only by a hearty willingness

to the work, and a strong persuasion that every stroke struck in it will be a real profit gained.

And we may profit not only by the habit of marking out the track we are to go, but likewise by casting a retrospect at convenient seasons upon those we have gone, examining how things have succeeded, wherein we might have managed better, every now and then tracing our references to their fountain-head, and rejoicing in any good trains we have fallen into accidentally, because this will make them our operating motive another time, when the like opportunity returns again. Our ultimate point cannot be held always in view, for there is a time for heavenly thoughts and a time for worldly cares, a time to work and a time to play, a time to be serious and a time to be merry; but it will cast an abstract idea of rectitude upon whatever moral senses, appetites, prudential rules, common aims, regards to necessity or propriety were regularly deduced from it, or allowed upon their apparent reference traced to it: so that after having gotten a competent stock of them, we shall proceed for the most part with a consciousness of doing right, which will prove a present reward for our diligence, and an encouragement to persevere in it: and in our serious moods may serve as a topic of joyful thanksgiving for the progress we have been enabled to go, and the little share wherein we have been made instrumental together with other of our fellow-creatures, towards carrying on any work of God, whether in the advancement of Religion, some public benefit, education of our children, services of our friends, or by some small addition to the conveniences or cheerfulness of life. Which topic may be frequently resumed with good emolument, as helping considerably to strengthen the three fundamental virtues in our hearts; provided care be taken to keep clear of the pharisaical comparison with other persons supposed less profitable servants. For it is the property of sound piety to joy in good works for the profit, not for the credit of them, and take a sensible relish in the smallest, when satisfied they were the best that could have been done under the circumstances attending them.

When pains and afflictions, toils and troubles fall upon us, we shall often suffer by them and often be thrown off the hinges, for we were born in weakness, and bred up in fears and delicacy, but if we cannot master the strong, we shall continually make fresh conquests upon the smaller, and continually gather some accession of strength to contend with the mightiest; but every victory and every brave struggle, even though unsuccessful, will be esteemed an advantage and a pleasure. Appetite and habit will still prompt to action upon their own impulse, without staying to take

direction from the rules of judgment, sometimes will carry us forcibly in opposition thereto, or sometimes warp us insensibly out of the line, and we shall often lose sight of our reference, so as to discern no rule drawn from thence applicable to the present occasion. But when the rider does not see the way himself, he cannot do better than let the horse find his own track, and if the beast be serviceable, will be content to take the good qualities with the bad, nor wish to part with him, or have him lose all his mettle because of some unlucky tricks; for how often soever he be run away with, he will never quit hold of the reins, but try to gather them up when he can, and bring him off his tricks by degrees.

If the governing principle be well rooted it will never lie asleep though sometimes inactive, and sometimes overpowered; and if it cannot always direct or give the spring to action, yet like the demon of Socrates, it will always stand ready to check when things are going amiss, so that conscience shall ever be vigilant to take alarm: but the pricks of conscience will not so much afflict and torment us, as stimulate our resolution and excite our diligence, and their repeated pungency will produce effects that could not have been worked by strength.

The same principle likewise may keep us attentive to the ways of Providence in the administration of the moral world, the springs of action working among mankind, the courses of events, the uses and tendencies of things moving around us, from whence to gather wholesome directions for the better management of our own conduct; to find matter of joy and thankfulness in blessings falling out of our reach and in works performed by others wherein we had no hand.

For the general connection of interests having gained our full persuasion, will give us a concern in all the good and evil we behold elsewhere, as also in whatever conduces to increase the one, or diminish the other: therefore we shall not wish to engross sanctity and wisdom to ourselves, those two copious sources of general good, nor be forward to depreciate our fellow-laborers, being sensible that the larger their abilities and better their dispositions are, the quicker that great work, redounding to the common benefit of all, the perfecting of the human species, will go on. This must make us candid to others, ready to interpret, to judge, and to augurate for the best with that partiality which naturally inclines us to believe what we wish, not prone to revenge, nor envy, nor personal resentment; never doing hurt nor displeasure but reluctantly, upon the necessity of securing some greater good that must otherwise be lost, and pleased with any real benefit, though

worked undesignedly by persons acting under the impulse of appetite or upon private views.

16. This pleasure together with the observation of what great benefits to mankind are so worked by those undiscerning springs of action, might instruct us how to shape our dealings with the world; for those who go about to reform mankind are commonly too romantic in their schemes, and the methods of pursuing them. The Philosopher would have all men constantly follow their reason, and then they would want nothing else to make them completely happy; whether this be true or no I cannot certainly tell, but undoubtedly if they would follow their reason, things would go on infinitely better than they do: but the great difficulty lies in bringing them to walk steadily under that guidance, and to this purpose I conceive Religion and religious services rightly applied, together with the rules of conduct deriving a sanction from their reference thereto, are supremely conducive. The pious man wants to make everybody a Saint, until finding the generality unwilling to be tutored by him, he gives them over for wicked creatures, reprobates upon whom nothing is to be done: so he wraps himself up in his own integrity, conversing solely with his God, as being incapable of doing service to his fellow-creatures. If he could make them real and rational Saints, I have no objection, and should be overjoyed to lend him a helping hand; but what if he cannot? is there nothing else to be done for them in the labor of love? He is commanded to do good to enemies and persecutors, whom we may presume wicked men, scarce capable of being improved by him in sanctity: therefore, there must be some other benefit to be done them, for God would not command a duty that is impossible.

Religion and the governing principle above mentioned lead us to do all the good we can, not that we cannot do, because we think it better: but how know we what is best? and ought we not to esteem that best whereto we are called by Nature and Providence having put it into our power? The necessities and conveniences, the embellishments and enjoyments of life are good and valuable in themselves, nor ever become unholy unless when the abuse of them draws on greater mischiefs, which over-balance their benefit: therefore whatever contributes to the supply of them deserves our attention and encouragement, which to apply upon all seasonable opportunities is a part of the work whereto we are called.

But those things must be procured by the labor of multitudes acting in various ways, few of which they could ever be brought into by the principles of Religion. For how will you raise a sense

of the general interest in the ignorant ploughman, lively enough to carry him through the fatigues of his daily work? Yet without his industry you cannot have your daily bread. How will you inspire the unfeeling seamen with a public spirit, sufficient to make him endure all hardships, to brave the dangers of every element? Yet without his aid you cannot live securely at home, or enjoy the tranquillity needful for your meditations to the improvement of your own or your neighbor's sanctity.

Religion with the generality of mankind where there is some sense of it, operates but as a bridle not as a spur, exciting no desire of any kind but at most restraining those arising from other sources; it is submitted to as a burden necessary for avoiding the stripes threatened to disobedience: so they serve God as the Indians do the devil, that he may not hurt them, and their solicitude is to escape hell rather than to gain Heaven, nor would they ever think of the latter if there were a third place whither they might go to be secure from the former. The springs actuating their movements and aims inviting their pursuit are sustenance, or fortune, or power, or greatness, or reputation, or amusement, or some favorite scheme they have been made fond of by natural appetite, by education, custom, or accident touching their fancy. Therefore by observation upon the characters and abilities of men, means may often be found of turning their desires to some advantage of their own, or of one another: our business then is to join with what little aid we can bring to anything going forward for improvement of good manners, good polity, peace, tranquillity of mind, convenience or enjoyment of life; for all we do of this kind comes properly within our day's work, so that if entered upon in that light, we shall be serving God, whatever idols our fellow-laborers in the same work are serving. Nor yet is it impossible they may be serving him unknowingly, and themselves too, in the most essential point: for neither Religion nor Philosophy could go the lengths they have done, without the aids and materials furnished them by the laborer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, the merchant, the naturalist, the mathematician, the astronomer, and the statesman.

17. We speculative people are apt to persuade ourselves, it would be a happy world if all men were good, and I must own myself still in that persuasion, provided you allow us our own definition of good men; that is, such in whom reason is so absolute, and the spirit of rectitude so strong, as to overpower all indolence, appetite, terror, and pain, with the same ease as a violent fit of revenge, or love, or jealousy, or ambition, or covetousness can do, which will enable men to bear any toils or hurts in the prosecu-

tion of their purpose, without feeling them. But if we must be fetched down from our visionary ideas, and confined to such good men as can be found upon the earth, I much question whether matters would be mended if all others could be brought to resemble them.

Prudence, that first cardinal virtue, foundation of all the rest, discovers approaching evils too clearly, and destroys that insensibility of danger necessary for many important services: good management, contentedness, and aversion to waste, keep off those necessities which drive the world to industry. The shoe-maker earns enough in four days to maintain him the whole week, so he never will do a stitch of work before Wednesday morning. The common sailor will not return on board, while he has a farthing of the wages received remaining in his pocket: it is riot and debauchery reduce him to that indigence which makes him a useful member of the community.

I do not produce these as examples of good men, but I fear the best of human goodness has so much of human infirmity mingled among it, as to render it utterly incapable of many necessary services which the business of the world cannot go on well without. How would you man your fleets, or recruit your armies, all out of good men? they might feel great reluctance against exercising the trade of a butcher, or an ale-house keeper, or brewing poisonous liquors in a wine cooper's vaults, nor perhaps might it be possible to find the two necessary ministers of justice, a bum bailiff, and a Jack Ketch among them.

For Providence has so ordered the courses of sublunary affairs, that wickedness, impulse, and folly are made instrumental to wise and gracious purposes, and one vice is employed to correct the poisonous qualities, and prevent the mischievous effects of another, so that none can be spared unless all are cured, which we must not expect to see done before the coming of the kingdom of the just, wherein, to speak in Scripture language, we hope to be born again and become new creatures. But it becomes not us to intermeddle in that mysterious method of bringing forth good by means of evil, for this is the sacred prerogative of Heaven, reserved among the arcana imperii, the secrets of government: we are to follow the dictates of Religion and reason, those guides which God has given us for our perpetual direction; whatever they declare productive of nothing but mischief, we are to avoid, to discourage vice wherever we find it, nor ever to do or permit evil that good may come of it, for none but the all-seeing eye can certainly know when good will come of it.

Nevertheless, we may and ought to assist in every work carrying on for the benefit of mankind, though not undertaken with that purity of intention we could wish, and contribute so far as in our little power lies to encourage those customs, aims, and desires which the world in any respect is better with, than without: for in so doing and entering upon it with that view, we follow the rule of reason, which is the greater feasible good, and do the Will of God.

For when we survey the state of mankind cast upon them by the dispensations of Providence, we shall hardly believe it intended that all men should be actuated in the general tenor of their conduct by religious principles. Multitudes are born in countries of utter darkness, error and superstition: many bred up in wickedness and ignorance, without any discernment of the light shining around them: some want capacities to extend a thought beyond sensible objects: some are immersed unavoidably by the prevalence of custom and example in vain projects and worldly cares: many by the necessity of their situation, forced to attend solely to gaining their livelihood: few however rightly disposed are able to trace the rules for their ordinary transactions to the proper source, so are obliged to act under other impulses for want of better direction: yet all these people are made instrumental in carrying on the business of the world, by means of the several impulses actuating their motions.

But the ways of Providence are all gracious, and wise, and holy; the courses of nature in any part of the universe established with a reference to the good of the whole: therefore we may depend that the transactions of the world answer some higher purpose than we are aware of; and since God has so placed the greater part of mankind, that without their own fault, but by the necessity of their situation, they can have only transient, imperfect notions of him, we may conclude there is a work of Providence which may go on without religious sentiments. So that while concurring in measures taken upon impulse, common aims and desires, so far as we perceive them conducive to some temporal good or enjoyment of life, we are still moving in our proper sphere, as citizens of the universe, inheritors of heaven, though religion have no share in those intercourses, unless as our own private motive for joining therein.

18. Let us recollect further, that this life is a preparation for the next, and though it is to be feared that some unhappy wretches make preparation for a miserable life in the next long immeasurable stage of their journey through matter, this is done solely by their own wilful misconduct: therefore, in all the courses

men follow, where it was impossible or impracticable for them to have taken better for want of clearer knowledge than was afforded, we may confide in the goodness and wisdom of God, for having led them into such as will prepare them for the attainment of some future benefit, besides that they reap therefrom from this world.

A boy is put apprentice to a carpenter, he is bid to be diligent in his service, because it will enable him to get a comfortable livelihood, and secure the approbation of his friends : he does so, and afterwards plies industriously to his trade upon those sole motives : perhaps, he might have got to be clerk of the parish, and spent his time in singing psalms, but he never was taught to think seriously of God or religion at all, how then should it come into his head that calling a psalm was more holy employment than sawing a board, or how was it practicable for him to have followed a better course, or upon better views, than he has done ?

A religious man may visit about among his neighbors, because the rules of civility require it, though discerning no reference they bear to the great work of his salvation : but you say there is a reference, and he might trace it if he would ; perhaps, he might, had he so piercing a sight as yours, but if he has not, how is it practicable for him to see as distinctly with weaker optics ? or why should he forbear his civilities when he likewise perceives no reference in the omission.

Since then there is a right and a wrong in every choice of action, and the right lies in following the best light that appears at the time, since right actions of all kinds do not always redound to the temporal interests of the performer, and since Providence, by which our lights are dispensed, orders nothing in vain ; it may safely be inferred that the transactions and occupations of this world proceeding from common impulses, aims, and desires, not derived from holiness, provided there be no check of conscience warning of a contrariety thereto, bear a share in the preparation for the next. It is not necessary that we should know precisely in what manner they operate, but our persuasion of a universal Providence laying out every stroke in the all-comprehensive plan, so as to introduce and make way for the next in succession, may give us a general idea of their being profitable.

Nevertheless, this idea will become a little less general when we reflect upon what has been urged in the Chapter upon Divine Economy, that Religion and Philosophy alone cannot complete the great work of God, the perfecting the human nature, without aid of human sciences, arts, policy, industry, commerce, and the daily intercourses among mankind : from whence may be gathered, that we all have our several parts allot-



ted us in one or other of the three branches, and every branch has its number of hands assigned to carry it on : so that though it be necessary there should be some Christians, and some Philosophers, in all degrees of proficiency, yet it is not necessary that all mankind should be such ; as we may presume it necessary from experience of fact, that some should pass through many years of life, but not so that others should ever get out of their cradle.

For there is a general interest connecting the whole species together, and as the power of the mighty, the sagacity of the prudent, and knowledge of the learned were given them for the benefit of the public, so the graces of the righteous were not shed upon them for their own sakes, but for advancing the progress of sound Religion in the world, and they receive assistance again from the men of business and worldly pursuits. Thus whoso performs his part well, wherever allotted him, according to the lights vouchsafed, does all wanted from him towards securing the great common interest whereof himself shall be one day partaker : whether he performs little there is no lack, and whether he performs much there is nothing over.

19. Nor shall we want a gleam of light to illustrate how the just performance of an inferior part may qualify men to act in a higher, when we cast back an eye upon the introduction of religious sentiments and good practical habits into ourselves : for they were born with none of us, nor infused immediately by the water of Baptism. We were sent hither under the sole direction of sense and appetite, affected by pleasures or pains of the present moment, without knowledge of God, without thought of the morrow, without idea of right and wrong. When memory began to lay in her stores, their frictions among one another struck out the first sparkles of judgment and forecast, which gave us a concern for the next succeeding hours : we could then rejoice in the promise of a plaything to be bought in the afternoon, and dread the thoughts of mamma being told to-morrow, that we had done a naughty trick. In this manner we were furnished with affections and desires whose gratification afforded a present pleasure, though springing from objects at some distance.

As observation increased, aided by instruction and sympathy, desire extended a little further and further in its views, so that we could desire and be pleased with the expectation of pleasures to come a week or a month after : custom gradually strengthened those aims, and enlarged them to take in a series and variety of pleasures as one object. We pretty soon found or were taught, that materials were necessary to be provided, and previous measures to be taken for the attainment of our remote desires : then

reason began to open, and we gathered by little pickings the ideas of good and mischievous, of right and wrong.

For good, says Mr. Locke, is that which produces pleasures, and we may define right to be that line of conduct which leads most effectually to the procurement of good or pleasure : thus money is good because it purchases the things that will please us ; caution in contracts is right because it helps us to get money or to save it ; civility and good humor is right because they enhance the pleasures of conversation. But affection which, as I said above, affords a present pleasure in the movement towards gratification, often fixes wholly upon that, and then becomes a passion or direct appetite caring only for the present moment, or if it does pretend to look beyond, yet when violent it always absorbs the idea of right in that of gratification. A man in a high fit of resentment is assured those revenges are right, which he will abhor in his cooler hours : a young fellow strongly smitten with a pretty face, is positive beyond all power of conviction that the owner of it is a Pamela, possessed of all valuable accomplishments : and every passion or appetite in proportion to the vigor of its impulse, strives to resist and pervert the recommendations of judgment.

It cannot be long before we perceive this quality of appetite and passion to defeat us of the benefits our judgment might have conducted into : from whence we learn the value of prudence, or the estimation of remote enjoyment equally with that near at hand, which is the foundation and root of all the virtues, as well moral as theological ; for in him that has no feeling for the future, his fortitude can be nothing but insensibility, his temperance tastelessness, and his justice a compliance with the fashion : he can have neither hope nor charity, and his faith can be no more than un-moving speculation.

Therefore in proportion as we grow in prudence, and as judgment gathers strength to pursue an advantage at some distance against the opposition of appetite, we advance a step forward towards the perfection of our nature. But the first prospects of judgment are scanty, and the objects of its pursuit but little remote : when afterwards we take up manly views, they reach no further than to the pleasurable enjoyment of youth in such course of life, as we have been led to admire by tuition, or sympathy, or some shining appearance striking our fancy ; for young people seldom think of what shall happen to them when they grow old, as too remote for their discernment, nor feel the least reluctance against giving in to practices that manifestly endanger the shortening of their span. Even Religion, in such as are taught it early, would have no force unless backed by near motives : they are

told of the blessing of God upon the righteous in this world, that he will prosper them in all their ways, and his judgments perpetually hang over the reprobate : they are reminded of the precariousness of life, how many young people are daily snatched off on a sudden, and they themselves may be taken away this very night : for if they were persuaded of forty years certain before them, and in all that time things should go on in the same manner whether they were good or wicked, I question whether any impression could be made that would sink into their judgment. It is not without long time and discipline, and practice, and by gradual progress, that we ever come to look upon a happy eternity as an object of real desire, abstracted from being an escape from its contrary, or to have any imagination how there can be happiness without senses and sensual enjoyments, or how our future condition can be affected by our present behavior.

Thus the highest prudence springs out of that which had enabled us steadily to pursue our inferior aims against every bias drawing us aside : therefore those persons commonly make the largest proficiency in Religion, who could earliest be brought to consideration, and forecast in the little matters then within their sphere, and were most docible to instruction, or observant of the measures taken by their elders ; whereas such as have strong passions and get a habit of eagerness in following every present impulse, seldom make any proficiency at all ; if they have quick parts they arrive at a great deal of cunning, but rarely any prudence, even in worldly affairs. For it is a valuable point gained to be able to do what appears to be right, however imperfect or delusive that appearance may be : it is still taking the guidance of our judgment though uninformed or misinformed, which will habituate and prepare us for following it more readily at other times, when it shall have received better information.

We have found reason in former Chapters to conclude, that the mind always acts by the instrumentality of some material organ, either of the finer or grosser part of our machine, and her powers are greater or less according to the strength and condition of the instruments she has to work with. Now it seems not unlikely, that organ which the mind uses in exerting a resolution to follow the dictates of judgment preferably to present impulse, may be the grand muscle of our spiritual body, wherein its main strength lies ; and as this improves in tone and order, that body acquires a vitality of its own, being able to perform its functions without aid of the grosser, from whose mechanical circulations the impulses of appetite and passion, or vehemencies of desire seem to be thrown in.

Therefore every exercise, even of a mistaken rectitude, helping to strengthen this principal muscle, contributes towards perfecting the spiritual body within us, that it may rise again to new life with better health and powers, for attaining that perfect endurance and forbearance which is our complete Redemption, and total deliverance from original sin. For though we should carry none of our knowledge, our habits, nor our ideas with us, but the foundations we shall then have to build our judgment upon should be totally different from the present, yet it is of the utmost importance to have our organs vigorous and pliant, capable of executing such services as judgment shall put them upon : as it was of importance what texture of brain, what proportion of limbs, and suppleness of joints we were born with into this present world ; for our knowledge and acquisitions depend in great measure thereupon, though we brought in no stock of them along with us.

20. Hence it appears, that preparation is made in this life for better enjoyment of the next by the practice of morality, and worldly prudence ; I do not pretend it is so large as that made by the courses of sound Religion, but if it be of any real benefit, it is well worth our attention to assist in promoting it upon every opportunity that falls in the way, for it is a part of our great work, derived directly from the grand intention of glorifying God, by contributing to the good of his creatures in their most important concern.

We have found reasons in the Chapter on Redemption to show, that no man fully runs his course or reaches the goal of salvation in this life, but something further remains to be done in the next ; and that God in his dispensations of Providence has marked out different lengths here to different persons. Upon which ground we may presume, that such dominion of reason and mastery over the passions as every man is capable of attaining, according to the circumstances wherein he is placed, all that is needful for him to achieve, as being the narrow way and the strait gate by which he may enter into life, though we could not, because having another path assigned us to run in.

But it behoves us to be studious and diligent in assisting our fellow-travellers proceeding in different tracks, upon all occasions where we can ; for in so doing we exercise our obedience and our charity. For which purpose it will be necessary to mingle among them, to observe the several aims and ideas of rectitude prevailing with them, and if we do not find them exactly tallying with our own, yet examining which verges nearest thereto, and will add something to the authority of reason over mechanical impulse ; attentive to what is practicable in every case, and careful

to drive the nail that will go, for a small service is preferable to none at all.

It is better a man should work industriously in his calling, only to raise a competence thereby, than that he should live idle and utterly useless : it is better he should be temperate for his health's sake, than have no check upon his excesses : it is better he should be kept in decency by the fear of censure, than that he should run riot in all kind of licentiousness and wantonness ; in all these cases there is some extension of the view beyond present gratification, and some conquest gained over the impetuosity of appetite. And since reason is too feeble in the generality of mankind, ever to do much without taking assistance from the appetites to quell one another, but we must practise the politician's maxim, *Divide and command* ; it will be expedient to learn which of them are best capable of that service, and to encourage such desires, inclinations, pursuits, customs, modes, and attachments as help to keep under the more riotous, because without them it is to be feared the world would rust in idleness, or wallow in the grossest sensuality. For those less mischievous impulses help in some degree to strengthen the rational faculty, and make preparation for larger advances whenever an opening shall be given for carrying them on.

Thus we see there are ways wherein we may pursue our grand intention in the most essential part, that of advancing men a step forwards in their progress to a happy futurity, by means wherein religion and religious sentiments bear no part.

21. But are we not to labor in the cultivation of that principle and those sentiments among men ? certainly, with all our might and diligence : for it is the first object of a devout intention to bring all others to act with the same, whenever we can. Nor is this at all contradicted by the foregoing exhortations to assist in the growth of morality, and common prudence : for our attention to short aims and partial services for want of better being practicable, will never abate our vigilance to pursue the ultimate, as often as we can find an avenue leading thereto. A thorough industry catches at every small profit, yet will not be content with common gains if an opportunity occurs of making greater.

But when going to communicate our own spirit to another, it behoves us to take care that it be genuine and well rectified, for we cannot infuse a purer than we have ourselves, but we may infuse it not so pure as we have ourselves : therefore caution must be used that what we impart be of the right sort, and do not corrupt in the passage. If there be anything of terror, or servility, or anxious solicitude, or vanity, or ill nature, or narrow

selfishness, or other passion intermingled, it is ropy and imperfect. For there are religious passions as well as sensual, and both are alike natural enemies to judgment, yet both must be employed to assist in weakening a worse enemy : they first afford room for judgment to exert a vigor by joining in with them against the common adversary, who being drove out of the field they ought then to be discarded, or else they will become our masters unless some other passion can be called in to aid in keeping them under.

It is the want of this caution that draws people to be righteous overmuch, not observing that a zeal of devotion which was once a necessary servant of righteousness, may become a formidable enemy : but this world is a school wherein we are always to learn, nor ever think ourselves perfect masters in our science of rectitude, or be too sure that our rules of it are infallible ; it is a perpetual warfare wherein we must keep a vigilant eye as well upon friends, as upon declared enemies. According to the capacities of men or the situation whereto they are respectively arrived in their progress, that may be holiness in one which would be superstition in another, and the same point a step forwards to one which would be a step backwards to another. Therefore it will behove us to proceed with discretion, observing diligently the several bearings of our ultimate aim, and the lines pointing to it from every quarter, that so we may discern what movement will make the nearest practicable approach from the spot where each man stands, and in the circumstances of his situation.

Nor is discretion more needful in fixing upon the particular point we would conduct to, than in the manner of conducting : men never were so well drove as led, and in these countries, God be thanked, they will not drive at all. I look upon it as a blessing, because if you could drive them they would follow the letter of your directions ; to lead they must understand the spirit, or they will not budge an inch after you. But the apprehensions of men are so various, that by speaking a truth one may chance to convey the idea of an arrant falsehood, and recommend a maxim perfectly salutary to one's self, which might be poisonous to be followed by another.

Yet if the truth were ever so clear or the maxim unexceptionable, still if there be anything distasteful accompanying the delivery, it will not be received : for there is a stoutness, and an aversion to inferiority rooted in all men, which must be managed with great delicacy. All parade of extraordinary righteousness, austerity, stiffness, tutorage, expression of contempt or pity for the ungodly, or even looks of censure where it is not expressed by

words, which very good people are sometimes too prone to indulge in, will certainly set them against you. They take these things for insults upon their understanding, or attempts upon their liberty, so will go in direct contradiction to what you would have, merely to show they do not value you, but will assert their rights.

Therefore the prime caution to be observed by him that would work upon another, is to beware of his own vanity, remembering that other folks have theirs too, which is extremely quick of sensibility, and must be tenderly handled ; for nothing is so detestable to the vain, as his own picture in another's countenance or carriage.

The safest way of dealing with this touchy part in human nature, is to watch opportunities for insinuating what is profitable imperceptibly, when men are disposed to receive it ; to manage if possible like Socrates, bringing them to find out themselves what you want to inform them of, and desire of their own accord what you wish them to pursue ; to carry no appearance of wisdom, or sanctity, or eagerness, upon your brow, but seeming to act unconcernedly, even when you have the most important designs in your heart ; to study that ease spoken of in § 13, of CHAP. XXI. which is the product of expertness ; and to depend more upon example than document, arguing not as a disputant who means to confute his adversary, but as one deliberating upon a concern of his own, and striving to make your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

But then this shine must not be a glare of admiration, which might shock their vanity and endanger the nourishing your own, but a display of real advantage and unaffected enjoyment : for this is the most effectual method of bringing them to glorify God heartily, if they can be made sensible by ocular demonstration, that his ways are ways of pleasantness, and all his paths are peace. Which demonstration is not to be exhibited by labored encomiums upon the happiness of a pious life, or exclamations upon the joyful transports of religious exercises, which are often so counterfeit as to deceive those who make them, for the world will see through the veil, and discern that you are not really so delighted as you persuade yourself : but this light will shine with brightest lustre, when it flows naturally from the state of the mind beaming by undesigned emanation through the countenance and deportment ; when while following your own pursuits, thinking nothing of the gazers around, they can yet discern a cheerful serenity within, a contentedness, a continual satisfactory engagement, a plenty of attainable desires, an unruffled patience, an exemption from wants or cravings from turbulent and tormenting passions.

Thus you see it is for the good of your neighbor, as well as for your own solace, to make your Religion as pleasurable a work as possible ; which it can never be, unless accommodated to the common occurrences of life. I know no better way to do this, than by the solid conviction and intimate persuasion herein before recommended, which may bring us to consider it, not as an obligation, nor command, nor a deliverance from dreadful miseries, nor yet a ladder to high reputation and self-applause, but as a profitable scheme ; and make us seek a profit from it upon every occasion that can happen.

I have before acknowledged it a vain imagination to think we can ever thus completely adjust it to all cases and situations in this vale of darkness and imbecility ; yet I conceive a common man may succeed so far, as, if not to become a warming light to others, at least to feel by his own experience, that what little progress he can make is well worth the trouble of pursuing it.

22. For my own part I pretend to have run no great lengths of proficiency, nor been able to lay out my measures upon my own plan : if I have now and then hit upon something plausible in the course of these Chapters, little is to be inferred from thence, for it is not uncommon for men to talk better than they can act, and enforce a sentiment upon others which they cannot raise in themselves. I every day experience the truth of what I have laid down, that conviction is not the same as persuasion ; for many things appearing with the clearest evidence to my understanding, are very hardly brought to possess my imagination. I act often upon impulse, sometimes for want of a better guidance, at others because unable to resist it. I am sometimes thrown into doubt by contrary appearances, sometimes left in darkness for want of any light : unable to trace my references or discern what relation my common employments bear to the grand concern : so am forced to take direction from custom, or example, or other people's opinions, or from some of the internal senses, or inclination, or fancy, and when I can discover my road often find it too arduous or too obstructed for me to travel.

Nevertheless, what pittance of proficiency I have made, has turned wholly to my benefit, and in no respect that I can perceive lessened the enjoyment of life : if it has debarred me from some gratifications of fond desire and appetite, they were such as I must have paid dearly for in the consequences ; if it has drove me upon some toils and troubles, they were made easy by the satisfaction in the performance, and rewarded by the subsequent advantages they earned.



I have made shift to trace the reference in some of my common employments to the great design, and thereby turned trifles into matters of moment : have deduced some of my ordinary rules of behavior from their original source, which gives a solid complacency in the practice of them. When surprised or overpowered by impulse, I esteem it a damage sustained ; when having the good luck to resist it, I regard that as a profit made ; my ill successes in this struggle are frequent enough, yet they do not drive me into despondency, as well knowing that the strength to will is given us as well as the power to do, and it suits with my fundamental principle to rest contented with the portion both of spiritual and worldly estate that God has bestowed on me, for what pretence have I to superior graces above my fellows ? Yet this content does not abate my readiness to make improvements whenever a fair opportunity offers, by which attention to improve all advantages occurring, I think my conduct is become a little more uniform and significant than heretofore, and engaging employment found for some hours which otherwise might have passed unavailing or irksome. When dangers, pains, troubles, and disappointments, though not very severe nor grievous, fall upon me, I still suffer by them, for the machine is too strong for the manager, yet less and less as my principle gathers vigor, which as soon as it can find room to enter, takes off their pressure and entirely dissipates the remains of them that would hang upon the mind.

If I pretend to stand exempt from vanity, it would be a prevarication, for I often perceive its attacks, and doubt not it has an influence in many instances where I do not perceive it ; but my idea of intrinsic equality and the general interest is the most averse to its motions, giving me when lively a concern and sympathy in the successes of others, inclining me to think the best of every one as a fellow laborer, made instrumental, whether he knows it or no, in the same common service, the perfecting of the species : so that I can sometimes find justifications and excuses for persons with whom I contest, regard vices and follies as an unhappy distemper of the mind, consider the patient as a congenial *Psyche* incommodiously lodged, a wandering star in the lowest parts of its orbit, and envy no advantage or pleasures that I do not apprehend terminating in mischief. If I fall deficient in the common business of life or social offices, this must be imputed to my natural and contracted infirmities, for my principle urges me to continual unhurrying activity in pursuit of some end, in performing any little good office, or obliging compliance or entertainment when nothing more important is at hand.

As my dependence rests solely upon the largeness of the divine bounty, I can sometimes when that idea fills my thoughts, survey the provisions, the gratifications, the pastimes, the joys, the comforts poured around with unsparing hand upon man, and beast, and bird, and fish, and insect, with more delight than the finest landscape I ever beheld; nor is the pleasure unfrequently doubled by the reflection of having such a taste, which I value at a higher rate than that of architecture, painting, or music, not as a more brilliant accomplishment, but as a more beneficial possession.

For the greater fund of happiness I can find in the world, the fuller manifestation I have of the divine goodness, and the better grounds of expectation for myself, as having no warrant to look for more than my proportionable share of the blessings redundant from that source. While I can hold this prospect in view, the evils scattered among it lessen by comparison: for how many more houses of commodious habitation, of business, of entertainment, of jollity are there, than gaols and hospitals? how many more doors rattling with peals of visiting thunder, than knockers tied up? how many more provisions are bought in the markets and wares in the shops, than drugs dispensed by the apothecary? how many more hours have we of engagement, of promising pursuit, of tranquillity, content, diversion, and merriment, than of sickness, pain, or melancholy?

If there be any exception to the indulgence of these ideas, it is that they make me too partial to that hypothesis which seems to glorify God in the highest conceivable degree, by raising the proportion of good to evil throughout the universe, and consequently throughout the period of every creature's existence, so high as millions of millions of millions to one: which whether it be true or no, yet if firmly believed might render us insensible to the troubles of life by the joy that is set before us, and lighten all the labors by representing them as necessary to secure the enjoyment of such an immense estate.

When the seasons of grace are upon me, which I reckon those wherein the main principle is immediately operating either in devotion, or contemplation, or study, or the practice of something apprehended a good work, though much versed in the microscope, I could never yet discover any supernatural impulse in those experiences, nor feel the finger of God nor hear his whispers; yet I see him clearly through the telescope fitted up with the object glass of reason, and the eye glass of faith, one to converge the rays collected by the other, but at an immense distance both of time and place, working in the birth of nature,

providing with unerring certainty those causes which by a million of complicated and intricate windings have produced the effect I now feel.

Upon all these occasions there is a calm joy, a complacency, a satisfaction at least equal to that of any successful pursuits, pleasing reflections, or noblest aims of other kinds that I have had experience of, flowing spontaneously without any force upon the imagination to throw them up, and when so coming they are most genuine and most striking.

For our fondness of intense pleasures leads into gross mistakes, when we think to stretch appetite beyond its natural tone; neither the pleasures of Religion nor of sense will be increased by being forced; he that takes pains to believe himself vastly delighted, is in reality scarce delighted at all; he is only fond of the credit of it in his own fancy; but true joy will operate by its native vigor without wanting our aid to give it motion. It is our business to ply diligently to our work, to use the means of grace, and follow those courses that are productive of satisfaction, and then we need not fear having enough of it by such reflections as will naturally spring therefrom, without our further seeking.

23. But why do I dwell upon the little benefits accruing from this principle in an imperfect creature but feebly possessed with it, and not carry on the thoughts to that full unceasing satisfaction, which must flow from it when vigorous, perfect, and general? If men of sagacity would examine the grounds of it impartially, so as to render the evidence clear and familiar to their thoughts beyond all danger of subsequent doubt or mistrust, and then reduce it to practical rules so as to have a reason for pursuing all their other sciences, arts, schemes, employments, and manners of behavior deducible therefrom; their authority and example would soon draw the rest of the world after them, as their skill in communicating ideas might render the methods of following them, according to different situations and circumstances, intelligible to every one.

For we see by experience of the ruling passions, that a distant aim impressed strongly upon the imagination is capable of employing men for years, and shaping all other desires to a conformity therewith. And as all men have some value for their judgment, choosing rather to follow it than not, when there lies no impediment in the way, the general idea of right might always influence them, but that the current rules of rectitude are not adapted to their particular circumstances, urging them frequently to impracticable performances, and resistance of appetite they are not able to make, which gives them a distaste to rectitude itself, as being a

romantic or troublesome thing; whereas were it clearly discerned what is the nearest feasible advance thereto, and guidance of appetite within their forces to practise in each succeeding moment, they might come into a liking of it, and continually improve their strength.

The transition from rectitude to the grand intention is very short, for every right action is a doing the Will of God, and every man feels a satisfaction in the consciousness of having done right, when he happens to find ground for it, which makes men so ready to deceive themselves in the motives of their proceedings, because by this means they get a false bottom just sufficient to support a present consciousness together with the satisfaction accompanying, though it will fail them in time of trial when the weight of close examination comes to press upon it. Therefore if they could be shown which were the rightest courses of those that are pleasant or easy, and that the preference of them would bear a reference to the grand intention, they would grow more and more in love with rectitude on finding pleasure capable of being turned into it, until by degrees things would become pleasing because right, and because admitting the reference, from troublesome or painful that they were before.

Thus it is owing to the want of that science in the world, that mankind is left in darkness and misery, under the dominion of passion, appetite, fears, vexations, and worldly cares: for a way might be found by directing the choice of pleasures, through which they could, and would travel to the land of light, liberty, and happiness.

When this way shall open no man can tell: I much question whether it will happen in the year of the world six thousand six hundred and sixty-six, and have some doubt that it may not happen at all upon this earth, because apprehending it designed for the use of more passengers than this earth can contain. As I pretend to no revelations I shall not attempt to find out the day of which no man knoweth, no not the Son, but the Father only: nevertheless, as the profit of reason, presaging upon observation of the divine economy exemplified in the history of mankind, I presume to augurate that it will happen in some part of our journey through matter, when the ten righteous described in CHAP. XIX. shall arise. Their wisdom will soon draw others resembling them nearest to perfect themselves upon their model: as the numbers increase, the propriety of their conduct, the justness of their measures, the harmony of their disposition, the amiableness of their characters, and happiness of their lives must become manifest to all, and excite a general admiration with a desire of par-

taking in the like : their unanimity among themselves, their benevolence to others, their sober discretion and unperverted sagacity will render clear to every capacity, how their example may be followed by persons differently qualified according to the variety of situations and circumstances among them, so that there will be no doubt, uncertainty, or disappointment, to discourage anybody in his progress : as the bent of imitation becomes general, the torrent of custom must drive in the rest, and happy experience will effectually secure those who have once made the trial, so that the whole species will be bound together in one bond of wisdom, love, and happiness : and then shall commence the kingdom, or more probably republic of the just, or if they have a king, it will be none other than God himself, whose Glory, and the ministration in whose designs of Providence will be the fundamental law and basis of their constitution.

In the mean while let us make it our ultimate aim and constant intention to advance this joyful event, though as yet lying at an immense distance from us : for, to resume the Stoical metaphor, we are still deeply merged under water, and are so connected together that none of us can breathe the free air until the whole body approaches near the surface, which it is rising towards by slow and scarce perceptible degrees. So that if we can a little ease the weight in any part, or give a lift of one inch to any single member, it is a service to the whole, and a service to ourselves, by speeding the time that is to bring on our total emersion.

Therefore it is our business to observe what gradations of depth men severally lie under, and contrive how we may employ our opportunities for helping them. He that is vain of his piety, his reason, or his public services, hangs a little higher than while he was vain of doing mischief, of follies, or trifles ; to be superstitious is something of a rise above hardened insensibility ; industry, forecast, economy, generosity, courteousness, is a degree of advance from idleness, giddiness, dissipation, avarice, and ill-nature ; the man of pleasure, who chooses discreetly such among them as are innocent, swims a span over him who is hurried to and fro by every present appetite, happening to strike strongly upon his fancy.

As the good of mankind in this world is made our direction for attaining the good of the other, those are the measures of rectitude which upon every occasion will yield the greater enjoyment or temporal good to ourselves, or others, or the public ; computation being made upon the whole amount of their produce. But since through our inexperience and shortness of our views, this

direction cannot always be had, we must take it from those rules which have prevailed among the most judicious and discerning, in the several branches of conduct ; always preferring the higher and best authorized before others of inferior weight. And so far as we can act under them with a consciousness of rectitude, either during the performance or upon subsequent reflection, in those instances, whether we be eating or drinking, or whatsoever we be doing, we act in pursuance of our great intention, and may be said to do them all directly or remotely, for the Glory of God.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### DOING AS WE WOULD BE DONE BY.

AMONG all the rules which may be employed as mediums in carrying on the reference between our ultimate aim and the common transactions of life, there is none better capable of that service, than this of doing as we would be done by. For it connects immediately with the love of our neighbor, by which we most evidently manifest our love of God, for every man will readily give the same treatment to one whom he loves as himself, that he would wish to receive himself, and it is applicable to all our intercourses among one another ; because in business, in passing judgment, in discourse, whether serious or amusing, in diversion in merriment, there is a disposition to serve, to be candid, to oblige, and to please, which a man would be glad to find in others, and may serve him for a rule to return the like to them again.

This precept is enjoined by Christ as the sum of all those delivered by any revelation before : whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets. Human reason was clear-sighted enough to perceive the salutary effects of this maxim, which among Philosophers and Moralists, has been commonly entitled the golden rule, to express its supereminence in value above all others ; as well knowing that nothing contributes so much to peace, and order, and happiness in the world, as an equitable temper disposed to weigh the wants and desires of other persons in equal balance with our own.

And this seem to be the first moral sense that sprouts within us : when reason begins to open, it gives us a concern for the morrow, which lays the foundation of prudence ; after having shot

its beams forwards to discover the future, it then spreads them in width, making us sensible of the pains and pleasures whereof we see expressions around us. For compassion makes its appearance very early, but compassion is nothing else than sympathizing with the distresses beheld; and the idea of injury cannot subsist without it, wherefore we commonly introduce that idea into children by questions of how they would like to be so served themselves. Thus as prudence consists in a quick sensibility of good and evil to come, so equitableness consists in a like quick sensibility of the feelings and apprehensions of another: and both alike serve as auxiliaries to judgment, by possessing the imagination with objects to set in balance against the present impulses of appetite.

From hence we may learn what course is to be taken for gaining this faculty, namely, by placing ourselves in imagination as exactly as possible in the very situation of other persons, striving to enter into their sentiments, their conceptions, their tastes, their motives, their joys, and their sorrows, considering what we should wish, or do, or comprehend, under the same circumstances, whereto it will be a help if we can recollect any similar situation wherein we have stood ourselves.

But this, like all other habits, is only to be acquired by continual application and practice, which may inure imagination to a readiness and vigor in performing its office. As an inducement to enter upon such practice we may reflect, that we are nothing in ourselves but what God by his courses of nature and fortune has made us, that to them it was wholly owing we were so born, so endowed, so bred, so supplied, so improved as we be, and if he had pleased, we might have stood in the same case in all respects with any persons we see, and they might have been placed in ours.

Then to encourage us in this exercise we may consider, it is not impossible there may be a rotation through all the states of Being in the Universe, so that every perceptive individual passes in turn through every one of them: which thought must make equity a matter of prudence, because the case of every other will sooner or later actually become our own, and it is our interest to make every part in this theatre of the Universe easy, which we shall one day be put to act ourselves.

But if this appears a romantic imagination, we have experience of the continual vicissitudes and turns of affairs in this world, so that we know not how soon we may need the benefit of an equitable temper and good will in the very person, to whom we may now set the precedent: besides that example, sympathy, and amiableness of the proceeding may generate the like disposition,

and procure us the like benefit from others who are witnesses of our conduct. Or at all events, if we have any persuasion of the divine Equity, this will insure us a personal interest in all the good and evil we bring upon our neighbor, as being in some shape or other certainly to return upon our own head.

If then it be our own concern to act equitably in all our dealings with all, it must be so likewise to observe diligently their characters, their conceptions, their views, and every present circumstance that may afford us better direction for so doing, and to stifle every selfish appetite or narrow prejudice which might darken or obstruct us in our scrutiny.

Nevertheless, there are some persons who do not want an equitable disposition, yet find themselves obstructed in the exercise of it by a seeming contrariety therein to the rules of justice, and common prudence prevailing among mankind, or are misled by losing sight of the foundation whereon it rests, the purpose to be effected by it. The obstructions and apparent contrariety spring from their confining it within too narrow a compass, taking in only single objects in cases where the consequence of their procedure will extend to many. They scruple to prosecute a thief because they should not like to be punished for what they have done amiss themselves; to sue a debtor to judgment and execution, because they should think it a hardship to be so pressed and straitened; to deny a beggar, because they should find uneasiness in a refusal of what they earnestly desired; to be hard or reserved in a bargain, because they should wish to have all others open and easy with them. But it should be remembered that equity bearing a near relation to love of one's neighbor, ought to extend the same compass, that is, to all who may be any way affected by the thing we are doing: and as we must not love one neighbor so as to neglect the others, so neither must we suffer our equity to one person to make us iniquitous to all the rest.

Therefore in sympathizing with the criminal, the debtor, the necessitous, and the negotiant, we do well; because this will preserve us from animosity, from hard-heartedness and over-reaching: but our sympathy ought not to rest there, we must carry it on to others who may be endamaged in their properties by our remissness, who may be drawn into negligence and wretchedness by our encouragement of idleness, to the public who may suffer damage thereby in the products of labor, to our families who may be injured by the foregoing our rights or softness in contracts, to the simple who may be hurt by our example rendering virtue distasteful and ridiculous.



If we survey all around us to observe what mischief or inconvenience may accrue anywhere, and reflect how we should like to have those mischiefs fall upon ourselves, then, but not till then, we shall be fully qualified to judge what is equitable: for equity is not herself until she can show a like regard to all whom the measure she prompts to may concern. But men are so apt to be guided in everything by present impulse, they cannot sympathize unless with objects striking their senses, by which means the golden rule of reason becomes transmuted into the base metal of passion, as all other religious and moral sciences may do by ill management: nor can it be restored to standard purity again, until brought to take all the good and evil flowing from our conduct into account, fairly balancing one against the other.

But since we seldom have sagacity or clearness of prospect enough to see the remote consequences of things, we must take direction from the best authorized rules of behavior in matters of severity, contention, opposition, caution, and regard to private interest in dealings, trusting that they were established upon good foundations for the benefit of mankind: therefore by breaking them we shall so far as in us lies defeat that benefit, and do a certain injury somewhere, though we may not discern where; but our equity, if we have it genuine, will withhold us from doing what we should not like, though to persons unknown, for sake of gratifying one or two whom we have before our eyes.

And this prevalence of impulse above judgment likewise misleads us in the application of our equity, which ought to follow the same rules with the love of our neighbor: but if our self-love be fond, indiscreet, intemperate, pernicious, and destructive of our real interests, we shall do him no good nor fulfil our duty by loving him in the same manner as we do ourselves.

When we entice another into debaucheries, lay temptations in his way, or provide fuel for his intemperate cravings, it is no justification to say that we should like prodigiously to be so dealt with ourselves: for by indulging a present desire to the future disappointment of those we shall have at another time, which is the case of all vicious and imprudent pleasures, we are unequitable to ourselves, and to our own desires which are our best friends, if their friendship be impartially cultivated; therefore if we proceed the same way with another, we must necessarily be unequitable to him, departing from the spirit of our rule while seeming to adhere to the letter: just as if a man, who in a fit of strong despair wishes, somebody will shoot him through the head, should out of an equitable disposition strive to pistol as many others as he could.

It is pity but parents would take this matter into serious consideration, instead of valuing themselves upon their inability to deny the pretty creature whatever it eagerly wants; for they often ruin their children by giving the same indulgence to their cravings, and fancies, and follies, as they take for their own. And sometimes the like weakness draws men into an injurious compliance with others not so nearly related to them. But as charity begins at home, so must her twin sister equity; for he that has no prudence for himself cannot have a genuine charity to his neighbor, nor until he has got rid of all partiality to any particular inclination of his own, is he completely qualified to practise the golden rule.

And the art of conducting impartially between remote and near gratification may be best learned by beginning to practise it upon another; for as the skin is nearer than the shirt, as the direct view of an object is something brighter than the reflection of it in a mirror, so our fellow feelings are not quite so strong as our immediate sensations, nor the appetites they excite quite so ungovernable; they do not so closely fetter the judgment, which is therefore more at liberty to observe, and better able to execute, what is expedient in another's case than in our own: and after having forced our friends into profitable self-denials in love to them, we shall learn thereby to do the same with ourselves, equity and sympathy helping us to go through a discipline we had exercised upon persons, in whose feelings we had a sensible concern.

3. But as a temper truly equitable extends to all persons who may come within its influence, so it will to all branches of treatment in our intercourses among them; it will not only incline us to do as we would be done by, but likewise to think as we would be thought by. We are angry at being slandered, ridiculed, undervalued, triumphed over, though but in thought, if we find it out; at our actions being misinterpreted, our words unfavorably construed, our reasons unattended to, our meaning perverted, and our conduct ascribed to the worst motives it could proceed from: we wish to have all men candid and even favorable to us, desirous of finding grounds to give us their approbations, ready to make all excuses and allowances for our mistakes, to allow us the full merit we deserve; to presume our intentions were good, to enter fairly and willingly into our sentiments, and give us the due share of their esteem: why then should we refuse them what we like so well for ourselves, or practise upon them what we are so vehemently averse to have practised upon ourselves? This certainly is the most opposite temper possible to equitableness, and can

proceed from nothing but a narrow selfishness, regardless of everything but the indulgence of an evil habit or fond humor of vanity.

Therefore it is incumbent upon us to eradicate this evil weed, than which there is none more obstructive to the growth of charity, for we can never heartily love those whom we think ill of: but as habits are not presently to be rooted out, it requires our continual application and vigilance to wither it by degrees. For this purpose it will be expedient to study the art of penetrating into the conceptions of persons we have to deal with, not judging them by our own ideas, but by those we may suppose then to occupy their imagination, distinguishing between the outward act and the motives from whence it may proceed, considering how many various apprehensions may give birth to the same action, and seeking impartially for the most commendable, or the most innocent.

It is too common for people who despise the vulgar for want of sense and breeding, nevertheless to expect the same nice discernment and exact propriety from them, which they value themselves so highly upon; which seems a most absurd notion inconsistent with itself, whereas it were more rational to consider their education, ways of living, and customary trains of thinking, to place ourselves in their situation, and then examine what ideas we should be likely to have. We may remember likewise that other people have their passions, their prejudices, their favorite aims, their fears, their cautions, their interests, their sudden impulses and varieties of apprehension, as well as ourselves; we may strive to recollect how those several causes have operated upon us, in how many different lights we have beheld the same object, and how often we have judged the same things right which we now condemn in them. For I have remarked in the Chapter upon that faculty, of how great importance it is to have a well-disciplined imagination capable of casting up in lively ideas what figures may be wanting for the services of reason.

But such expertness is very difficult to be attained, for present objects and the mechanical workings of our temperament so occupy our thoughts for the most part, that we cannot easily recall the state of ideas in our mind yesterday, nor scarce believe our apprehensions were ever different from what they are now, much less can we form a tolerable representation of those in another person. But the harder the art, the more diligently ought we to apply our endeavors towards making some proficiency in it, as being a very valuable acquisition which will prove beneficial to us in many respects not only for its own immediate uses, but for the furtherance it will give to other improvements.

4. For it will help to banish animosity, rancor, envy, censoriousness, detestation, and contempt from our hearts, for we like to have none of those sentiments entertained against ourselves, and may learn to forgive our brother until seventy times seven, by reflecting upon the indulgence we desire for our own miscarriages.

In cases of severity, opposition, and displeasure, it will hold our regards fixed upon the necessity, never suffering us to exceed the length driven to by that, nor to do anything we must not acknowledge reasonable to be done to us upon the like occasion: and the consciousness of having accustomed ourselves to proceed in this manner will render our contentions compatible with charity, and remove any scruples in the exercise of them. It will bring us familiarly acquainted with the infirmities of human nature, the frequency of misapprehensions and partial views, and how apt the common passions incident to all men are to drive them into unwarrantable proceedings; thereby teaching us to stand upon our guard even against friends, yet without abating our friendship, as likewise to defend ourselves against injurious treatment from others, looking upon it as an unlucky accident without doubling the pressure by the vexation arising from an opinion of their malignancy.

It will put a check upon our desire of excelling, representing it as an attempt to bring that mortification upon others, we constantly feel on being excelled. It will teach us to bear troubles and disappointments by considering them as the common lot of human life, from which we have no better title to exemption than anybody else. It will keep our desires within the bounds of reason and innocence, thereby doubling the satisfaction taken in gratifying them, with the consciousness of having been careful to admit such only as were injurious to nobody. It will enable us to participate in the pleasures of others, make us glad on seeing, and therefore quick in finding out their comforts, engagements, relishes, and enjoyments, accustomed to contemplate the brightest parts of every prospect, and even capable of receiving alleviation from the thought of joys flowing elsewhere, at seasons when we have none of our own. This may prove the most efficacious pill to purge melancholy, the best music to silence the common lamentations of a wicked and wretched world, discovering daily new sources of solacement we had not discerned before, and which the selfish and narrow-souled never can discern, displaying the unsparing bounties of Providence, giving us a better opinion of our existence, and gradually introducing serenity, content, and cheerfulness of mind.

Nor does anything so much assist to enlarge our understanding or improve our judgment; for it is the confining our ideas, the glare of a few objects possessing the imagination forcibly that misleads us into errors, so that we have not freedom for our thoughts, but our very reasonings proceed by mechanical impulse: whereas if we could preserve an impartiality to every suggestion occurring, all would go on calmly and fairly, each consideration have its due weight, and the decision must be our own, as being truly the child of understanding.

For there is a conformity in our manner of judging upon all occasions, the same sobriety or intemperance that prevails in one, will be likely to prevail in all the rest: therefore, as I said before, a man must learn equitableness to himself, before he can be qualified to deal equitably with his neighbor; but every exercise of sobriety in either branch will encourage the growth of it in the other, and besides will supply new lights to our understanding. By inuring ourselves to enter exactly and fairly into the conceptions of other persons, we may discover something for our own advantage: for no man knowingly embraces error, but is always led into it by some specious appearance of truth, which if you can find out, you may chance to make a better use of it than he does, or what is more, may chance to show him in what particular circumstance it is fallacious; at least by possessing all his ideas you may make your own clear to him much better than in the common way of playing at cross purposes, where each party has a quite different sense of the subjects and arguments handled between them.

It is the practice of tracing the sources of men's ideas that brings us acquainted with human nature, overthrows the vulgar notion of each man having a particular nature of his own, but shows that human nature is the same in all, establishes our intrinsic equality, ascribing the difference of character to the difference of bodily temperament, or action of external causes.

By using ourselves to take concern in the interests of all we see, we shall easily learn to take the like in those of Beings unseen, the uses of which sentiment have been displayed in former Chapters: and since we commonly frame our idea of God by aid of archetypes found within ourselves, our equitableness and the charity constantly accompanying it, will give us a clearer, fuller apprehension of the divine Equity and Goodness, from whence follows the mutual connection of interests between all perceptive members of the universe: that solid basis upon which I have attempted in the course of this work to try how all the principles and precepts of Religion, morality, and common prudence, in several stories supported by one another, may be rationally erected.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## INDOLENCE.

AMONG all the indulgences abounding throughout the world, there is none so general as that of Indolence ; for many men live with very few pleasures, not from a scruple of conscience but because there would be too much trouble in the pursuit ; but they are no gainers by the bargain, for it is better to be busy in contrivances for pleasure than doing nothing at all. And indeed this indulgence lies at the bottom as a principal ingredient of all the rest : for what is it makes men led so tamely by every present impulse, but because there is a trouble in resisting it ? what keeps them in slavery under an undelighting habit, but because it would cost them pains to break it ? what occasions them to faint in mid-way of attaining a noble virtue or useful accomplishment, but because the perseverance grows toilsome ? For as the poet said, incessant labor overcomes all things, so whenever we are overcome, it is owing to the want of sufficient application, because if the thing attempted was really above our forces, the failure is not a defect, nor leaves us in a worse condition to cope with another adversary.

In this application the life of the soul properly consists, for the clearest discernment wherein the mind is always barely passive, shows only the vividness and good color of our ideas ; it is by executing the resolves of our judgment whether in meditation or bodily exertion, that our activity and vigor appear. While driven by impulse of appetite, how strenuous soever our exertions, the machine impelling us is the agent, and we nothing more than instruments employed thereby ; but whatever we do in executing the judgment of our understanding, is entirely our own act, and the machine in turn becomes the instrument. Therefore by exercises of this faculty, we strengthen the powers of our mental organization, giving, if I may so speak, a tone to its muscles ; by controlling of appetite we detach it a little from the mechanical springs, gain it something more freedom to play, and prepare it to act alone when separated from the gross corporeal frame, upon our dissolution.

Whether this be admitted or no as a physical conjecture of the manner wherein we are profited by exercises of virtue, there is nobody will doubt that a steady application to the rule of judgment or rectitude tends to meliorate and perfect our better part, but it is not so easy to see wherein this application consists : it is com-

monly supposed by those who seem its greatest admirers to be something violent and laborious, by which notion they exhaust themselves often to very little purpose, and deter others from using any endeavors at all; but in my humble apprehension more is to be expected from its continuity, than its strength. For appetite as just now observed frequently impels to very strenuous exertion, but there are religious, philosophic, and moral appetites as well as natural and worldly, which without great caution, cannot be distinguished from the resolutions of judgment: therefore if a man could observe continually the directions of his understanding, that would inform him when to bestir himself with all his might, and when to proceed with a gentle hand.

For there are many things which are best done when done with ease, and where violence, eagerness, and solicitude spoil the performance: this is true in familiar conversation, in the common forms of behavior, and most of our social intercourses, where earnestness and anxiety are as faulty as a total inattention: even in business and study, though there must be a labor of thought proportionable to the work, yet there is a virtue in taking care it do not exceed that proportion, for by holding the eye too close to an object we shall discern it as imperfectly as upon only casting a careless glance. In general all arts and sciences are laborious at first, but their perfection lies in being able to manage them with ease.

Tranquillity and ease of mind is the sole aim that patience drives at, and there is a virtue in keeping one's self unconcerned at abuse or slander, unattentive to noise and impertinence, unruffled by disappointment, unhurried in dangers or alluring pursuits, and even in a sick man composing himself to sleep amidst his pains, when told it is expedient for his health; which he will be better able to do for having used to follow the guidance of his judgment, than another who had always given way to his indolence.

Religion itself, our most important concern, does not demand a continual stretch of the mind, and is by that error too frequently corrupted into righteousness overmuch: but it is not thus that the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent take it by force; for the incense of thanksgiving casts up the sweetest odor when streaming spontaneously from the heart, intercession is best when most willingly made, confession flows sincerer from a calm, impartial examination into the state of our mind, than a labored aggravation of the worst features there; petition preferred in vehemence and anxiety cannot well consist with that resignation which is necessary to render it acceptable; and upon the whole, if our devotion be overstrained it becomes unsuitable for practice,

incapable of joining in one system with the common rules of behavior, so as by mingling its influence among them to sanctify the general tenor of our lives.

2. Men who have a notion of being industrious, often think themselves under an obligation of doing great things thereby, but this is not the true industry springing from a steady application to the resolves of judgment, it is the impulse of some passion, generally of fear in religious matters, and of greediness or vanity in worldly concerns, all driving impetuously at some fancied purpose, without taking check or guidance from the reins of reason. For where that can be heard, it will suggest that the first consideration to be taken on engaging in a pursuit is its practicability and suitability to our situation: we are not to choose our work, but to do that which is set us, for we are servants, employed each at his station, to carry on a part in the great scheme of Providence; we must not take upon us to execute one another's tasks because they are more important or more laborious, we are to observe our call and to obey it.

Therefore let us survey our forces, our opportunities, and the demands for industry within our compass to answer: for if by our particular turn of mind, our education or condition of life, we have a chance of becoming instructive or exemplary, then are we called to hard study, or assiduity in religious exercises, or more than ordinary circumspection and strictness of conduct, as the case shall require: if by our talents, our family, or large connections, we are qualified for public services, then are we called to work faithfully and strenuously in the service of the public: or if engaged in some toilsome profession, or it happens that some beneficial work offers occasionally which cannot be achieved without strong exertion of our powers: in all these cases let us not be sparing of our pains, nor grudge our labor, for the utmost we can do is well bestowed when it will turn to good advantage.

But if our powers are small, our condition unfavorable, or the occasion presents nothing that may be accomplished by painful application, then to spend ourselves in fruitless or needless attempts of doing something extraordinary would be a waste of strength and an intemperance: industry then becomes vigilance, attentive to acquit ourselves of the little matters before us with discretion and propriety; for to take as much pains in deliberating what tour we shall mark out for an evening walk as if we were purchasing an estate, is an abuse of thought; in such matters it is much better to follow constantly what direction our judgment shall give us by intuition upon a transient glance.



But when we see men bestir themselves violently and eagerly, it proceeds as often from indolence as from industry : they while away their time in trifles through an unwillingness to set to the work, and then are drove hard to dispatch in a few minutes what might have been done easily in an hour ; or they do not care for the trouble of digesting their schemes, but being sparing of their pains and afraid of bestowing more than necessary, they go about the business in a slovenly manner which proves ineffectual, and so they are forced to do it over again, whence the common observation that lazy folks take most pains ; or they want to have the task over, and so make extraordinary efforts that they may come to the season of repose the sooner.

But genuine industry never wishes to be idle, finding a satisfaction in the employment as well as in the completion ; therefore is ever attentive to what is feasible, and best fitting the present occasion, proceeds in it calmly, and makes effectual dispatch in every part of the progress.

3. Let us consider that we have but a certain allowance of forces given us, yet capable of some increase by good management, therefore it is our business to improve, to husband, and lay them out to the best advantage. Intemperance in sleep, in eating, and in fashionable diversions wofully waste the time, enervate the strength, and create an aversion to industry, which makes it well worth our while to study what are the limits of moderation according to our constitution, and circumstances of situation, and to know precisely where intemperance begins.

Nor will it be a small benefit to cultivate a liking for whatever may be called business, and endeavor as much as possible to keep our spirits always alert, ready to perform any service that reason shall put them upon, because by these practices we shall both increase our forces and continually gain expertness to do more with the same quantity, than was possible before learning the art ; for an habitual activity makes no waste, is rarely bewildered, and extricates itself presently in difficulties.

But since with the best improvement our powers will still remain confined within a narrower compass than there is work for them to do, it behoves us to be the better economists, taking care that we do not throw them away upon trivial objects, nor fatigue them by stronger efforts than the business in hand requires, nor spend them in hurry and trepidation, nor exhaust them by attempts of more than they can perform, but allow them such respite and relaxation as are proper for their recruit.

And that we may employ our stock to better profit, it will be necessary to examine the several uses we have to serve by it, dis-

tinguishing them by their several degrees of greater and less, learning to discern the exigencies of each particular occasion, that we may never stand idle, but always find something to do most proper for the season, as knowing when to use labor of thought or labor of hand, when to deliberate or to act, when to follow business or diversion, when to put our faculties upon the stretch and when to unbend.

The knowledge of all these particulars will perhaps be thought difficult to attain, and well it may, being indeed so difficult as to render it impossible to be compassed completely; but we may daily make some proficiency, and what have we else to do in this state of imperfection and darkness, than be continually learning? for herein we manifest and exercise our diligence, one principal object of it being to improve our judgment, and the other to practise what we know. For in this respect we must always be learners, changing our measures from time to time as our skill increases, and improving in the art as well as the science of life.

The first advances in Religion are made by acquiring a seriousness of temper and avocation of the mind from all objects of sense, but when this is become habitual our cares must bend the other way to prevent its growing into a stiffness impeding us in the common offices of life, and to gain that ease heretofore spoken of, by which we may pass readily from devout to worldly employment, without mingling an unreasonable tincture of one with the other. The point to be aimed at with the giddy and thoughtless is to bring them to close attention and steadiness, to bear labor of brain and to pursue their ideas in trains without breaking the thread; but when this has been practised, the trains sometimes will continue to run longer than they should, intruding to the interruption of other employments, and defeat the purpose of recreation, which is to relieve the organs of thought by bringing those of sensation and fancy into play.

Now this relaxation of seriousness and close attention, whenever expedient, requires as much command of reason as bringing the mind into it, or keeping her to persevere therein; for the discipline of our faculties appears equally in the ready disappearance of ideas upon dismissal, given, as in their steady attendance till then, or quickness to come upon call.

4. There is another branch of prudence grounded upon the feebleness of our powers, which directs to supply by art what we want in strength, to employ the affections and desires for assisting our industry and invigorating our activity: reason itself can do no more than give vain admonitions until it becomes an appetite, sometimes called the hunger and thirst after righteousness or

rectitude ; which probably may be the principal spring of movement in the mental organization, giving rise to all the rest that are to grow therein hereafter, and therefore deserves to be nurtured with all care and tenderness.

The appetites are the great stimulators of action ; were it not for them the world would rust in idleness and the conveniences of it be very ill supplied : they form the rule of rectitude with most men, who generally esteem things right according as coinciding with their favorite aim or ruling passion : the politician thinks it right to do all he can for enlarging his interest, the trader to contrive all safe means of making profit, the tender girl to fly from friends and parents to Edinburgh, the India proprietor to split his stock and the no proprietor to swear that trust is property if he can serve his friend, or advance his hopes of sharing in oriental plunder : and they give occasion to sound judgment by observation of the mischievous errors they make. We are not indeed to employ appetite in this last service, only to stand upon the watch for what benefit may be reaped from its spontaneous excursions ; for it would be absurd to run ourselves purposely into mischiefs that we might get experience to avoid them another time, this would be doing evil that good may come of it ; but we may make good use of appetite to quicken our industry and assist our resolution in executing those purposes which judgment has marked out, to overcome our averseness to trouble, our fears, vexations, pains, or uneasinesses, and to quell the turbulence of other rebellious appetites.

Therefore parents strive to cultivate an attention to the main chance in their children, displaying before them the conveniences and pleasures of easy circumstances in order to give them an appetite to their profession : nor will a man proceed well in any work, until he have a liking to the work itself, exclusive of further advantages consequential thereupon, though generated from them ; and many times a pain or affliction may be sifled by some strong desire engaging the thoughts upon other objects.

Since then appetites are both so beneficial and so mischievous, and give an energy to the springs of action working either way, it behoves us to encourage such of them as are salutary, that we may have the benefit of their service when wanted, and to employ such from time to time as are most suitable to the present occasion. But among all the appetites, perhaps the most serviceable to fortify resolution is that of honor, whether springing from the good opinion of other persons or from self-approbation, together with its necessary concomitant, the abhorrence of turpitude : for this has been known to carry men through toils, and difficulties,

and dangers, and self-denials, and pains, to keep up their activity throughout life ; it is the prime mover in the statesman and the soldier, the encourager of learning, the protector of piety, the solace of business, the director of politeness, and proves in most men some check upon the greediness of gain. Yet it not unfrequently points upon wrong objects, and in some delicate persons instead of rousing becomes the avowed patron of indolence ; for they deem it unbecoming a gentleman to do anything, to take any trouble, or forbear any indulgence of fancy, through mere affectation they disdain to take care of their estate, or their family, or to put on their own clothes.

When I meet with such people I am forced to make apologies for the pains taken in my Chapters pretending it is only for amusement to gratify an odd humor, I durst not for the world own a thought of some little service to Religion, or morality, or reason, for that is fit only for Parsons to mind who are paid for it. But it happens to be my humor to fancy the only difference between a man of profession and a gentleman, is that one has his line of business allotted him, the other has his employment to choose, and that he ought to look upon an easy fortune as a salary given by Providence for such services as he shall judge in his discretion the best he can perform : for the man that does absolutely nothing, is the most insignificant creature upon the face of the globe.

Some indulgence is necessary to appetites not rising at our own call ; for we cannot live without sleep, but in composing ourselves thereto the mind has nothing else to do than surcease her activity, leaving the machine to proceed its own way : we cannot live without eating, the quantity whereof is better ascertained by appetite than by weights or measures, or any rule of judgment, whose office is only to watch that a vitiated appetite does not prolong a craving, after the natural is satisfied : and in many other cases indulgence is not only allowable and innocent, but expedient, nay it is always expedient whenever innocent and allowable. For pleasure rightly understood is the proper end of action, and good becomes so only because productive of pleasure ; but scarce anything can be a recreation, diversion, or pleasure without some indulgence.

We may consider likewise that the power of reason being feeble, it would be impracticable to keep all our desires in exact order, therefore had better let the least inconvenient sometimes take their course, that we may reserve our strength to cope with the more formidable. And perhaps it may be for the health of our spiritual body that it receive impulse from the gross machine, for while lying therein like a seed in the green husk it may derive nourish-

ment therefrom, and firmness of fibres from its action : so that we must not attempt to tear them violently asunder, but watch all opportunities of detaching one from the other gradually, as fast as shall be found practicable, lest some concretions from the drying husk should work into the inner part which might prove extremely troublesome and tormenting to us when rising to another life.

Therefore it is incumbent upon us to take all possible care, that none of our appetites, neither those of nature nor custom, nor of our own encouraging, get the mastery over us, so as to hurry us on against our Will, nor that any indulgence be given without consent and approbation of the judgment : for herein consists our real liberty, and to effect this is the proper object of true industry and application.

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## CHAP. XXIX.

### FONDNESS FOR PLEASURES.

THIS fondness is the most delusive of any that beguile the human heart, because fixing always upon intense delights which vulgarly engross the name of pleasure, but are the least durable or valuable : and the most pernicious because raising the most impetuous desires, hardest to be controlled by reason, nor will even suffer it to work. I have said towards the close of the last Chapter, that pleasure is the proper end of action, and so it undoubtedly is if understood of whatever engages the mind, or throws it into a state of ease and complacency ; for happiness is nothing else than the aggregate of pleasures, but then it lies in the aggregate, not in the violence of any single one.

Therefore men deceive themselves egregiously in the point of happiness, by their mistaken notion of pleasure ; for esteeming nothing such, that does not elevate and transport, they overlook those gently soothing engagements, which flowing in continued streams, fill the spaces that would otherwise be occupied by uneasiness, and make up the far greater part of the aggregate. The boy thinks he shall be supremely happy when he can be delivered from the discipline of a school, the laborer if he could be maintained in idleness, the lover if he can obtain his Beauty, every projector and schemist if he can compass the thing he has set his heart upon ; that is, he shall be exquisitely pleased ; and perhaps

he may be, or sometimes perhaps not, if the appetite be palled by too tedious pursuit : but how long will the pleasure last ? for nothing exquisite can continue long ; our organs cannot hold on their emotions beyond a certain length, but what affected them vehemently at first, will soon become insipid or cloying, and pleasure certainly takes wing, unless there be a succession of other engagements to keep her down.

But intense pleasures too much fill the thought to leave it at leisure to provide for anything else besides themselves, therefore often are very dearly bought by the mischiefs consequent upon them, or sometimes paid for beforehand by the thorns of impatience, or run the hazard of a disappointment aggravated by the eagerness they excite : and perhaps it might be found upon a fair scrutiny, that our most cruel vexations grow from the expectation of some such supreme happiness, for whenever having depended upon being vastly delighted, we are always vastly grieved on missing our aim.

A fondness for pleasure keeps us perpetually in want of it, which cannot be assuaged even by possession, for our sensations being transient and momentary, leave a craving behind for the continual repetition of them : but as high delights rarely fall in our way, when the eagerness for them has taken away the relish from all others, the greater part of our time must pass irksome and uneasy.

2. There is reason therefore to beware of this fondness as of a most dangerous enemy, and make it our principal caution to guard against its encroachments : for Pleasure is a sly enchantress, she will be perpetually displaying her allurements to our imagination to gain upon us before we are aware ; the world joins in to promote her designs, inviting with their example, infecting with their sympathy, shaming with their boasts of happiness, and almost driving with their exclamations of how charming, how delightful such a thing is ; so that we have need of all our eyes to keep clear of her entanglements. But she is a very Siren, attracting only to devour, for when swallowed up in delights we are as far from happiness, as those who still beat about in the boisterous seas of life : she performs nothing of all she promises, but only makes us barter away a continued satisfaction for a little present gratification, and take a sparkling bubble in lieu of a solid substance.

The luxurious find no greater gust in their dainties, than the plain man in his ordinary food ; the delicate are rather moved by the loathsomeness of things coarse and inelegant, than any extraordinary joy in seeing them spruce and fine, so they follow

pleasure merely as an avoidance of displeasure, aiming at no more than to escape that disgust which never falls upon the man who has not their refined taste : the rich man has been used to have his plenty and conveniences about him, so they become necessities to him, and he receives no more joy from them than any one would feel in the supply of whatever would distress him to go without ; to say he has no wants would be untrue, for though he has not the same which press upon the poor man, he has others relative to his estate, his reputation, his treatment in the world, his plans and projects which he has made necessary to his peace of mind, but which the poor man never knows.

On the other hand, toil and labor, penury and constraint, pain, and affliction grow light by use ; and when habituated to the mind, leave no more uneasiness than what is incident to all stations of life ; for desire rises with gratification and never ceases to grasp more, till come to a length that must end in disappointment. But the man upon whom fortune smiles, would suffer sorely by her frowns, and he to whom she has been averse would be greatly transported on finding the tables turn : this there is no doubt of, but from hence they infer that they should have been in like manner affected if they had each stood always in the other's condition.

Thus happiness depends upon opinion, men estimating one another's portion by their own sentiments without knowledge of one another's pains and pleasures, thinking those only such which would be such to themselves : but if those could be fairly weighed in the scale, I conceive the balance of both would be found much nearer an equality in all stations of life, than is commonly apprehended. The man who lives in pleasure has only a fancied advantage over the drudge in business, the path of both wears smooth and beaten by continual treading, they both jog on with like degree of ease and engagement, while attentive to their way, unless when casting an eye upon the other's track which one thinks better and the other worse than his own, only because the passage from one to the other would respectively be so.

3. This then is the case of pleasure when it can run currently along in an habitual train, but it often raises grievous rubs in its own career, and draws on pernicious consequences. It is the greatest nourisher of indolence and indulgence, giving up the soul to every present gratification, or the prospect of them when had in expectance and ruminated upon in the fancy ; thus contracting the view within the narrow compass of a fleeting moment whereby it enfeebles resolution, banishes judgment, and throws discretion off her guard. It is the bait to draw in the young and the unexperienced, for if you can raise in them a strong fancy to any-

thing, and feed them up with the expectation of gratifying it, you may hamper them in any toils: and so you may sometimes the experienced, if by flashing this glare in their eyes you can hinder them from taking that benefit from their experience, which they might.

What it is that fetters the amorous boy, or tender girl, for life in unequal matches, but the imagination of circling joys, perpetual transports, and supremity of happiness? what is it hurries on the voluptuous to ruin their healths, or the extravagant their fortunes, but the contempt of common enjoyments and the humor of being always prodigiously delighted? it is the irresistible joy of growing rich at once, that drives men into gaming, till they become beggars at once: and the supreme felicity of gaining a favorite point urges people furiously through toils and troubles, expenses, vexations, dangers, and mischiefs of every kind.

The charms of riot and debauchery make highwaymen and housebreakers, and establish that antiprudent maxim received as fundamental among them, *A short life and a merry one*; or if they are driven by necessity, it is a necessity created by their aversion to labor, as being unpleasant and therefore intolerable. The allurements of fancy prove the first source of wantonness, of unlucky and mischievous tricks in the earliest years, and in the riper often produce more troublesome effects; for a flow of prosperity with continual indulgence of the desires, commonly makes men capricious, selfish, narrow-minded, untractable, contemptuous, and overbearing, until some galling disappointment or misfortune has taught them, that there are other objects necessary to be thought of besides that of pleasing ourselves.

The School-boy will not mind his lesson while hankering after his plays, nor can the trader thrive whose thoughts are perpetually running upon diversions and elegancies; neither will a man in any line of life ever be good for anything, until he can banish all imagination of pleasure out of his head for hours together.

Even in Religion it is the joy of being unparalleled saints, overtopping mankind in holiness, that makes people censorious, rigid, and superstitious: the notion of exquisite delights, high transports, and raptures, that betrays them into superstition and enthusiasm, most commonly followed by dejections and despondences, upon which they are ready to pronounce God unfaithful, in not gratifying them so highly as they had promised themselves. Hence appears how indispensable an obligation we lie under upon all accounts, to learn an indifference to pleasures, because when violently attached to them, they will lead us into dangers and inconveniences of every kind.



4. Perhaps I shall be thought attempting to perplex mankind or involving them in contradictions by inveighing so severely against pleasure, which nevertheless I have acknowledged the proper end of action : wherefore it is incumbent upon me to find a clue for extricating us from this labyrinth : and this I conceive may be had by observation of what pleasures excite a fondness for them in our hearts, and are apt to possess our imagination to the exclusion of all other objects ; for those only are the Sirens, a principal part of whose malignancy lies in their enticing away from others that are innocent and valuable.

For pleasure rightly understood is the true ultimate point wherein all our lines of conduct ought to centre : whatever we do for the service of Religion terminates in the unspeakable happiness of another life ; what we do for mankind, for the public, for our friends or our neighbors, tends to the increase of happiness or diminution of evil among them, or to some good or convenience from whence they may reap a benefit ; and so far as is consistent with the other two it is a duty we owe ourselves to make our lives in every part of them as pleasurable as we can, with our best industry and contrivance, only remembering to contrive for every part, not for one small portion of our span in neglect of all the rest.

But one may pursue an end by a steady determinate perseverance without an eager fondness, which might blind our eyes so as not to discern the whole length of our way, or make them see double, and fix upon a false Sun instead of the true, whose clear beams would show us that the right road lies where there are the most pleasures to be had, not where there are the sweetest. For these captivate the heart, make themselves necessary to us, so that we cannot do without them, but feel an uneasy want whenever they are not to be had, which no other pleasure can assuage, because having lost their relish.

Therefore the true art of pleasure lies in bringing the mind to take it in as many things as we can, more careful to be always pleased than highly pleased, to have many desires but no wants ; for then we shall be indifferent to all our pleasures, but tasteless to none. Want always indicates a penury of mind, when it has but one solace to depend upon, and if that fails must be undone : whereas he that has plenty of objects to engage him, need never suffer by the absence of any one. Hence it becomes a matter of prudence to keep desire upon attainable objects, choosing such as will satisfy rather than such as will delight ; for satisfying pleasures will easier give place to the next that follow after

them, and so the succession goes on smoothly without rub or interruption.

Not but that the higher pleasures have their use, as I shall show presently, but in admitting them to our desire, care ought to be taken that they do not endanger the more gently soothing, which make up the greater part of our happiness, and therefore deserve to be chiefly regarded. The principal stream of pleasure flows from the exercise of our faculties either of body or mind, in the pursuit of some engaging end, for which reason hope is more valuable than fruition, because hope makes the pursuit engaging, which the other puts an end to, unless it can open new aims to engage our activity afresh. We shall fare best by keeping attentive to practise the means and provide the materials of pleasure, leaving the fruits to drop spontaneously without stretching to gather them ; for pleasure will not be forced either by artifices to strain appetite, or by dwelling upon it in the imagination, or by taking pains to persuade ourselves how much we are pleased ; it is always most genuine when springing naturally from the object without efforts to cast it up.

All men agree, though few remember, that hunger is the best sauce; he then receives most pleasure from that appetite who keeps his body in health, and his organs in tone by exercise and temperance, who never thinks of victuals, until he sees them, and forgets them again as soon as the repast is over ; for he finds a constant relish in that which nature, or the custom of those among whom he consorts, have made his ordinary food, which relish he would infallibly lose by a little practice of indulgence in high sauces or excess, without getting anything better in exchange.

The like reason gives the preference to a desire of excellence above that of excelling, because it holds the activity constantly employed in such improvement as can be made, and will afford satisfaction enough as well in the pursuit, as in every little acquisition obtained, which flows purest when coming unsought, and no longer thought of than felt : for the serious contemplation of what we have done or what we have gotten, is a species of indulgence which ought to be very sparingly allowed as a matter of recreation. And if there be a real joy in excelling (as in this world of vanity where all things are estimated by comparison who can avoid doing so?) there is no occasion to let it grow into an object of desire, because that of excellence will answer the same purpose more effectually ; for the more diligent we are in making improvement, we shall find ourselves the seldomer outdone, and meet oftener with our inferiors.

But this pleasure, such as it is, ought to be no more than what strikes unavoidably from the objects before us, for if ruminated upon, or endeavors be used to enhance it, there is imminent danger it will lead into the gloominess of pride, the follies of vanity, the delusions of self-conceit, the restlessness of ambition, and the torments of envy, or perhaps the despondency of being undeservedly treated by Providence.

Even in Religion, how fondly soever some folks may affect to talk of transports and ecstasies, yet I conceive the present reward of it lies chiefly in that gently pleasing consciousness of well doing, which accompanies the exercises of it. I do not deny that when having acquitted ourselves well upon some opportunity offered of doing an important service, or in seasons of contemplation when the flood of grace rises strongly upon us, there may be pleasures in a degree to be called exquisite; but these happen very rarely, for they are Angels' food, and we can expect no more than now and then to have a little foretaste of the heavenly Manna: therefore we are not to make them objects of our desire nor aims of our pursuit, but take them as they come without straining our faculties to prolong their duration, or swell up their tides higher than they will spring of themselves: for there are voluptuaries in devotion as well as in eating, and both lose more pleasures than they gain by their endeavors to render them excessive.

But the greatest absurdity of all lies in making it a duty to be transported; for nothing is more incompatible with pleasure than duty, nor can the performance of it ever be pleasing until what was matter of obligation becomes an object of choice upon prospect of a desirable advantage pursued thereby, which will create a hunger and thirst whose gratifications are similar to those of natural appetite.

The principal benefit of Religion with respect to a pleasurable life, is that it supplies us with continual engagement, for so far as we can trace our references home we shall always find something to be done in the service of God, or of our fellow-creatures, or of ourselves, attended with that unsought consciousness of acting rightly, which never cloy: and it is likewise an infallible test to distinguish the siren pleasures from the innocent, for those that are fond, or vicious, or inordinate will never bear the reference to our ultimate intention.

5. Nevertheless, pleasures, as I hinted just now, have their uses; for they together with fears first teach us activity, and are much the better mistresses of the two. Therefore Nature in our infancy gives a quickness to our organs which makes them ca-

pable of striking strong sensations, and finding a delight in almost every exercise that is not put upon them by constraint : if it were not for this, children would never awake out of that drowsy stupidity which overwhelms them for the most part in their cradles ; when they can run about, you see them incessantly busy in their little plays which keep their limbs or their imagination in movement during those long intervals of time wherein hunger and thirst cannot find them employment ; as they grow up they begin to have a forecast for pleasures a little remote, this gives an engagement to the prosecution of an object not immediately within their reach, and they can be pleased with taking the right measures for procuring something that will please them by and by, from whence afterwards by long process grows the idea of rectitude, and the satisfaction felt in the steps taken towards an ultimate aim.

And in our riper years there must generally be the expectation of something apprehended very delightful to make us enter upon business, or undertake any long work : no matter whether the delight prove so great as apprehended, for here again happiness depends upon opinion ; but the opinion is necessary to engage us in the work, and procure us the satisfaction found in the engaging pursuit. Thus are we often cheated into a real good by the lure of an imaginary, like the old man's lazy sons in the fable, who were set a digging to their great profit in the improvement of the vineyard by being told of a hidden treasure. Or if the pleasure expected be real, still it is less in quantity than that distilling in the progress towards it ; for I believe My lord Mayor's coach has been the remote occasion of more engaging satisfaction to the apprentice, than ever his Lordship felt in it himself.

Pleasures serve to recreate and unbend the mind, and when properly interspersed lighten the burden of any laborious work : they give a briskness to the spirits, a cheerfulness to the temper, contribute to preserve the health by quickening and smoothing the circulations, and unite people together in intimacy ; for nothing makes friendship more hearty than a participation of pleasures, unless it be a fellowship in distresses which is a much less desirable cement : they make us take a fuller notice of the places we have been at, the objects we have seen, and the transactions we have borne a part in ; and often store up a fund of entertainment for the imagination in the remembrance of them after they are past, in-somuch that Epicurus placed the happiness of his wise-man when under the frowns of fortune, in the recollection of former enjoyments. But I differ from him upon that point, as expecting the benefit rather from a spontaneous reflection or one that rises easily, than from a forced recollection ; for I would have nothing forced

in matters of pleasure, and conceive that herein lies the great error of your men of pleasure, who turn it into a toil, and spoil its relish by their great pains to enhance it.

Instruction sinks deepest when conveyed in amusing tales, or the manner of receiving it can be made an entertainment: the flowers of rhetoric when aptly fitted on, like the feathers to an arrow, give force to the steely points of argumentation: elegance of language, harmony of composition, method, allegory, allusion, familiar example, whatever helps to illustrate or draw up the colors of things, at once pleases and informs; for it is the property of light to entertain the eye while it discovers the object: the pleasures of conversation make one among the principal links of society, multiply the intercourses among mankind, and help transactions of business to go on the easier.

Nor is pleasure incapable of finding an entrance even into the holy offices of Religion, as witness the trumpets, the choristers, the perfumes, the golden vessels, the rich vestments, the splendor and magnificence of the Jewish temple, the love feasts of the primitive Christians, the organ in our Churches, and chanting in our Cathedral service.

But it is not at the altar alone that pleasure may be turned to the service of Religion and Philosophy, by assisting to work that largeness of heart which renders it their fittest receptacle: pain and uneasiness necessarily contract the views; while under them it is scarce practicable for a man to think of anything beyond himself, and his present grievance; but a little enjoyment of innocent pleasures setting the mind at ease within itself, opens his prospect; he then can take concern with things around him, diffuse in sincere charity to his fellow-creatures, comprehend the general interest, and pour forth in hearty thanksgiving for that flood of bounty which, like the vital air, expands everywhere except in some few dungeons and loathsome places, and whereof he now feels the influence.

Thus we see the value of pleasures does not lie in themselves but in their uses, and many times the joy of having gained our point is nothing, but the whole delight stands confined to the pursuit: we matter not the shilling we play for at cards, yet if we played for nothing there would be no diversion in the game; so in the games of traffic, of ambition, of accomplishment, the wealth, the honor, the perfection, when gained, will not invest us with the supreme happiness we flatter ourselves, yet without such expectation we should not pass our time so agreeably as we do in managing our cards well, and making advances towards them.

This might teach us the true science of pleasure, which consists in distinguishing those that are most productive of engagement, of activity, of agreeable reflection, of cheerfulness and serenity of mind, or stimulate to useful acquisitions, and prefer those before the more exquisite. But science will avail nothing without a strength of resolution to practise it, which may enable us to choose for ourselves among our pleasures, and to choose with discretion, not with fondness, nor ever suffer them to force themselves upon us whether we will or no, to harbor no wants nor anxious cravings for them: for this is what was meant by the Apathy of the Philosophers, this is that forbearance which is one of the two branches of our Redemption, and this stands included in what was styled in Scripture language, asserting the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

6. This selection of pleasures valuable for their fruits and appendages from those which delight only in the fruition, most obviously marks the difference between a civilized and a barbarous people; for the pleasures of pure nature, the gratifications of undisciplined appetite are as intense, or perhaps more so, than those of refinement.

When a child, I have been more highly delighted with a colored print bought for a halfpenny, with a ballad tune sung by the coarse-piped chamber-maid, in reading the dragon of Wantley, in discovering a better way of building houses with cards, than ever I was since with the finest paintings, the sweetest music, the sublimest poetry, or the luckiest thought occurring in the progress of my Chapters: even the heights of Philosophy and effusions of grace, if you regard only the present moment, are not more transporting than the amusements of childhood. Nor do I doubt that the American savages find as strong relish in their lumps of flesh with the skin on, taken from the burning coals, in their contrivances to catch the beavers, in successes against their enemies and seizures of plunder, as we do in our dainties, our elegancies, our arts, and accomplishments. And after all, perhaps we have no greater enjoyments among us than those of eating when we are hungry, drinking when we are thirsty, laying down when sleepy, or as the second Solomon has pronounced, than scratching where it itches.

But arts and sciences and the civilized modes of employment add to the enjoyment of life not by heightening the gust of it, but by supplying more in quantity with a less interrupted continuity: we must indeed have an imagination of something very delightful in the possession of them to engage us to the pursuit; but this notion had better gradually subside, as indeed it generally

does, in proportion as the pursuit becomes habitual and pleasant. But the benefit results from the pursuit itself, which finds employment for our time by supplying us continually with engaging aims in the steps taken towards attainment of our purpose, and yields a fund of agreeable reflection on the advances we have made, which is compatible with our other reasonable desires, which provides for the entertainment of other persons besides our own, and takes us off from the indulgence of those natural appetites, that would be troublesome to others and pernicious to ourselves.

For we may observe, that the arts of pleasure have their foundation in the resistance of pleasure, we must get rid of our gross tastes to acquire a refined, the first effect of manly desires is to give us a contempt for those childish ones which used to afford us vast delight before, and in all accomplishment there is something of a subjection of appetite. Politeness cannot subsist without an easy, unruffled temper, capable of stifling all emotions that rise in the breast; the genteelest players at games of diversion are those who show the least eagerness, who can win without transport or lose without concern; and in all arts the ignorant are known from connoisseurs by that rapturous amazement with which they are struck upon beholding extraordinary performances.

Thus the arts providing for the embellishment of life were not designed to make us more fond of pleasure, but to bring that propensity which there is in most men thereto into a regular system whereby to prevent it from running out into extravagant and dangerous excursions: for it is better to persuade a man to study any science whatever, than that he should act wantonly without any science at all; and there being such an infinite variety of dispositions among mankind, makes it necessary to provide employment for the industry and ingenuity of them all; besides that industry of any one kind helps to encourage that in every other, as well by increasing the demands for its produce and so promoting commerce, as by rendering the spirit, activity, and contrivance more general: therefore we find that in proportion as countries grow better policied, the polite arts go hand in hand with the useful, or at least do not wait long for their introduction after the others have been established. For they contribute a share for the benefit of society, making it the business of some to prepare materials for the entertainment of others; and if it is said they give occasion to vices unknown among the ignorant, this may be true without their increasing the growth of wickedness, but only by turning it into a different channel: for there is a perversity of character to be found among all families upon earth, which will find matter to work upon, wherever placed. The same persons

whom we see rapacious, over-reaching, and tricking here, would have been pilferers, robbers and plunderers if born among savages ; those who riot in luxury among us, would have been likely to wallow in sensualities among them ; for the same error leads into both, namely, their fondness for high delights, and inability to resist the impulse of any allurements striking strongly upon their fancy.

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### CHAP. XXX.

#### SELF-DENIAL.

THE greatest conquest, say all the Sages of ancient and modern days, is that of ourselves ; for victory is never so glorious nor so valuable as when gained over an invader or a tyrant, who would enslave us : but there is not a more imperious or oppressive tyrant in nature, than that usually called Self-love ; though his true name be Self-fondness, the most opposite to love and the most dangerous to its interests, because assuming its likeness and thereby beguiling the unwary to court their own thralldom.

Liberty is dear to all, but the ideas of it are very different, nor perhaps are there many terms current in language which are so little understood : men commonly place it in a license to do uncontrolledly whatever their desires or the present impulse of passion shall prompt them to ; but the liberty of the sons of God consists in an exemption from passion and a superiority to desire, so as they may be able to choose and to act as they will, upon all occasions, being passive in none of their motions, nor hurried along impetuously by any force whatsoever.

Now the two great obstacles against this freedom are Pleasure and Pain, which the imbecility of human nature in its present degraded state renders it unable to resist ; nor shall we ever become freemen until having attained that perfect power of endurance and forbearance, which is to be our deliverance from original sin and the completing of our Redemption. This is a great work never to be finished in this life, wherein yet we must make what progress we are able, or else shall go out utterly unprepared to carry it on in the next.

Therefore it behoves us to be diligent in loosening the bonds that hold us, which is done two ways, either by weakening the force of our desires, or strengthening our own resolution : the for-



mer is the more generally feasible, for we may starve desire by keeping prudently out of the way of temptation, or finding other amusements to engage us from it; but the latter is the more desirable, as comprehending the other within it, for every throwing of the adversary lessens his vigor while it adds to our own, and it is always esteemed more advantageous to beat an enemy in open field where it can be done, than to elude his grasp by stratagems or countermarches. But to qualify us for the day of battle it will be necessary to prepare beforehand by discipline and exercises, and frequent skirmishes with such parties as we can master, whereby to acquire experience and hardiness to cope with the more formidable.

He then who is duly sensible of his natural weakness will endeavor to mend it by seasonable self-denials, refusing himself innocent pleasures that they may not get him within the sphere of their attraction, nor become necessary to him, and undergoing some fatigues and troubles not immediately needful, that he may not be afraid of them when expedient; that he may have the entire command of his own actions, and be able to take up or lay down his affections and aversions with the same ease as he could sit down to a game at cards with pleasure, or let it alone without hankering, or as he could go out in a rainy day, if there were occasion, with tranquillity, or comfort himself with the thoughts of having a dry house over his head.

2. But there are grievous mistakes made upon this article of self-denial for want of bearing in mind the use and intention of it, which is none other than to preserve our independency against all attempts of desire, or fear to bring us into subjection under them. Some esteem it a thing good in itself, an acceptable offering to God when they sacrifice all their enjoyment and their ease to please him, therefore the more they afflict themselves by abstinences and austerities, the richer their holocaust will be.

But God desires no such sacrifice, nor is he pleased with the sufferings of his creatures. He gave us our existence that we might be capable of enjoyment, he has spread innumerable blessings around us upon the earth, that we might be happy in the right use of them, and we serve him best when we take the most effectual methods to secure happiness for ourselves together with our fellow-creatures, for which purpose as I have shown before, all our religious duties and services are calculated. He has made satisfaction the first and constant mover of our actions, he has rendered pain and uneasiness abhorrent to our nature, nor should we ever have inducement to stir a finger, if we could once become totally indifferent to both: but as a man in trade must ex-

haust his coffers to buy merchandizes, by the profit whereof he may replenish them the fuller, so it often happens that our sole avenue to pleasure lies through pain, in which case it is prudent to disburse our hoards of ease and enjoyment for the sake of a larger return, so that we pursue pleasure even while running voluntarily into troubles.

Therefore the prospect of some addition to our happiness is the only justifiable ground of self-denial, nor, as I have said formerly, would I have a man ever deny himself anything, unless in order to please himself better thereby another time : not that I expect he should always clearly discern that consequence, for the arts of moral prudence respecting remote advantages are not traceable by everybody, nor completely by anybody, therefore he must take guidance from the rules established upon the experience of others, who have hung them out as marks for the direction of such as are unacquainted with the road. But whoever first laid down the rules ought to have discerned the benefits resulting naturally from them, or he acts deceitfully, and he that follows them proceeds upon a confidence of their having been so laid down : for if he has not a discernment of his own of the benefit to accrue, nor the sanction of a rule, or thinks to refine upon his teachers by exceeding the austerities prescribed without a clear view of their expedience, he acts foolishly and inconsiderately, if not wickedly. And the affliction of ourselves is so far from being a necessary ingredient in self-denials, that we ought to make our principal aim to admit as little of it as possible in the exercises of them ; for the cheerfuller and easier we can go through the task, the softer we can make the burden lie upon our shoulders, the more manfully we can perform our exercises, so much the better, and so much the more acceptable in the sight of Heaven, as being a completer conquest over the enemy, and a greater improvement of our own strength, which will enable us to pursue our advantages for the future without trouble from those allurements and terrors that used to prove an obstacle before.

For the only purpose of self-denial is for inuring us to do the same things we did under it, without any reluctance or self-denial at all ; and the sooner we acquire this habit, the less we shall suffer in the learning, and the more effectually we shall answer our purpose. Therefore it is advisable to take our eye off as much as possible from the greatness of the difficulties we undertake, and fix it upon the advantages we promise ourselves therefrom, or upon the consciousness of rectitude, which is a certain evidence of advantages we do not see : and when by this means we have in time

brought the difficulty to be none, it will both encourage and prepare us to surmount greater difficulties in like manner.

3. Nevertheless, it behoves us to use conduct as well as courage, and manage prudently as well in respect to the time of making our attacks, the quarters where they may be practicable, as the choice of such adversaries as prove our greatest annoyance, and to make a timely retreat whenever overmatched : for our natural debility is such, that we have need of all our circumspection and contrivance to do any good with it.

There are people who never think of discipline while things go on smoothly and currently, but when some affliction or pain falls upon them, or lowness of spirits oppresses them, then they will needs resolve upon great achievements, when having enough to do to support the present pressure they lie under. This is ill timing of things, it is whetting the sword when the enemy draws close upon them. But the seasons of prosperity are the proper seasons for self-denial, when the spirits are strong, the forces fresh, and the mind at ease to look about and contrive ; for then the Siren enemies are busiest about us, then are we best able to cope with them, and then is the time to lay in a stock of patience and hardiness, which we may find the benefit of in time of trial, whether upon some grievance befalling or some arduous service requiring our dispatch.

Others there are, who can be satisfied with nothing less than heroism in self-denial ; they must be Alexanders to carry the world before them, or Herculesees to subdue all monsters. Those are commonly people who proceed upon the motive of fear and obligation : they must wage perpetual war against all the enemies of God, or they shall incur his wrath and be delivered over to the devil.

It is indeed our duty to subdue all enemies we can, but the addition of We can will make large deductions from the particle All ; and there is no duty in attacking those we cannot overcome, nor will the devil lay hold of us for the omission. We are to wage perpetual war, but our warfare consists more in vigilance to take all advantages, than in bravery to challenge every foe, and even when we do exert our vigor it must be guided and tempered by discretion. When men drive furiously on with a resolution to storm Heaven at once by violence, they become righteous overmuch, that is, erroneously so ; they would make clear work as they go along, cutting up every desire, root and branch, eradicating every sensibility of pain, or terror, or uneasiness.

But our desires and our aversions are necessary to us, for without them we could have no choice of action : the business is to

prevent their getting head so far as to impose a choice upon us, that we may be always free to choose for ourselves ; but we can choose no otherwise than upon the judgment of what is most desirable, or clearest of consequences to which we are averse : neither should we know wherein to serve our neighbor, if we could meet with one who had neither desire to gratify, nor fear to be delivered from.

But it often happens that such as will needs be righteous overmuch, fail of being righteous enough ; for while eager on their austerities, abstinences, and arduous enterprizes, the enemy comes behind and trips them up, so as to disable them from acquitting the common offices of life, or perhaps their very eagerness turns into a passion, which requires a particular self-denial to master it. But a wise general will take good care of his own territory before he thinks of making inroads, and leave no little strong hold untaken behind him, while marching inconsiderately into the heart of the enemies' country.

Therefore it behoves us to become perfect in common goodness, before we aim at extraordinary : to take care there be no unnatural cravings in eating and drinking, for dainties, elegancies, or curiosities, no indulgence of the pillow, aversion to trouble, impatience under pain, cross accident, or disappointment, listlessness or dilatoriness in business, vexation at being put out of our way, proneness to murmur, to despond, to censure, to despise, to draw comparisons, no unevenness of temper, nor other such evil habits which are frequently contracted unwarily by giving too close an attention to feats of extraordinary prowess.

Since then we have not eyes to look everywhere, nor forces to act offensively against all enemies at once, it becomes us to level our batteries against those that give the greatest annoyance, to discover the sins that do so easily beset us, to consider our station in life, our particular duties, the works we have to do, and apply our self-denial to the best advantage for removing those obstacles, which used to retard us in the performance of them. If without neglect of this service we can acquire higher degrees of endurance and forbearance, qualifying us to perform extraordinary services, it is a glorious achievement : but we shall do right to be cautious in struggling with a potent adversary, for when we find him too much for us it will be prudent to retire in time, because by persisting obstinately to strive against an insurmountable difficulty, we only exhaust our strength and leave ourselves defenceless against the first assailant that shall afterwards attack us.

And before we bestir ourselves much to gain extraordinary powers, it will be worth while to consider what good we could do

with them if we had them : for if they would lie useless in our hands, it can be but labor lost to take pains in the acquisition. How would the man of fortune be more serviceable if he could bear the burthens of the porter, or endure his coarseness of diet and nastiness of living? We who are happily placed in a country of liberty where Religion has the protection of laws, what could we do more for its interests if we were able to suffer martyrdom, to sacrifice houses, possessions, wives, children, ease, and life, for the faith? I do not deny that those are valuable and desirable qualities, if they were to be had with a wish ; but how is it our duty to toil and struggle for them while we have other work enough upon our hands? For in all our motions we are to regard the call of Heaven signified by the talents and opportunities afforded us, and the ways wherein our industry may prove effective to some beneficial purpose, and to practise such discipline or other methods as will better qualify us to obey the call.

We are taught to pray, Lead us not into temptation, which would be superfluous if it were expected from us to become capable of resisting all temptation : therefore we need not be disturbed at wanting the firmness sufficient to carry us through all kinds of labors, troubles, distresses, and sufferings whereof we have heard, or seen examples. For though a prudent General will leave nothing to chance that he can help, yet for all his prudence a great deal will still remain in the power of chance ; nor can we expect, like the arrogant Stoics, ever to make ourselves secure against being hurt by the malice of fortune, for this would raise us to a state of independency : but this will not deject us when we reflect whose disposal fortune lies under.

For we may contemplate all the burdens, hard services, and evils incident to human life without terror, and enter upon any of them, when called thereto, with courage, as confiding in the Goodness of God, that he will not lead us into temptation above what we are able to bear, or will with the temptation also make a way to escape, whereby if we are not now, we may become able to bear it.

4. The proper end of self-denial is ease and enlargement of power, to bring our desires and aversions under such discipline, as that they may never obstruct nor trouble us in the prosecution of our truest interests and enjoyments : therefore those are mischievous and blameable austerities that weaken our natural powers and appetites, which are the instruments given us whereby to help ourselves upon all occasions. He that fasts till he has destroyed the tone of his stomach, till he has emaciated himself or brought a feebleness upon his muscles and a poverty into his blood, has

very ill bestowed his pains : for what avails it to remove obstacles to your work if you likewise remove away all the ability you had to perform any? He who shuts himself up from all enjoyments of the world until he has lost all knowledge in the ways of the world, only makes himself a less useful member of society, than those who drive along in the torrent of impulse with the common run of mankind.

For as I have remarked in a foregoing Chapter, some indulgence is necessary to support the health, to recreate the spirits, to save the strength for great occasions, to give a briskness and cheerfulness to our motions, to leave us at leisure for learning and observation of what passes around, and for receiving the influence of sympathy by which the benefits of society are principally conveyed.

It is a very nice point to know exactly how far to indulge, and when to deny, and therefore deserves the more diligent study : but what have we else to do than live and learn? nor is there a more profitable science to be studied than the right timing and proper application of our resolution. For as with respect to the company or the world about us, compliance is a virtue but passiveness a fatal error, so it is in our transactions at home among our own desires : we must suffer them to lead, but never to drive us, nor even to lead, unless when we suffer it, keeping the reins always in our hand, though we do not always use them, and having our eyes constantly open that we may see the way before us, so as to know upon all occasions why we give way, and why we restrain : for this is that common sense which is more valuable than fine sense, that discretion which steers equally clear from the follies of impulse, and the extravagances of rigid Philosophy or righteousness overmuch.

Excess of self-denial often springs from a fund of laziness lurking at bottom ; men think to master all their passions by a violent exertion at once, that they may have nothing left to do afterwards : and sometimes as already noticed in the last section, self-denial itself by growing eager will corrupt into a passion. In this case it becomes an enemy as much any other passion it has subdued, and as much requires another self-denial to bring it down, by resisting its impulses that it may not run away with us.

For if we cannot break off our labors and our austerities upon occasion without vexing and hankering after them, we are not free-men, but have let this most excellent servant encroach upon us till he is become our master • therefore it is expedient to keep him within his duty by purposed interruptions, and a ready compliance with avocations of business, or amusement that anybody shall

throw in our way ; for without some such caution we may run a great hazard of growing righteous overmuch.

So that it is a vain imagination to think of doing our business by a strong exertion once for all ; but the desire of having no further need of self-denial is perhaps the propensity most expedient for us to subdue ; for this life is a school and a warfare, wherein we must always be exercising, always improving, and always contesting ; our greatest ease must spring from the expectation beforehand of never being at rest, and like the Spartans, inuring our mind to a military state, keeping a constant look out, and standing in readiness to march, to counter-march, and change our measures alertly, as occasion shall require. But it is not easy at all times to see where the enemy lurks, for the passions often urge to very rigorous denials of one another, in which case we may be strengthening impulse by the very exercises with which we think to subdue it.

Ambition will drive through toils and struggles, abstinences of all kinds, patience of pains, fatigues, contradictions, and indignities ; the passion of being admired has made some girls almost starve themselves for a shape, and do more than Popish penance in stays uneasier than a hair shirt, nor is there any favorite scheme men have strongly at heart, which may not enable them to do and suffer great things for accomplishing it : all this while they fancy themselves miracles of patience and resolution, but are indeed driven like a nail with a hammer, by the force of one passion, surmounting the resistance of another. It may be good policy to employ those champions to bring down a stubborn foe, too strong for our sober reason to deal with, but they will conquer for themselves, not for us, unless we keep them disciplined from time to time by seasonable self-denials of the passions they instigate in us.

5. There is a discipline which Providence exercises upon us in the pains, afflictions, disappointments and other trials interspersed among mankind, of which we may make good profit by striving against the desires that are particularly hurt by them. They are not indeed self-denials because not voluntarily undertaken, but we may turn them to the same use, and they were sent with design to be so turned.

This reflection, while a man can hold it lively in his imagination, might encourage him to strive for his present ease and future profit by endeavoring to lessen his aversion to the pressure laid upon him : he will scarce be able to do this completely, nor need he think amiss of himself that he cannot, for human infirmity is not a fault ; but the persuasion of such a power being a desirable

thing, if it could be acquired, will help by little and little to a consent and acquiescence of the mind in his burdens without any want of a riddance from them.

But where there is no want there is no imbecility ; you may hold your hand near a roasting fire so long as you can keep from wanting to get rid of the burning heat, though you feel the smart you do not suffer by it, nor are forced to snatch your hand away. This is called patience, and answers the same purpose as self-denial, by weakening those aversions which stand in our way against the prosecution of advantageous schemes. Nevertheless, the exemption from want does not necessarily banish desire, for we may desire a thing without wanting it : neither need the fullest consent of the mind to burdens we cannot help, withhold us from effecting our deliverance as soon as we can ; for as I have said in a former place, we are to kiss the rod of affliction, not to court it.

Enjoyment is our proper goal, nor are we ever to take the miry road of pain and trouble voluntarily, unless upon a reasonable prospect of its leading thereto ; when God calls to trials we may depend they are for our benefit, but the moment he opens a way to escape the call ceases, nor shall we ever serve either him or ourselves by running into them needlessly.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### HABITS.

It may be remembered that in the last Volume I made a triple division of the human compound into Body, mental organization, and perceptive Spirit. The last, which alone is properly ourselves, the other two having only a borrowed personality while in vital union therewith, can receive no alteration either in form or quality, but must continue forever the same, unless it should please God by an immediate act of his Omnipotence to re-create it in another nature : for every alteration proceeds from a different disposition of parts, or accession of new parts, or subtraction of old, none of which can happen to the Spirit, as being an individual having no parts, nor capable of admitting any : it can only change its condition by having a different set of organs whereby to perceive, and of instruments wherewith to act. But the other two being material compositions, may admit of alteration, and it



behoves us so far as in our power lies, to work such as may prove an amendment of them in form and quality : more especially the second part in the division which is our more inseparable companion, and to share in our personality for a long, long continuance, after we shall have taken final leave of the other.

But how shall we go to work for managing either of them ? we cannot come at them by manual operation, nor take their springs to pieces, as one might the works of a clock, in order to file, or straighten, or clean, or rectify them in any respect. The bodily movements we may help a little by diet, medicine, and exercise, but none of these methods will touch the spiritual body, nor even the finer circulations of the carnal, wherein its passions, inclinations, aversions, imaginations, combinations, trains of ideas, and all the mechanical impulses depend. Yet these are the subjects we are to work upon, the engines we have to employ, as well for securing ourselves and our fellow-travellers an agreeable passage along this present stage of our journey, as providing a good constitution for the inner body wherewith it may rise to health, and vigor, and happiness, in the next.

But we can scarce have profited so little by experience as to fail of observing, that ideas rise whether in clusters together, or successively in the same order wherein they have been frequently introduced ; the animal spirits which cast them up circulating more readily, like the grosser fluids, in those channels which have been worn smooth by continual passage.

From hence proceed our habits both of acting and thinking, for both depend upon the same cause, to wit, the spontaneous or mechanical rising of ideas in our thought ; for our actions constantly follow the apprehensions and motives occurring from time to time, which though they may be sometimes called up by the understanding, yet arise for the most part from our customary trains of thinking : or if judgment does direct to an end, the steps to be taken in prosecution of it must be suggested by habit, or the business will not go on readily and currently.

This is particularly evident in foreign languages, which how thoroughly soever a man may be skilled in, he will not be able to talk without much practice, whereas in our vulgar tongue if the subject does not require thought, there wants none to run on fluently with a torrent of words by the hour together, and sometimes people will blurt out things inadvertently, which if judgment had been awake it would have suppressed.

All our arts and ways of acting, the management of our limbs, and expertness of every kind derives from habit, nor can science proceed without a peculiar art in marshalling the thoughts : the

turns of genius too and acquired tastes were taken, I conceive, from some habitual bias the young imagination had fallen into early, for else, were they the sole gift of nature, why should they be so various among mankind, but so generally similar in particular times and countries ; but all habits must have a beginning, being generated by single acts either of external objects, or example and sympathy, or of our own industry, and may be lost again by disuse, occasioned either by discontinuance of the like causes, or their working out different channels.

Since then habits are of so great efficacy to determine the color of our lives, and the last mentioned only of the three causes producing them lies within our power, but the other two no further than as we may use that to put ourselves within their influence or to avoid it, we shall do wisely to apply our best skill and diligence for encouraging or contracting such of them as may be salutary, and escaping or breaking such as are pernicious.

2. But the principal habit best deserving our cultivation is that of industry itself, which, as already shown, does not lie so much in a continual laborious application, as in a calm, steady vigilance to act always with consciousness or advertency as well in matters of small as greater moment, and with a consent of the judgment, whether passed deliberately or intuitively, according to the exigency of the occasion : if this cannot be done without strenuous attention it indicates a deficiency of habit, for things we are well habituated to we do easily, with no strain upon the mind to hold it attentive.

Perhaps it will be said that such habit is not to be perfectly learned ; I know it is not, therefore would not have it imposed as an indispensable task, for I am for making as little use of obligation as possible, because in difficult cases it oftener disheartens than stimulates : but if the benefits of such habit were contemplated, the desire of obtaining them, drawing men to take all opportunities of advancing, they might daily make some progress in it ; and moderate efforts continually repeated will suffice to work a habit much better than violent exertions which can be made only now and then.

This confirms what I have urged before concerning the imprudence of being righteous overmuch, which would attempt to live in fervors of devotion, or to shape the whole conduct by the highest rules of abstracted rectitude ; for such strenuous exertions exhaust the spirits, and in the intervals while they are exhausted, things must be done inadvertently ; wherefore an attention to the lights flowing almost spontaneously from the rules of common prudence or propriety in the ordinary transactions and intercourses

of the world, is necessary to perfect the habit of acting advertently, which we had begun in our serious exercises: for it is the more important of the two to bring the conduct to follow steadily the judgment occurring, than to have the judgment itself exactly informed.

The residence of this habit seems to be in the spiritual body, wherefore the acquisition of it is the best improvement we can make therein: not that I suppose any of our habits, our appetites, our expertness, or stores of knowledge shall remain with us after our dissolution; for since the objects we shall have to converse with, and functions we shall have to perform are likely to be totally different from the present, the retention of our old ideas or ways would make them extremely troublesome, and render everything strange. For novelty is different from strangeness, one is engaging, the other unpleasant, but new objects are made strange only by some discordance with old trains. When children are first born everything must be new to them but nothing strange, until they become familiar with nurse and mamma, and then they take violent distaste at strange faces.

But use and habit are well known to strengthen the powers employed in them, nor do they fail to work alterations even in the structure of our bodily frame: why else do our right arms grow stronger and the pulses in them more vigorous, than the left? why is the flesh of the laborious firmer, and their muscles better knit, than of the dissolute and effeminate, unless by the efficacy of exercise to draw them into a closer contexture? A man that had learned to dance, or been much practised in other exercises of activity, though by drinking the waters of Lethe he should utterly lose all his skill and expertness, would nevertheless retain his strength of limbs and suppleness of joints, and be able to learn the same again or other feats of dexterity much quicker, than one who had spent his time in lumpish indolence. So the faculties of the spiritual body, though to be employed in learning arts entirely new, yet will be better qualified in robustness and agility to make proficiency in them for having been habituated to follow the judgment directing upon its present lights.

3. Now the first direction of judgment is to promote the general interest of the Universe with which our own stands always inseparably connected, as it is the first rule in worldly economy to take care of the main chance: but since we know not how to do this for want of discernment to see in what particulars the great general interest may be affected, we must take guidance from the interests of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible connection; for those are the marks which God has given us whereby

to know his Will, and what courses help to carry on his great design, the good of the creation. Therefore it behoves us to provide ourselves with such habits, as will render us expert in promoting the benefit or enjoyments of mankind whether in mind, body, or externals, and of ourselves as being included in the number.

The principal of those are faith, and hope, and charity, prudence or the faculty of taking equal concern in the future with the present, endurance of pain, trouble, and disappointment, composure in danger, self-command in joy, moderation in pleasure, equitableness or the capacity of judging in another's case as we would in our own, activity of spirit, cheerfulness of disposition, evenness of temper, unpassive compliance, readiness to please, and easiness to be pleased, and all the other virtues that contribute to the solid good, or innocent entertainment of life ; which are not virtues until grown into habits urging spontaneously to action without needing to dive for the reasons whereon they were grounded and rendering the exercises of them easy.

For ease and pleasure, as I have often said before, are the proper aims of pursuit, but then it is that ease which is the offspring of expertness not of laziness, and that pleasure which has the sanction of judgment. The wise and the foolish follow pleasure, though in different ways, for since it is not to be had without some trouble, the one chooses to make his payments beforehand, to take pains for securing himself greater ease and enjoyment, like a good economist who going to market with ready money buys at the best hand and has his provisions the cheaper : whereas the giddy spendthrift who takes them up upon tick, never thinking of payment till sued for it, always gives more than they are worth, and is loaded with a bill of costs beside. This ease then which flows from habit is both our praise and our interest of desire, and consequently to cultivate the habits that will procure it.

Religious habits are best acquired, by the practice of religious exercises, by meditation, by occasional reflections as there is room for them, by the performance of good works, and by tracing our references to such as are not usually styled good : and as it will be very easy to see the relation those other social and self-solacing virtues bear to our grand intention of glorifying God, by contributing to the happiness of his creatures, while we keep this relation in mind we shall strengthen our higher virtues in the very act of improving the lower ; which are likewise to be cultivated by the same methods of reflection upon the benefits of them, and assiduity in the exercises of them. For assiduity will do

more towards gaining a habit than labor and eagerness; the latter may be necessary in cases of difficulty to make a beginning, but the former must perfect it, as the spade and pickaxe may be serviceable to level hillocks in the road, but it is the continual beating that lays it smooth and even.

I do not deny that what strikes a strong impression upon the mind may possibly give it a holding turn that shall continue ever afterwards, as a distorted limb is sometimes set to rights by a violent stretch; and so a death-bed repentance may have the like effect upon the spiritual body as an habitual holiness, by forcing the joints of it into a suppleness that is ordinarily the produce of frequent applications: but it is very hazardous making such experiments, and therefore much safer to enter upon storing provision of salutary habits while we have time before us for a gradual progress.

And that we may be able to make the best use of our time, it will be advisable to stand always upon the watch for opportunities of exercising them; for by accustoming ourselves so to do, we shall fall into another habit introductive of all the rest, I mean, that of quickness in discerning our advantages with their particular uses, and of ease and readiness in applying them thereto. We may likewise take the benefit of example and sympathy from the persons we converse amongst; instead of criticising their dress, their faces, or their faults, we may observe what good habits they have, and their manner of proceeding in them, in order both to improve our judgment, and stimulate our industry in catching whatever is valuable from them; for this is an allowable theft, because it enriches the taker without endamaging the owner.

4. There is no living in the world without falling into habits, the world itself draws us into them insensibly by the objects it presents, and the ways of men bustling about in it, our natural wants and appetites and the activity of our imagination ever restless without something to engage the notice, lead us into them: many useful and necessary habits are gained this way; the idioms of speech, the management of our limbs, the common forms and modes of behavior, most of our tastes and inclinations; and the compositions, associations or trains of ideas whereon knowledge and judgment depend, are but their customary uniting together in assemblages, or following successively in habitual tracks.

Since then we must have some habits or other, and they frequently grow awry to our great inconvenience and damage, it will be necessary to guard against evil habits, as well as to cultivate the good ones; for there is much less trouble in preventing than remedying a mischief, as it is easier to pick out weeds on their

first sprouting, than after they have shot their clusters of roots deep into the ground : therefore this ought to be made a principal part of our self-examinations, to observe what unlucky customs are growing upon us, and to break them before they become inveterate.

Pleasures as well as toils and difficulties become indifferent by growing habitual, for the one lose their relish, and the other their irksomeness. The man who goes to plough every day, and he that drudges at cards every day, pass their time much in the same degree of satisfaction, which amounts to no more than a state of ease ; but there is this very material difference between them, if you give the laborer a holiday, he throws away his tackle with joy, if you debar the man of pleasure from his customary amusements, he sits upon thorns till he can return to them again. This we may see exemplified every Sunday which proves a day of recreation to the one, but a lamentable burden to the other, under the weight of which he does not know what to do with himself, unless by the two potent arguments, a laugh and an exclamation, he can prove there is no harm in playing at cards on Sundays too : therefore if there were no other use in the observation of that day, there would be this, that it serves to break into our habits, thereby preventing them from gaining so entire an ascendant over us, that we can never live at rest without them.

For diversions, which were at first the object of genuine desire, by too frequent indulgence corrupt into wants, they then cease to delight when we have them, but only make us uneasy when we have them not : so they cheat mankind into a false estimation of their value by the eagerness perceived in the pursuit ; but men will bestir themselves to escape uneasiness as eagerly as to hunt after enjoyment. Therefore those are the safer and more profitable habits, which inure us to labor, trouble, and difficulty in the prosecution of our genuine desires, for they are not likely to get the mastery over us, nor become necessary to our peace, but only remove the impediment of irksomeness lying in the way, bring us into greater expertness, and leave the thoughts more at leisure to contrive measures for accomplishing our designs.

5. As there are habits of acting so there are likewise those of apprehending, judging, and thinking ; the former indeed proceed from the latter, for what the mind affects strongly, the hand will be ready to execute ; but there are some customary trains the ideas are thrown into by objects occurring, and others they run in spontaneously without anything external to occasion their motions. Those which lie in the reflection are hardest to be guarded against or to be cured, for imagination can rove upon her own fund, with-

out needing any foreign materials to employ her; her wanderings lie under no control of other persons, because they cannot be known by them, they do not break forth in outward acts by which our senses might take alarm, so we practise them without knowing of it; they creep upon us insensibly, we think only to indulge a momentary pleasure till by frequent repetitions it grows into a habit rendering us incapable of entertaining any other subject whenever the humor sets in for that. It is this way that vanity strikes its fibrous roots, that pride, ambition, covetousness, romantic schemes of pleasure and ruinous projects take so strong hold upon us; this fomenters revenge, and produces the delirious fondness of love. For there seems no harm in imagining things to be as we wish, it is an innocent amusement; and so indeed it would be, were the matter to end there; but when indulged till it creates a want, till we cannot be easy without it, nor content with any other amusement, it then becomes highly nocent, not terminating with our own disquiet and torment, but sooner or later breaking into extravagant and pernicious actions.

Therefore it behoves us to watch over our imagination, and as soon as we perceive any such trains beginning to form there, to break them off before they grow into inveterate habits, by refusing ourselves that innocent amusement which would rivet them deeper: or if they have already taken hold, to loosen it as fast as possible, by avoiding such objects as are likely to foment them, and occupying our thoughts some other way. Any business, diversion or amusement that can keep the attention engaged elsewhere, is allowable in a case of this importance: for liberty is the perfection and happiness of man, and liberty of mind more so than that of body; but we shall never be freemen, until we can turn our thoughts as well as our hand which way we please without reluctance, difficulty, or obstacle.

6. But there are habits contracted by bad example or bad management, before we have judgment to discern their approaches, or because the eye of reason is laid asleep, or has not compass of view sufficient to look around on every quarter. The world on all sides assists the covert workings of vanity, entices into selfishness, indolence, and various kinds of pleasures: company sometimes draws unwarily into habits of drinking, swearing, overdelicacy, and dissipation. There are habits of misapprehension and misjudging common among all degrees of men; fretfulness, industrious to seek or even feign and chew upon matter that may nourish it; captiousness ingenious in perverting the meaning of words; partiality warping everything to its own purpose; censoriousness unable to discern a bright part in char-

acters ; self-conceit averse to discern the real motives of acting : melancholy auguring always for the worst ; besides many more, some of which I am afraid every man may find lurking in his own breast, if he will but look narrowly enough.

In all these cases there is not a want of sagacity nor information to judge better, but the customary turn of imagination will admit no ray of light but such as coincides with it. Therefore where we are too late for prevention, we must be the more diligent in applying a cure, which is effected not only by a resolute restraint, but less painfully and perhaps more successfully, by stirring up some desire which may draw us off from our customary ways ; especially where the fault lies in the imagination, for if you resolve to bear in mind that you will not think of such a particular thing, you make it the object of your reflection by so doing : therefore it is better, seek for other things you will resolve to think of, for then of course you will keep clear from that you would avoid.

But we must not desist from the application too soon, for though habit has not the force of passion, it is more tough and stubborn ; when you think you have quite weakened its spring, it will recoil again with wonted vigor : like air kept condensed between two brazen hemispheres, which will not expand at first upon giving it vent, but very soon recovers all its former elasticity. The keeping our habits in order may serve for a good school of self-denial, wherein the lessons are easier than those of bearing pain, sickness, losses, hardships and labors, besides that we but rarely have calls to those arduous exercises.

And I cannot help thinking, that if pious women, instead of humiliations and self afflictions, would set themselves in good earnest to pass a day without any motions of fretfulness, peevishness, censoriousness, dilatoriness in the business of their families, forebodings of mischief, lamentations upon the wicked world, or other infirmity that does so easily beset them, it would prove a more acceptable sacrifice, and a more profitable service.

But good habits will want rectifying sometimes as well as bad ones, for without warping into a wrong bias they may become improper by a change of circumstances, like children's clothes out-grown before they are worn out. The man reduced from affluence by losses, must take up other thoughts and other measures than he was used to before : the attention to small profits and parsimony habitual to the trader must be thrown aside when by his elder brother's death he comes into possession of the fox hounds, and the tubs of election ale. The same ways are not suitable to the boy, the youth, and the old man, the new convert



and the well-exercised in Religion, the learner, and the proficient in any art or science. Scarce a year passes but new connections, new engagements or accidents call upon us to depart from some of our former customs, and inure ourselves to new ones. Therefore we must always be learning, and always shaping our courses according to the several windings in our line of life : for it is a miserable thing for a man to have no employment for his thoughts, unless in hankering after practices that were reasonable for him aforesome though now become unfeasible and unsuitable.

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## CHAP. XXXII.

### CREDULITY AND INCREDULITY.

I JOIN these two because they generally go together, one being a consequence of the other : for it is the strong attachment to particular persons that makes men averse against hearkening to others, and less attentive to mind what is said, than who said it. Nature made us extremely credulous in our infancy until the cautions learned from our parents and tutors have armed us with an inflexibility to whatever contradicts the principles imbibed from them, or if we become refractory to parents and tutors it is commonly owing to the suggestions of some seducer, to which we have given an easy reception : thus in both cases we disregard one person, only because another has gained our entire confidence.

But the terms of my present subject do not relate solely to the credit found with us by other persons, they extend likewise to all kinds of evidence presenting to the thought which are made to lose their just weight by the fondness we have for whatever they tend to invalidate : so that we become incredulous upon some points by being too credulous of others, for the same prejudice that draws down one scale must necessarily raise up the other. This truth stands exemplified in persons of all denominations : the bigot and the free-thinker, the orthodox and the sectary, the courtier and the patriot, the lover, the projector, and the schemist will receive whatever favors their humor upon the slightest evidence, and reject whatever thwarts it though coming with the strongest.

For there are three causes of the errors we commit, one the want of sufficient lights to inform our judgment or of sagacity to discern them : this may draw us into some present inconveniences, but cannot affect our main concern ; the errors will be mere errors without carrying anything blameable in them ; they may excite pity or perhaps a smile, but can draw censure from none, except those, whose censure we may justly despise. Another is the want of resolution to execute what our judgment clearly discerns to be right : this is only to be excused by the imbecility of human nature, and where such excuse cannot be pleaded, is indeed a fatal error which we must strive to rectify by the exercises of self-denial and vigilance before recommended. The third is an unlucky custom we fall into of blinding the judgment by shutting out some of the lights that would flow in upon it, and magnifying others with the glass of eagerness to contemplate them ; this though a fault of the Will is such a one as no man stands totally exempt from, for it proceeds often from secret motives which we are not aware of, nor is it easy to know when we ought to give our assent and when to withhold it, or when the scale hitches in the briers of prejudice ; therefore it behoves us to be very attentive in looking about for such impediments, and careful to loosen them when discovered.

But it will be asked to what purpose we are exhorted to give, or withhold our assent ? is not assent voluntary, the act of the objects before us, not of the mind ? can any man with all his efforts dissent from the truth that two and two make four, or assent to their making five ? All this is very true ; nevertheless, though we cannot command assent, we may many times command the means that will infallibly work it : as a man cannot help reading the page he looks upon, nor see things otherwise than are there contained, yet he may shut the book or turn to any other page he pleases, and so choose what he shall see, although he be purely passive in the faculty of vision.

2. Assent belongs to propositions, and is an additional perception over and above those of the terms contained in them, commonly called an opinion or judgment ; for though Thomas be taller than John, they may both stand before me, and I may have a full view of their persons, yet without observing which of them is the taller, that is, without framing any mental proposition concerning their height to which I may assent. And among the objects we are daily conversant with, there are a thousand judgments might be passed upon them which never come into our heads, nor indeed is it possible they should all find room there : therefore besides the power we have by our hands, our eyes, or our memory,

to bring objects before us, we have likewise a choice of what propositions we shall form out of the materials in our reflection.

But our present subject stands concerned with such propositions only as occur spontaneously to our thoughts, or are suggested by other persons; yet even here we have a choice in what manner we shall receive them, whereon the assent they shall gain very frequently depends. For except in things very familiar to our acquaintance, where the judgment has been joined in association with the terms, it does not rise immediately upon inspection, but they must be held in contemplation some little time before it will follow; and as our ideas fluctuate for a while both in strength and colors, the determination will be very different according as taken from them in their highest or their lowest state. Therefore in all arguments, whether occurring to the thought or suggested by another, a man must aid himself to come at the decision, by giving them a due consideration and waiting till the fluctuation ends.

The manner of proceeding herein is what I take to be understood by giving or withholding assent, which is done hastily or fairly according as you strive to fix a color, while they are transient, or stay till they fix of themselves; for you neither can nor ought to give any other assent, than that which results naturally from the colors of our ideas. But the color of our ideas is often affected by the mixture of others standing in company with them; therefore if you hold one set in your thoughts to the exclusion of all others, they may have a very different aspect from what they would, had you given those others admittance.

Thus assent may be wrongfully given or withheld two ways, either by a partial choice of the objects you will contemplate, or by fixing your judgment upon them at some particular moment during their fluctuation of color; as a witness deposing positively to a fact will be credited if you refuse to hear other testimony by the weight of which he may be overborne, or may appear to prove a point if you stop him short as soon as he has related the circumstances tending to confirm it, without suffering him to proceed in the rest of his evidence which might make the contrary manifest.

This is innocently practised every day in that temporary persuasion we assume in reading a poem, a fable, or a novel, where we imagine incidents to be true while going on with the story, but whenever admitting our old ideas to return again into view, we presently know the whole to be a fiction. The same is done in following the rule laid down by Tully for an Orator, that he should make his client's case his own: and that prescribed by Horace to

such as would touch the passions, which he says they cannot do without putting on the very sentiments they would inspire. So likewise in study and deliberation it is often useful to imagine things for a while otherwise than they really are, for a false supposition may let in lights for our better discernment of the truth.

Yet there is some limitation to this power of temporary persuasion, for though one may imagine Fortunatus to possess a purse in which he shall always find ten guineas immediately after he has emptied it, yet we could not imagine him endued with a faculty of making twice ten guineas to be a hundred, or any other number he should want : and though we might fancy a Fairy causing a house to rise at once out of the ground with a stroke of her wand, or contract Paul's church to the size of a pea, yet while continuing in its own dimensions we could never conceive her enclosing it within a nutshell : which shows that we cannot create a new color in our ideas or our appearances, but can only catch such as they take in their fluctuations by some similitude with things we have seen.

Therefore Poetry whose province lies chiefly in fiction, nevertheless is restrained to probabilities, that is such things as imagination can suppose to be real : and for the same reason as we grow up we become less and less delighted with extravagant tales, because to children the common works of men appear conjuration and miracle, so that the marvellous and the preternatural is nothing strange to them, for they can always find something similar in their apprehension among the things they have seen.

3. By frequently supposing things true we may bring ourselves to believe them true, the temporary persuasion settling into a fixed one. This happens not so often in facts supposed already past, as in the expectation of similar events likely to fall out in the world. For though the probability of incidents required in fiction be no more than a possibility, yet it implies a possibility that the like may happen again, which being continually fed upon in the imagination, will turn into a high degree of probability.

Hence springs the mischief done to such as are much conversant in plays or novels, for having perpetually filled their head with ideas of Strephons and Phillises, they expect to find a faithful nymph or swain in whatever their fancy sets upon ; the charming creature whose beauteous form or engaging prattle strikes irresistibly must needs be possessed of all valuable perfections ; the discovery of a Prince stolen away in his cradle, or the sudden death of a rich uncle, or some extraordinary chance that has happened in the world before, and so may happen again, may reconcile parents, set all to rights, and prove they have made a lucky

choice, which will do full as well as if they had made a wise one.

Hence likewise the spirit of gaming, for luck may run on one side for a month together, and if it may why should it not? hence the fury of lotteries, for though the possibility of each ticket getting the great prize be no more than one in sixty thousand, yet by continual ruminating upon this little shrimp of a possibility, it is commonly swelled into a probability to be depended upon so far as to lay schemes for disposing of the produce.

For the most part we are led to dwell upon suppositions by the pleasure they give the imagination; therefore it is a common observation, that men easily believe what they wish to be true, for they first suppose it to be true as matter of entertainment, until by frequency of supposal it grows into a persuasion: for we can very seldom trace our judgments up to their first principles, therefore the character of truth they have used to bear in our thoughts is an evidence of their being true, and it is not easy to remember whether such character was affixed by a continual amusing supposition, or by solid conviction. In some tempers imagination takes the contrary turn, they ruminate constantly upon the things they dread, and always suppose the worst that may happen: this practice not only increases evils by drawing up their strongest colors, but likewise magnifies chances, raising a bare possibility into an imminent danger. Where either of these habits has been contracted, it is the hardest matter in the world to admit a supposal that does not tally with them: the sanguine man can scarce form an imagination of anything that may cross his desires, nor the melancholy man of anything that can give him comfort.

But this stiffness of the faculty is a main obstacle against our following the golden rule, wherein we must be aided by a readiness of supposing ourselves in the condition and circumstances of another; it contracts our notions by rendering us incapable of entering for a moment into others of a different kind: it makes everything strange and absurd that we were not familiarly acquainted with before: and it retards our reasoning, which cannot effectually go on without giving opposite sentiments their turn to possess our imagination singly, until they come to their full color before we set them in comparison with their antagonists.

Therefore it is a very valuable art, hard to be learned but well worth the pains of acquiring, to suspend our desires, our prepossessions, our customary trains and former judgments for so long as is requisite, and be able to fix our attention upon things the most opposite to them: for without this we shall never attain a perfect

impartiality nor true freedom of thought, and if we could accomplish this, though we might still remain liable to involuntary mistakes, we should never more pass a faulty judgment. However, as such entire command over imagination is not to be gained, it behoves us to be constantly suspicious of inclination and prejudice, to observe which way they draw, to make allowances for their attraction, and even to stir up a partiality against them which may suffice to counterbalance their weight.

5. But it may be asked, is there not a presumption in favor of old opinions? This I never have denied, nor would have them called in question upon every slight objection suggested, nor even cast aside when questioned, unless the opposite weights visibly preponderate; for while the balance hangs even, or keeps nodding to and fro, the presumption ought still to prevail. I do not pretend to lay down rules for directing when an examination ought to be entered upon, which perhaps might be impossible, at least is past my skill, therefore must be left to every man's discretion: I only say that when he does think fit to enter upon it, he cannot keep his imagination too open for receiving every consideration his own sagacity or that of another person can suggest, and giving them room to expand with all the colors they are capable of exhibiting. During this operation the former judgments ought only to suspend their action, but not to lose their vigor, which will be wanted when they come to be called to mind again in order to make a fair comparison between them and their opponents.

For there is a defect in the faculty when it cannot distinguish between a supposition made to be examined into, and an approved truth, nor estimate the strength of opposite evidences confronted together in their full colors, nor can give fair play to one without its quite obscuring the other. Persons who labor under this infirmity are perpetually wavering; they have a hundred different opinions in a minute, or rather never have any opinion at all, but wander in a labyrinth of doubts without ever coming to a determination that they can confide in.

But some confidence in our judgment is absolutely necessary in time of action, for else it will be of no use to us, nor shall we ever proceed steadily and vigorously to complete any design: and in seasons of deliberation it ought not to be parted with during the time of deliberating, nor until some decision be maturely formed upon which we may place the like confidence. For if a suggestion occurs that the measures I have resolved upon may be wrong, I shall still presume them right until fully satisfied of the contrary; and if the business requires immediate despatch so that there is

not time for obtaining such satisfaction, I shall pursue them without heeding the suggestion.

Nor is it needful the judgment should be founded on demonstration to deserve our confidence, for this is very rarely to be found by the human understanding upon matters of greatest importance in prudence and practice : therefore it is expedient to study the art of judging accurately upon probabilities, which where they can be clearly discerned, are a sufficient ground for confidence to remain with them, until new lights break in or circumstances alter, whereon a new judgment may be formed with the like accuracy. It is the vain expectation of absolute certainty that keeps men continually wavering and irresolute, for being afraid of trusting to anything that has not such certainty, and being able to find it nowhere, they live in a round of doubts without settling upon any one point : but some courage as well as caution is requisite to secure a freedom of thought, and open a passage to proficiency in any science.

But you must not always take people at their word when they talk much of doubting, for this language is often used as a civiler way of contradicting than telling you bluntly that you are in an error, which they would be ready enough to do if they were not afraid of putting you out of humor. If you observe those people who pretend to be fullest of doubts you will find them most fond of that positive phrase, I will venture to say, and they employ both expressions with equal propriety, for as they never doubt of a thing without being perfectly sure it is false, so they never venture to say, unless when confident they run no hazard of being confuted.

I am apt to think there never yet has really been such a monster in the world as a thorough skeptic ; but he that doubts of what is agreed to by everybody else, does it upon being fully possessed of notions that never found admittance in any other head : and there is an air of positiveness in all skepticism, an unreserved confidence in the strength of those arguments that are alleged to overthrow all the knowledge of mankind.

5. Thus partial judgment springs from a feebleness either to retain former decisions in their original vigor, or to give due consideration to matters opposite to them ; the one renders us credulous, and the other incredulous. This weakness being natural can never be totally cured, but may be helped by good management, therefore the blame lies in not applying our diligence to work as much amendment as is feasible.

The first care should be to make our decisions maturely, for it is common through mere laziness to take them up in haste before

they are half formed, and then there always remains a latent suspicion which renders them unable to maintain their ground against any specious opposition : but where there is a consciousness of the best information possible having been taken, it fixes their colors beyond hazard of being faded by the approach of other objects. Then with respect to such of them as are of importance in our conduct or our future reasonings, the next point is to habituate the imagination to cast them up spontaneously with the same lively vigor wherein they were delivered to her by the understanding, which is what I have called turning conviction into persuasion. By this means we shall become less credulous of other persons, of the suggestions of passion and fancy, or appearances of the senses.

For avoiding the other extreme it will be expedient to bear in mind that our surest decisions may possibly have deceived us, for there is nothing so certain as that we know nothing with infallible certainty : in the next place to accustom ourselves to observe and examine upon a fair opportunity offering, and acquire a readiness to depart from old notions upon cogent reasons : I know such practice may sometimes endanger the simple being imposed upon by artful persons, but there is something lying within the sphere of every one's observation, and if he does not exercise himself therein he can never learn, because all learning implies some alteration of the judgment : for a sense of our ignorance and an aptness to learn upon information suited to our capacity I take to be the two best preservatives against incredulity. But it will be needful to stand always upon the guard against passion, inclination, and every habitual bias, for they will bring on a distempered weakness upon the faculties more hurtful than the natural ; and I conceive it is in the freedom from those, in an exemption from tenaciousness of old notions and fondness for new ones, that sound judgment and discretion consist.



## CHAP. XXXIII.

## EMPLOYMENT OF TIME.

To know the sources of our enjoyments, what things are good and useful for us, and to acquire an habitual diligence in procuring them, are certainly very valuable attainments, because they supply us with aims and desires which strike the brightest colors of our lives ; but something further is wanting to fill up the spaces between, and make the whole an entire piece. For our desires do not always find fuel to feed on, materials and opportunities are not always to be had for carrying on our pursuits, and when they are ended, the joy of having gained our point can entertain us but a little while, ere we want fresh matter to engage us. The busy mind of man cannot rest in a state of indifference ; if it has not satisfaction it will fall into uneasiness, and every fleeting moment must have its distinct portion of one or the other : it avails nothing to me now, how much I was delighted an hour ago, or shall be delighted an hour hence, without some present reflection on the future, or some different object to engage in the interval.

Therefore I have laid down, that intense pleasures are not so valuable as generally apprehended, unless when they give scope for a length of agreeable pursuit, or furnish materials to the imagination and briskness to the spirits for our better entertainment afterwards, because else the benefit we receive from them lies shut up within a very small compass of time : but happiness must be computed upon the whole balance of pleasures and pains compared together, so that great delights with large vacuities of uneasiness between, may still leave the condition miserable.

Hence appears that the true secret of happiness lies in contriving to be continually pleased rather than highly pleased, and this is best effected by providing constant employment for our time ; for so long as the thoughts are employed in anything just sufficient to engage our attention, the mind is satisfied ; it is only when there is a stoppage of motion, when there is nothing more desirable to be done than omitted, when under some pain or want without means discerned on any side to do something for removing them, that the time passes irksome and heavy : for things insipid are always displeasing as well to the mental taste as to the palate.

The world commonly seek for engagement of their thoughts from external objects, circles of pleasures and amusing ideas suggested to their imagination ; all these may do very well while there flows in an uninterrupted supply of them, and so long as they con-

tinue really engaging: but the misfortune is they are not always to be had, or they quickly cloy, and then recourse must be had to some new fancy, until having exhausted all their tastes, novelty itself becomes nothing new, and variety grows a stale expedient, unable any longer to force a relish.

One may see how lamely this method of employment answers its purpose by the great dilatoriness there is in going to engagements by which means they have been put off later and later, until our hours of amusements are almost run into midnight. Whereas where there is an expectation of real delight, people are eager to run to the place beforehand, instead of which they do not care to think of one indulgence until another is grown wearisome; they rise, because tired of lying a-bed, they come home to dinner because tired of sauntering about; for while any little trifle amuses, they care not how long dinner waits, and do not go abroad until driven by the irksomeness of not knowing what to do with themselves at home: it is ridiculous to see how many shifts are made to kill time, as it is called, and how lucky it is thought when such can be found; so that one may say, they are perpetually upon the hunt for engagement, but very rarely catch it or are actually engaged.

Therefore business and those preparations of pleasure which partake of the nature of business, as requiring long contrivance and application, are more productive of engagement than pleasure itself; for there the active powers are employed as well as the passive, but what depends upon our own activity is much less precarious than what we receive from other causes. Therefore we may presume, that God has placed the far greater part of mankind under a necessity of working in some way or other, and subjected the rest to their portion of care, contrivance, and application, because he sees with other eyes than we do, and may know those are the happiest parts of life which appear burdensome to us.

He that plies to his business finds it, when grown familiar to him, a state of satisfaction; his mind is wholly intent upon it; it is only in the vacancies of attention thereto that he ever thinks or feels a want of the advantages possessed by others above him; he returns regularly to his work without staying till tired of what he had been doing before, and leaves off, not because satiated, but because his time or his tale is ended; he receives a solace from seeing the progress made as he goes along, and rises from labor with refreshed organs to find a relish in any passive engagements that may fall in his way: nor is it the least distinguishing mark of difference between the civilized and the savage, that the one spend

their days in idleness and gaping, unless while fighting with man or beast, whereas the others have a multitude of employments to busy themselves upon. Even pain and disappointment have their uses in finding employment to guard against them: a total disengagement with an utter inability of finding any, is more likely to make men weary of their Being than hurts and vexations; for we may see persons grievously oppressed with them desirous enough to live, nor do they ever become otherwise until there appears nothing to be done for removing them; whence it is become an expression of the heaviest complaint to say, I am so ill I do not know what to do, which implies that so long as we know what to do, things are not at the worst.

Men are ready to own that what comes to them by the choice of their Will is more likely to please than what comes from another quarter, but they do not consider that the Will is generally more active in business than in pleasure. It may be true indeed that people seldom work unless when they cannot help it, and the very essence of business seems to lie in its being no matter of choice but something that must be done; for else if what is done might have been omitted without any inconvenience, we count it done for amusement. But then the compulsion lasts no longer than to drive us to our task; when entered upon it all the steps taken in the performance are severally the choice of the Will preferring those that are proper before others that would tend nothing towards completing the design: whereas in pleasures of indolence, there is only one choice made of a general indulgence, and the Will has nothing more to do afterwards than to keep the senses agape for receiving whatever agreeable objects shall happen to present.

3. Therefore active pleasures wherein there is something continually to be done for carrying them on, are the most valuable, because approaching nearest to business and furnishing employment together with objects of delight, nor are they apt to satiate even when they are weary: satiety is worse than weariness, because it does not give that relish to the bare removal of objects one is cloyed with, as is found in rest after a fatigue.

Persons who stand exempt by their situation in life from the necessity of application to anything, yet find another necessity obliging them to it for employment of their time, without which they would be left in a worse condition than those whom they despise. So that if they have not business supplied them by the acquisition of some art or science, by the management of their estates, by some useful service to be done the public, their friends, their neighbors, or themselves, they must create business

by an attachment to some fanciful scheme, or innocent undertaking. Building a fine house, laying out an elegant garden, making a collection of butterflies, working a carpet, picking up curious pieces of China at auctions, serve to make a gentleman or lady, while earnest in the prosecution, just as happy as a carpenter is when sawing his boards, or a seamstress when stitching her linen : for they are alike intent upon their work ; they think of nothing else, want nothing, and regret nothing, and so long are in a state of enjoyment.

This use I have already found in my chapters, for if they shall do no benefit to anybody else, they have been of benefit to me, by keeping me engaged for many hours which, otherwise might have passed vacant and irksome : nor am I solicitous to prove my engagement more delectable than that of the carpenter sawing his boards, or the commoner pushing his interest for a title, or a fine lady assiduous at her routs ; for I wish to pass as much of my time as possible with a satisfied mind, but care not how many others pass theirs as well satisfied, the greater numbers of them can be found I esteem it the more for my interest, for reasons formerly mentioned and needless here to repeat.

Nevertheless, as there is no benefit to be reaped in this world but what is attended with some inconveniences, I have sometimes had it hinted, that this engagement of mine draws me off from more obligatory engagements ; whether this be so I cannot tell, being no judge of the several degrees of importance among them, nor am I sure that my monitors speak upon full cognizance and mature deliberation of the cause, therefore do not look upon the point as completely settled. However, there is a caution necessary to be taken, that no particular attachment be suffered to swallow up all our other desires, or take out all the relish we used to find in the objects of them ; for then there is a hazard it may lose its own, and we shall not so much follow, as be driven into it by not knowing what to do with ourselves : or if that does not happen it will often corrupt into a want, for whenever called off to other necessary offices, we shall walk upon tenters while they detain us, and be continually wanting to return to the favorite employment again.

But it conduces greatly to a happy life to have as many desires and as few wants as possible : for desire makes work engaging, and thereby quickens the active powers ; but want, which is always of something that cannot be had, hangs as a dead weight upon our activity ; it opens no career to the thing we want, it disengages from the business before us, and turns whatever is necessary to be done into a toil and a trouble. Wherefore it is well worth

while to take care, that our desires hang loose upon us, so as readily to give place to one another, according as judgment and occasion shall require: for by this means we shall preserve our freedom, nor be run away with by any of them against our will. And if we can store up a great variety we shall oftener meet with opportunities of gratifying one or other of them, nor scarce ever be reduced to have absolutely nothing to do, which is the most uneasy situation imaginable.

4. Yet variety sometimes creates confusion, if it be not gathered with a proper choice, or not disposed in some regularity of order. I have elsewhere offered what occurred concerning the selection of desires for their usefulness: I am here only to guard against vacuities of disengagement, that may be occasioned by ill management amongst them. Too great a multiplicity might crowd them so fast together, that none could find an issue; but this is rarely the case, for people are more prone to set their hearts upon one or two fancies to the exclusion of all others.

But sometimes they fix upon too great undertakings above their forces to achieve, or so laborious as to exhaust the strength and spirits before the work can be completed: in those cases disappointment must ensue, which is a species of want, and as such always causes a stagnation of activity.

I know that laborious exercises, whether of body or mind, are very engaging where they engage at all, because there must be a strong desire to bring us into them: the fatigues of hunting or other sports of the field, the toils of ambition, and turmoils of avarice are often very great, and there are some services of virtue that require a painful application of all the powers to perform them well. No doubt there are reasons of duty, of necessity, of expedience, sometimes urging to words of strong exertion liable to frequent hazards of disappointment, but in contriving to have sources of constant employment the point of aim is rather to be always engaged, than deeply engaged. For the exhortations to patience of labor and pain are not intended to multiply them upon us as being either desirable, or laudable in themselves, but to enable us to bear them without being disconcerted so as never to drop an engagement we had chosen to enter upon, because of the obstacles they throw in the way: neither does industry so much consist in labor, as in a perpetual activity of mind never to be stopped nor turned out of any course by the irksomeness of it: to deserve the denomination of a diligent man, one need not always be taking pains, it is enough if one is able to do it whenever expedient, and whenever one will.

In order then to manage matters for the best advantage, it will be convenient to take a survey of our desires, our powers, and the materials we have to exercise them upon, to form a regular plan of conduct containing some principal aims and others occasional, the whole accommodated to our situation in life ; to take care we harbor no incompatible desires, but part with such as are inconvenient, and nourish up others which there are frequent opportunities of gratifying, for it is a pity we should lose any fund of engagement in our power for want of a relish to make it agreeable.

But desires not naturally incompatible may become so by accident, therefore care is requisite to lay out our engagements in such manner as that they may not interfere, and since this cannot be fully provided against beforehand, to acquire a facility in stopping that desire which the present judgment shall pronounce least expedient. Persons who lead a life of dissipation, seldom knowing one hour what they shall do the next, meet with many tedious vacuities wherein they have absolutely nothing to do ; to prevent this it will be expedient to have a scheme of employment for every hour of the day, and every season of the year, and every circumstance among those that ordinarily surround us : the necessities of nature draw some of the principal lines in the stated meals and times of rest, wherein the more regular we can be, the better ; trades and professions of all kinds add more in the certain hours of attendance to the business of them ; and where those sources fail, it is observable how apt men are to run into clubs, parties of pleasure, rounds of visits, and particular customs of disposing of themselves : for there is no finding a constant course for our activity without providing channels for it to run in.

But all rules whose aim is only to keep the hands employed ought not to be made inviolable laws like those of the Medes and Persians, for then they generate a stiffness and preciseness which does more mischief than benefit, rendering men troublesome and uncompliant, defective in services that might be expected from them, and unattentive to their own advantages when lying out of the usual road.

The use of those rules is only to lie ready in reserve, that we may never be at a loss what to do with ourselves, to supply us with business when none offers, not to stand in the way of it ; they defeat their own intention unless they can give place without reluctance to whatever other engagements we are called to by the rules of duty, or prudence, or civility, or even to such amusements as the fancy strongly recommends, and the judgment does not disapprove.

5. Religion, according as it is understood, will prove either the greatest promoter or the greatest destroyer of engagement that can be found. While placed in obligation, servile fear and perfunctory assiduities to forms and ceremonies, how much soever it may take up of the time, it cannot with propriety be said to engage ; for engaging is many times synonymous with charming or delightful, as when applied to a beauty, a dress, a behavior, a tale, a diversion ; and though a man may say he was engaged in a business which was not agreeable to him, yet this is upon a supposition that while intent upon it his procedure in the several steps taken therein was voluntary upon a prospect of some advantage ; for where the whole action is manifestly reluctant, as in appearing upon a recognizance the first day of the term, we do not use the word engaged, but obliged.

Nor is that word applied to every thing that draws the attention, unless there be a free consent of the Will to give it ; for a man who would excuse himself for failing at a meeting, will hardly say he was engaged at home by a violent toothache, though perhaps the pain engrossed his whole attention, and he was busied all the while in applying warm flannels, or toasted figs, or other remedies for assuaging it. So he that sings psalms every third hour, or goes to Church every week day because necessary to secure him from the Devil's clutches, or because he thinks the holy Spirit would be grieved and God made uneasy by being slighted, does it only to remove a pressing dread and anxiety, with a forced not a free consent of the Will, and for the most part is so far from being intent upon his work, that his thoughts run a hankering all the while after something else ; or if they do enter upon it by choice, it is like that made of their cards by such as drudge at them every day, namely, to relieve themselves from the insupportable burden of having absolutely nothing to do by having contracted a tastelessness for everything else.

But these painful assiduities, the task of fear or custom, like the dog in the manger, not only afford no engagement themselves, but stand in the way of other innocent and useful engagements that might keep up a voluntary attention during the performance without drawing on any damage, or leaving any remorse in the reflection behind.

On the other hand, when Religion is understood to be a profitable thing, and that judgment grown into an habituate intimate persuasion branching into the three spiritual virtues, by which means every part of it will be pursued as a step to our truest interest without thought of obligation or of the Devil, whom one would wish to deal with as little as possible, it is then more fertile

of real engagement than any other scheme we can propose. For ambition, avarice, and all the ruling passions that give life to the business of mankind, meet with frequent rubs and disappointments, many gaps of time pass insidiously wherein there is nothing to be done for advancing their purpose, and they are sometimes wrested from us by age, infirmity, disease, or satiety.

Whereas he who takes for his aim to do all things for the Glory of God manifested in the good and perfection of the human species, whereon his own happiness depends for ages to come, has an object the most engaging he could have chosen for his pursuit, being the amassing of treasures in a place where neither moth nor rust do corrupt, where thieves do not break through and steal, which will continue to engage in old age, in sickness, in distress, in all situations of life, and even in the hour of death; and which, so far as he can trace his reference to the common occurrences of his station, will leave no gaps nor intermissions of employment; for there is always some use to be made of his activity, either upon the ideas of the mind or motions of the body; there is a right and a wrong in every action: so that his industry can never want a subject to exercise itself upon in observing and practising that, which is right according to the circumstances of every occasion that offers.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

### CONTENT.

**PRUDENCE** and virtue for the most part consist in preferring greater enjoyment to come, before present gratification; the contest between them and appetite being whether we shall be most pleased, or soonest pleased; for pleasure is the object of both, only appetite urges to that which may be had now, and prudence chooses that which is the greatest, whether to be taken now, or not till to-morrow.

But upon the article of content the struggle seems to be of a quite different kind, both parties pulling the very contrary way from what they used in all other cases. Reason exhorts us to rest easy under our present situation, and suspend our desires until the time shall come when they may find materials of gratification: passion and evil habit solicit us to fret and vex and torment



ourselves in present, with the tantalizing imagination of ease or pleasures at a distance lying out of our reach, or to make the most of an uneasiness by studiously aggravating all the grievous circumstances attending it. For the endeavors used to quiet the mind have for their object the present moment, to lighten the pressure actually hanging upon it; they have no respect to the future, nor purpose to accomplish beyond their immediate effects, for it may be all one to-morrow whether we have borne our troubles easily or reluctantly to-day.

On the other hand, the impulses of discontent drive us upon the thorns every current moment, through a perverse kind of prudence, under an apprehension hard to be accounted for of some benefit to redound therefrom. Discontent is a species of grief, which I have remarked upon that article in the chapter on the passions, we are led into by having experienced that an attentive reflection upon the object that troubles us sometimes discovers a way to remove it, and excites to more strenuous endeavors for throwing it off: the apprehension of this benefit frequently entertained, gives an habitual bent to the reflection, which is continually turned that way by a mechanical impulse very difficult to be overpowered by the utmost strength of resolution.

But there is another cause insensibly draws the will to indulge a greater discontent than would be cast up by the mechanical springs of passion: as we live in society where we frequently stand in need of other people's assistance to relieve us from our distresses, and find them generally disposed to help us, we very soon observe that their eagerness to offer relief rises in proportion to the height of the distress; from hence we learn the artifice of oppressing ourselves as much as possible, that we may become the greater objects of compassion and have others fly the faster to our aid. Therefore grief and discontent generally abound in complaints, which though sometimes a little easing them, more frequently double their pressure and strike their roots deeper into the mind.

Therefore likewise children who have been fondled by their parents, and persons who have been much humored in their way, most commonly grow fretful upon every little disappointment; whereas such as have been always forced to bustle for themselves and nobody cared a farthing whether they were pleased or angry, bear with troubles the best, for they feel only the immediate pressure, and are so far from drawing it down with additional force by reflection, that they oftener want the sensibility requisite for putting them upon a proper guard against the like evils for the future.

Nevertheless, this, which was artifice and low cunning at first, having by long practice given a turn to the wheels of the machine, becomes involuntary habitude or spontaneous impulse; and then men cannot help fretting inwardly or by themselves where it can do no good, nor even murmuring against Providence, repining at the hardness of their lot, or ruminating upon the cruelty of their fate, all which powers have no passions to be touched with their complaints.

2. One would think there should need no exhortations with men to bestir themselves for their own present ease, nor arguments to persuade them they are then most secure when having their security in their own hands; for though we can never make ourselves wholly independent on one another, and therefore it is prudent to apply the proper means for obtaining succor in our needs, yet the less we stand in need of succor, the more we can help ourselves, the better; because no aid lies so certainly under our command as that of our own resolution; besides that many of the grievances men vex at, are not of a nature to be relieved by any external application whatsoever, and the tenderness shown to them does but aggravate their vexation by the influence of sympathy.

But men are so fond of indolence that they will not take a little trouble for their own immediate relief, or the force of habit is so great that even the present smart of the thorns it drives them upon, cannot overcome it, which is the more extraordinary because in avoiding the thorns they would fall into a flowery path and so obtain actual pleasure by escaping pain. For though content be in itself nothing more than a negation of uneasiness, yet satisfaction and uneasiness constantly follow so close upon each other, that the moment one disappears, its place is occupied by the other, nor is the mind ever without some degree of either, unless when asleep, and that it is so then is more than any man can demonstrate.

Content when obtained by our own efforts is a deliverance from vexation; but there is a joy in the bare deliverance from evil, a joy in finding ourselves able to throw it off, a complacency and solacing self-approbation in having used our power well for our own benefit; therefore in common language a contented temper is understood to imply a cheerful or a happy temper. On the other hand, discontent always carries with it a want to get rid of the object it feeds upon; but any gnawing want banishes all desires out of the thoughts which might find present means of gratification, the bitter of it giving a tastelessness to everything else: so there needs only to forbear chewing the want of restoring our

relish and putting us into a state of real enjoyment, for when that is gone out of the thoughts, there will be little desires enough ready at hand to engage our activity in something or other that shall make the time pass agreeably.

It is true that wants must sometimes be encouraged, as being necessary upon particular occasions ; for we have not always skill or strength enough to raise desires sufficient to carry us on to our remote advantages, in which case we must submit to drudge for them through the thorny paths of uneasiness.

Therefore fear and obligation have their seasons and their subjects wherein there is need enough of them for driving those who cannot be led : compunction, vexation, and remorse at having done amiss are generally the harbingers of virtue, for where there is no love of rectitude you must plough and harrow and tear up the ground to prepare for its reception by a shame and abhorrence of vice ; and where there is but little reflection you must engage it first by raising a quick sensibility of mischiefs befalling, or dangers impending ; thus making men uneasy and discontented with their present situation in order to put them upon exerting their endeavors to amend it ; and when any long or laborious work is to be undertaken, it is difficult to raise such a fervency of desire as may be necessary to carry us through, but that upon rubs or disappointments it will sometimes degenerate into a want. But then in all these cases where we run ourselves upon uneasiness or the danger of it, we ought always to know what we do, to have the consent of our calm judgment upon the necessity or expedience of the thing, to make it our own voluntary act, but never submit to be dragged along by impulse of passion or importunity of habit.

3. Therefore it will be expedient, so far as is feasible, to keep the eye of understanding perpetually open, to watch the little motions of our ideas, and observe whether they proceed from mere mechanical impulse, or whether they can answer the end proposed in them : for this is the most likely means to prevent an evil habit from taking root, and to wear it off again when unhappily contracted.

For habits steal insensibly upon us before we are aware, and this of discontent has many causes contributing to its growth : the folly of servants and indiscretion of parents sow the seeds of it in our childhood, and when we come out into the world there are examples around us more than enow to cherish their growth : the godly fret at the profaneness and licentiousness of mankind, at the prosperities of the wicked, at their own want of more than human strength to perform punctually all the rigorous tasks they

have enjoined themselves; the poor fret at being subjected to labor, the rich of losing opportunities of growing richer, the proud at having their tribute of homage withheld, the accomplished at the want of due encouragement to merit; the connoisseur in music, if one may use the cathechresis, delights to make himself miserable on hearing anything that is not Italian, the elegant on seeing things vulgar and out of taste about them. In short, How amply soever we are provided with materials of enjoyment, there is something still, as Prior says, For books, for horses, houses, painting; to thee, to me, to him is wanting: that cruel something unpossest, corrodes and poisons all the rest.

Especially in these countries, whether from the gloominess of our climate, the plenty of fresh meats, or the wantonness of liberty, there is more discontent and less ground for it, than in most nations upon earth. The spirit of censoriousness, criticism, detraction and calumny, make us torment ourselves to plague one another, and many times without that effect by vilifying in secret those who cannot suffer thereby, because they will never know of it; but a man cannot be pleased within himself, when displeased with his company, nor while ruminating upon odious objects. Since then we live in such an infectious air and must perpetually run hazards of catching this distemper of the mind, which many times generates a similar distemperature of the bodily humors, it behoves us to stand upon our guard against the contagion, and keep our minds in tranquillity whatever turbulence we see boiling around us, resolved never to part with our present ease, unless upon security of some future good to be had in exchange: for enjoyment is the treasure that makes everything relative to it valuable, therefore it is a folly to give up one's pleasures without a reasonable prospect of greater pleasures to be purchased by the sacrifice.

It may be expedient sometimes to censure and complain heavily as an engine to work upon the passions of other people, but he is an unskilful manager who is caught in his own artifices; he is like an unlucky boy that snatches the coachman's whip, and whips out his own eyes in going to lash the horses. And though Tully and Horace have admonished their orator and poet to be vexed and grieved themselves if they would excite compassion and vexation in the audience, yet there is a wide difference between an assumed sentiment the effect of judgment, and a spontaneous emotion the impulse of habit; therefore we must learn, like the orator and poet, to raise a temporary passion to such degree and continuance as is requisite, and to throw it aside again as soon as the

business is over ; for this seems to be the last perfection of a well-disciplined imagination.

4. But if we find any symptoms of the splenetic disease in our temper (as who is there who may not find them if he watches carefully for their appearance?) it will be a useful application of our industry to resist their convulsions whenever we perceive them, taking care we be not discontented at being unable to quiet our discontent upon the first efforts, for this would deter us from returning to the charge again. But habit is not to be worn off presently, for as it gathered strength by repeated acts so it can only be weakened by a continuity of repeated resistances ; therefore diligence will do more upon it than strength, and a calm, steady resolution will prove better effectual than violent exertion.

The point of aim for our vigilance to hold in view is to keep judgment constantly upon her seat, to preserve an even, steady temper, unruffled by difficulties, untransported by allurements ; to dwell upon the brightest parts in every prospect, to call off the thoughts when running upon disagreeable objects, and strive to be pleased with the present circumstances surrounding us. We may practise this first in little matters such as occur within the compass of everyday, when called away from a pursuit we are earnest upon, whether writing chapters or sonnets, whether singing a third-hour hymn, or reading a novel, or finishing a head-dress? when obliged to sit in humdrum company, or wait for the fifth head of a tedious, heavy sermon, when reduced to coarse fare and bad accommodations at an inn, or having wandered out of our way upon a journey, when forced upon a business we do not like, or debarred a pleasure we had promised ourselves a long while. For by maintaining our serenity and composure in these lesser trials we shall wean our minds from an attachment to humor, break the force of habit, and prepare ourselves for patience in labors, pains, and distresses.

And the consideration of these consequences may encourage us to put in use the means for obtaining them, for nothing happens to us in vain, though we may not always find out its significance ; but we may look upon those exercises as easy lessons set us in indulgence to our weakness, to fit us for learning the harder whenever summoned to them, and bring us to a pliancy of attention ready to turn suddenly to any new matter as occasion shall require, and enter fully into every present business without anxiety or reluctance : let us then apply to our easy exercises of which we may continually have store, for we shall reap a benefit from them though we should never be called up to the harder.

For this will forward us on our progress in learning the art of forbearance as well as of endurance, because pleasures enslave by the uneasy want they raise of themselves upon being denied ; how delightful soever a pleasure may be while enjoyed, yet if a man does not want it, if he can content himself without it, he will always have the free use of his judgment either to gratify or forbear ; for though actual pleasure may lull the eye of reason asleep by totally occupying the thoughts, it is the uneasiness of a craving appetite that drives headlong into wilful excesses. And by a facility of entering fully into any employment before him he may elude the importunity of habit, which is easily resisted for a little while till at last it frets and teases into a compliance, but when the attention is strongly diverted to something else, there is not room for the solicitations of habit to intrude.

A calm and unruffled mind quickens the despatch of business, as it lies more open to discern the means of extricating ourselves from a disagreeable situation, and employs the whole stream of activity to the best advantage ; whereas vexation or discontent clog and divide the thoughts and the forces, wasting more than half of both in unprofitable emotions, they are like convulsions in the legs which make a violent kicking about without gaining a step forwards.

Nor do they unfrequently defeat the very purpose originally proposed by them, for though mankind are generally helpful in proportion to the expressions of distress, we shall sometimes meet with spiteful or artful people who will have their ends in making us vex as much as they can : the best honest revenge we can take upon the one, and best caution against the other, will be to bear their utmost provocations unmoved.

A command of temper is absolutely necessary for a politician, an orator, an ambassador, and a general ; nor can man engage in a law-suit prudently, nor maintain an argument soundly, nor scarce transact any business of importance safely without it. But it is too late to stand whetting the sword when the moment of action is come ; therefore we must inure ourselves early to the work, or vexation and discontent will force in upon us in spite of all our resolution, which will only make us vex the more at its weakness.

5. Nevertheless, there is a spurious content which is the child of indolence, when men acquiesce in the present condition of things as happening to fall out, because they do not care for the trouble of mending them ; so they stifle a rising desire that would stimulate to some great advantage, lest it should cost them pains in the acquisition. But this is making havoc of appetite instead of correcting it, it is plucking up the corn together with the weeds : for

when our desires are gone, our ease will become insensibility, if we have no pains, neither will there be any pleasures nor activity to procure what is good and profitable.

Genuine content lies in the absence of wants, not of desires ; for it is one principal branch of it to be content to labor whenever there is a good reason or upon prospect of something desirable to be earned thereby, which disposition will be aided by a noble ardor taking off the weight of difficulties, so that they may not fret upon the shoulders. A man may rest perfectly satisfied with his present situation without being a whit the more remiss whenever a fair opportunity offers of exchanging it for a better, nor is tranquillity of mind at all incompatible with industry : but that is vicious content, which stands as a bar against improvement, for though it be commendable to consult our present ease we must not so consult the present as to neglect the future, but apply our cares to either as prudence shall direct. Acquiescence, like all other sentiments ought to lie as much as possible under control of the judgment, and depend as little as possible upon mere habit or the impulse of mechanical springs, to be made an act of the will choosing by the lights of understanding, and the principal habit governing all the rest ought to be that of readiness in the imagination, to take the ply that discretion would give her.

For with good management we may make an excellent use of the power given us over the ideas in our imagination, to shut out some and dwell upon others, to join, to separate or compare them, to brighten or fade their colors : by this means we may often stir up a desire, or stop it when corrupting into a want, raise a temporary persuasion for our present use or solace, excite a fervid earnestness when needful, and calm it again when the completion of its purpose or a change of circumstances render it fruitless or hurtful.

But the misfortune is that men choose to be passive even in their activity, being driven by some favorite error or fond passion to exert the power over their ideas in shutting out such as would thwart them, and encourage such as confirm them : like the fox in the fable, who cried down the grapes for sour because he could not reach them. If his passion really blinded his judgment so as to put him out of conceit of grapes ever after, he was a beast indeed : but as Esop's beasts are generally men, I should rather suppose it was an honest artifice to stop the discontent rising upon his disappointment ; and if this were the case, it was a pattern worthy our imitation.

For every method deserves our practising that may inure us to tranquillity without lessening our industry or abating our discre-

tion : but the happiest temper of mind, if it could be acquired, is that of being never contented with our condition when a feasible means occurs of improving it in any respect, and never discontented with a pressure we cannot help, or that cannot be removed without imprudence.

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## CHAP. XXXV.

### RULE, CUSTOM, AND FASHION.

As much as we may affect to define Man a reasonable creature, daily experience will manifest to him that observes it attentively, that reason has a very small share in our motions : it can only direct some of the principal of them, but the intermediate spaces are occupied by trains of ideas and impulses rising mechanically in our imagination : and it is well if the principal be directed by reason, for the further we can extend its authority so much the happier for us ; but with all our diligence we can never make it complete, but the machine will still retain a greater influence upon our conduct than we can gain for ourselves. For we many times enter upon courses of action unthinkingly, and in the prosecution of them proceed scarce with any consciousness of the minute steps we take ; if reflection does plainly mark out our path we do not always follow it, being hurried a quite contrary way by the impetuosity of passion or fondness of desire : and when best disposed to take the benefit of our understanding, it proves but an imperfect guide. For the proper goal for reason to lead us to, is the greater good, or balance of enjoyment to result from all the consequences of an action ; but these it is seldom quick-sighted enough to discern, so as to make a fair computation among them.

This being our constitution, it is in vain to think of setting our understanding to lead the active powers continually by the hand, or expect to hold in contemplation the whole expedience of every measure we take ; the exercises of that faculty are best bestowed in habituating the internal wheels of the machine to run spontaneously in such trains as appear most eligible when the lights of reason shine clearest, or the eye of Contemplation has the fullest, distinctest prospect in view ; and in storing up rules, maxims, and judgments in the memory, which may serve occasionally for immediate direction in shaping our conduct.



For in time of action we have not leisure to examine the expedience of things, we should make no despatch among them if we were to go about it, but must follow implicitly the rule resolved on, or the judgment occurring; besides that, what reflection we are masters of is little enough to guide us in making application of them to the particular circumstances before us: so that when we act most rationally we cannot so properly be said to know why, as to remember that we formerly did know, nor do we march immediately under the banner of reason, but under the leading of those subaltern impulses which she has chosen for our governors.

Since then this is the case with men of the best natural and improved understandings, what can be expected from the bulk of mankind who want capacity or leisure to trace the long and intricate line of expedience? to tell them of a perpetual dependence upon their reason is the same as bidding them be different creatures than they were made: they must have a clue put into their hands by which they may find their goal without knowing where it lies, for their goal is happiness, but their clue will sometimes lead into labor, trouble, and uneasiness, a road by which they little think to find it: and it behoves every man so far as he is able, to lend a helping hand towards spinning the clue. For we were neither born nor talented for ourselves alone, we are citizens of the universe, inhabitants of the little corner thereof, the dirty pellet where we are now stationed, and whatever we can do for her compatriot reptiles crawling about us, is the best thing to be done for ourselves.

But rule, custom, and fashion are the engines by which men may be drawn into an expedience they do not discern: therefore we ought to be very cautious of weakening the authority of a good rule because we may fancy it needless for ourselves, much less because it lies under some present inconvenience. It were to be wished, that rules could be formed attended with no inconvenience or mischief; but in this elementary globe, the offspring of a chaos not yet grown to perfect symmetry of parts, we must expect to find nothing good without its alloy, so shall do wisely to take the good with the bad; better submit to one, than lose the other.

2. Rule is the substitute of reason to direct in times of darkness when there are not lights, a blaze sufficient for informing the understanding, and restrain the roivings of appetite by its authority: but to do the latter there must be an attachment to it, and it must itself have grown into something of an appetite, for else it will remain an unavailing speculation which can only serve to make our errors wilful, because it is the departure from a known rule which renders a procedure faulty; agreeably to what St. Paul has re-

marked, that where there is no law there can be no transgression.

But it is necessary there should be many rules to answer the several exigencies that may occur, for where they are few, they will be too general to serve for direction in particular cases, without a greater strength of reason than we have to employ : but when numerous, it is unavoidable that they must sometimes clash, and hence arise the perplexities we meet with in the practice of morality ; for where there is but one rule applicable to the business in hand, the road is plain, so that we cannot miss of it unless by want of resolution to execute what we know ; but when two rules point to opposite measures, it is not always easy to know whether we have taken the right, or the wrong.

A man is urged by his benefactor to what he thinks not quite expedient for the public, his service is due to both, which then shall he prefer ? why the public undoubtedly, whose interests he lies under a higher obligation of pursuing than those of any single person whoever : so you think here is a clear decision of the point if he have but virtue enough to follow it ; and indeed there is in matters of importance, but is the decision equally clear in things of smaller concern ? what if his friend desires French wine, must he not gratify him for fear of encouraging a trade detrimental to the public ? for a man may be faultily scrupulous, as well as laudably conscientious : but who can distinguish precisely in all cases between trifles, and matters of consequence to the public, which no rules of civility, custom, or private obligation ought ever to supersede ? and in common transactions there is a rule of justice and of equity requiring an exact impartiality to all, yet something is due to favor and to private prudence ; but it is hard to settle the precise boundaries between them so as never to stand at a loss in what instances we are to side with a friend, or deal equitably with a stranger, to take care of ourselves in a bargain, or proceed with an honest, open simplicity.

These difficulties have been made the subject of declamations wherewith to exercise scholars in the art of prudence ; and we may find some of them canvassed in Tully's offices : but it is impossible to smooth them all, nor should we be much gainers if they could be totally removed, because they put us upon exerting our understanding to extricate ourselves out of them. Experience shows the little avail of those tomes of casuistry which have been compiled in former times, attempting to frame rules for every occasion that can happen, rules for governing the exceptions to be made in those rules, and settling the precedence among them : if such a scheme could be completed so as to suit every one's ap-

prehension, we should then live by apprehension alone, having no use for our rational faculty to deliberate, to weigh, to balance, and strike out new lights for ourselves.

But we have all some little portion of understanding given us which will admit of improvement by continual use, and though we can seldom act entirely by reason we may often take assistance from it in the construction and application of our rules, in comparing them together, penetrating into the spirit of them, and trying them by the more general from whence they branched.

If whenever the eye sees double so that the point of rectitude appears on opposite sides, we could look along the line of expedience to its origin the greater good, we might then infallibly distinguish the reality from the appearance: but since opportunities for such large discernment very rarely happen, the sole remedy to supply the want of it lies in determining the precedency of our rules, and settling the degrees of authority among them, so that we may know which ought to supersede another by the shock we should feel upon breaking through it: but then great care must be taken, that some secret prejudice do not intrude in the decision, and the vexation of disappointing some favorite inclination be not mistaken for the shock of an offence against rectitude; for it is very common for self-interest to pervert judgment, and for desire to assume the garb and likeness of a rule.

Therefore it is the part of every man to add what he can to the sanction of salutary rules, and preserve the subordination among them, which he may be encouraged to do for his own sake as well as that of the generality; for nobody can attain a thorough knowledge of all points necessary for his conduct so as to proceed by science in all the several branches of it, but he that is able to prescribe in some things may be glad to follow the leading of his neighbors in others. Nor how well soever he may be qualified in point of skill to prescribe, has any of us authority enough to attempt it with probability of success; therefore we shall be most serviceable by joining in with our example and recommendation to add weight to the best of those which are already prevailing.

3. But as the best plants are apt to luxuriate if not carefully watched and skilfully tended, so the attachment to rules sometimes grows too strong, making them a clog instead of a help to our motions; the hunger and thirst after righteousness turns into a vitiated appetite producing righteousness overmuch, and the love of rectitude becomes a preciseness and rigidity unpliant to the common occasions of life. This indeed seldom happens, and then it is by an attachment to one or two favorite rules in neglect of all the rest, for while we pay a due regard to them all they will mod-

erate one another, or submit to the moderation of sober judgment. But as they are not all to be learned at once, for knowledge comes by slow degrees, I should wish to see young people a little overscrupulous in adhering to the few they are acquainted with, for the same reason that Cicero liked better to find his scholar in rhetoric exuberant than barren ; because luxuriance is much easier cured than sterility, as a vigorous plant may be pruned with less trouble than you can nourish up a weakly. For the over-strict will run themselves into inconveniences which must teach them experience to correct their error, but the licentious can never be made sensible, how severely soever they suffer by their licentiousness, because having no observation they cannot profit by experience : besides in one case you will have appetite, the natural propensity to ease and pleasure, and the world to assist you, whereas in the other they will all join strongly with the enemy.

The greatest mistakes spring from an apprehension of intrinsic value in rules, whereas neither the rules of Religion, nor of rectitude, nor of honor, nor of prudence are good in themselves ; they are only measures tending to a good beyond, they are expedients to make up for our short-sightedness, and supply the place of reason : therefore when recourse can be had to the principal, the authority of the substitute is superseded. So it behoves us to study the uses of our several rules, and where they can be discerned, no attachment to the letter ought to withhold us from procuring the spirit, or gaining the end, proposed therein by any methods most effectual for the purpose.

But then the discernment ought to be very clear, for the presumption lies always strongly on the side of received rules ; nor must the judgment be passed upon a single inconvenience, but computation likewise be made of the mischiefs that may ensue at other times, either to the public or ourselves upon invalidating their force. Such discernment is most likely to be had where it appears evidently there has been an alteration of circumstances, which may render a rule hurtful that was highly beneficial before, or where it has been palpably misunderstood, or where there is a peculiarity of situation incompatible with the practice of it.

But though rules ought to be founded on reason, sometimes the reason is none other than for regularity and method sake, in which case they may be so far arbitrary or accidental as to give a preference between forms perfectly indifferent before. If there be a long causeway with a hollow way by the side, it is all one whether the passengers going and coming give each other the right hand or the left, yet when one has been pitched upon, it would cause great confusion to break into it. Men acting in concert can per-

form much more than if each were left to take his own way, but there is no uniting forces unless all will submit to some rule : and a single person may despatch his work quicker by adhering to the method he had prescribed himself at first, though perhaps there are a hundred other methods which might have answered his purpose as well. One principal benefit of government and subordination is that the word of a superior may be a rule to his dependants, whereby numbers are made to join in the same work, and act as effectually as if the strength of all could be gathered into a single person.

4. The proper sanction of rules is fear, shame, or obligation ; there is always something irksome and restrictive in them which we do not choose, but submit to through necessity : to rule is the same as to govern, and the ruling passion does not deserve its appellation for the pleasure it gives when followed with full acquiescence and consent of mind, but because it acts as an imperious tyrant driving upon difficulties and fatigues, and forcing us to do things against our judgment. Indeed, while we can hold the benefits attainable by a rule strongly in contemplation, the desire of them may take out all spice of irksomeness belonging to it, yet still the end remains the sole object of our choice, and we pursue the means because obliged thereto by their being necessary to compass our end. When rules are grown familiar and the practice of them spontaneous, so that it becomes easier to follow them than abstain, they lose their essence though they retain their name ; being now no longer rules governing the conduct, but habits or ways of acting fallen currently into, without care or reflection.

But the language of mankind is not so accurate as to keep the terms always strictly to the same signification, therefore it is usual to call those habits by the name of rules which were first contracted under the idea of obligation, by the necessity of escaping some mischief or insuring some desirable benefit. Hence comes it that there is a wide difference between leading a regular life, and living by rule ; the one is pleasant, easy, smooth, and dispatchful, the other unengaging, toilsome, stiff, and generally wasteful both of time and strength.

Persons who live by rule, though of their own framing and many times whimsical enough, are not esteemed to pass their time the most pleasurably while they make a point of proceeding in certain particular forms and methods, for they still act under an obligation though imposed by themselves ; their movements are not a whit the less a task for being a task of their own setting. Wherefore prudence should incline us to set ourselves such tasks as may grow

into engaging and profitable habits, for then we may get into a course of acting according to rule without being restrained by it : that this is possible, appears in matters of language ; those who speak correctly never deviate from the rules of grammar, yet never are guided by them nor once think of them : it is well known how laborious are the exercises of school boys while forced to put their words together by rules, but when the structure of phrase has become familiar to them, there is an end of rule, whose use ceases in proportion as a regularity of diction grows to be habitual : and we learn upon the authority of Cicero, that the rules taught by rhetoricians were not of their own invention but drawn from observation upon the ways of managing an argument practised by orators. So that the purpose of rules is nothing more than to lead into that regularity of speech, and of working the springs of persuasion, which was first acquired without any rule at all ; and the effect of proficiency in learning is to get rid of the necessity of rules.

The same it is with the arts of religion, morality and prudence ; we must submit to rules at first, some of them irksome and rigorous enough to the novice, and this is the thorny way leading into virtue ; but trouble is not wisely undertaken unless for the sake of that ease which is the child of expertness, therefore our business is by a steady adherence to salutary rules to bring the mind as fast as possible into a liking of them and turn them into habits ; for then imagination will be disciplined to run spontaneously in regular trains most conducive to our benefit, and desire will anticipate judgment by prompting continually to the very courses which that would recommend : and then are we past the thorny way, and arrived in the delightful champaign where all is smooth, and clear, and engaging.

Nevertheless, while grovelling in this vale of mortality, we shall still find many quarters of the country beset with the like thorns, through which we must open ourselves a passage by the like resolution and perseverance, striving to work as many beaten roads as we can, that we may range about in pursuit of our own advantages and those of our neighbor, with the better ease and despatch.

5. There is an affinity between rule, habit, and custom, for they all tend to produce a uniformity of conduct, to prevent our motions from being desultory, and join them together into certain courses. Rule, as I said before, is generally founded on obligation, and begun with some degree of reluctance ; but custom is oftener fallen into accidentally, or introduced by convenience, or if it were sometimes imposed by rule, the origin is usually forgotten, and men follow it without other reason than because they see it followed.

There is often a very strong attachment to customs not only for the trouble and awkwardness found in going an unbeaten road but for the veneration they are had in, which raises a kind of a scruple of conscience against departing from them : they are conceived to be good in themselves, to make a rectitude ; for it is a constant argument among the common people, that a thing must be done and ought to be done because it always has been done. History produces instances of insurrections that have been raised by endeavoring to put people out of an insignificant, and perhaps inconvenient custom : and every nation esteems its own customs wise, becoming, and laudable, but those of other countries absurd and ridiculous. Many forms in religion have been held sacred and stickled for, tooth and nail, without other reason assigned, than their ancient and general usage, and you may observe people, very different with respect to the principles of their sect, submit to many inconveniences, rather than be put out of the way they have been accustomed to.

Nor does the prevalence stop at actions, it reaches to the sentiments too : for men have as high a veneration for their usual ways of thinking as of behavior ; what they never questioned in their own minds, and never heard questioned, passes for an innate principle, a self-evident truth needing no evidence to support it, and which no evidence can overthrow. It was upon this foundation I suppose that Lucretius asserted so roundly that nothing except body can touch or be touched, and that there can be no understanding unless in a human shape, because he had never seen an intelligent creature in any other. And this I suspect lies at the bottom of all speculative atheism, for being constantly accustomed to the operations, and to seek for the causes of all phenomena in the qualities of matter, men cannot bring their imagination to depart from its customary track so far as to conceive any other power to operate.

This likewise makes it so extremely hard to distinguish between creation and composition, or change of form, between essence and existence, between the accession of quality and production of substance, because it has been always customary to apprehend things by their qualities, to give them new names when in assortment which they had not while separate, and esteem them different Beings from their constituent parts. This keeps men so little acquainted with their real selves, and wherein their personality consists, because they have been constantly accustomed to denominate the person by the bodily appearance or the character, and because they never remember themselves existing

without organs, therefore count the organs component parts of themselves.

Nevertheless, custom has its uses, and those not inconsiderable, as well for thinking as acting ; our surest reasonings proceed upon principles already known and never doubted of, some customary apprehensions must serve for the basis even of those discoveries which wean us from others ; our knowledge of an immaterial agent springs from having constantly observed upon every close examination into the operations of matter, that it never begins nor increases an impulse, but only transmits precisely the same it had received from elsewhere.

Custom begets expertness and renders things easy which were difficult and irksome before : it gives us our erect posture, for nature made us prone like the beasts, and endows us with speech which one cannot suppose the first men learnt, nor can you teach your children by rule and grammar : it cements society, for nothing knits men so firmly together as a communion of usages, and if you know the customs of a country you may know where to find company, and how to join with them in their ways of proceeding : it is the retailer to dispense the useful imports of science among the vulgar, in whom many practices of Religion, of good polity, the management of their children and measures of private prudence are mere custom, though introduced originally by wisdom, extensive discernment, and mature deliberation ; nor is there any merchant in knowledge of so universal correspondence as to import commodities of all kinds, but must still resort to the shop of general usage for some things, nor has a better reason to give for many of his proceedings, than because other people do the like : it multiplies engagements, and gives currency to the business of life, for most men would stand idle unless when some urgent desire is afloat, utterly at a loss how to dispose of themselves if there were not certain customary methods of employing their time. Though it influences by attraction without addressing to the reason, yet it always carries the presumption of reason on its side, for nobody would begin a pernicious or inconvenient custom ; and sometimes it makes reason, for where there are several roads of equal length leading to the same place, the beaten is always the smoothest, the safest, and the most sociable.

But customs may become bad by an alteration of characters or circumstances, or may have been fallen into unthinkingly without sufficient information of the inconveniences attending them : therefore it is dangerous to contract such an attachment for old usages, as no experience nor consideration can loosen, for nothing ought to supersede the authority of reason when the judgments of it



are clear : to follow any inferior guide implicitly is slavery, not discipline : but then we ought to be very sure of having a good warrant for the liberties taken with prevailing customs, for the burden of the proof lies strongly upon him that would impeach them ; no man is justified in breaking them, because he does not see their expedience, nor unless he plainly sees a mischief attending them.

6. Rule operates as a motive of necessity to escape an evil or damage consequent upon the neglect of it, Custom as a motive of use for some real or imaginary expedience apprehended in it, and Fashion as a motive of honor being followed to raise our credit, or save us from discredit. There is a similitude between the three, they often rise from one another, and grow into one another, and common language is not so exact as to prevent their being spoken of promiscuously ; but if we make the distinction, those seem to be the proper marks for ascertaining it : for a man in a desolate island might form rules for his conduct, and fall into some customary methods of employing his time, but could never have any such thing as fashion.

The proper province of fashion lies in little matters, such as dress, furniture, diversions, equipage, disposition of houses and gardens, compliments, variations of language or of idioms, and the like, for which there is not provision made by the other two : therefore it has the greatest influence upon persons of much liberty and much leisure, or in hours of leisure upon high-days and holidays, at least in this country where our artificers think nothing of it while busied at their work, but the French carpenter cannot saw his boards without a long pig-tail and ruffled shirt, nor calling to his fellow, *Monsieur*, have the goodness to reach me that file. It stands in lieu of all obligations with the ladies who tend a sick relation, take care of their children, go to church, and perform the most important duties, because what would people say? how strange and odd it would look if they were to omit them? Nor are some men behindhand with the fair sex in alleging for justification of what they do in preservation of their estates or maintenance of their rights, that otherwise they should be laughed at : as if there were no other grounds of conduct than the estimation of the world. In short, perhaps there is more honesty and good order produced among us by the fear of one another's censure, than of the divine judgments, the stings of conscience, or the reproaches of our own reason.

As fashion prevails by the desire of admiration and shame of discredit, it necessarily occasions perpetual fluctuations in matters of indifference, some taking up new modes to distinguish them

from the vulgar, and the vulgar creeping after them as fast as they can, to put an end to that distinction by which they are mortified. So the contest rises upon much the same foundation with that between Pompey and Cæsar ; the courtier cannot bear an equal, nor the citizen a superior ; the country dame would have you ready to think she had lived in London all her life, and the town lady strives to make the difference so great you may see it a mile off.

Therefore the recommendation of a fashion is not that it is the prettiest, the neatest, the most commodious, or most useful, but the newest, and adopted by persons of highest rank in the place : nor does there need other recommendation, all others being virtually contained in that, for novelty and high example will make things beautiful and useful that were never esteemed so before, nor ever will be again when those causes cease.

How cumbersome, how ugly, how ridiculous do we think the ruffs and farthingales of former times ! yet no doubt they were vastly pretty when in vogue, and our great grand-mothers could trip about as nimbly in them as our daughters can in their wide flat hoops, made, like the mercer's counter, to set off the silk rather than the wearer. The mothers choose their ornaments for the intrinsic value, a few diamonds of good water, or string of oriental pearl, were thought to outshine a multitude of tawdry trinkets : but now if there are any real jewels they must be overwhelmed with a profusion of false stones and silver flourishing, to be new set every two years : and the ears are often loaded with French paste, colored glass, and other fantastic baubles. A few years ago the hoop could not be pretty unless it rose on each side in a camel's hump, so that the sleeves were forced to be stiffened and made to stand up like a bantam cock's tail, that they might not hitch in the petticoat. One principal source of beauty is expression ; but it is long since the beau, almost throttled in a large solitaire, and his hair strained tight to the bag, till ready to start from the temples, was thought to appear most charming under an expression of the utmost distress.

I was grievously mortified the other day on happening unthinkingly to produce ten pennyworth of half-pence out of my pockets in presence of a fine gentleman ; he raised a violent outcry upon me for the absurdity of loading myself with such an enormous weight, and of such filthy metal that one could not touch without daubing one's fingers : now he always lugs about a swinging sword with him that weighs ten times as much as my half-pence, and has left an indelible mark of its neatness in a long sooty smudge upon the lining of my coach ; but I durst not retort upon him, because I knew very well that fashion has a magical power to

make anything light or heavy, cleanly or nasty, by a laugh or an exclamation.

Nor does fashion want the like power in other instances to change the qualities and appearances of things: we prefer dry veal because it is white, and adulterated bread for the like reason, taking for our support a withered kecks instead of the staff of life: we admire white ashes and stewed cucumbers that look as if they had been eaten once before, and garnish the rims of our dishes with dabs of chewed greens: boiled rabbits are trussed up to appear as frightful as possible, and made to resemble that terror of our childhood Raw neck and bloody bones. Our town houses are thought most commodious when the family is squeezed up in scanty closets for the sake of having a spacious hall at the entrance; and in the country we are forced to cut down our shady groves and arbors, that a visitor may have a full view of the house half a mile off; thus contriving for show in preference to use, and for momentary pleasures in prejudice of the more durable. Persons of no ear learn to die away in ecstasy at the charms of music they have been told is Italian: contradictions become elegance and propriety of language, for a thing may be excessively moderate, vastly little, monstrous pretty, wondrous common, prodigious natural, or devilish godly; and a lady last winter walking from the next street to see my Serena, told her she found the way she came along so dirty, that in one part it was absolutely impassable.

Nor are the learned exempt from the influence of fashion, for as that impels they read their Greek by its own accent, or by the Roman; and in reading Latin perpetually make false quantities, judging of the sound by the spelling, or what is more extraordinary by the signification, so that *Cano* pronounced exactly in the same manner shall nevertheless be a short sound when it signifies I sing, but a long when construed Grey headed: and on hearing the word *Manus* you cannot possibly measure the quantity by your ear, until you know from the context whether it was used for both hands or only one.

7. Yet is fashion not without its uses, and those no contemptible ones: it furnishes some persons with the whole employment of their time, thereby rescuing them from that most forlorn condition, the having absolutely nothing to do, and fills up vacancies between other occupations for the rest of the world. How would the fine lady or the pretty gentleman dispose of themselves if it were not for the labors of the toilette, for auctions, or exhibitions, till three o'clock in the morning, and the duty of visits, the attendance at plays, routs, drums, or Ranelaghs, from seven in the

afternoon till one in the evening? and those engaged in any profession, employment, or science, might be at a loss for recreation in their intervals, if there were not methods in vogue ready marked out to their hand. Nay, perhaps we plodding folks might plod on to our mischief, like a hen that would sit till she starves herself, were we not forced off our nest by some necessary compliances with the mode.

Religion and considerate reason can determine only the main branches of our conduct, yet we must always be doing something, but should have no choice in matters left indifferent by them, if we had not the example and recommendation of the world to direct us. It is this influence that chiefly supplies desires, nourishes habits, constitutes elegance, and gives a relish for the ordinary employments it leads into. The men take direction from hence what books to read, the ladies in what works to employ their needle, and both to touch neither books nor needle when the prevailing mode of the time or place happens to run against them. The same test determines what shall be deemed an accomplishment, what game at cards or dice, or what exercise shall be agreeable.

Nor is it in our actions alone and likings of external objects that we drive with the stream, but the same impulse likewise guides the turns of expression and models the cast of imagination, as is evident from the taste and genius peculiar to different ages and countries, which cannot be owing to the soil or climate, nor any other cause than the prevalence of custom drawing those who consort together, into similar trains of thinking. Many order their household, breed up their children, regulate their expenses, and take their most important measures according to what they see done by others: so that this lies as a ready rule for multitudes who could not strike out any rules for themselves by their own reason and observation, but must else wander at hap-hazard or stagnate in uncertainty.

And it is the easier rule, because it operates by attraction rather than compulsion, not driving upon a disagreeable task, but raising a good opinion and liking of the practices it enjoins. In which circumstance I wish the rules of Religion could be brought to resemble it, and we might be taught as recommended in Chap. XXVI. to serve God in contemplation of the benefits accruing therefrom, rather than of the mischiefs incurred by disobedience. But for such as think themselves able to form rules upon the reason of things by their own sagacity, still an attention to general practice is not superfluous, for the measures of conduct proper for the different occurrences in life are so various, that it is impossible for any man to trace them all to their foundations; but he that is

qualified to lead upon one occasion, will find himself under a necessity of following upon others. Besides as we live in society, common usage makes the reason in many cases, because without a regard to that, our several manners of proceeding would be so uncouth to one another that we could never join in intercourse either for mutual assistance or entertainment: therefore when people are attached to their own particular ways, you find it very difficult to transact any business or partake in any diversion with them.

Were people never to consort unless when some business of importance brings them together, occasions of this sort happen so rarely, they would continue in a manner strangers to one another; but the rules of civility are the threads completing the junction of society begun by our mutual needs. The forms of good breeding and general topics of discourse lying upon the level of every capacity, enter us into conversation or serve to fill up the vacancies of it, thereby furnish an opportunity for introducing matters of greater moment without solemnity, for discerning one another's characters, and lead into the knowledge of the world. They give a larger scope to good nature by preparing a beaten track wherein to exercise itself in trifles, for how well soever disposed, we should not know how to proceed in pleasing one another, if there were not certain methods of behavior which custom has made agreeable to everybody.

8. The sages of old have ranked Courtesy among the virtues, though the lowest of the number: nor is it only a virtue itself but introduces a small degree of many others. It first weans from boyish humors and sudden impulses of wantonness, reconciles to something of discipline and orderly deportment, curbs the eagerness of appetite, and inures to bear little constraints and self-denials; thus teaching some small rudiments of endurance and forbearance, which how small soever are yet a valuable acquisition, being one degree better than uncontrolled licentiousness. It creates a sensibility of approbation and censure more attentive to the rectitude of actions than to present pleasure or profit, as finding superior satisfaction in the consciousness of having acted right, a disposition rendering the mind susceptible of the sublimest virtues: and though the rule of rectitude be far from the most perfect, yet is it of no small benefit to such as have not a better, nor a useless monitor to such as have, for it has been remarked, that those who affect an utter contempt of the world always fall into some fatal error or gross absurdity; for no man's judgment is so complete as to set him above learning anything from his neighbors.

By preserving this regard to others it throws some check upon self-sufficiency, making men sensible of a mutual dependence ; as it likewise draws them nearer to an idea of their intrinsic equality by the affability and condescension it recommends towards inferiors, and the voluntary respect and reverence, instead of servile dread and forced obeisance, towards superiors. For in despotic countries where the arbitrary will of the powerful leaves no room for courtesy to interfere, the populace are scarce considered as human creatures, and the women treated as slaves or possessions, many times sold to the best bidder, as one would a horse or a picture.

If Courtesy be the lowest of the virtues, Politeness is the lowest of the sciences ; yet a science it is, therefore well worthy the careful attention of such as are not qualified for any higher, as it will keep them to such observation and exercise of their judgment, as they are capable of making : nor is it below the regard of the most profound so far as it can be prosecuted without interruption to things of greater moment, for it will make them more generally useful, abating the stiffness of the closet, and enabling them to accommodate their conceptions to the trains of thought and expressions current in the world. This science requires no great ingenuity nor laborious application ; a desire to learn, and assiduity under the best masters, that is, the politest company, will suffice ; for it is more to be caught by sympathy, than taught by instruction. It wants little previous preparation to qualify the scholar for making proficiency, for a man may be very well behaved without other learning than that gotten under a dancing master to give an ease and grace to his motions : yet it admits of many grafts if there be capacity and inclination enough to cultivate them, which render a gentleman more accomplished, and afford him a larger scope wherein to exercise his politeness ; such as music, painting, building, gardening, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, characters, customs and manners foreign and domestic, poetry, wit and humor, criticism, together with such smattering of natural philosophy and the profounder sciences, as may serve to give a solidity, without clogging the ease or damping the liveliness of conversation : for good breeding is most fully exemplified when one appears to understand something of everything, but it is not needful to pursue anything to the bottom.

9. It would be a vain attempt in me to go about drawing a perfect character of politeness, a quality for which I never was famous myself, as being too much taken up with my speculations to pay those assiduities to the best masters which I have just now pronounced necessary for gaining the full and genuine completion

of politeness : but as in a former place I have called it the skin and outside of virtue, and the skin always conforms itself to the lying of the solids beneath, the shape though not the color seems to fall properly within my province ; and how deficient soever in the practical part, I may still examine the principal foundations whereon the theory stands erected.

Politeness then I perceive may be styled the representative of Charity, employed where she is absent, to execute her office in little matters : for Charity, though principally driving at the solid good of our fellow-creatures, yet whenever opportunities for such service do not offer, she prompts to please, to oblige, and to gratify : for present pleasure is a good when not bringing on any subsequent mischief, and adds a mite to the stock of happiness. In this respect politeness imitates her, urging to the same works that she does, though not with the same view ; for Charity seeketh not her own, she proceeds directly upon a principle of good will to the party gratified ; but Politeness carries self in view, aiming at the credit of the performer, and to gain the good liking of those whom he converses with. Yet is it a considerable advantage to become habituated to works of virtue though done upon another motive, because this will render the genuine virtue more easy to be acquired ; for virtue has a natural beauty engaging to most men while held in contemplation alone, but when they come to the practice, it is the difficulty of breaking off their old courses that sets them against her, therefore if they can be previously led into the courses she recommends, this obstacle being removed, she will find an easy reception.

Nor is it unprecedented that men have been drawn insensibly by the practice of good breeding into a hearty benevolence of temper : and I believe it will not be doubted that in countries where civility and good manners prevail, there are more instances of true public spirit and disinterested kindness, than among the barbarous and uncultivated. I have before said that private affection is the proper avenue to Charity, and politeness helps considerably forward on the way : affection first draws us out of ourselves, but then it fixes our regards upon a few particular objects ; whereas politeness, like charity, spreads them more diffusively, so that all objects indifferently presenting to the view, become qualified to attract them.

It is the rule of charity to love your neighbor, that is, every person who comes within the reach of your good offices ; and it is the rule of politeness to make yourself agreeable to the company, whatever persons it happens to consist of. As the one covers a multitude of sins, so the other covers a multitude of defects : if

there be any imperfection or deformity, any coarseness or inelegance of dress, gesture, or language, any mark of ignorance or peculiarity, any variance of sentiment, it overlooks them all, and strives to suit itself to the taste of those that are present.

Superior skill and ability, as all talents ought, are esteemed given for the benefit of others, and employed for the greater ease and entertainment of such as want them; so that imbecility of all kinds gives the larger title to deference and complaisance. The weaker sex, who in unpolished countries are considered as the property of the stronger, have by far the greater share both of the legislative and executive authority in the kingdom of fashion: they are likewise the depositaries and judges in matters relating to form and ceremony, so that the soldier, the scholar, the divine, and the metaphysician, unskilled in the niceties of ceremonial law, stand in awe of their descisions; as Hector dreaded the Troadas elkisepeplous, the Trojan ladies with their sweeping trains.

As politeness stands in the passage between affection and charity, it assumes the countenance of the former as well as of the latter; whoever makes one in the circle around you is to be treated as your particular friend; you are to rejoice in whatever has fallen out to his wishes, and sympathize with his displeasures, to be solicitous for the health and prosperity of his relations or intimates, and take his part against all that are absent, to express a predilection of his person, an esteem of his qualifications and deference to his judgment, or if for keeping up the ball of discourse you may offer a variation of opinion, it must be done by way of suggestion in order only to obtain his determination. The polite man has no will of his own, but takes the pleasure of the company for the guidance of his motions: he is superior to pain, for if his tooth aches or shoe pinches him, he must not make wry faces, nor complain lest it gives other people uneasiness: he has the stoical apathy capable of making all things indifferent and submitting his humors to those of anybody else; no perturbation, anxiety, nor eagerness, but possesses a calm, unruffled serenity, and proceeds with awakened ease which is the child of expertness not of indolence. If anything of contention be unavoidable, he shows a reluctance in entering upon it, manages it with tenderness and good manners, and never suffers you to think his esteem or good-will suspended for a moment. Upon proper occasions he can give advice without insulting, admonish of an indiscretion without displeasing, and rally without giving offence.

Assurance or courage is a necessary ingredient of politeness, for if people are satisfied you could do a rude thing if you had a mind but never have that mind in any single instance, your merit



is greater with them, than if complaisance were forced from you by dread of their censures : for there is a difference between respect and servile fear, the one is amiable, the other contemptible. Some, who would be thought extremely well bred, how obsequiously soever they behave to everybody in their presence, make a practice of censuring, criticizing, and calumniating them as soon as their backs are turned : now with submission to the best mistresses in the science, this seems to me a defect of politeness ; perhaps I may be misled by my notion of its similitude with charity, which hopeth all things, believeth all things, and thinketh no evil ; but to my apprehension, the essence of politeness requiring a dispassionate temper, whatever betrays the marks of envy, rancor, animosity, ill-nature, or other intemperance of mind, must be inconsistent with it. One may indeed gratify the humors of the company by depreciating others, but then if they have any reflections they must see that the same talent will be turned against themselves another time ; so they love you for a moment, but will be afraid of you ever after.

Therefore I conceive that the polite man who desires to raise a durable credit with the world, will not be forward to speak ill of anybody, but select the bright spots of a character, and seek for extenuations in those parts which cannot entirely be defended ; for by using to give everybody their due commendation, his civilities to persons present will appear to be sincerity and not mere compliment.

In former times there was a good deal of constraint in the modest ways of treating one another, people were forced to eat and drink more than they liked, and pressed to stay upon a visit longer than was agreeable, but now those nuisances are happily removed, and liberty is become the basis of our laws, as well of fashion as of the land : but liberty is best advanced by every one restraining himself in such fancies as must prove a restraint upon those of other persons, indulging those desires only which are compatible with theirs, and making it his principal desire to contrive and labor for their entertainment. Therefore where there is a number of thorough, well-bred persons joined in an expedition, I conceive it the truest miniature of an Utopian or paradisiacal state : things lie in common among them, there is no greediness, contention, or suspicion, no trouble is grudged for the general accommodation, and every one strives to make things as agreeable as possible to the rest.

10. But as there is no good thing in this world without its alloy, politeness which we have seen of such excellent use to promote order, harmony, and enjoyment among mankind, produces

its evil weeds copiously enough as well as its salutary fruits. I have said just now that it assumes the countenance of affection and charity, but too often carries the countenance only without an atom of the substance. It is become a proverb that the Spaniard often kisses the hands he wishes were cut off; and your very courtly people appear extremely obliging to persons they do not care a farthing for; nor does the affability of the well-bred always make them a whit the more candid to think well, or more inclined to wish well to others.

This proceeds from their taking the credit of politeness for their ultimate point of aim, pursuing it rather as a brilliant accomplishment, than as a valuable quality, which renders the reality superfluous, because credit must result from appearances, not from sincerity and heartiness which cannot be discerned. This accomplishment, as observed above, is an avenue to virtue, but he that has gone no further on his way, than just to enter the avenue, has made very little progress; it is well if he does not strike aside into the by-paths of error and mischief. The case here is much the same with that of Religion, where forms and ceremonies are the necessary avenues conducting into the substance: but it is well known what extravagances have been run into by those who mistake the form for the substance. As indiscreet headlong zeal has proved the source of superstition, censoriousness, animosity, and persecution, so an eagerness to be admired for the pink of politeness, has sometimes given occasion to a pernicious delicacy and refinements in vice, making men worse than they would have been by mere natural inclination; whence some have maintained that the polite arts have been a mischief to the world because enormities abound in countries where they prevail, which are unknown among savages.

This may be owned without proving them a mischief, if their benefits greatly overbalance the abuses made of them; for the best things when corrupted turn into the worst, which does not destroy their value unless the corruption were to become general. We have seen in the last sections, of what excellent services an attention to politeness is capable when under the guidance of judgment, and directed to the advancement of virtue, but when taken up for a first principle of action, when made an object of ambition, it produces direct contrary effects.

Instead of promoting charity, condescension, and a better sense of intrinsic equality, it generates contempt and loathing, and widens the difference between man and man, making the rude and vulgar regarded as an inferior species of creatures. It inspires with vanity and the desire of excelling instead of that of excel-

lence, for things are not coveted for their intrinsic value or usefulness, but for their being elegant and modish. Persons under this influence disdain everything that is vulgar or does not distinguish them from the common herd ; they perpetually vie with their equals and emulate their superiors : which gives them an utter aversion to trouble, to consideration, regularity, and discipline, as mean things fit only to keep the populace in order, and runs them into all fashionable follies, dissipation, and ruinous expenses.

The superfine gentleman must not put on his own clothes, look into his own estate, nor eat, nor talk, nor do anything like the bulk of mankind : he has no judgment of his own, but takes his measures of all kinds from the modish standard, and even chooses his diversions, not because he likes them, but because followed by the beau monde : he scorns application and seriousness, economy and justice to his tradesmen, because he sees them disregarded by persons of fashion, and would be ashamed to pursue a close train of thought or argumentation as being pedantic, but decides every thing at once by positiveness and exclamation : he cannot endure to be alone, because then having no opportunity of shining, but aims to sparkle in all companies even before his own servants, and is as proud of understanding all the punctualities and niceties of elegance, as Alexander was of conquering the world.

It has been observed in the last section, that politeness teaches to submit your own humors to those of the company ; therefore so far may be deemed a species of useful self-denial ; but then it affords no check upon their humors, so that when made the sole principle of action, it encourages the indulgence of every humor and folly wherein others will join, and you may even lead them into whatever fancy you please, so there be no constraint used, but you can make the thing agreeable to them. Thus the denial of private desires serves only to instigate and give a larger scope to the general.

Its object being to please and entertain, rather than to do a real benefit, it naturally fixes the attention upon little forms and modes of behavior, which best answer its purpose ; or if it urges to any learning or accomplishment, they are such only and to be cultivated so far, as may make a man more agreeable in conversation, not more serviceable to himself or others in life ; as if the sole business of mankind were amusement. By this means things of moment and trifles are made to change their nature, great stress is laid upon the latter so as to engross the thoughts in contempt of the former : and a man is estimated not by his skill in any science or merit in his profession, but by his manners of entering a room, the fluency and liveliness of his discourse, and readiness in making a handsome compliment.

It is difficult to say where the legislative power in matters of fashion resides ; the women, as said before, have a considerable share, but they do not proceed by session, deliberation, or council, so their statutes are many times fantastic and arbitrary ; and if chance and whim have an influence anywhere, it must certainly be here. The administration is carried on with the utmost rigor of legal justice untempered by equity, no allowance made for mistake, or ignorance, or want of information, but whoever does not conform exactly to the letter of the law, is cried down as a brute. For though the thorough polite overlook all involuntary failings, there is always a set of people one may style the executioners of the law, who pretending to everything of politeness except an equitable temper, pass very severe judgment ; for though the regulations change every year, it is the highest crime with them to be unacquainted with the several alterations as soon as made.

The wants of nature are soon satisfied, but men multiply wants to themselves by their inordinate desires ; and if they can moderate their own desires within a reasonable compass, still the world will be perpetually urging them to new cravings, and imposing many things as necessary to keep up their appearance and estimation : if it could be computed how much we are forced to do for satisfying others which we should not choose of our own accord, perhaps it would be found that many of us pay higher taxes to the fashion than to the national supplies. Nor are we only controlled in our expenses but cramped in our liberty, much of our time and activity being disposed of at the will of others, and the necessary compliance with modes and ceremonies sometimes prove a grievous interruption to engagements we might have pursued with more satisfaction and emolument.

11. Since then we see so much good and evil flow from the same source, it will behove us to proceed with discretion, that we may avoid the one, and gather the other : but there is no making a choice while driven by the torrent and moving by impulse, nor unless we employ the current to carry us more commodiously to some certain mark we keep in our eye, for which purpose it will be necessary to consider the uses of politeness and what course it takes to arrive at them.

The uses I conceive are to make our time pass more pleasantly in those many intervals wherein there is no room for important services, to supply us with methods of exercising our charity in little matters, or enable us more easily to communicate the benefit of any improvements we have attained : and the course lies by making us agreeable to one another, and mutually indulgent to our desires. Upon this view it appears evident that politeness ought

not to be taken up as an ultimate aim, but employed in subservency to further ends, nor is complete without something more solid to give it a substance ; for the art of communicating one's thoughts handsomely when one has nothing to communicate, is but a jingling plaything at best. Neither will a fondness for brilliancy help to steer in the right course, which is better pursued by striving to be agreeable, than to gain admiration : many think to show themselves polite by extraordinary elegances not to be paralleled elsewhere, but this is a deviation from the rule of politeness, as expressing a selfishness and desire of excelling not of gratifying others, who they may suppose cannot be well pleased at seeing themselves excelled and outdone.

But the polite man will take the real pleasure of others for the mark of direction whereby to steer his conduct : he will not think of self any further than to beware of things unbecoming, which might render him disgustful to them, nor will he do anything for show unless it be of his readiness to oblige, for this he may wish to show as being a prospect in its very nature soothing to the beholder. For the like reason he will neither be foremost or hindmost in the fashions, neither scrupulously exact nor carelessly deficient in forms and punctilios ; for he will have so much respect for the world and for persons with whom he converses, as never to express a contempt of them either by his singularity or by undertaking to surpass them. He will see that politeness, like charity, extends its verge to all ranks though exerting itself in different manners, so that the low, the ill-bred, and the ignorant still are objects of its regard : therefore he will condescend and place himself upon the level with all, avoiding whatever might mortify or lay them under difficulties, yet without demeaning himself or stooping to things unsuitable with his character ; for this would render him less amiable in the eyes of the world, by whose rules of decorum he will be guided, and not by a fondness for dignity, even in the bounds he sets to his condescension.

As there are various talents of all sorts and sizes among mankind, those whom nature or education have rendered unfit for anything else, do right in making it their business to study the modes ; for any business is preferable to total indolence and inattention : but before they value themselves upon their proficiency, I would have them satisfied that they were utterly incapable of better employment. If this be their case they stand approved, as having performed the part allotted them, for nothing is insignificant in the hand of Providence : the butterfly, the goldfinch, the fiddler, and the beau have their several uses in this sublunary system, and he that does his best, how trifling soever it be, does all that was wanted from him.

We do not reckon our houses finished as soon as the mason and the carpenter have performed their part, but there still remains employment for the painter, the carver, the gilder, and the paper-hanger : nor is the condition of life complete when the uses of it are supplied, but something is still wanting to be done for embellishment and amusement ; and in those seasons wherein no opportunity offers of promoting a solid benefit, entertainment and present pleasure is our business, which will then bear a reference to the grand intention. Therefore those innocents who stand in no situation to do any service in life, may deserve our applause if they contribute what they can, to the cheerfulness and enjoyment of it ; for this world is a stage, and it is not the importance of the part, but the performing it well that merits a plaudit.

Yet if there be any seeds of genius or application, they may be better bestowed in cultivating some of the polite arts than in matters of mere show, and form and fashion, still remembering that those arts serve only for embellishment and engagement of the time, therefore must not grow into a passion, nor be made an object of vanity, nor suffered to engross the thoughts from all prudential considerations. Such as have no judgment of their own, must take their measures solely upon what they see done by others ; but with the best judgment there is still a deference due to the ways of the world, which deserves an authority, not a servile submission. We have seen in the last section how many mischiefs are endangered by driving impetuously with the impulse of fashion ; therefore we must learn to stem the torrent, to dare to be singular, to bear the censures of the multitude : yet this need not abate our disposition to comply, but rather is a necessary foundation to support it, for compliance is not itself when forced, nor can subsist in a feeble, passive temper.

I have observed in a former place, that he who can never refuse a favor can scarce ever be said to grant one, for it is wrested from him, not given ; in like manner he that follows the mode because he cannot help it, can no more be said to comply, than a prisoner complies with a constable who carries him to gaol. Yet there is no need to resist for resistance' sake, nor affect singularity merely to show our sturdiness, for occasions enow will offer wherein we shall find it expedient to judge for ourselves, and whenever such do not offer, non-compliance is a fault.

For the presumption lies strongly on the side of general practice, which therefore ought to prevail unless when the judgment clearly discerns an inconvenience therein : and even then the disposition to compliance ought not to abate, but always weigh in the scale, nor even fail to draw down the balance because be-

come light in our estimation, but because overpowered by a greater weight. There is that deference due to the world and to the company, which requires to submit our particular humors to theirs, but not to submit our reason : and hence arises a difficulty in the commerce of the world, for humor so often assumes the garb and countenance of reason, that it is not easy to know them apart ; therefore here a careful and thorough examination is requisite, that we may be very sure of having a sufficient warrant from the necessity or manifest expedience of the case, whenever we venture to move in an eccentric orb.

12. Rule, precedent, and mode supply the place of judgment, therefore are necessary for the direction of those who cannot trace the reasons of things themselves, and of all persons in such matters whereof they want experience or opportunities to form a judgment upon. They are the means whereby the judgment and experience of some become serviceable to many, and the principal channels through which the benefits of society are mutually communicated. It is by their aid that theory may be made practical, nor is speculation of any better avail than to strike out some salutary rule or manner of conduct, which is frequently the result of many observations and trials, correcting one another to accommodate it to general use.

Therefore there is a reverence due to them not to be destroyed by any little defects ; for as my lord Coke says, the law will rather suffer an injury than an inconvenience, so it is better submit to a present inexpedience, than break through a prevailing usage convenient for the commerce of the world.

Mode and example are more efficacious and easier methods of conveying improvement than instruction, because there are more people that have senses than understanding, or that can follow your ways than enter into your reasonings : beside that the benefit you do will be likely to spread more diffusively, for he that imitates what he sees done may become an example to draw others after him, but it is not so easy for him to communicate the knowledge he has learned without dropping the greater part by the way. Add to this, that the influence of general practice lightens the work to the learner, rendering it scarce needful to use any efforts of his own ; for it allures and assists him in the progress, it operates upon the machine by means of sympathy and the passions whose springs are stronger than those of the understanding, and will carry him on almost whether he will or no. Therefore we sometimes see persons who move always mechanically without any consideration or vigor of mind to help themselves, yet led insensibly into a propriety of action and sentiment by having fallen among good company.

It were much to be wished, though little to be expected, that rules, customs, and modes for the common transactions of life might be introduced by discretion and mature judgment of their several uses, instead of sprouting up accidentally from a coincidence of passions and fancies, or the wanton humors of such as have the eyes of the multitude turned upon them : but then regard must be had to the passions and tempers of men, to what is feasible rather than what is rigorously right, and they must be conducted into such ways as are passable by them without constraint or reluctance.

And I seem to perceive that use is more consulted in those matters by my cotemporaries than in former times ; but then it is a use that tends as often to mere convenience and entertainment, as to more solid advantage. Both these deserve a share of consideration in their proper places, yet where a practice can be brought into vogue that tends to encourage any profitable self-denial, any well-directed industry, any increase of harmony and mutual good will, or any improvement of the rational faculties, surely it ought to carry the preference.

Some perhaps may fancy that if we had examples of what is right in every particular before our eyes which might draw us mechanically to follow them, there would be no place for private judgment, which derives its clearness from observation of the errors of others, and its strength from opposition to their perversities driving like a torrent upon us : but I conceive we should still find a use for our reason in applying the example we would imitate, to the particular circumstances of our own situation, for he that follows another blindfold, may plunge into a dirty hole the other steps over ; and a use for our resolution in making continually fresh conquests over the frailties and passions of our nature, which can never be totally mastered. But there is no need to fear that we shall ever want employment for our understanding by having the paths of rectitude and propriety beaten out before us wherein we might be constantly led by our fellow travellers, without making our own observations upon the road ; for there will always be so much of the casual and the fantastical in the ways of the world, as will find exercise enough for our reason and our resolution to guard us against the mischiefs of them.

Unless the ten righteous, several times spoken of before, should arise ; for they we may suppose will make good use of those powerful engines by which imagination may be brought into any train, and made unknowingly to execute the works of reason : they will soon raise a credit by the importance, the regularity, the propriety, the easiness, the amiableness of their own deportment ; and



having gained the authority of leaders they will penetrate into the secret springs of human nature, discern the characters of mankind, and know what practices may most usefully be introduced among them. They will keep their ultimate end, the perfection and happiness of the species, constantly in view, and observe by what line of bearing everything may tend to promote it. Nor will they neglect matters of trifle, the common transactions and daily occurrences of life, as well knowing that these may be made remotely subservient to important uses.

They will prevail to fix the point of honor upon endeavors to advance the general good, and bring an unaffected Charity to become the genuine mark of Politeness ; to make a just confidence in the protection of Providence, a prospect of futurity and unmis-trustful Hope in the divine Goodness, be reputed fashionable sentiments ; to cast a general disrepute upon all selfishness, indulgence, indolence, over-delicacy, vanity, greediness, dread of pain, labor or self-denial, and lead men into a true sense of that nice but useful distinction between a desire of excellence, and a desire of excelling. Nor will they only employ the impulse of example and fashion for leading the world into courses of conduct without knowing their expedience, but inure them likewise to observe the benefits resulting therefrom, and search for the reasons making one manner of proceeding preferable to another. For they will apply their cares to rectify the reasonings as well as actions of mankind, introducing methods for choosing the objects suited to their several capacities, and judging soundly according to the lights respectively afforded them ; so that each man's improvement will be the fruits of his own industry and judgment, taking only the assistance of example to suggest materials for exercising them upon ; and thus when all hands are brought to unite, the work of reformation may be expected to go on with a rapid progress.

13. In the mean while until such consummate masters appear, it will behove us imperfect creatures to keep an attentive eye upon the modes and practices current around us, not to take direction from thence for our own conduct and commerce with one another, but likewise to employ them as engines for bringing the rest of the world into a little better order : for we are all public persons stationed here not for ourselves alone, but to improve every opportunity that opens for working a benefit in any respect for others with whom we have intercourse.

But it will be said, we are not of consequence enough to strike out a mode or become a pattern for the generality to follow : this I am sensible of, and would have it never slip out of mind, that

we may not take upon us more than is becoming, for then we shall never affect anything. It is the grand mistake of the well-intentioned to aim always at doing mighty matters ; but true industry lies attentive to small profits whenever accruing.

A private man must not think of introducing new practices into vogue, nor giving a sudden check to those he dislikes ; yet he may a little weaken the torrent he cannot stop, and add a trifle of briskness to the stream he did not set agoing. For customs prevail by degrees and subside by degrees, as individuals successively fall into them, or lay them aside, so that each has his proportionable share in the force that makes the stream ; nor can it be foreseen what effect one man's perseverance may have to give it a general turn, at least his example may have an influence upon his family, his neighbors, or his intimates, or by their means may sometimes extend elsewhere further than he could have imagined. Therefore let him not think himself so insignificant as to make it wholly indifferent with respect to other persons how he behaves, nor so important as to pretend an authority over them, to dictate, to rebuke, to censure, or stand in open defiance against them : for gentle bending will do more than force, nor need this bending be attempted avowedly by premeditated design, for a steady tenor of conduct pursued upon good foundations for a man's own convenience or good liking, will attract the courses of other persons to warp the same way, almost without their perceiving it.

By this means a man may enlarge his scheme of conduct and add many little strokes to fill up his plan of rectitude, so as scarce ever to stand idle or useless for want of some commendable aim to pursue. For his virtue will not be confined to arduous and burdensome tasks, but taught to tread the paths of pleasantness, and will find employment in his familiar conversations : so he will not think the time lost that is not spent in devotion or important services, while it can be bestowed in adding something to the good order, the decency, the convenience, or innocent enjoyment of those about him. He will seldom proceed solely by the impulse of pleasure, but for the most part find some good end whereto his pleasures may be made subservient, which he can reflect on afterwards as a profit gained ; thus by continual practice learning more and more the art of sanctifying his common actions in the intercourse of the world : for whatever makes a little profit, the best that the occasion would permit, will bear a reference to his great ultimate aim, the glory of God pursued by every accession of happiness among his creatures.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

## EDUCATION.

As much as a man may be counted by nature a reasonable creature, certain it is from constant experience that he is not born in possession of that faculty : Nature only furnishes the soil and sows the seeds whereout reason is to grow afterwards, in long process of time. The plant is not reckoned to show itself until seven years old, and then appears feeble and scarce perceptible ; during the warmth of youth, it lies choked under the weeds of passion, appetite, whimsy, and inordinate desire, nor is believed to arrive at maturity until forty. But whether it shall ever come to full maturity at all, or what condition of health and vigor it shall then attain, depends as much upon cultivation, upon favorable circumstances, and upon fortune, as upon nature. Nay, the gifts of nature herself may be ranked among those of fortune : for it was chance to us at what time, in what country, and of what family we were born, what was the constitution and state of health of those from whom we derived our own, what intemperances, follies, and accidents our mothers have escaped which might have ruined our bodily or mental powers : and when come forth into the world, we lie at the mercy of nurses and servants by whose carelessness or giddiness we might have contracted diseases, or received hurts, the bad effects of which we could never have gotten over.

But when safe from these hazards with all our organs and faculties entire, still the degree of improvement to be made with them, depended upon the care or negligence, the prudence or indiscretion of our parents or tutors ; nor upon that alone, but upon the examples before our eyes, the companions consorting with us, the incitements to good behavior striking our notice, the temptations falling in our way, the secret turns our inclination happened to take, and a thousand external accidents which no prudence could foresee, no care nor judgment certainly provide or prevent. While under the government of others the danger is not so great or not so apparent, for what mischiefs have been contracted early may be generally, though not always, discovered and rectified by their authority and good management ; but when the reins of liberty begin to be loosened, then is the critical time, for the latent seeds of evil weeds will then sprout vigorously, and others be received from quarters where the ground was well sheltered before. So that it is impossible to know certainly how a

lad will prove, notwithstanding all the good governance that has been bestowed upon him ; but some fond passion miscalled love, some ill-placed friendship, some extravagance or debauchery, some violent fancy or eagerness of pleasure may frustrate the best culture, and overturn the most promising hopes.

The years from sixteen to twentyfive may be reckoned the most important part of life, as determining the color of all the rest : the time lost then can very rarely be retrieved by subsequent diligence, nor is there room to expect any subsequent diligence, after a habit of idleness contracted then ; but the manner of disposing that interval must decide whether the man shall be good for something or nothing, or what he shall be good for ever after : and the disposal depends principally upon himself ; he may receive assistance from friends and parents, but it lies in his own breast what use he shall make of their assistance. In this important season which is to fix his fate as well in this as in the other world, what sure direction has he to carry him through the business of it ? his passions are then most impetuous, the joy of new-gotten liberty urges him to throw off the restraint even of his own reason, or if he has a notion of reason, he lies liable to mistake the impulses of passion for its dictates, and think whatever he stands strongly inclined to demonstrably right : his judgment is crude, hasty, opinionated and obstinate, founded upon two or three favorite maxims as upon absolute certainty, which if they happen to lead the right way, it is rather an effect of good luck than of discernment.

Thus, how true soever it be that each man makes his own fortune in happiness, it is as true that the previous indulgence of fortune led him into the proper dispositions and methods for making it : and any one who will reflect impartially on the follies, the erroneous notions, and strong propensities of his youth, must think it almost a miracle that he has escaped the mischiefs of them so tolerably as he has done.

2. But Fortune is but another name for Providence, from whose disposition of causes all fortuitous events as well as the stated laws of nature flow ; therefore to that origin is owing that we are what we are, as well in our moral character, as in our situation with respect to externals. For though we have undoubtedly a freedom of will and our actions follow precisely upon our volitions, yet we shall use our freedom according to the judgments and sentiments of our mind, derived to us from external causes not of our own procurement ; so that we have as much reason to thank Heaven for any good deeds we have performed, as for the daily bread we eat.

Thus without entering into the subtilties of Freewill, we may sat-

isfy ourselves by experience of the world around us, and by contemplating the progress of the human faculties in their several stages of growth, that there is a certain line of life marked out to every man, not by a compulsive fate or predestination, but by the provision of causes, for furnishing him with those natural parts and subsequent acquirements, those ideas, habits, inclinations, and ways of thinking which shape the whole of his conduct. He is left in numberless instances to do as he pleases, but derives from prior sources the springs of action determining what he shall please to do in every one of them. Had he been otherwise constituted or instructed, beheld other examples, fallen into other company, met with other accidents of the disgusting or alluring kind, though his choice might still have been equally free, he would have made it in another manner.

From this consideration that nothing falls out either in the moral or natural world, either among the actions of man or of matter, without the permission or appointment of our almighty Governor, arises a stumbling-block not presently to be gotten over, for we cannot easily reconcile ourselves to the thought of evil proceeding originally from the same fountain with good. But the ways of Heaven are all established in perfect wisdom, goodness, and equity : therefore we may rest assured that whatever is evil, so far as we can see of it, terminates in some greater good, to us unseen : we can discern that vices often correct one another, and the miseries they involve some persons in, serve for a warning to deter multitudes from incurring the like ; so although a grievous hurt to particulars, they are a benefit to mankind in general, and we can understand them sent in mercy to those who profit, not in anger to those who suffer by them.

But the first fall of man and that proneness in human nature to offend, which renders a continual warning and an opposition of contrary vices necessary, cannot be thought permitted in kindness to the human species, therefore we must conclude them redounding to some necessary service of the universe, and that there are other creatures to whom the profits accruing therefrom are greater than any sufferings occasioned by them. This reflection may serve for a clue in the most mysterious dispensations of Providence, and afford us comfort under all the evils of sin and suffering we see in others, or have fallen into ourselves, being persuaded that all things are ordered ultimately for the best, and whatever yields nothing but mischief to man, tends by some unknown way to the advantage of the spiritual host, whose numbers are infinitely larger, and their interests more valuable than those of the visible creation. And as we have hope in the divine Equity of being

ourselves incorporated into that host, though perhaps at a very remote distance of time, yet the remotest time will one day be the present, and we shall then find our happiness supported by the like dispensations among inferior creatures with those which afflict and gall us now.

Yet such reflection can only furnish ground of content in what evils we cannot help, but none for being remiss in warding off those we can any ways avoid : Providence indeed, which is styled Chance in the language of men, disposes all things for the best ; yet it is of the essence of prudence to leave as little to chance as possible : but prudence must take her measures, not upon what is best in the all-seeing eye which we can never know, but upon what appears so to our best discernment.

We have nothing to do with the line of causes lying behind, which brought us our knowledge, our sentiments, and abilities ; it is our business to look before, along the line of consequences which may result from our actions, and steer our course according to what we discover there. We have a certain compass of power and freedom allotted, and a portion of understanding to direct us in the proper uses to be made of them ; but our understanding is of the provision of Heaven, therefore what good conduct flows from thence, may be presumed to promote the general interest of the universe, as well as what flows by any other channel : so that since we cannot certainly know in what instances our good or evil conduct will prove most beneficial to invisible creatures, it behoves us to pursue our own advantage, and that of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible intercourse, by such methods as our reason and those salutary rules which were the result of former reasonings shall direct ; and the rather because, so far as we can judge, the doing good to any single member is the most likely way to increase the common stock and promote the good of the whole.

Therefore our contrivance and industry is due to the good of our neighbor, that is, any creature to whom we have a prospect of being able to do a service. The spiritual host lies too remote from our knowledge to stand in any degree of neighborhood with us, so we have no care to take for their service, but may trust Providence to guide us unknowingly into the measures that shall best answer their occasions : but our concern lies with our own species, whose interests more or less general we may have opportunities of promoting. And since the introduction into life is made by helpless infancy, capable in great measure of being made the prelude to a happy or miserable life, of being moulded into an useful or mischievous member of society according to the hands wherein it falls, therefore we ought to look upon our children and other

young persons under our management as the nearest of our neighbors, to whom our cares may be most usefully applied, as well for their own benefit, as that of the world wherein they are afterwards to bear a part.

3. Perhaps I shall be counted too speculative in recommending a thought to be had of our children even before their birth, but it is certainly of great importance to them in what manner we bring them into the world, and therefore deserves to be esteemed a matter of importance by us, if we can extend a regard beyond ourselves to those who are nearest, and ought to be dearest to us. Were this consideration duly attended to, it must put a check upon unlawful amours, which how much soever a sport to the parties engaged, may prove death, or what is worse than death, a miserable life, to the unhappy produce of them.

Nor let people fancy their offspring indebted to them for an entrance into being ; for how know they by what laws the creation of souls, or introduction of them from some former state are administered, or that the same soul would not have found an entrance by some other passage into a better station, where it would have had the full benefit of that parental affection and tenderness which now it is likely to miss of ? For children drawn into the world through this by-way are looked upon as a burden, a shame, and a misfortune to their parents, often made away with, generally neglected, and very rarely find the due share of fondness and countenance needful in their helpless condition, and to which they are naturally entitled. There are those who think to excuse themselves in these pranks by pretending to follow the impulses of nature ; but surely it is a strange way of following nature to do that which tends to choke the growth of all natural affection, a provision which Nature has rendered as necessary for the well-being of her infant productions, as the mother's milk for their sustenance ; or rather more so, because if the milk fails, there are other ways of supplying its place by nurses and paps ; but parental instinct is not to be bought with money, nor a succedaneum to be gotten that will answer the purpose effectually ; for no man can have the same hearty tenderness for another's bastard, as for his own children.

But suppose the father ever so strongly inclined to procure all advantages for his child it is not in his power to do it completely, for to succeed herein he will want some assistance and countenance of other people, which he must not expect to find : he cannot introduce him among his friends, relations, nor acquaintance, nor teach him that useful science of the world which is only to be learned by experience and observation ; he has not a continu-

al opportunity of inspecting his conduct, but his cares of him must be taken by stealth or at a distance ; in case of mortality he has nobody to trust who might prove a second father, for nobody will regard him as a friend or a relation, entitled to any more than mere charity and compassion demand for a fellow-creature in distress ; and with all his endeavors he can never secure him from the discouragements and brow-beating of censorious and ill-natured persons. In short, let any man consider how he would like to have been born himself under such disadvantages, and then apply the golden rule to those who are to be of his own flesh and blood.

Nor is it enough to avoid the hazard of bringing them into the world in a manner that shall make them a shame to us ; some little consideration seems requisite of what other parent we give them upon whom their future health of body and mind is to depend jointly with ourselves. People choose solely for their own pleasure or convenience without a thought of their rising families, unless perhaps to provide a maintenance for them by settlements, and that not always ; for your novel hunters learn to despise all common prudence, under the notion of mercenary views ; their fancy of circling joys which will never end makes them giddy, so that they can behold nothing calmly and steadily ever so little remote : an engaging person, a talent for diverting conversation includes all merit with them, and constitutes the whole of happiness. But if they like to live in a hollow tree themselves, or could be sure they shall like it as well ten years hence as they do now, will their children be happy by being born in one, and having nothing but the slender bark and barren leaves for their shelter and support ? It is surely of concern to them that both parents should have some discretion, considerateness, knowledge, and abilities capable of discerning other objects beyond the circling joys ; and there should be a harmony and mutual esteem between the families on both sides : for all these things will have a share of influence in determining the color of their lives.

But happiness is made up of many ingredients requiring forethought to provide for them, and if any principal ingredient be wanting, it will render all the rest of no avail ; therefore it is a cruelty, or at best an unpardonable negligence, when people entail diseases, distemperature of brain, weakness, or poverty upon their offspring by unsuitable matches, or provide them with a parent who knows nothing but trifling dissipation and amusement, incapable of steadiness, or consideration, or of helping them either by instruction or example. This is sacrificing their children to their own fond fancy, or the glare of riches and splendor, whichever of the two idols happens to possess their imagination.



I know one cannot hope to have things at all points exactly to our wish, but must do the best that is feasible ; therefore shall not dictate how far the interest of the parties themselves are to give way to those of their children yet unborn, which must be left to every one's own judgment, upon the circumstances of his case : I only say the latter ought not to be so totally overlooked as too commonly is done, especially by very young persons, but deserves admittance into the scale of consideration and to have its due weight in determining the choice. And if such weight has been given in making the connection, I presume it will not cease to operate afterwards during the time of gestation : but the mother will abstain from such intemperances, diversions, and hazards, as might prove hurtful to the burden she bears, preserving such a steadiness and sobriety of temper, as may secure her against frights and longings ; and the father will strive to ward off whatever might excite any turbulent passions, or urge to any improper exercises which would disturb the vegetation of the growing plant, or vitiate its juices.

4. But all that could be urged upon these topics is scarce likely to be much heeded or prevail on any to forego a fond passion or favorite desire, which has nothing more than self for its object : therefore I shall suppose the children already come into Being, and then it may be presumed there will be a motion of instinct towards them ; but it is very material whether this principle be left to operate at random, solely by its own impulses, or guided by judgment and discretion.

If due consideration be had, they will not be regarded merely as playthings for the parents to divert themselves with, or show about among their friends and visitors to remark how tall, how lusty, and how lively they are ; but as an important charge committed to our hands, as our nearest neighbors whose fortune in this world and the next depends upon our management, which therefore deserves to be esteemed a serious affair, and be made the object of our constant attention. For the constancy of the application is of more consequence than the vehemence of it, as a little negligence or indiscretion will overthrow the good effects of many cares. People are apt to be prodigiously anxious for their children by starts, just when it comes strongly into their heads, and then think no more of them for long intervals afterwards. In their serious moods they collect treatises of education in hopes to find a secret there for becoming excellent managers by the bare perusal : but these aids at most can only direct them in some particulars how to apply their industry, but can never infuse it ; they must draw this principle from their own fund, and have got-

ten an habitual diligence before they become qualified to reap any benefit from the observations suggested to them. It is not a set of rules how complete soever, but a steady vigilance and readiness to seize every opportunity of practising them, that must do the work : where there is the latter, it will go a great way towards supplying deficiencies in the former, for we see people with very little knowledge or judgment succeed well enough for common use by an assiduous application of such judgment as they have, and there are many more errors committed in the world through negligence than ignorance.

I know very well the nursery cannot and ought not to engross all our time, for though our nearest neighbors reside there, we have other neighbors beside to whom a proportionable share of our regard is due : but those who are nearest deserve to be foremost in our thoughts, and that there be no want of attention by which they might suffer. The business of a profession, the duties of our station, and other necessary avocations must be complied with, and therefore may be allowed to abate something from our assiduities to home concerns ; but the latter clearly claim the preference before matters of mere amusement, diversion, and self-indulgence ; which therefore ought to be pursued only so far as can be done without detriment to them.

Yet self-indulgence is not the only danger to be guarded against, the fondness which first attaches us so strongly to our own humors, when transferred upon the little ones, may do them infinite mischief : those nearest neighbors certainly deserve to be loved as ourselves, but it has been shown in a former place that whoever loves himself improperly does no kindness to another by loving him in the same manner, and may offend grossly against the law of charity by doing to him as he would be done by. If we neglect our own interests to gratify some present fond desire, it is folly ; if we do the like by our children, it is injustice and cruelty ; for nature has given them no knowledge of their own, but entrusted them to our judgment ; if therefore we refuse them the full benefit they might receive therefrom, we betray our trust.

Tenderness we cannot have too much, provided it be under the control of reason ; and this may incline us to procure them all the pleasure and ease consistent with their good, but never give way to a present indulgence that may be attended with mischievous or dangerous consequences. I have heard people value themselves upon their inability to resist an opportunity they know to be hurtful ; but if this be excusable from the weakness of human nature, certainly it is not matter of glorying, they ought to be ashamed of it, and strive to mend it as soon as possible ; for they know not howseverely their darlings may rue for the delay.

But fondness is generally accompanied with an anxiety that magnifies dangers, and renders them an obstacle against measures we should otherwise judge expedient : but there is a fortitude requisite in our dealings with those under our care as well as in our personal concerns, and this is surest founded upon the contemplation of Providence. We know that children are the gift of God, not given for our sakes alone, for they bear their part in the general system, and must undergo whatever fate the interest of the whole shall require : therefore we must not think to have them exempt from accidents, but prepare to rest contented under whatever shall befall, as being well satisfied that the most mysterious dispensations are ordered in perfect wisdom for the best. Nevertheless, it behoves us to take all the caution we can against accidents, nor ever to hazard them wantonly, and then we may rest assured that however unfavorable the event may appear, it will turn out in the end to some unknown benefit both of ourselves, and of those on whom our cares were bestowed. Nor are they liable to external chances alone, but likewise to suffer many by slips and failures in ourselves ; with all our resolution to the contrary, we shall sometimes be negligent, remiss in our cares, and wholly taken up in gratifying our own passions and fancies : it is better we should be apprized of our infirmity beforehand, for then we shall be less mortified and disheartened when mistakes do happen, and shall stand more upon the watch to prevent them. For confidence begets carelessness, and he that is too sure of succeeding in any-work completely, commonly fails in the performance through that very security.

5. But though a steady industry and vigilance be the principal things, they will yield more profitable fruits according as directed by better judgment and information, which being derivable from many quarters, every one may be allowed to add what lights he can to the common stock for the chance of making the road clearer in some of its bearings. There have been too many and too masterly systems of education already compiled, for me to make any improvement upon them ; yet since old things repeated in a different manner may sometimes obtain a reconsideration after having been neglected, I may attempt to remind people of what they had overlooked or forgotten, without pretending to instruct them in what they do not know. Nor do I purpose to deal so much in rules and maxims, as in suggesting the particular aims to be had in view in the application of our cares ; for having used myself as far as possible to proceed by reason rather than by rule, and seeming to have found benefit in this practice, it is natural to recommend to others what has proved beneficial to myself.

And I cannot help thinking that if the proper point of intention to be pursued upon every occasion could be discerned and borne in mind, common sense would seldom fail of directing to the proper measures for attaining it : for it is easier to see what would prevent the growth of slothfulness, intemperance, impetuosity, and squeamish delicacy, than to remember or be fully sensible of the mischiefs of those evil habits.

In order to proceed with regularity and effect, it will be requisite to have something of a plan containing an ultimate end to be proposed, together with the subordinate aims conducting thereto ; the end to be steadily adhered to throughout, but the conducting lines will admit of continual additions and alterations to be made occasionally according as there is room for any improvement, or some mischief to be remedied, or some danger to be guarded against. But I conceive, a great deal depends upon the aim and expectations with which parents set out at first, which they generally fix by much too high, yet cannot depart from until some grievous disappointment quite disconcerts, and throws them out of any aim at all. People are apt to think their children nonpareils, the sole object deserving admiration and regard, and depend upon their parts and their own sagacity for making them something extraordinary and supereminent above their equals, expecting that all things and all persons should ply to their interests and desires. By this means they miss of many advantages that might have been procured for them, as being deemed below their notice, and teach them to be selfish, conceited, unreasonable, impatient of contradiction, and fretful under disappointments.

Whereas if every man would consider that other people have their interests and desires as well as he, together with an equal right to pursue them, and believe it possible that some in the world may have apter subjects to work upon together with better skill and management to improve them than himself, he would be then more likely to discern what is attainable in this general competition, and apply his endeavors thereto without wasting them upon what is not so. For happiness, the proper ultimate aim of all our schemes, does not lie in comparison, nor is the value of it at all altered by another's possessing more or less : whoever thinks to engross it to himself and his own family will find himself defeated ; he may succeed better by aiming attentively at such share of the blessings poured out among mankind as the courses of Providence shall from time to time bring within his reach. Therefore the solid happiness of our offspring in the enjoyments of this life, and due preparation for the next, ought to be made our ultimate aim, by the tendency whereto all our other desires for them ought to

be regulated : we may laudably wish them all the good we can reasonably imagine such, but we need not wish all others to fall inferior to them therein, for that has no tendency to their benefit : for as has been shown in a former place, God has so interwoven the interests of mankind, that every one has a personal concern in the happiness of every other, nor can any be completely happy until all are so, and each man makes his own advantages more effectually, in proportion as he can contribute to those of his fellow-creatures.

Hence it appears, that to make a child useful is the ready way to make him happy, nor can the one be totally disregarded without failing of the other : therefore one part of our ultimate end to be held constantly in view ought to be the training him in such manner as may render him serviceable to the world, either by helping forward the important uses, or adding to the conveniences, or at least the entertainment of others, according as he is qualified and situated ; and even in those many points relative only to his own profit or enjoyment, yet prudence will require us to pursue them so as may render them compatible with those of other persons ; for if we think to gain an advantage for him by ways that must prove detrimental to the rest of mankind, we can never hope to succeed ; or if we should, the success will be fatal, as drawing grievous mischief after it.

A selfish, encroaching, overreaching temper, suspicion, cunning, and dissimulation are sometimes inculcated through a mistaken policy, because at first sight seeming eminently beneficial to the possessor ; but since such qualities must be troublesome and hurtful to whomsoever he has to deal with, they will turn out to his own great damage in the long run.

So that besides a conformity to the usages and characters around us to be regarded for our own sakes that we may know how to steer safely and wisely among them, it is necessary likewise to have an eye upon the conformity of interests among mankind, that we may lay our schemes as much as possible in pursuing our own, so as not to clash or interfere with those of anybody else ; not considering our families as distinct and separate bodies, but as members of the community whereto we belong, coparceners of the blessings distributed among the whole, and entitled to the best we can procure for them without prejudice to the rights of other claimants for so much as they can attain for themselves.

6. Now to obtain our end it is obvious that care must be had both of the body and of the mind, each in its due proportion to be nourished up to the highest perfection the materials nature has put into our hands are capable of, neither of them to be neglected

through an injudicious fondness for improving the other : for a constitution enfeebled by intense labor of thought, or an exuberant health without any judgment to guide it, will never make either a happy or a useful man.

As for the growth and health of the body, I shall not attempt to give directions thereupon, as being a matter whereof I have no skill ; nor do I apprehend any great skill is wanted for private persons : if there are any natural defects, or weakness, or diseases, recourse may be had to the gentlemen of the faculty ; and if there are not, the parents themselves will be sufficiently directed by their own sagacity, or the information of their friends and acquaintance, to the proper courses of management, so they be careful to pursue them ; therefore instruction is not so needful here, as admonition. They may please then to remember that the vigor and abilities of manhood is the object whereto they are continually to have respect : it is not enough to consult the present ease and accommodations of the child, to keep it plump in good liking and lively, but attention is likewise due to all methods that may strengthen the constitution, purify the blood, render the joints supple, and give it a dexterity in the use of all its limbs and organs of speech ; that no ligatures be suffered to retard the circulation, nor shoes to pinch the feet, nor anything done or omitted by which it may grow lumpish, distorted, or feeble, or be otherwise impaired to its future detriment or uneasiness.

But health and vigor cannot yield their full benefits in a tender, delicate constitution, therefore it is of great advantage to any person to have been brought up in hardiness from his childhood ; for this quality depends almost entirely upon custom, which the earlier it is begun, the easier and completer it will be acquired. If we reflect how much we suffer from winds and weathers, how much more liberty a man has and greater choice of employments and pleasures who can take up cheerfully with bad accommodations, and thrive upon any diet, we must acknowledge it a desirable thing to be able to do the like : and there are examples enow in the world that show to what degree of hardiness human nature is capable of being trained.

I do not expect that any among those who may be likely to give me the perusal will be able to breed up their children to the hardiness of a porter or highlander, nor if they were able is it fitting they should, because to do this they must inure them to a low and laborious way of living, unsuitable to the station they are to occupy hereafter, and neglect the accomplishments necessary to acquit themselves well therein ; especially the girls, in whom a want of complexion and softness of limbs might hinder their ad-

vancement. Yet it may be considered that the greatest degree of hardiness is a thing valuable in itself, and well worth the having if it could be attained without inconveniences in other respects ; and whoever bears this reflection in mind will be fond of gaining so much of it, as can be done consistently with those other respects, watching all opportunities of improving it that are practicable, or convenient in the condition of life wherein he stands.

But the greatest of all absurdities is that of teaching a child to value himself upon his tenderness and delicacy ; this is making a glory of imperfections, which he will naturally be prompted to increase by such instigation : for though in many cases they are excusable, either from defect of constitution, or the manner of living one has been necessarily accustomed to in compliance with the company one has consorted amongst, still they are imperfections. Therefore if a man cannot bear the least fatigue or hardship, nor rest a moment easy without all his conveniences and elegancies about him, though I should not presently think the worse of him upon that account, any more than I should for a broken leg or want of an eye : yet I should think it better and happier for him if he could be delivered from those weaknesses, which good nature and politeness may overlook, but folly alone can take for topics of admiration.

But there is a moderation in all things, which will restrain from forcing lads upon things beyond their natural strength, or dangers to their health : this caution is not much wanted for parents who generally transgress the other way, but young people have sometimes destroyed themselves by violent exercises, and the notion that nothing will hurt them ; they are commonly led into these dangers by their eagerness in pursuit of something striking strongly upon their fancy, which urges them to trials far beyond any they have experienced before ; nor considering that sturdiness is to be acquired gradually by an habitual practice of the methods conducive thereto, and not to be gotten at once by sudden starts whenever they have a present occasion for it. Nor is it a needless caution to time the exercise of those methods rightly, which are then most beneficial when the body is in perfect health : people sometimes when taken with some disorder or feverishness will needs just then resolve upon being stout, and doing as they did at other times, but this is fool-hardiness not bravery, which is ever consistent with discretion, and watches the proper seasons for exerting itself, nor will strive against nature when she demands an indulgence, that will take the better effect in recruiting her forces, the less she has been used to it while not wanted.

7. And to lessen the hazards of damage to the health, it will

be very material that no fund of mischief be laid in by intemperance ; for when the blood abounds in humors and foulnesses, they are easily thrown off upon some of the nobler parts where they may prove fatal ; but when the juices are pure and the circulation free, if some over-fatigue, or cold, or external accident should happen to raise a disorder, nature will soon work it off again without much trouble. She has given us appetite both for our sustenance and entertainment ; the business is to preserve appetite in that genuine state wherein she gave it, for then it will answer both purposes most effectually : but there are a thousand causes continually surrounding us from our infancy which tend to pervert and vitiate appetite by grafting unnatural cravings upon it.

When children cut their teeth, the uneasiness of the gums urges them to put everything into their mouths ; whatever they can lick or mumble from thence they swallow, especially if it have any sweet, or salt, or piquant taste that amuses them. As soon as they can run about, people are continually cramming them with cakes and sugar-plums ; when at school, the example of their companions prompts them to get all the pies, and fruit, and trash they can lay hands on ; and when they come into the world, the world is perpetually laboring by its sympathy, by its fashions, and its exhortations, to extend appetite beyond its natural compass : it is made a genteel accomplishment to have a taste for elegances, curiosities, and dainties ; variety of all kinds, the tricks of cookery, dishes of tempting fruit, and different wines, made obligatory by the jovial custom of toasts, are applied at and after meals to stimulate to excess, and even between meals people think they cannot enjoy one another's company without something to eat or drink.

I am not for breaking through prevailing customs as being a vain and unwarrantable attempt ; on the contrary, I have before laid down compliance as a virtue, and recommended a conformity with the world we live in as a principal object to be had in view in forming our schemes ; therefore I would not wish any man to resolve upon never eating but when he is hungry, nor taking a bit more than nature requires ; for as the world goes, and as he himself has been accustomed, he would by so doing lose more than half the comforts of society, and half the pleasures of life. My purpose is only to remind parents of the dangers hanging over their children from the cradle, that they may use their vigilance to guard against the mischiefs of them from the very first, to beware of laying temptations in their way, to inculcate a love of sobriety as a valuable quality, to make a point of honor in having the command of their cravings, and to teach them the difference between



compliance and feebleness of temper, drawn any way by the slightest attraction without consent of the will.

I know it is impossible to keep appetite from ever transgressing bounds, and therefore there is the more need of care and contrivance to restrain it within bounds so far as is practicable, that it may never make excursions of itself beyond what the due compliance with modes and customs have rendered unavoidable. It seems a desirable thing if it were feasible to find playthings or other amusements for children, but never give them anything to eat merely by way of entertainment when not wanted for their support or health: one must not expect this regimen can be followed rigorously, but it will be prudent to approach as near to it, and deal out those amusements of the taste as sparingly as possible.

I have indeed said just now, that nature gives us appetite for our entertainment as well as for our sustenance; and when we reflect on the continual return of her calls three times every day, it will be found that no inconsiderable part in the enjoyment of life consists in eating: but to have it a real entertainment we must not take pains to make it such, for there is no sauce like hunger, and whatever contrivances we practise to supply its place lose us more pleasure than they give. Pleasure shows her coquetish disposition more in this article than any other; while we remain indifferent to her she will court us daily of her own accord, but if we betray an eagerness for her favors, she will turn her back upon us, and allow us no more of them than we can extort from her by arts and contrivances, which must be perpetually varied to obtain even a momentary delight. Nor will she suffer us to return without much difficulty to our former tranquil state, for people by frequent cramming stretch their stomach beyond its natural tone which then will crave more than it can digest; so that if afterwards they would learn moderation, they cannot, but still eat too much without knowing it, because having corrupted that guide which ought to set the bounds, they have no rule to ascertain when the call of nature is satisfied.

8. There is likewise an intemperance of sleep very necessary to be guarded against, because extremely apt to creep upon young people, especially in this cold climate where it gives a smart pain to jump out of a warm bed into the winter air: therefore this is a piece of hardness which cannot be inculcated too early by all the means conducive thereto, whether advice, injunction, or shame. While under the eye of parents and masters, they may be kept constantly to a certain hour, which will make it the easier for them to persevere afterwards, when gotten from under that control: if

no disorder or accident intervene, they will need no more than one nap which custom will have brought to terminate of itself just at the usual hour; and then if they turn upon the other ear to take a second, they should be taught to look upon it as an intemperance, not at all redounding to their credit. But this second nap is not so bad as lying awake, than which nothing tends more to foul the blood, to sharpen the juices, to exhaust the spirits, to unbrace the solids, to heat the blood, to stupefy the understanding, to destroy hardiness and produce other inconveniences of very mischievous consequence. Let them seek their amusements elsewhere, but reserve the bed as a place appropriated to sleep and sickness: for if it were possible to live without either of those suspensions of the enjoyments in life, nobody would ever think of making a bed a part of his furniture.

A regularity of hours, so far as is practicable, deserves adherence in this article, and so it does in the article of eating, and all other calls of Nature, who may be gently bent into any course by Custom, her second self, but cannot be suddenly put out of the ways she has been inured to, without great stress upon her forces and hazard of impairing them, nor can she move so vigorously and easily as when having some steady course to proceed in: for the human machine, as well as a watch, will be spoiled by perpetually setting forwards and backwards, by hurrying on, or stopping, or disturbing its movements.

I know there are some professions which require a frequent departure from rules, and every man may sometimes find occasions wherein it will be expedient and necessary to deviate a little; therefore where there is anything of this sort in view, it will be prudent to prepare nature for such deviations by practising them beforehand, that she may receive the less shock from them when they become necessary. For a pliancy to necessity and expedience is both commendable and profitable, nor would I have a man so hedged into his own ways, that he should be unable to stir an inch to the right or left upon any consideration; but though he may be ready to make an excursion upon good reason, he need never suffer himself to be put out of his course by any humor, or carelessness, or indolence, but adhere steadily to it so far as his station in life and the circumstances of his situation shall render feasible and convenient.

But it will be very difficult to get a man from his pillow till he is quite tired of it, if he has nothing to do when he is up; for he will be apt to think that if he must be idle, he may as well be idle a-bed as elsewhere; I do not say this is a good reason, but it will certainly weigh as such: thus Sloth is the child of Idleness, con-

tinually nourished by it, and would die away of itself if the latter could be removed. Therefore it would be of great benefit to young people to contrive if possible, that they should always have some employment to turn to immediately upon rising, some task enjoined which if they despatch early they shall have the more time allowed them afterwards for their own amusements ; or, which is better, something to their liking that they may apply to with pleasure, and will start foremost in their thoughts as soon as awake. For where inclination can be pressed into the service, it will do its business more effectually than fear or authority, and will continue to operate afterwards when they are gotten from under the verge of authority : for having experienced the benefit of this management, they may be induced to practise the like upon themselves, and choose something every night for which they find an eagerness, either work or diversion, sometimes one and sometimes the other, for their first morning employment.

Nor is it enough to restrain sleep within due bounds, if the waking hours be suffered to dream away in a torpid indolence not much different from sleep : it is of great service even to the health to cultivate a spirit of activity, continually exerting itself in some exercise, either of body or mind. The former is more necessary for the animal machine, and for that reason deserves to be particularly regarded for such as are destined to follow some sedentary profession, that they may be inured by early custom never to sit still with their hands before them in the intervals of business, but to move briskly in their common actions, and daily to practise such recreations as may keep the circulation to its proper flow, and prevent ill humors from gathering in the blood.

Yet an activity of mind too is not useless to the body, there being such an intimate connection between the grosser and finer organizations, that irregularities in the one will not fail to produce their like in the other : there are some who love to sit in a corner, building castles in the air, musing upon improbabilities soothing to their fancy, and wishes of what can never happen, or perhaps upon something that has vexed them, or the imaginary dread of mischiefs never likely to befall : though this may seem an intenseness of thought wherein the mind is rather too busy than too remiss, it is in reality not an activity, but passiveness bound down to an object rising mechanically in the imagination. Tempers of this cast have a perpetual listlessness and dilatoriness ; they apply to nothing readily, they do nothing currently, but want to put off everything another minute, even their meals, their diversions, and their beloved nightly repose. Such stagnation of thought, become habitual, must inevitably introduce a like stagnation of the

vital juices, fret and waste the spirits, generate fearfulness and melancholy, and impair the health more than will easily be imagined.

This mischief then deserves an early attention to obviate, the more because difficult to be discovered in its beginnings, for we cannot penetrate into the thoughts to see what passes there: but before grown inveterate, it will show itself in the actions, or rather in the inertness of disposition, and then no time should be lost to cure it, nor any means omitted that can be devised to teach children to find an issue for their thoughts by running them in current trains, and to take pleasure in making good despatch of everything, as well in their tasks as their amusements.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgot, that there is a contrary extreme, which urges to make more haste than good speed, a continual hurry and agitation never satisfied but when in motion, an impatience to do things before the proper time, and eagerness to despatch them at once by a violent exertion, an over solicitude for the success of measures and a vexation upon any rub happening to fall in their way. This temper likewise is unfavorable to the health, for mischief will ensue upon precipitating the circulation of blood and animal spirits, as well as upon retarding it; a calm and steady alertness flowing in one uniform tenor, always brisk and lively, never anxious nor trepidating, is the desirable point to be pursued. Therefore we must so labor to cure one evil as not to incur another, and keep an eye upon Scylla while we endeavor to steer clear of Charybdis. I know it is a difficult matter, perhaps impossible to hit exactly the golden mean, but we shall come the nearer by being apprised of the dangers on either hand; though I think the former is the greater, the more frequently fallen into, and harder to be cured. The best can be done must be by diligence in watching the approaches of either, and applying the proper remedy as soon as they are perceived.

9. Thus much for the body, which in earliest infancy requires more attention than the mind; but the latter will soon demand a preference, and may be begun upon even in the first year of life, by helping the little faculties to open, and laying the foundation of that most valuable quality which will stand them in stead ever after, I mean, a pliancy of desire. For children naturally cry for what they want, but it is of greater importance than nurses and mothers are willing to own, to let them never extort anything by this means, yet not to refuse them roughly or with an angry countenance, but smiling, and amusing them with something else, sometimes even taking away their playthings in like manner; for this practice will save them a great deal of trouble at other times, when

they happen, as they frequently will do, to catch up things that would hurt them, which then you must take away : for discipline cannot be begun too early, provided it be done gently but steadily without intervals of remissness.

The same reason will direct to prevent the constant presence of their nurses from becoming necessary to them, that they may bear at any time to see them go out of the room and be left contentedly in other people's hands, more especially your own ; for you cannot be too early in gaining their acquaintance and liking, of which you may make excellent use for their benefit. If little hurts or dangers befall, never set up an outcry, for that will frighten them, but try to jest it off, for though they cannot enter into your jest, they will be kept in humor by the pleasantness of your looks and gestures. When in pain with their teeth or otherwise, give them all the relief and ease you can, but do not bemoan them nor put on a disconsolate woful countenance, which would teach them to double the evil by grieving it : sympathy catches sooner than commonly taken notice of, and indeed is the only language intelligible to children, therefore you had need be very cautious what ideas you convey by this channel : as pains and troubles accompany every state of life, it is of great advantage for the infant mind to be inured to bear them easily.

Playthings will be readily admitted, because everybody sees they divert the child, but present amusement is not the sole object I would have in view ; wherefore I should choose such as have some movements belonging to them, will take to pieces, and bear being banged about without breaking : for they will serve best to exercise their little limbs and sagacity, which you may assist by gradually showing him how to manage them in proportion as he is capable of imitating you. Nor need you always resort to the shops for materials, a little hammer, a coffee-mill, or the bell trigger will do to show him how they are to be used, or your penknife sheath for him to pull open and shut again. I have sometimes tried to throw a napkin over their heads, thrust a plaything into their sleeve, or put them under some little difficulty from which they can extricate themselves : the women always interpose immediately upon those occasions, which I conceive tends to make the child helpless, and dependent upon others for its relief in every trifling instance ; but my view is to teach him to help himself, and struggle with difficulties of which he will meet with numbers when he comes into the wide world : but then care must be taken not to tease him in these experiments, which therefore I would never suffer to be practised upon him by other children, if there are any bigger in the house.

You may likewise lay him upon the ground to sprawl about as he can ; if you are afraid of daubing his frock, you may spread a sheet for him to crawl upon, and if that be too fine to touch the filthy carpet you may lay a coarser between : when he is tired do not take him up instantly, but let him wait till the second or third call. Many little devices may be thought of to put him upon striving for himself and acquiring a dexterity in the use of his hands and his feet, nor perhaps would it be useless if he were taught to make a variety of noises instead of squalling perpetually in the same note, as this might give him a better command over the muscles of his mouth when he comes to learn articulate sounds, and help to prevent lisping, stammering, and other such like imperfections : for every organ of the machine, the earlier and the more various play it is inured to, the more pliant it will be, and the easier to be managed.

10. When the child can run alone, and prattle, the faculties begin to spread and afford a little larger scope for improving them : care will then be wanting to make him speak plain, to pronounce words of similar sound distinctly, to understand the difference between those of the same sound, and to know the meaning of what he says. When he comes to read there will be a difficulty to prevent his getting into a tone, which everybody learns more or less at first, and not one in a thousand can wholly get rid of, all their lives after. The most likely way to avoid or to cure it, seems to be by writing down some sentences that you may have used yourself or should be likely to use upon particular occasions in common discourse, in joking and merriment, in anger, in expostulation, in importuning, in compassionating, in telling a story, in relating an historical fact, in describing something grand, magnificent or surprising : and teaching him to read them exactly in the same manner as you spoke them : for by this means he may learn the natural emphasis and inflections of voice belonging to the several styles, the familiar, the humorous, the pathetic, the narrative, and the sublime.

The object now to be had in view will be to encourage the growth of his faculties, to whet his sagacity, and begin to store his mind with such little sparks of knowledge as he is capable of receiving : for which purpose it will be expedient to gain his confidence and friendship, that he may apply to you of his own accord, not be uneasy in your company, nor want to get away among the servants, that he may have no scruple of telling you what he has been doing when out of sight, nor stand under perpetual dread of your displeasure. Yet it will be necessary to preserve in him a dependence and reverence, which you may

better do by steadiness than sternness, not perpetually constraining him in his motions nor interrupting his plays, but rather assisting his contrivance in the prosecution of them : laying as few commands as possible, but always enforcing those you do lay with a peremptory mildness, and so far as feasible pointing out the reasons and expedience of them. If correction be needful it must not be administered in anger, nor without an expression of unwillingness, and showing the necessity of it for prevention of worse consequences.

When he plies you with questions do not discourage him, for curiosity well turned is the main spring of knowledge : he will probably ask more than you have skill to answer ; if this be the case, acknowledge it honestly, and do not save your own credit by chiding or laughing at him for his impertinence ; if the thing be above his comprehension, or not proper to be known, or too trifling to deserve pains, show him that calmly ; if none of these obstacles interfere, explain the matter clearly to his capacity, or which is better, where it can be done, follow Socrates' method by leading him dexterously to find out the proper answer for himself.

As this business of dealing with a child's curiosity is a very difficult point to manage, it will be well worth the parent's while to study it as a science, and prepare himself beforehand for the exercise : for by this way you may instil more instruction than by precept or document, because while you give the child lessons perhaps his head is running a woolgathering, so that not a word of them sticks, but when asking questions his attention is open, and nothing of what you can pour will run over. There is the like advantage in employing little plays, feats of dexterity, tricks upon cards, bits of paper to be disposed in different figures, prints, stories, riddles, and such like, for whetting his ingenuity : nor will it be useless sometimes to criticize his expressions and try to puzzle him, provided the attack be no greater than he can defend himself against, or that you help him out if he be gravelled ; for then he will not be disheartened by it, but learn to speak warily, correctly, expressively, and pertinently, and to think of what he says.

But everything is not to be made a play of, either in childhood or maturity of age, for those who resolve to live a whole life of amusement are the most useless, and generally the most unhappy of mortals : therefore one principal view must be to inure him early to something of task and discipline, to train him gradually to bear close application : and so far to consult his ease, as it can be procured by giving him a taste for work, by teaching him despatch in it, and inspiring him with an ardor for the proficiency to be

attained by it: for the surest road to ease and pleasure is not by flying labor, but by learning to take delight in so much as the health and forces will bear.

Nevertheless, different subjects require very different management, which makes it behoveful to observe carefully the talents and disposition of the child, that you may know what he is capable of, and which way his genius points, what irregularities he is liable to, and provide against them in time, whether he be rash or timorous, impetuous or sluggish, to improve nature where she is favorable, and amend her where she is deficient, to form the behavior in conversing among strangers, that it may be clear both of rudeness and bashfulness.

Regard should likewise be had to the profession or way of life he is intended to follow, that he may have such sentiments inculcated, and be accustomed to such courses of employment, as are suitable or preparatory thereto. A habit of keeping account of expenses, and readiness and plainness of style in epistolary correspondence will be serviceable in almost all stations: it is of more importance to be regular than minute in the former, and in the latter to be clear, easy, and lively than to be witty, or if this be aimed at, it is better hit by the practice of catching such diverting thoughts as occur, than by pumping for them. This caution of accommodating the first years of life to those which are to follow, seems particularly needful for gentlemen who design their younger children for trades or occupations wherein they are to get their livelihood; for without very prudent management, the elegances, the superfluities, and round of pleasures they are suffered to partake in at home, will utterly incapacitate them for a life of parsimony and application to business.

For lads intending to go upon the line of learning, it has been disputed whether a school or a private tutor be more eligible; the discussion of this point seems needless for general use because few can afford the latter, and perhaps there are some parents from whose example and manner of living little good is to be gotten at home, so they had better put their children into other hands. Where there is a robust constitution, good principles well riveted, and a sturdiness of temper not easily wound about by the incitements of a companion, I conceive a large school may be best; but if the frame be tender, the inclinations suspicious, or the mind too flexible by any impulse, I should prefer a small one, because there he may be more narrowly observed.

When delivered up to the master, things must be left to his management, for it would be presumptuous to teach a professor anything in his own science; yet I may offer by way of Query,



whether it would not be better to exercise children's memory upon things, more than upon words, and instead of those burdensome tasks usually set them upon repetition days, which seem needful only to qualify them for stage players, to put them upon repeating the substance of what lessons they have learned the week before, preserving some remarkable words and turns of expression, or passages which have a particular beauty or energy. And likewise whether among the Theses given to declaim upon, it might not be profitable sometimes to choose those wherein the boys will be heartily interested, in order to assimilate their exercises as near as possible to the real business of life ; such as whether law, divinity, physic, the army, the sea, merchandise or trade be the more eligible profession, and for what characters, and to persons in what situation of circumstances : what are the advantages or conveniences of the county each boy belongs to, whether cricket or prison-bar, shuttle-cock or trap-ball be the better amusement : why holidays are expedient, and what proportion of them is most suitable.

If they have had disputes among one another, or entertained any favorite notion either on morality, behavior, politics, nature, dress, pleasure, elegance, or other subject, each may be set to support his own by an exercise : and many times several exercises may be branched out from one beginning, for it is common in disputation for one point to generate another. But whatever topic they maintain, it is expedient they should be used to employ such arguments only as really weigh with themselves, for the common way of filling up a page with a flow of plausible words, imitated from books, perhaps without having ever comprehended the force and pertinence of them in the originals, can teach them at best only to amuse or silence a gainsayer, but will never help to affect or convince anybody. I know it is necessary upon many occasions in life to use arguments to the man which you do not feel the force of yourself, but then they ought always to be such as you should be willing to act upon, if you were of his sentiments in other respects. This practice of addressing to the ear rather than to the heart or the understanding, is I conceive the occasion of so much emptiness and superfluity abounding in the discourses of mankind, and that they work so little upon one another in their conferences ; and what is worse, leads them to deceive themselves by concealing from them the true motives of their actions, and palming upon them for such, whatever false coloring occurs, that might pass for a justification.

Nevertheless, a school is not to be depended upon for everything ; sound principles of morality, discretion, and common pru-

dence, good manners, and politeness, and knowledge of the world are not to be expected from thence ; if the master be well skilled in all these matters, of which there is a great chance, he will not have leisure nor opportunity to teach them : therefore it is incumbent upon the parent to lay the foundation well beforehand, to improve the growth of them, and correct errors that have insinuated from time to time, as it is presumed the boy will come home at breakings up.

If the parent have still retained the confidence of his child, so as to be regarded in the light of his best friend and counsellor, he may get from him an ingenuous account of the characters and behavior of his school-fellows, together with his own transactions among them, and instruct him how to manage with them so as neither to impose nor be imposed upon, to practise art and reserve for self-defence, but never for overreaching ; to be neither tame nor quarrelsome, to preserve a spirit of charity, of honor, of equity, and decorum in all his dealings, even his squabbles and contentions, to extricate himself out of difficulties, to escape anxiety in competitions, to bear hardships contentedly that cannot be remedied, and rest easy under disappointments ; thereby qualifying him to bustle hereafter through a turbulent and contentious world. He may draw off his observation from external appearances to the qualities and disposition of the mind, and teach him to judge of persons not as children ordinarily do, by the color of the eyes, features of the face, make of the limbs, gestures or tones of voice, for this will preserve him from fantastic likings and aversions, and prove of signal service to him in his intercourse with mankind, especially when he comes to think of the girls. To which improvements it may not be too trifling to add that of teaching him a good seat upon a horse, which a boy may easily learn, but a man never can, though he may often regret the want of it both for his uses and his pleasures.

12. The morals of a child cannot be begun upon too early, and the corner-stone of our building must be laid in Prudence ; this then is the ground-work from whence all other strokes in forming his character are to branch out. But to prevent mistakes arising from the uncertainty of language, wherein we are forced to use our words in different senses upon several occasions, I must give notice that Prudence here is not to be understood of a sagacity and penetration of judgment or improvement of the faculties, of which something has been already mentioned in the foregoing sections. For these are indeed desirable things but no part of the moral character ; and so are a clear eye, a good ear, a sound digestion desirable things, yet nobody ever ranked them among the virtues.

Prudence then considered as a virtue, is nothing more than a quick sensibility and readiness of apprehending distant pleasure and pain in equally strong colors with the present : and this is the root from which all the other virtues, as well moral as theological, grow ; for what is fortitude, temperance, and justice, but Prudence under pains and dangers, allurements of appetite and impulses of self-interest ? What influence can Faith in the divine attributes have upon him, who cares for nothing beyond the enjoyments of sense ? how can Hope find any room to operate, where the desires are wholly centered in the present moment ? or what inducement has he, in whom they are so centered, to Charity, when he can make a present advantage by doing some great damage to his neighbor ? But this ground-work of morality is not given immediately by nature, she only opens the passages from whence it may be drawn forth by careful cultivation : the appetites and desires shooting up spontaneously carry the thoughts a little beyond present sensation ; the business then is to watch their growth, to check their luxuriations, and conduct them gently by practicable steps to reach the most distant futurity, for their ministry we must employ to attain our important purposes.

But we must not attempt to make large strides at once, for children are incapable of extending their concern to any length of time ; next week is an age to them, their appetites and desires fasten upon gratifications near at hand, their fears and aversions are touched with mischiefs apprehended just impending over them, and those impulses may be skillfully turned into such courses from whence a further good progress may be made afterwards. Pleasure is their first sole allurements and most constant motive of action, from whence in a little time will grow a regard to use, and then to honor, by proper management in making them observe the subserviency of useful things to their pleasures, and the advantage of estimation for obtaining a supply of their wants.

The first use they will be sensible of is that of having the assistance of their parents, and their first ambition to stand well in their good graces, for they very soon begin to know when they have their friends about them, and receive encouragement from plauditory gestures or tones of voice, before they can understand your words. This propensity then deserves to be cultivated, and that care be taken to lead them into the proper measures by which the object of it is to be attained ; nor ever encourage them in things which you must break them of afterwards, but rather in such whereof you foresee a good use may be made another time. Yet it is a very imperfect idea they can have of use, while depending altogether upon the help of others for every trifle they want : there-

fore it deserves to be made your constant aim to lead them into the way of helping themselves, to teach them the uses of their little powers, and engage them to provide for the amusements of the next hour, or the next day ; stretching their views still further and further, as you find they can be extended, and making them observe the benefits they reap from the former cares, or any little skill they have taken pains to acquire, in order to encourage them to repeat the like again. By this means they may be brought into a desire of things and accomplishments useful without prospect of the particular pleasures to result therefrom : and they may be said to have made a beginning in the progress towards Prudence by having a concern for objects not immediately touching their senses.

The desire of being in good credit with you may with proper management by help of sympathy and exhortations judiciously applied, be transferred upon the practices the child sees conducive to gain it ; and it is very material this translation should be made completely, for it will furnish him with a moral sense, make him be touched with things laudable and blameable, feeling a self-satisfaction in the one, and a compunction on falling into the other. He will then regard things not solely as pleasant or disgustful, but as right or wrong, and have a guidance of his own to keep him steady when your eye is not over him, which is a necessary provision for his future safeguard. For he must, some time or other, go from under your hands to act for himself, and the earlier he can be trained and gradually prepared to do this, he will be the more expert afterwards. But great care is requisite to fix the moral sense and the idea of usefulness upon proper objects, for in proportion as you can do this, you need only give directions, but may trust to the child himself for the execution ; and it will be both beneficial and encouraging to trust him so far as you can safely, for liberty is the great privilege as well as the great danger of human nature, nor can there be a more useful science, especially in this country so fertile and even luxuriant of liberty, than to know how to use it well, so that it may prove a real blessing, unalloyed by the mischiefs consequent upon the abuse of it.

13. I have laid down in former Chapters that honor grows from use, and is there best deserved where it may be most usefully applied : for though all useful things do not gain honor, yet it belongs of right to none that are not nearly, or remotely so. If a lad makes a clever declamation upon the exit of Cato at Utica, it may be of no importance now-a-days to have that point well discussed, but the ingenuity with which he has handled it may be of great service to himself, and the world too, by enabling him to

manage other points of moment ; therefore he deserves applause, because it will be useful as an incentive to diligence in exercising his ingenuity.

I apprehend it very material to inure him to bear in mind this reference of honor to use, because it will direct to fix the sense of it upon the proper objects ; for this sense is not innate nor distinguishes its objects naturally, like the eye and ear, but learned by instruction and sympathy, and may be turned, and frequently is turned upon very different and opposite objects, one man utterly despising what another values himself highly upon. Hence it appears that applause ought never to be bestowed wantonly, nor for the mere present amusement of yourself or your child, for it is an excellent engine for working upon the human machine, too precious to be employed upon trifles : the business then is to consider what courses are most conducive to his future enjoyment and happiness, or to render him serviceable to the world, and to place the point of honor upon those, especially if you find he has no other incitements to pursue them, or there is some inclination drawing strongly the contrary way ; for the great use of honor is to raise an ardor for things indifferent before, and overcome the opposition of indolence, appetite, and passion ; what we stand already inclined to do, or clearly discern the use of towards procuring something we ardently desire, needs no further stimulus to provoke us.

There are some measures of conduct universally beneficial in all stations of life, therefore they deserve the incitement of praise in proportion as wanted : but some are more particularly needful for several professions, as the soldier, the scholar, the merchant, the mechanic, the gentleman, the statesman ; therefore regard must be had to the way of life wherein your child is likely to be engaged, and his self-approbation directed to those sentiments and qualifications, which will stand him in most stead therein. When you have pitched upon what things are laudable, and settled the degree of excellence among them, great care is requisite to keep the moral sense attentive to the things themselves, and from running into a comparison of persons, that there may be a strong desire of excellence, but none of excelling. You may with good profit set examples of laudable qualities before a young person's eyes, in order to give him a livelier idea of them ; but you may inspire him with an ardor of acquiring the like benefit and pleasure of possessing them, without thought of rivalry or superiority over the person who has them.

This I take to be very important, and at the same time a very difficult point to hit, the two desires being so generally confounded together in men's minds, and the one so very apt to degenerate

into the other. The examples and discourses of the world, the necessity of rivalry frequently occurring in cases where there are many competitors for a prize which one only can obtain, contribute to fix the idea of excellence in that of surpassing others, so that it is become a nice distinction, which few can readily enter into, to separate them. One can scarce find expressions of applause or exhortation, that do not convey something of comparison or rivalry to the imagination ; and it is generally insisted on, that you cannot raise a sense of honor unless by first raising a spirit of emulation and eminence in some quality or other. This perhaps may be true as the world goes, though I apprehend it possible in theory to manage otherwise ; but if you find it impracticable to gain your point without this expedient, still it will be advisable to employ it sparingly, not a jot further than absolutely necessary, endeavoring to turn the sense of honor upon things laudable in themselves, that is, upon such as may appear so without reference to anybody else possessing them in a higher or lower degree.

Since then there is such perpetual danger from all quarters of having the moral sense warped to a false direction, and we ourselves are so apt to mislead it insensibly when we think of nothing less, there will need all our vigilance, contrivance, and industry, to keep it steady in a right course, as being a matter of the utmost consequence. For how much soever the desire of excellence and that of excelling be blended together, so as to form one and the same idea in most people's apprehension, they are shown manifestly different by the contrary consequences they produce, as a tree is known by its fruits. From the fondness for excelling naturally grow vanity, pride, ambition, jealousy, envy, contention, calumny, petulance, and selfishness ; Charity can never bear ingrafting upon this stock, for the man whose passion lies in surpassing, has a separate interest from that of all mankind, whom he must look upon with an eye of envy, rivalry, and contempt, and therefore can never heartily love them.

On the contrary, a glowing ardor for things excellent is the great incentive and cherisher of all the virtues, and all valuable accomplishments ; for though virtue be profitable, the profit of it generally lies too remote to be discerned, or to touch us sensibly, but it is the self-approbation accompanying that carries us briskly on the progress, and renders the exercises of it a present reward. Where there is a true love of excellence, there prudence, discretion, diligence, charity, equity will be readily entertained, as things supremely excellent ; whatever is so in any degree will appear proportionably amiable in our eyes wherever found, so that we shall rejoice

to behold, and stand ever ready to increase it in others, as well as in ourselves. We shall regard the necessary competitions and contentions, and contrary attractions of the world around us as so many trials and temptations, sent to exercise this principal virtue, using all our skill and diligence to manage among them, so as that it may gather strength by the opposition.

14. Nothing contributes so much to inspire the love of excelling as an opinion of excelling, which grows up almost unavoidably in children from the manner of their being treated; they see the parents anxious for their welfare, the family contriving to divert them, the visitors obliging, and the servants obsequious, all the cares and all the thoughts they can take notice of are wholly centered upon themselves; from hence if good care be not taken, they will slide insensibly into a notion of their being the sole object worthy regard, which being riveted in them by continually humoring, when they come out into the world they will still conceit themselves precious creatures, become partial, overbearing, and unsympathizing, expect all the world should bend to their humors, and regard every minute failure therein as an insupportable injury.

In order to obviate this mischief, which will sprout up naturally unless timely checked, it will be expedient in the first place, where there are several children to preserve an exact impartiality in your dealings between them, making them sensible of one another's rights, and ready to allow one another's claims; then to let them see that you have other cares upon your hands wherein they have no concern, that other people have their several interests with an equal right to pursue them, and inure them gradually to entertain a sentiment of justice even towards strangers, and persons they do not like. It will be necessary to keep them from consorting with low company, not by giving them a contempt, but by representing that they will learn thereby a behavior and language unsuitable to themselves, though very proper and becoming for persons who are to live and labor in a cottage: for you may point out the different qualifications requisite for different ways of life, without dwelling upon the superiority of one above another. But especially beware of servants instilling the prodigious importance of master or miss beyond all others of their inches, which they will be apt to do through mere indiscretion or ignorance: you may soon discover this by the prattle of the children, who love to repeat what they hear, and then your helping hand will be wanting to apply the proper remedy.

Nevertheless, together with a concern for the rights of other persons, you must not omit to lead them into a wariness and stea-

diness in the maintenance of their own : and that they may more willingly receive your instructions, apprize them to expect frequent opposition in the world, as well from the unreasonableness of some, as the misapprehensions of others, that they may strive to ward off the mischiefs of both by their sagacity and resolution, rather than by anger or fretting, which would contribute nothing to help them. As you find them capable, teach them to observe the difference of characters both on the good and bad side; for there is a mixture in all men, as also a secret bias making them partial to their own interests and desires without knowing it, this therefore they must guard against even in their friends, yet without taking distaste against them for a human infirmity : nor must they be hasty or violent either in their friendships or aversions, yet not prone to suspicion, but keeping their eyes open, nor ever giving themselves up to an implicit confidence in any.

15. The branches of learning chosen to put them upon, must be regulated by their genius and capacities, by the opportunities you have of improving them, and the particular station of life whereto they are destined : remembering to cultivate those most carefully which will serve the important uses of life, and teaching to place their credit on making a progress therein, regarding such as will be useful to them for their general commerce in the world, as well as for their private occupations. For courses of life requiring much application of thought, I conceive a little mathematics will be eminently serviceable, because nothing helps so much to closeness of attention, exactness of observation, clearness of reasoning, and acuteness in finding out the minute steps by which one truth introduces another. To which by way of counterpoise may be joined history, biography, and whatever lets one into the knowledge of men, manners, and usages ; because this will enable them to render abstraction visible, and the discoveries of speculation applicable to the real uses of life.

Nevertheless the ornamental accomplishments, so far as there is room for them without breaking in upon the others, deserve not to be neglected, for they have their uses too. They furnish engagement for the time, filling up the spaces which otherwise would be worse employed ; they find matter for the judgment to work upon, exercise the faculties, and keep them steady to one regular pursuit ; they procure credit to the possessor, make men sociable by being able to give mutual entertainment, and thereby introduce opportunities of doing one another more important service by bringing them into better confidence and knowledge of their reciprocal wants. Though they terminate only in pleasure, yet the amusements of life when to be had without an after reckon-



ing, are an object well worthy the striving for : but having entertainment only for their object, they can be ranked no higher than as manly playthings, therefore no man is entitled to claim a merit upon his being a connoisseur, or having an exquisite taste in any of the polite arts, unless so far as he esteems it meritorious that he does not still continue a child : and it may be observed that those who do make a merit of them, are always infected with a strong tincture of the desire of excelling.

Nevertheless, if this notion of merit can be kept clear of, they will approach nearer to something of real merit, and may claim a resemblance with virtue herself : for as virtue ever prefers the most general and most durable good, so these sciences of pleasure conduct to the most general and most durable entertainment. Every simpleton knows what he likes now, but the man of taste alone can tell him what he shall like by and by, and what other folks will like. If you build a house or lay out a garden upon your own fancy, you may be prodigiously delighted with it while new, yet in a little time disgusted with some blemishes, or find some inconveniences you did not think of ; but apply to the connoisseur, and he will choose you a situation and give you a plan that you shall never be tired of, nor meet with any who do not behold it with approbation and pleasure. Besides, as imagination is capable of acquiring many more tastes than nature gave her, it requires art to know beforehand, and conduct her into what tastes will afford the strongest and most sensible relish.

Let it be remembered, notwithstanding, that those arts are not expedient for everybody : many a young tradesman has been ruined by his taste for elegance, and many a young lawyer spoilt by an exquisite judgment, or the opinion of it, in poetry and dramatic performances : therefore they are very dangerous to people in business who do not want engagement for their time in the duties of their profession, from which those other engagements would prove a fatal avocation. Lads intended to get their own livelihood had better be kept close to the science of doing that, and serving the public therein, than permitted to study the science of pleasure.

16. You cannot be too careful to study their tempers in order to take the full benefit of a promptitude to anything commendable, and to rectify whatever you find amiss : if they be sly, cunning, and crafty, to inculcate openness and sincerity ; if careless, to teach them caution ; if sluggish, to spur up their activity ; if impetuous, to moderate their ardor ; if obstinate, to bring them flexible by methods, the gentler that will do, the better : if volatile, to fix them in some steadiness. Nor can you be too vigilant

to watch the sprouting of evil weeds that may start up in them from time to time ; if you perceive them inclinable to lying, tricking, drinking, gaming, wastefulness, contemptuousness, envy, or spite, those evil weeds must be nipt in the bud, or it will be too late to apply a remedy when they are grown inveterate ; for it is too true a proverb, that what is bred in the bone will never out of the flesh ; therefore the malady must be cured early, before it penetrates to the bone.

There is one thing very needful to be well guarded, and that is the purity of their manners and sentiments ; this is the more difficult to secure, because you cannot caution them particularly what to avoid without suggesting and perhaps raising incentives to the means of offence. The only method is by guarding all the avenues leading remotely thereto, without letting them see the reasons of your caution, by making them leave their pillow as soon as awake, finding them constant employment either of task or play, and keeping them out of company that might be dangerous or indiscreet. Nor is it enough to prevent the rise of evil motions in the heart, without attending likewise to check the luxuriations of the good, for they may become evil too by their excess : desire or affection is the great spring of our movements, without which we could make no progress in any course, nor find a preference in one thing above another ; but desire too much fostered is apt to corrupt into a passion which differs from it only in degree of vehemence, for passion is nothing else than an extravagant desire. Therefore it is highly expedient to observe the growth of inclination, that it may never rise above its pitch, and for that purpose to cultivate as great variety of them as you can, that they may moderate and balance one another : for the more objects we can affect the larger scope we shall have for gratification, and the choice of them will lie more under the control of reason and discipline.

But passions can never be numerous because they engross so much of the mind as to leave but little room for competitors, and for one gratification they meet with, they lose us a thousand others which must all be sacrificed to their interests : for a man under impulse of any passion cares for nothing else, nor can turn his hand with relish to anything that does not immediately coincide therewith ; a young lad deeply smitten retains no gust of his former diversions ; neglected Tray and Pointer lie, and coveys unmolested fly. Therefore if you perceive an uncommon eagerness rising in a child, endeavor to stop it forthwith, not by direct contradiction unless when you can find no means of diverting his thoughts some other way.

The like with what has been said of desire, may be applied to dislike and aversion, which always contains a desire of avoiding the object disgusting, and will degenerate sooner into a passion, because evil strikes stronger upon the apprehension than good, and when both accost together, the bitter of the one quite evaporates the sweetness of the other. The most common and most pernicious of the repulsive passions that urge the mind to fly their object is fear, which is an excess of caution corrupting that salutary quality into an arrant poison : for caution is the basis of judgment, the prime ingredient of prudence, the harbinger of confidence, the monitor in dangers, and safeguard in pleasures ; but fear enervates the powers, confuses the understanding, and proves a continual torment so long as it operates. Therefore inure your child to be as cautious and circumspect in all his proceedings as the briskness of his spirits will bear, but strive with all your skill to keep him clear from fears of every kind, whether the religious, the political, those relating to life, or health, or fortune, or pain, or disgrace, and all fantastical terrors of which there are more among mankind than one can well enumerate.

You will find it necessary to preserve an awe of yourself over him, yet this awe though binding upon him to do things he does not like, may be distinguished from fear, for there is a real difference between fear and obligation. A man obliged by appointment to meet somewhere upon a party of pleasure, if you ask him to go elsewhere will excuse himself upon that account, yet fear and terror have no share in the motive that sways him to refuse you : so you may inure the child to regard your injunctions as obligatory without seeing anything terrible in the breach of them, and bring him into an habitual unwillingness to incur your displeasure, without once thinking of the consequences that might ensue thereupon.

17. But all your cares will be of little avail unless you assist them to take effect by your example, setting before the child a pattern of those good qualities you exhort him to learn ; for children are extremely imitative, observant of every little word and motion, and turn of countenance, and way of acting open to their notice : and I am apt to think their future character depends more upon what sentiments and manners of proceeding they catch inadvertently, than upon what is generally comprehended under the term Education ; nor would I pronounce it impossible, that children might be led into all kinds of knowledge and useful science by a regular, industrious, judicious conduct of all persons about them, without other aid than such instructions to their ignorance as they would apply for of their own accord. How much soever

this notion may seem romantic, certainly a great deal may be done by that influence and by expression of our own sentiments concerning things laudable or useful without addressing to them in the way of document, or by sight of the measures and methods we take in our own proceedings.

Yet if there be not skill sufficient to make all the profit that might be made of imitation, still it is in every body's power to avoid doing hurt by it, which people do frequently by their indiscretion ; so that vigilance is rather needful here than knowledge or judgment. Example has been always counted more prevalent than precept, and by its bad influence may easily overthrow all the good that has been labored to be done by the other. You may in some measure abate this influence from the examples of other persons, by showing their evil tendency or turning them into ridicule ; but you cannot condemn nor ridicule your own actions : you will have neither inclination nor eyes to see the blameable in them when once performed, nor would it be prudent to lessen yourself in the child's esteem ; which esteem will give a credit to what he sees done by you, or where it does not, still he will catch your manners by mechanical sympathy without designing or thinking of it.

Juvenal says, the greatest reverence is due to children ; by which must be understood that we cannot be too much upon the guard how we behave before them, never to betray any marks of passion, intemperance of mind, greediness of desire, folly, or selfishness in their presence : if we have a foible we are resolved not to part with, let us reserve the indulgence of it for times when they are not by ; for how can we pretend to love them when we cannot restrain any present sally of imagination that may do them more mischief, than all the benefits of education can compensate ? What signifies exhortations to moderate their desires, when they see them continually breaking out with violence in yourself ? What inducement can they have to love early hours, when they know you lie a-bed every day till noon ? What encouragement to industry, when they perceive you spend your time in idling and trifling ? What safeguard to their purity, when endangered by your indecent jests and discourse ? What caution against the lure of intense pleasures and diversions, when they find you hunting after them perpetually ? How can you instil courage and an opinion of hardiness, if you practise an affectation of fearfulness and delicacy upon every trifling occasion ? By what instructions will you make them candid and equitable, if you show a selfishness, greediness, contempt, and party virulence in your own temper ? How can you expect to make them good managers, while you give yourself up to carelessness, waste, and dissipation ?

But you will say it is unavoidable to do many things before children which one must not permit them to do, and they may be taught to know the difference between themselves and grown persons. I do not deny them capable of learning an idea of propriety which makes the same procedure becoming in one person, that would be blameable in another, and it behoves you to teach them this idea, together with the rules and reasons of it, in proportion as you find them capable: but they will soon perceive whether those actions of yours which you forbid them to practise, proceed from propriety or an intemperance and weakness of mind, by the very form of your injunctions. For you may say to a child, you must not get on horseback though I may, because I am stronger and know how to manage him; but you cannot tell him you must not swear nor get drunk, but I may; your prohibition here must be general, as against things wrong and blameable in everybody. Therefore if you invite him by your practice to what you prohibit by your remonstrances, though you should be able to keep him in order for the present by the awe of your authority, it will be a state of irksomeness and bondage to him; he will wish for the time that shall rid him of this restraint, that he may take the same liberties you do, and perhaps will take them sooner, as often as he thinks it can be done without hazard of a discovery: therefore discretion should withhold you even from some things allowable for yourself, where you cannot make him understand the danger and mischief of them to him.

But in order the better to lead him into a knowledge of propriety as he grows up, let him be taught to cast a retrospect upon the stage of life he has already passed through, for he will be fond of remarking the impropriety of children less than himself doing as he does, and will readily enter into the reasons of it, by which you make him sensible of the difference between himself, and others that are older. The like method you may employ to abate his fondness for pleasures, as if they could never lose their relish, taking the benefit of what little experience he has, which is always a stronger root of knowledge than instruction, productive of more keeping fruit; for the playthings which gave him vast delight in the nursery he utterly despises at school; the kites, and marbles, and castle tops he was fond of then, afford him no amusement when grown to full stature; from whence he may conclude that the diversions and gallantries wherefrom he now expects a supremacy of happiness may become insipid in their turn, and he may learn to provide for satisfactions suitable to the perfect state of manhood, and old age.

Nor will it be of little service for your conducting him if you

can recal to mind the very ideas, desires, and fancies you had yourself at his years, for this will be a sort of setting the old head upon young shoulders ; you will feel what the shoulders can bear, be less severe upon his failings and sallies which once were your own, see clearer the dangers they lead into, and know better how to manage with them. There is an indiscretion people are sometimes guilty of in consulting while their children are in the room upon the measures they shall take with them, particularly to break them of some unlucky trick ; they think the children take no notice because seeming busied in their plays, but for all that they are very attentive upon those occasions, and will be sure to counterplot you, or perhaps arm themselves with an obstinacy you will find very difficult to surmount.

Some are very apt to vent themselves in wishes for things that would be mighty convenient for them, as that they could find a mine, get a prize in the lottery, obtain a place as court, or that some overgrown rich man would leave them a swinging legacy : if these imaginations are an amusement to you, however, keep them to yourself, but let your child hear nothing of this sort, for it may teach him to be discontented, visionary, and perhaps make him a projector, or a gamester. Beware likewise of boasting of your family, fortune, taste, abilities, or any other superiority, and of criticizing, censuring, or ridiculing other persons ; for this would lead him the ready road into the pernicious desire of excelling. Neither cry up his beauty, his stoutness, his parts, or his proficiency ; for this must infuse an opinion of excelling, which is poisonous unless administered sparingly, so far only as is needful to give him encouragement in his exercises.

But the most dangerous incaution, because the most common and least willingly guarded against, is that of showing a fondness for him which you are unable to resist ; therefore you cannot be too careful of your gestures, your countenance, your expressions, and tones of voice, that they do not betray a weakness of love : for if he once find himself of importance to you, and that his displeasures give you a sensible uneasiness, he will become precious in his own eyes, domineering over the servants, and assuming upon everybody, he will grow humorsome, presumptuous, and perpetually use his power over you for gaining his own little ends. You may and ought to be tender of him, but let it be with a judicious tenderness ; or if it should not, let him not see the contrary, but manage so that nothing may hinder his being persuaded, that you could find in your heart to use any rigor or severities his behavior should make to appear necessary in your judgment.

18. There is no need to say much of religion, because the meth-

ods for instructing in the rudiments of it are in everybody's hands : it is enough therefore to recommend that what the child learns by rote, or hears discoursed of among his elders, he should be made to understand ; but this must be done slowly and gradually, in proportion as he is capable of comprehending an explanation. The doctrines of Religion, as I have endeavored to prove in former Chapters, are so far from superseding the use of reason, that they will answer no useful purpose without a sober and careful exercise of it : they were given not to supply its place, but as marks to direct its progress, and checks to preserve it from dangerous, or unprofitable deviations, or as Theses whereon to exercise it with greatest emolument. Therefore it is good husbandry to nourish up the tender buds of reason as they open, to study the art of distinguishing the bearing twigs, and leading them into positions where they will yield the fairest fruit ; for one must not expect much discernment in children : the business lies in finding out what conceptions and turns of thought are the distant avenues conducting into sound discernment.

They may be taught by degrees to distinguish what part of their composition is themselves, and what is separable from them ; to remember that life will have an end, and to feel a concern for futurity, by being put in mind that it may be ended very soon by means of accident or disease ; to form some idea of an invisible power, from whence all the visible powers of nature must have been originally derived ; to observe a connection of interests between fellow-creatures, and that their own are affected by the abilities, the dispositions and behavior of the persons they live amongst : to lead them into right notions of goodness, equity, justice, and prudence. But very little can be done at first by reasoning, they must be stored with rules and doctrines to be taken from your authority upon trust, which may serve for the foundation and materials wherewith afterwards to erect the structures of reason. Their system must be wholly exoteric, admitting nature and chance to a large share in the production of events, and the divine power represented to interfere by immediate operation, whereon the esoterics may be introduced by little and little as the understanding opens to comprehend them, taking great care they be not misapprehended, so as to seem a contradiction, and overthrow what had been inculcated before.

While there is nothing but appetite and amusement engaging to their desires, it may be necessary to employ a degree of fear for keeping them attentive to the matters you tell them of ; but the less of it you can do with, the better ; and in proportion as you can get other springs to work upon, as they come to have an

idea of use, to find a relish for remote advantages, and can be made sensible of the beneficial tendency of your instructions, discard fear as superfluous, and always mischievous when superfluous; for though it be the beginning of wisdom, it is incompatible with hearty, unreserved charity, wherein the perfection of wisdom terminates.

What rules and forms you judge needful keep them steady to the observance of, and a little more strictly than you wish they should always adhere to, for it is much easier to relax than to straighten. Therefore, as said in a former place, I love to see young people rather too rigid and scrupulous, because their own experience and the world they converse with will abate of this excess: but libertinism is the hardest thing in the world to cure, because disdaining to submit to any regimen. If a lad were not accustomed early to the use of prayer and ceremonies, he would find them unavailing could he be brought to try them afterwards, for the strangeness and awkwardness with which he would go about them, fixing his whole attention upon the external appearances, must render them an empty form working nothing of that Metanoia or change of sentiments, wherein their sole virtue consists. The summary of Religion having been comprised in one short sentence, to live soberly, righteously, and godly; these three are correspondent parts of the compact body, which it should be a principal aim to make children sensible of, to show them how the two first may be derived by a reference from the last, and the last is best attained by being prosecuted in such manner as that it may become a direction and aid in practising the other two: for that is the most genuine godliness which tends to increase sobriety and righteousness, and these are best maintained by sound and lively sentiments of the former.

19. I do not pretend in the foregoing pages to have laid down a complete system of education, nor pointed out all the particular aims expedient to be held in view therein; yet I conceive here are enow to make a happy and a useful man, if steadily pursued, and perhaps more than can be pursued so effectually as one would wish: for none can make it their whole business to take care of their children, it is well if they can be persuaded to make it a business at all, and not a mere amusement, or an obligation of custom which one must comply with, because else what will the world say? A thing to be thought on only by the by, when one is in the humor, in the vacancies between polite engagements, consisting in directions now and then to the servants, or choice of a school, or a tutor.

My intention was only to offer such suggestions as occurred, for



the chance of what benefit may be made of them : if anybody shall find one or two among them which he did not happen to think of before, and which he judges profitable and practicable, he will do well to adopt into his plan, taking care beforehand that he has firmness enough to prosecute what he determines upon ; for no aim can be attained merely by a conviction of its desirableness, nor by a sudden violent resolution, but by an unbroken perseverance. But whatever plan he resolves on or additional strokes he admits into it, he must be careful to examine whether they be suitable to the subject he has to work upon : for you cannot make a Mercury of every stick, but must endeavor to find out the best that can be done with it, and adapt your scheme to your materials : nor be disheartened if you find a coarseness in the grain, for every wood is usable for some good purpose, and Providence who put them in your hands has no doubt suited them to its own design ; therefore it is not your business to depend upon doing great matters, but to take care that nothing be lost through your own negligence or mismanagement.

Yet there is a certain character of discretion deserving to be made a principal aim in all cases, as being attainable with small talents and needful to be cultivated with the greatest. This is better understood by observation of persons possessing it, than by any explanation of words : but the marks of it may be seen in a uniformity of conduct, and pertinence of action, void of self-conceit, affectation, and singularity, giving into no extravagances, nor aiming at projects beyond its forces, proceeding quietly its own way, compliant to the occasion, but not whiffling about with every slight attraction ; attentive to every light that breaks in, and calmly diligent to make use of it. We may sometimes see persons of very little capacity, who by help of a few principles, well chosen and well rivetted, have been brought to possess this quality, proceed almost mechanically by its direction, pass a sound judgment upon things within their narrow sphere, and go through life with more comfort to themselves, and credit among their neighbors, than others of more shining accomplishments whose great talents are vitiated, and overbalanced by some egregious folly.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## DEATH.

UNSPARING grisly King of terrors, sole universal monarch, whose power no prowess can resist, whose peremptory call no artifice can evade ; the eye cannot support thy looks, nor the blood forbear to curdle at the thoughts of thee ; we stifle all remembrance of thee, that we may enjoy our pleasures securely, which would utterly lose their relish or be embittered thereby. For thou tearest us away from our friends, turnest us out of our possessions, breakest short all our beloved schemes, and deprivest us of all our means of enjoyment. Whatever reason may suggest, still thy stroke seems an annihilation to our fancy, or presents an uncertainty, more dismal, wherein imagination can find no certain object on which to fix a distant hope. Thou comest beset with pains, uneasinesses, regrets, incapacity, and tastelessness for all common engagements, which multiply the horrors of thine approach ; and, as if thy native frightfulness was not enough to dismay us, we are trained up to dread thee sorer by the behavior, the discourses, and customs of the world around us. For thou art spoken of as the worst of evils, the danger principally to be guarded against before all others ; men will part with anything to save their lives, undergo any severities of medicine or surgery, to retard thine advances, which they know must reach them one time or another ; lamentations are made for the loss of friends, which would be thought selfish, if arising rather from our own share in the loss, than theirs ; the law denounces death as her severest punishment, reserved for the most atrocious crimes, and deems burnings, confiscations, loss of limbs, perpetual exile, and imprisonment, milder chastisements ; and men of thought have pronounced destruction abhorrent to nature herself, who has given an innate principle of self-preservation to all animals without exception.

But what evidence is there of this innate principle, since animals of every species just entered into life, though then most helpless, show no signs of fear nor sense of danger until taught it by experience of pain, and the causes bringing hurt upon them. They then indeed begin to have a principle of self-defence by resisting or flying from whatever threatens them with mischief, but it is a defence against pain, not against destruction, which they know not what it is. For there is no appearance the brutes have any idea of death, or the least imagination concerning the continuance

or discontinuance of their being, consequently can have no fear of a thing to them wholly unknown and inconceivable : but they have an abhorrence of pain, a dread of terrible objects striking them with an apprehension of hurt, a love of liberty to take their common amusements ; they have likewise appetites and instincts of various sorts prompting to their several gratifications : and Providence has wisely adapted these principles of action so as to lead them thereby unknowingly into the measures needful for preservation of their lives, by an aversion to things destructive, and an appetite to those requisite for their accommodation and sustenance.

With respect to man, the case is much the same while he continues to be guided by motives little different from the brutes, to wit, present pleasures or pains, the gratifications or aversions of appetite, until reason beginning to open gives entrance to new appetites which nature never planted ; therefore inoculation is recommended before seven years old, because then children have no fears. But when arrived to the competent use of language and reflection, we are continually warned of dangers surrounding us, excited to cares of self-preservation, everybody wishes and expects long life, deploras the loss of it as a grievous misfortune, laments every disease, or accident seeming to endanger it ; we love to think how we shall employ, or how amuse ourselves a week, or a month hence, all which prospects death cuts short ; we see it brought on by painful distempers, tiresome sicknesses, or violent hurts ; the forlorn appearance of a dead body, the close imprisoning coffin, the yawning grave, and melancholy pomp of funerals strike a mechanical dejection upon the spirits, to which add the necessary admonitions of Religion concerning a future reckoning : no wonder then if all these causes combining to operate, raise alarms in us that would not have sprouted up spontaneously, and give us a strong idea of self-preservation with an abhorrence of whatever threatens destruction.

Yet we do not find this abhorrence universal ; Philosophy can overcome it, enabling the professor, like Socrates, to swallow the deadly potion as a cheerful glass among his friends ; Religion can despise it and urge the zealot to court a crown of martyrdom ; ambition, fame, revenge will stifle it ; vexation, disappointment, and any intolerable pressure will outweigh it ; the ruined gamester, the broken trader, and the forsaken courtier, have sometimes flown to death as to a sure asylum, and even the whining lover has taken refuge there against a fantastic evil of his own creating ; the common soldier, and the sailor lose all dread of it, not by profound reasonings, but by familiarity with the object, by

the taunts and jests, the intrepid countenance and behavior of their comrades: the unenlightened Canadian takes pride in singing while tortured by his conquerors; and there are some who, like Shakspeare's Bernardino, seem never to have had a sensibility of anything beyond the present indulgence of their gross appetites.

Thus it appears that the fear of death, unknown to other animals, is not so deeply implanted in human nature but there are methods by which it may be rooted out, and one may generally observe that persons of a hardiness capable of enduring pain and distress are less obnoxious to it than the delicate, the effeminate, and the voluptuous, who have no way of possessing their minds in tranquillity, unless by wholly banishing it out of their thoughts. But since this practice is far from being recommendable, as serving at best only for a present expedient, which must fail whenever the near approach of death forces it upon our reflection; and that of insensibility, though necessary to qualify some persons for the public service, is but reducing them in that respect to the condition of brute animals; for we find the horse capable of being made as fearless in battle as the trooper who mounts him: let us try whether we cannot help ourselves better by the use of our reason, so as to bear looking death calmly and steadily in the face, to contemplate all his features, and examine fairly what there is of terrible, and what of harmless in them.

2. In order to do this more effectually, it will be necessary to analyze him into his constituent parts; for death, although esteemed one thing and called by a name of the singular number, is in reality a complication of terrors springing from different quarters, and it is their united forces aiding each other like the poles of a loadstone, that make him so formidable. There are the troubles, the sicknesses preceding the convulsions, agonies, ghastly countenances, and the expiring groan; the regret of leaving our friends; the deprivation of all our possessions; the breaking short of all our schemes; the cutting off our prospect of things we used to amuse ourselves with the thoughts of being to do; the strangeness of the situation being what we never had experienced before; the loss of our powers and ideas wherewith we used to help ourselves; the high-spent hour-glass of time; the coming on of an event it has ever been our principal care to avoid; the dismal condition of the body pent up in a cold grave, in solitude and darkness; the difficulty of comprehending happiness in the abstract without sensible objects wherfrom it may issue; the proneness of imagination to forebode mischief in uncertainty; the distrust of our former reasonings; the backwardness to credit other evi-

dences than our senses or experience ; the habitual aptness of certain terrors to rise mechanically we know not why ; and, lastly, the expectation of a future reckoning.

All these sources of affright pouring in their agitations from every side, raise such a turbulence in the centre as throws the mind quite off her basis : it is in vain to think of assuaging them all together, for while you turn to wrestle against one adversary, another by a sudden shock darted in upon the imagination will trip you up behind. Therefore we must deal with them as the old man in the fable instructed his sons to deal with the fagot which they could not break with all their might, until he had untied it, and then they found no difficulty in snapping short the single sticks. In like manner it behoves us to separate the causes of our disquiet, considering each of them distinctly : but this separation is not so easy as might be imagined, for if you go to talk to people upon the folly of fearing hurt to the dead, insensible body, they will cry, But then to toss about in a sick bed without hopes of recovery ; try to comfort them upon this article, and they interrupt you with, But then to leave all one's friends, one's home, one's conveniences, and enjoyments : thus they will dodge you round with their But thens, so that you can never get hold of their hand to help them.

This being the case, makes it more expedient to enter upon the task in good time while in health and vigor, when the object appearing at a distance throws no confusion over the mind, but we are able to draw the eye off from other parts of it in order to contemplate some one among them more attentively. For doing this effectually it will not be sufficient to content ourselves with the common topics of declamation chimed in the ear without ever sinking into the heart, but to examine the point thoroughly and fairly, not stifling what we dislike, placing everything in its just light, and allowing every consideration its due weight ; that so we may become masters of the true state of the case, and attain a full conviction founded upon solid reasons, not to be shaken afterwards by suggestions of something that had been overlooked.

But an inveterate misapprehension cannot be cured at once by the clearest judgment of the understanding, for the fault lies in the imagination, which will return to its own bias as soon as the operation of the other faculty ceases : therefore it will be necessary frequently to revise the point, running over the process whereby we formed our judgment, until we bring it to be an habitual train of thinking, by which our conviction will be turned into persuasion, and become one branch of the virtue of Faith. Thus although a good life in general be the best preparation for death,

yet here is a particular preparation adapted to secure us against the fears of it, and we shall see presently that our progress in this preparation must assist our endeavors towards leading a good life : so that by laboring prudently for our temporal ease and tranquillity, we shall in so doing advance a considerable step towards our future interests. For in this, as in other instances, though our well being in the next life be our proper ultimate aim and principal concern, we can gather no light from our stores of experience how to compass it, but our own good and that of our fellow-creatures in this world and the marks which God has given us for our sure direction.

3. To examine our object then by peicemeal in all its several parts, let us begin with the pains and distresses accompanying it, as having the fairest title to raise our apprehensions, because pain is grievous to human nature : but so it is when not endangering the life, wherefore we have no more reason to be afraid of it then, than at other times. But people fancy it must be acuter then, than at other times : why so ? what foundation is there for the fancy ? some obtain their quietus without any signs of pain at all, as if dropped into sleep : and when brought to their end by distemper, there is no appearance of its being more tormenting for being fatal. Physicians tell you, he that recovers from a violent disease suffers more by it than he that fails ; for the uneasiness springs from the struggles of nature, which are greatest before the crisis, or, when that proving favorable, leaves her strength unexhausted with which she still continues to labor for throwing off the load oppressing her : but when the scene of death begins, nature has yielded to the enemy, having lost her vigor by which she agitated the nervous, as well as the secretory vessels, so that the senses become benumbed, no longer able to strike the same sensations as in their former state.

Therefore in some diseases, as the palsy and the coma, ease and insensibility are reckoned the most fatal symptoms ; and so it is in violent inflammations, which are extremely painful until the mortification begun sets the patient at perfect ease : thus the approach of death is known by the daparture of pain, and probably the last stage of all distempers is a palsy, wherein some mechanical motions remain, but those which reach the sensory cease, or act but feebly. For that the convulsions and those called agonies, are mere motions of the machine, not struggles of the active powers, nor affecting the organs of sense, may be gathered from their similitude with convulsive fits, to which some persons otherwise in good health are subject, when come out of them they can give you no account of what passed in them, but the whole time seems as

much lost as in sound sleep : so after the convulsions of a fever, if there be an interval of sense, you do not find the patient complain of having suffered under them, nor does he remember anything of what has happened ; or as I have heard instances of some persons, when too weak to stir themselves, a convulsion has suddenly raised them upright in their bed without stupefying their senses, they take it for a voluntary motion, a return of their strength, call for their hat and gloves, want to go out upon their usual business, and feel no other uneasiness than from the opposition of the people about them.

But we hope to escape other evils by caution and good management, whereas death is inevitable : it is true death is certain, but a painful death is not so : and since there are various passages out of this world, we may confide in the goodness of God that he will assign us one proportionable to the firmness of the mind he has given us means of acquiring, and not impose upon us a burden greater than we are able to bear. It is our part to prepare our shoulders beforehand for whatever burden we shall be called upon to bear, by storing in such firmness as the way of life we are engaged in shall afford opportunities of gaining, and by patient endurance of whatever pains or troubles fall upon us in our course. And when the last trial does come, we may take encouragement from its being the last, for it is easier to pluck up resolution for struggling with a difficulty that cannot hold long, than to maintain perseverance through an unlimited series of them : but we may be sure when this is ended of having no more bodily pains to go through, nor danger of diseases, wounds, fractures, house-breakers, invasions, fires, losses, or vexations, that used to alarm us so frequently in this world.

Now likewise, if never before, we may find a relish for prayer, and relieve ourselves by it as with a cordial : as it is not a time for pursuing esoteric ideas, there will be no harm in giving way to a persuasion of moving God by our importunities, but then they must not turn upon obtaining recovery, for there is no room to expect he will alter his courses of nature upon our account ; their proper object is for resignation, patience, content, and such temper of mind as will conduce to our present ease, for this is complying with the courses of nature, and indeed, though that need not be had in view, will give us a better chance, if there be any left, of recovering.

4. Let us proceed next to the regret on leaving our friends, being turned out of our possessions, conveniences, and places whereto we used to resort with delight, and breaking off all our favorite schemes : but there is no infidelity in departing from friends

we cannot stay with, no waste nor imprudence in quitting possessions we cannot keep, nor inconstancy in laying aside schemes we can no longer pursue : so we have nothing to blame ourselves for, if we should cast off that attachment which was commendable only because it helped to supply us with the materials and methods of enjoyment, and made us serviceable to one another. But we can expect no more of the pleasures we used to find in them : very true, yet neither shall we feel a want or miss of them, for they are not so necessary to us as that we cannot subsist in tranquillity without them.

Some of our friends have been taken from us long ago, others were not born till we had enjoyed many years of life, and our connections have frequently varied, yet always seemed engaging to us for the time : while children we had no possessions, we toiled not, neither did we spin, yet our Heavenly Father provided for us by that instinct he gave our earthly parents : we then had no thought of those schemes and store of conveniences that appear so indispensable to us now. Our fondness for all these things proceeds from habit because we have been used to affect them, and from the condition of our bodies requiring provisions of accommodations, assistance of other persons in our uses and pleasures, and a train of pursuits to keep us continually engaged. But while on the bed of sickness, we are in no condition to use those sources of enjoyment or engagement that have supplied us hitherto, and if that terminates in our dissolution, we shall be as little in a condition to reap any benefit from them ; therefore the parting with them is no cause of regret, as it would be to a living man who still retains many wants and desires that cannot be satisfied without them. But when quitting our animal machine, we quit therewith our habits, our propensities, ideas, and remembrance, becoming again a blank paper as when we first came into this world ; so that if the objects of our old acquaintance were presented to us we should not know them again, nor have senses to perceive them, nor be able to conceive what benefit or pleasure they could do us, but remain as indifferent to take new impressions or desires, and run into new connections, as ever we were in our original state of infancy.

Yet why should we say the approach of death breaks off all our schemes, and threatens an utter destitution of all friendship ? There is one scheme which if we take care to make our principal, and bring all our under views to bear reference or coincide with that, will not be frustrated by our removal from this imperfect state : even when the peremptory summons comes, we have still a step to make in the prosecution of it by patience and resig-



nation to the call, and loosening our hearts from the good things that used to delight us here. And if we have cultivated a habit of charity, regarding ourselves as citizens of the world, and all perceptive creatures as intrinsically equal, we shall be capable of a good will to any of our fellow-citizens, whatever species of them we may be cast amongst. For charity in her first motion is universal, but must confine her intercourses to particular subjects, according to the degree of neighborhood wherein they stand: our present neighbors were assigned their stations by the disposition of Providence causing them to be born in the same age, of the same country with ourselves, and endowing them with the qualities and characters that have rendered us mutually helpful and pleasing to one another: and what should hinder but that the same Providence may find us other neighbors, as well qualified to engage our dependence and endearance by intercourses suitable to the wants, the abilities, and inclinations we shall then have allotted us? Besides, it is not impossible that the same persons may be restored to our neighborhood in a better situation, where there may be none of those little mistakes and misunderstandings, clashing of interests or discordance of humors, which have sometimes interrupted or abated our harmony heretofore.

5. Of like sort is the complaint of having all our prospects of engagement or amusement overclouded, for the mind when restrained by indisposition or confinement from exercising the active powers, loves still to feed in imagination upon her usual objects, she roams to scenes of business or entertainment expected in the succeeding days. This ruminating on distant prospects in view before her proves a solace under little uneasinesses; but when the reflection darts in, that all is only a vain imagination of scenes that can be enjoyed no more, they turn into scenes of horror and oppress the mind with the greater vexation, by how much the more eagerly they are beheld; they seem like a present possession torn away by violence, or they fret with the disappointment of meeting a sword's point in the very quarter whither we had turned for relief.

But I believe we need not apprehend this grievance will oppress us much on a bed of sickness, when there is little relish left for common amusements, and little leisure from present pains and wants to think of other things: it can only be in some intervals of quiet when the distemper suspends its violence without having impaired the senses, or in those incurable decays which wastes but give no pain, nor sickness, that those troubles can assault us. Nor will they assault us with any force, if we have been careful

during the course of our lives to hang our desires loose upon the things around so as to be removeable upon the slightest touch of reason, or sight of an insurmountable obstacle intervening. I do not mean that we should endeavor to get rid of all our desires, for they make the pleasure of life, and are the springs of action; but we may desire a thing while appearing attainable without such an attachment or fondness as shall make us suffer by the failure of it, when not to be had.

I have recommended several times before, to provide ourselves with many desires but to have no wants; but in order to prevent desire from corrupting into want, it will be necessary to discipline it continually, to keep the mind easy under rubs and disappointments, unanxious for success in her eagerest pursuits, not prone to harbor unavailing wishes: for this will not only save us many a vexation in our commerce with the world, but will be a preparation of which we shall find the benefit as well in the hour of death as in the day of judgment. Yet if the thought of our pleasures should molest us, we may place in contrast against them the troubles, contradictions, inconveniences, and infirmities, from which none of us are wholly exempt; and if we recollect how grievous they have sometimes seemed to us, it will afford some comfort that we are now going to be delivered entirely from them. For what must be parted with it will be prudent to contemplate on the unfavorable side, which may have better effect than we imagine to abate our reluctance.

6. Another shock proceeds from the strangeness of the thing as being a thing entirely new, of which we have had no experience: for upon prospect of some difficulty to be gone through, it is usual to fortify ourselves with the remembrance of something similar we had sustained before, of which we know the issue, and have found a return of our former tranquillity and amusements. But here we have nothing in all our stores of memory wherewith to draw a comparison; and though we daily see others go before us, we can get no account from them how it fared with them either during their passage, or at the end of it. Yet this very circumstance of the passage being made every day may afford a substantial ground of comfort, not that an evil is the less to one man for having fallen upon others: if I break my leg, the pain is the same whether thousands beside, or nobody break theirs; but because whatever dispensation is universal, cannot be an evil.

If we have been used to behold the course of affairs in this world with the well-wishing eye of benevolence, untainted with the prejudices of pride and selfishness, undervaluing whatever is not our own, we shall discern so many more joys than sorrows,

so many more blessings than mischiefs abounding everywhere, as must convince us, that the whole system is laid out with an unsparing bounty : and though there be some evils scattered here and there for wise ends, to us inscrutable, they bear a very considerable proportion to the good, the provisions whereof are general, but those of evil for particular individuals.

Since then it is appointed all men once to die, and we may add all animals, who had no share in the sin of Adam, it must be ranked among those appointments which are the produce of bounty. Nor may we scruple to call the departure of our dearest friends in some sort an experience of our own : if we have esteemed them for their honesty, integrity, and good qualities, we shall not think them subjected in anger to the common lot, nor believe it so rigorous as imagination suddenly represents : if we have taken part in their joys and sorrows, sympathized in their affections, they will have been to us another self ; occurrences happening to them will affect us the same as if happening to our own persons, and love and shame will help us to bear unreluctantly whatever we have seen them go through.

But imagination suggests a strangeness because it is appointed men to die once : is the particle *Once*, which makes the strangeness, a cause of complaint ? What if it were appointed to die two or three times, and come to life again, that we might know what we have to go through when the last summons comes ? Should we think the condition of life mended by this alteration ? I fancy we should not accept of it if left to our option, for we are not very fond of a sickness though it do not prove mortal, and this would furnish us with some of the experience we want. For the worst of the passage, as I have observed before, is during the progress of the distemper, which those who have recovered from a very dangerous one have gone through, so they do know what it is : therefore many of us have already so far died and come to life again, as was needful for the present purpose of taking off the strangeness of the thing.

If there be anybody who still holds the old exploded doctrine of pre-existence, it is pity but he should take such advantage from his peculiarity as it is capable of yielding him ; and he may gather this reflection from it, that he has already died a thousand times in the course of his existence, perhaps as often as he has fallen asleep in this present life, yet he still finds himself in a condition to enjoy his being, endowed with powers and faculties suited to that purpose, without remembrance, yet likewise without want or regret of those he possessed in any former state. Therefore he may look upon death as equally familiar to him with sleep, only re-

turning after much longer intervals, but the return of both having frequency enough to take out all strangeness from the thoughts of them. And that the plain man of common sense may not want a source of comfort open to the visionary speculatist, I shall remind him that he has already passed through the state of the womb, to which the passage into this world must have been as new and strange, as the passage out can be ; yet he got through it well, it was matter of congratulation among all who had any concern about him, is still remembered with some solemnity as a joyful event, and I suppose he has never once regretted his former situation, nor wished to get back again : from this experience he may draw courage to take his passage out of this life, and think himself only going to be born a second time.

7. With respect to the loss of our powers and ideas, it should be considered that those are valuable only as they serve for our help and direction in the supply of our wants, but when our necessary wants are gone, we may spare them without damage. What would our powers of walking avail us, when we have no ground to tread upon, nor unwieldy body to heave about from place to place? What good would our language do us, unless we might expect to meet with persons who could talk the same? How are we the worse for being unable to provide ourselves with sustenance, when we shall get rid both of our hunger and thirst? And for the removal of our ideas that must be rendered light by its being total, for when all are gone we can have no uneasy ones : our desires, cravings, wants, vexations, griefs, will be wiped away together with our knowledge of the means for relieving them. Were some of our ideas to remain, they might torment us with the reflection on those that are wanting : he that should retain an idea of his home with all the conveniences therein, but none of the way to get thither, or of the provisions for his table, without any remembrance of the places or means of procuring them, would be made miserable by the little knowledge he has left. Therefore our security lies in having the whole stock obliterated, because then we cannot be sensible of diminutions made in it, neither can we have a craving left after losing all conception of the objects that used to excite it.

But if our knowledge remained entire, it would become useless for want of the powers to be employed by it, and if both knowledge and powers were to stay, they could only spend themselves in fruitless exertions, having no longer the same materials and services to work upon whereto they were adapted : so it is better they should all go together, than that we should be left in a mutilated condition wherein the disabled parts must prove a burden

and a grievance to those which still retained some degree of vigor. Indeed, during some part of the passage, we may find great inconvenience from the decay of our powers while we still have wants that might be relieved by them; but this cannot be of long duration, for insensibility soon follows weakness: therefore it would be highly imprudent to prepare for doubling the grievance by possessing our minds beforehand with an habitual dread of impotence, as a thing wretched in itself: we had no abilities nor understanding before birth, yet have fared well enough with them, and so may again at the end of life; the trouble can only be temporary and perhaps not that, if the decay of our activity, our judgment, and our senses, should keep even pace with one another.

8. But is a melancholy thing to find our glass almost run out with only a few gleanings collected in the bottom point, for we have been used to consider time as our most precious treasure, the necessary basis to support all our other possessions; we have alway pleased ourselves with the thoughts of having a plentiful stock before us, which makes us dejected when that pleasure is wrested away, by seeing it shrunk to an alarming smallness, how much soever we have been too wasteful while not perceiving it sensibly decay.

We have indeed a small allowance of it dealt us here, and much we have to do with it, therefore prudence should incline us to husband it well, that we may lose none of those uses and innocent amusements for which it was given us: yet if we have incurred our desires to hang loose upon their objects, if we have learned a calm industry void of anxiety or eagerness in the prosecution of our schemes and pleasures, we shall feel no shock on seeing our career cut short, nor further space remaining to pursue them. For though the time for them be over, yet time itself is not exhausted, having the boundless ocean of eternity from whence to replenish his glass, larger than all the sands of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and every other sea together. Since then we have such an immense estate of time, we need not grudge the expense of fifty or threescore years irrecoverably gone from us; for this trifling diminution no more leaves us the poorer, than a man of ten thousand pounds a year would be the poorer for having dropped a sixpence. Whoever bears this reflection in mind, will not wish to recall the years that have lapsed over him, nor be so apt as many people are to complain of seeing the rising generation grow up to shove them out of the world; the great boys at school do not make this complaint, because little ones are daily coming in to shove them out of their places; nor do travellers, when, on setting out again after having baited at an inn, they see other company coming

in to take the commodious room and refreshments which they must now resign.

But this life is a school to prepare our faculties for other exercises than those set us here ; it is a journey, or rather one stage of our journey through matter : we have our pleasures and our uses of the span allotted us, and welcome be all others to the pleasures and uses contained in their span. For that there are further uses than we can trace in all the transactions of passing here, I have before given reasons to evince ; those uses then being answered, we want no more sand to keep our glass running, but may leave time to find another glass to conduct us onward, through our next stage. And this consideration well inculcated might encourage us against all fears of the glass breaking before quite run out, for God knows what uses we have to serve, and what length of time is requisite to complete them, and no doubt has so adapted our strength of constitution together with the courses of fortune respecting us to afford sufficient space for the purpose ; therefore whenever we find the glass run out, or shed its sand, we may rest contented that the uses for which it was given are satisfied.

9. Nor is there just ground for more grievous disappointment at the glass breaking, because it is an event we have been always most careful to prevent ; see the world in general solicitous to escape, and been taught from our infancy to make our principal concern, as being right and incumbent upon us so to do. It is certainly right to take all proper care of our preservation, and were to be wished that the voluptuous and debauched would give more attention than they do, to dangers which threaten the shortening of their days : but when we consider why it is right, we shall see that the laudableness of our cares does not exclude an indifference for their success, if they should prove ineffectual.

Life, considered barely in itself, is a thing indifferent, neither good nor evil ; if the kings of Colen, as legends pretend, slept three hundred years in a cave, they must have been alive all that time, but were no more the better nor worse for being so, than if they had lain in a state of nonentity ; but it is the enjoyments and uses of life that make its value, for since they cannot be had when life is gone, the preservation of it is the first and necessary ingredient in our cares for them. There may be uses and enjoyments beyond, but of those we have no particular knowledge, all that we can know assuredly concerning them is, that there are certain preparatory measures needful to be taken here ; which yields an additional reason for endeavoring to keep our station as long as we can, that we may have time to make the better preparation. But when there are visible uses to the public in depart-

ing therefrom, or the rules of duty carrying an irrefragable presumption of such uses demand, it is more laudable to sacrifice life with all its enjoyments, than still to retain a fondness for it: nevertheless, even upon these occasions it remains commendable to use all our skill and industry for escaping the danger, so far as consistent with our duty. For life appears a good to us, and rectitude consists in adhering steadily to whatever appears such in our best judgment: therefore our cares for self-preservation are justifiable, nor does it contradict the habit of practising them, that we acquiesce in an event which they could not turn aside.

We may look upon the shortening of life through our own negligence as a real evil, and if we make the prevention of this evil the object of our solicitude it will keep us constantly attentive to our preservation, and yet the approach of death when inevitable will not be the thing we have been accustomed to dread. We have acted right in warding it off while we could, for so long it was an evil, and we certainly do not wrong when it is forced upon us, for this is no act of ours: it must come some time or other, and we have no reason to believe it an evil whenever it comes without our own procurement. It is not unlikely there may be a critical time wherein it will be best for us to depart out of this world, because opening the best entrance into another: we know our lot here so far depended upon the time of its being cast upon us, as that we could not have been born with just the same constitution, natural parts, family nor fortune at any other time; for as soon as the little fœtus is formed for the reception of a perceptive spirit, the laws of nature require that one should be lodged in it; therefore if our creation had not been made at that instant, we must have had a lodgement assigned us in some other body. And how know we that it may not be more material to fall upon the lucky moment for our second birth? for the spirit newly created was alike indifferent to occupy anybody, but this life being a preparation for the next, and the courses of it very various among us, we must go out of it very variously qualified, so that every station there will not suit us alike; therefore it is of great consequence to find our passage when there is a commodious station vacant, and the causes that prepare for our reception are operating.

It is not possible for us to know when those circumstances are favorable, but we must trust Providence for having ordered the course of events in both worlds, most opportunely to tally with one another; and as the soul is created when there is a body capable of receiving it, so is it called out again when the most suitable station lies ready for its occupancy: therefore it would be

extremely hazardous either to anticipate by our intemperance and negligence, or retard by our timidity, the time that has been chosen for us by a wise and beneficent patron ; for by so doing we may chance to cast ourselves upon some uncomfortable spot, to which our preparations have been in no respect suited. Thus we see the preservation of life while the means of preservation are allowed us, and the willing resignation of it when they are withdrawn, are so far from being contradictory sentiments, or the one a violent change from the other, that they both naturally rise together from the same principle, and coincide in their tendency to accomplish the same purpose.

10. The melancholy appearance of a lifeless body, the mansion provided for it to inhabit, dark, cold, close, and solitary, are shocking to the imagination ; but it is to the imagination only, not the understanding, for whoever consults this faculty will see at first glance, that there is nothing dismal in all these circumstances : if the corpse were kept wrapped up in a warm bed with a roasting fire in the chamber, it would feel no comfortable warmth therefrom ; were store of tapers lighted up as soon as day shuts in, it would see no objects to divert it ; were it left at large, it would have no liberty, nor if surrounded with company, would be cheered thereby ; neither are the distorted features expressions of pain, uneasiness, or distress. This every one knows and will readily allow upon being suggested, yet still cannot behold nor even cast a thought upon those objects without shuddering ; for knowing that a living person must suffer grievously under such appearances, they become habitually formidable to the mind, and strike a mechanical horror which is increased by the customs of the world around us.

It is common to fright children into taking of their physic by telling them that else they must be put into the pit-hole ; when grown up the tolling knell, the solemn pomp of funerals help to depress their spirits, the doleful countenances, and discourses of other persons draw them by sympathy, and all the scenes of death are heightened by poets and rhapsodists. As for the pit-hole, I see no need of that in medicine, for if terrors are wanting, those of the rod might do full as well to make the potion go down : decency in burials indeed is practised in all civilized countries, nor is it an idle ceremony, because the omission of it might introduce a savageness and obduracy of temper, that would be dangerous to the living ; therefore it is serviceable only to raise a feeling in the thoughtless, which may make them more helpful to persons in sickness or danger : but for such as have a sensibility and a sympathizing temper, it behoves them to take care this provision, salu-



utary to the generality, do not become poisonous to them by stirring up a sympathy with the shrouded carcass, and tainting their imagination with a dread of being themselves one day the subject of a like doleful ceremony. It would be vain to use arguments here, for none are wanting, the understanding being already satisfied that there is no suffering within the coffin, wherewith to sympathize; the sore lies in the imagination, which is not to be dealt with by accumulating new arguments, but by continually running over in the mind what was known well enough to the reason before, that so it may be loosened from the hold gotten upon it by the senses, and brought to run in trains not suggested by external appearances.

Therefore it will be expedient often to contemplate the nature of our composition consisting of two parts, one of which serves only for a channel of conveyance or instrument for the other to perceive by, until by this practice we have familiarized our thoughts to the idea of a substance which is not body, nor an object of sight, or touch, or any sense, yet perceives whatever stands exhibited by the senses, which is properly ourselves, makes whatever else comes into vital union with it to be part of ourselves for the time, is capable of uniting with other portions of matter which then would become parts of us, and has no further concern with them when disunited again, but they no more remain parts of us than of any other person.

If we find there ideas too abstracted to make impression upon us, we may aid them by experience of our senses: we know that limbs have been cut off, and then whatever treatment is bestowed upon them no more affects the former owner than it does a stranger: we daily see the slaughtered animals serving for our food, yet without apprehension of any hurt befalling them by the cuttings, the roastings, and hashings, they undergo: why then should we fancy a dead man, pent up in a coffin and laid in the grave, more miserable than a dead chicken, closed up in a pye and baking in the oven? Yet we shudder at the dead man's situation, thinking how dreadful it would be to us; so it certainly would if placed there alive, and so would the chicken's if put in with all its feathers on, before the neck was wrung: and both have been in a situation as little suited to our liking, one immersed in a slimy yolk inclosed in the shell, the other not much more agreeably lodged in the womb; yet the thought of that yields no apprehension of misery, though there then were senses to suffer by it: why then should we tremble at a condition where there are no senses to be affected at anything passing there? But whatever consideration we employ will not avail, by once or twice suggesting; we must

be industrious to apply them upon every alarm starting up in the thought : for knowledge is not the thing we want here but faith, and persuasion being a habit, is neither to be weakened nor worked upon unless by repeated efforts made at proper seasons for bringing the ideas to run spontaneously in trains conformable to our knowledge, without disturbance from external appearances.

11. Nevertheless, after imagination is cured of anxiety for the body, as being devoid of all sense and ceasing to be a part of us, it will retain a solicitude for that part which still continues to be ourselves, lest it should utterly lose all powers of perception on losing the body which contained all the organs of sensation and repository of ideas within it ; and this inability to comprehend what means of enjoyment or occupation we shall then have, strikes a horror upon the mind. For even the persuasion of happiness ordinarily does not satisfy, nor can scarce be entertained without prospect of some particular channel, through which that happiness may flow : pleasure in the abstract is not easily conceivable ; when we go to frame an idea of it, we constantly think of something pleasant to the touch, or the taste, or some other of the senses, or to the reflection which draws all its materials from the fund of sensation : and when we try to raise an idea of pleasure where all those materials are withdrawn, there starts up a frightful phantom in its stead, made formidable by its confusedness, as having neither shape, nor color, nor distinguishable mark for the thought to rest upon.

This difficulty will always perplex us, unless we have used ourselves to carry reflection beyond the immediate operation of the senses, and to distinguish the impression they strike upon the mind from the springs employed in striking it. We have pleasures of very various sorts with respect to their objects, and sometimes pass through very quick successions of them, yet with equal pleasure all the while : a man sits down to a dinner he likes extremely, when that is ended he chats awhile among agreeable company, he then takes a very diverting book from which he goes directly to a concert which terminates in a ball ; his pleasure all along may be the same, though the sources of it have varied, which shows that pleasure is something different from the causes exciting it, and may differ from itself in degree, but never in kind, though the causes continually differ in kind. We find our amusements cloy upon repetition, becoming first indifferent, then irksome from delightful they were before ; the colors, the sounds, the savors, or whatever else was in the objects that amused us continue all along the same, but nothing is more opposite than pleasure and pain ; therefore since they can both be joined succes-

sively to the same sensations, they must be something different from them, capable of subsisting without them, and introducible by other channels. Yet whenever we receive either, there must be something acting upon us, for as the eye cannot see itself so neither can the mind operate upon itself, but to have enjoyment must have some pleasurable object to affect it.

But why should we not conceive it may be so affected without aid of the bodily senses? Their ministry is necessary in this present state, because all our objects lying at a distance without us, could not reach our notice unless by their intervention: yet we may consider that perception is not taken at the eyes, or the ears, or the fingers' ends, they only propagate their motions to the particles of our sensory which strike us immediately with perceptions; and why cannot we imagine there may be other particles possessing the like quality without having their motions conveyed through a long complicated mechanism, so that the naked mind may have objects to perceive analogous to those furnishing our sensory? Or if this be hard of conception, it will be much less so to apprehend the mind not going out naked, but invested with a set of organs capable of transmitting notices from external objects, for the probability of which I have already given reasons drawn from the doctrine generally received upon the best authorities of this life being a preparation for the next: so that we shall still have a channel of sensation to supply us with engagement; and though our new senses should be totally different from those we now possess, this need not disturb us, for having an idea of sensation to work upon, we do not want a ground whereon to fix our idea of enjoyment. A man born blind can form no conception of the pleasures we know are received by sight, nether can a child in the womb of the various enjoyments in life, nor yet an infant of most of the tastes and gratifications belonging to manhood; thus we have experience of creatures capacitated to receive pleasures upon a change in their organs, of which they are not now capable of forming any distinct idea; which may help us to comprehend the easier, how we may still find matter to occupy us in the use of new senses, unknown to mortal man.

Nevertheless, for a further aid to our imagination, it has been common to employ sensible images for figuring the condition we may stand in: but since some people have stumbled at the descriptions of angels with wings, or creatures shaped and sized like ourselves, whether with gross bodies or flimsy, unsolid textures, if they find the vehicular hypothesis better suited to their taste, they are welcome to the suggestions I have offered concerning it; only let them not be mortified at their minuteness, for we judge of mag-

nitude by ourselves ; children think grown persons huge creatures, and we call them little creatures ; whatever diminutive size we may be reduced to, no doubt we shall esteem ourselves proper persons ; if a thousand of us can creep into a grain of corn, we shall not fancy ourselves mites for all that, but the corn swoln into an enormous mountain, abounding with spacious caverns where we may ramble about commodiously.

12. Yet how difficult soever we find it to form a clear idea of pleasure in the abstract, nothing is more easy than to apprehend pain and uneasiness without any particular object wherewith to concrete them ; which makes imagination so prone to forebode mischief in uncertainty, being then reduced to abstractions it can readily find the idea of pain among them, but nothing to counter-balance it. But pain cannot befall without some agent to hurt us, and some organ to convey the hurt ; for a man whose senses are stupefied, is incapable of receiving any ; which shows that pain is in its nature as little fitted for an abstract idea, as enjoyment, and our being able to conceive it more readily must be owing to custom, which makes the hardest things easy ; from whence we may gather encouragement to try whether by prudently habituating our minds to the thought, we cannot attain a lively conception of happiness too in the abstract, without knowledge of any particular species of enjoyments whereof it is to consist : for this is a more desirable persuasion than that of the Vehicles or Mundane Soul, which though to me appearing a very probable hypothesis, still is but hypothesis.

If we proceed to examine how we come to fall into the practice of abstracting pain rather than pleasure, we may perceive it introduced by the narrowness of our desires confining us to their several objects ; therefore when a pleasure is proposed, we are willing to learn something particular about it, that we may know whether it be suitable to our taste, for else we would not give a farthing for it : but all uneasiness is disgusting to us, therefore when any threatens, we do not use to inquire further what species it is of before we feel an aversion to it. Then our enjoyments for the most part require a long train of measures to be taken beforehand for their procurement, which must be laid upon consideration of the particular sources from whence they are to be had ; the steps by which we advance towards them become themselves pleasant to the thought, which commonly loves to run in that channel, and perhaps receives a larger sum of amusement in prosecution of them, than from the pleasure at the end. But mischiefs surround us on all quarters, so it is necessary to keep up a general caution, ready to take alarm against whatever dan-

ger approachés : if twenty pleasures offer, we fix upon one in preference to all the rest ; if twenty evils threaten us, we want to escape them all ; we hunt about for the sources of pleasure when they do not present of their own accord, but we do not choose to think on the causes of uneasiness, unless when needful to guard against them.

But the same caution which is our safeguard here, can do us no service when we have new organs and a new set of objects to deal with ; for we know not what dangers to watch for, nor what to take alarm at, therefore may safely discard our fearfulness as being wholly unavailing : and having observed from whence it proceeds, namely, from the narrowness, of our desires, this will point out one way of curing it. I have before recommended the multiplying our desires as much as possible, striving to be pleased with everything, and to possess a contented mind, which is always a happy mind in every situation : if we have practised this method, we shall gain a more general and abstract idea of pleasure, not confined to a few particular species of it, and become less apt to take alarm merely from the uncertainty of our prospect, without some apparent ground making it prudent so to do.

And in order to satisfy ourselves that a state of uncertainty is not necessarily a state of terror, we may consider that children and animals have no foresight of the pleasures and pains that will befall them : but you will say, they have no sense of danger nor knowledge of the accidents whereto they are liable ; true, but we who do know they are so liable, yet are not affrighted for them upon the mere uncertainty, unless we see some particular danger impending. We may reflect likewise that we have never yet lived in a state of absolute security, but know ourselves continually liable to dangers and changes of situation, of which we can have no clear apprehension what they may produce, yet have been able to possess our minds in tranquillity, notwithstanding : from whence we may learn to familiarize our thoughts to a dependence upon fortune in matters whereof we have no light given us to help ourselves. For what appears to us chance or fortune, is indeed a regular series of causes, bound up in one system with the laws of nature : and we see how nature provides suitable accommodations for every species of animals as soon as she brings them into life, by which experience duly attended to we may turn our uncertainty into an assurance, that whatever our wants and capacities shall be in the next state of life, she has made the like provision for our suitable accommodation there.

Nor need we fancy our being left uncertain with respect to what particular sensations, objects, and employments will be assigned us, as an effect of diskindness; for if we had such particular knowledge, it must interrupt us in the duties of our stations, we should be perpetually ruminating on the scenes before us instead of attending to the business in hand, and upon any little distaste might be tempted to end our lives before the appointed time: therefore it is a blessing that we are allowed no further, insight into futurity than to discern that our condition there depends upon the prudent management of our own truest interests, and those of our fellow-creatures, upon earth: this is enough, if borne enough in mind, to keep us steady in our proper occupation here, and open an exhilarating though indistinct prospect of an hereafter.

13. By such considerations we can easily satisfy our minds for a season, but the difficulty lies in preserving the vigor of their influence unimpaired at all seasons for there are some wherein we find ourselves very apt to suspect the justness of our former reasonings. Fear will often hang on a dead weight of prejudice, as well as hope: what we eagerly wish, we can believe upon no foundation; and what we vehemently dread, appears a certain evil while there remains a possibility of imagining that it may come. In this case we commonly set ourselves with all our might to hunt for arguments in support of our terror, and impress them in strongest colors upon the mind: if any one goes to quiet us, we expect a demonstration that shall force upon us, in spite of our utmost resistance, a glare of light to strike through our eyelids when we shut them against it. This partiality of fear springs from a like partiality to our desires, and our indolence; we are conscious of having made hasty decisions either because they humored our wishes, or to avoid the trouble of further examination, which brings an utter discredit upon our judgment, so that we can never tell when to trust it, but become incredulous by knowing that we have always been too credulous before.

Having found what raises this barrier round our fears rendering them inaccessible on all quarters, it behoves us to guard against the workings of indolence and partiality of desire, to prevent the mischief that will be very hard to remedy. We may remember that absolute certainty was not made for man, and learn to content ourselves without it: our clearest evidences do not give their full lustre at once, until we have examined them on all sides, and observed what other evidences there may be to weaken their force: as our business lies with probabilities, it will be needful to practise the art of ascertaining their degrees, that we may become

expert in weighing them fairly, and discerning when there is a visible preponderancy. If we have inured ourselves to this method so that it is grown habitual, we shall pass no judgment upon matters we do not understand, and where we do pass a judgment shall be able to confide in its decisions with an unreserved assent and moral assurance not easily susceptible of doubts and misgivings. All that remains to be done is by frequently reviewing the determinations of our reason to fix them strongly upon the imagination, that they may rise there spontaneously in their full colors, whenever wanted ; whereby conviction will be turned into persuasion, and if it were upon a point of importance, will become an article of Faith.

But faith is never so steadfast as when first grounded on solid rational conviction, after having stood the test of the strictest scrutiny that each man has capacity or opportunity to go through : therefore one should be desirous to have the reality of a Providence, that corner stone of all Faith, fully discussed, and every argument that can be suggested in opposition to it fairly examined, that there may remain no suspicion of our having been drawn into the belief of it by the torrent of custom, or our judgment biased by a secret partiality ; for partiality will have an influence here as well as in other matters.

Many persons fond of an uncontrolled liberty of indulging their passions, have been drawn into the disbelief of a God by their earnest desire that there were none : but the Lucretian comfort is none to me, for not to mention that the prospect of annihilation appears to my thinking no very comfortable prospect, nor that my notion of the individuality of every perceptive Being is utterly repugnant to the production of one by a coalition of imperceptive atoms, I say, stepping over these difficulties and supposing it demonstratively proved, that a certain composition of matter might become a reasonable creature, I should not yet be freed from my fears, nor find a salve for them in the thoughts of annihilation. For I should presume that whatever power had created me once, might create me again after being annihilated ; if a certain lucky assortment of corpuscles could produce me into being before when I was not existent, what should hinder but that another assortment may produce me from non-existence into being a second time ? And the several assortments working this effect may be very different for aught I know, for I see no necessary connection between my personality and any particular atoms, or particular position of them among one another. This composition, which goes by the name of Edward Search, might have constituted some other person with still the same material substance, the same texture of

brain and sensibility of organs, if chance had so happened : in this case the same Chapters would have been written, and the same enjoyments of life passed through, yet I should have had no share in either, but might perhaps have not been at all, or been some other among those many millions of compositions forming men and animals, each having their respective personalities, their respective volitions, and feelings distinct from those of every other. In like manner among those innumerable sentient compositions which shall continue to be formed after my annihilation, what assurance have I that my personality may not be annexed to some one of them, so that I may become a Spanish negro, a prisoner in the inquisition, a toad, an adder, or spider, or something more vile and miserable than human experience has yet known, or imagination figured ? And all this to depend upon a blind unfeeling inconsiderate chance ; which presents a most alarming prospect, involved in darkness, uncertainty, and horror.

Therefore it appears to me an extremely desirable thing, that there should be a Providence extending to all the regions I can possibly be cast upon hereafter, as well as this I now inhabit : and knowing that I have this prejudice, I stand constantly upon my guard against it, lest it should draw me to admit proofs in favor of what I wish too hastily, before having examined them to the bottom, and given a fair hearing to whatever my own thoughts, or the ingenuity of other persons may suggest in opposition. For I want to lay in a stock of solace which shall not fail me in time of need : my reasonings I cannot expect to continue when the weakness of distemper, the consternation of some fatal accident, or the debilities of old age shall alarm me with a near prospect of my end ; some conclusions from my former reasonings I may retain, and am willing to have my confidence in them strengthened by the consciousness of having drawn them with the utmost impartiality and caution. This consciousness I apprehend is in everybody's power to secure ; for though all have not the same leisure from the duties of their station to pursue their examination equally far, yet all may proceed with care and impartiality so far as they have opportunities to go, and if they cannot dive to the bottom themselves, they may confide in the judgment of all sober and judicious persons, whom they will find unanimous upon this article.

14. The diffidence of our reasonings proceeds, I apprehend, not so much from flaws discovered in them, as from the want of colors wherewith to paint the conclusions resulting from them, so as to appear clearly visible to our imagination ; for they lead into such as are not at all conformable to our experience, nor the scenes



exhibited by our senses. For our senses being the first inlets of all our knowledge, we having recourse to their decision upon all difficulties wherever we can (whence comes the saying, that seeing is believing,) and being continually conversant with their objects we find a difficulty in conceiving an idea, that is not made up of materials drawn from them.

With us, not seeing, or not finding a thing capable of being seen, is disbelieving; whatever is such as no man has had experience of, nor can easily be represented to the imagination, seems a vision, an absurdity, a nothing, which no proofs can support. When told of a substance we think it must be something that can be felt, for common language appropriates the epithet substantial to things for their hardness or compactness, therefore we say roast beef is good substantial food, but water-gruel not; and hence it appears unintelligible jargon to talk of a substance that is not the object of any sense. We distinguish the persons of men by their outward appearance, and by their characters and sentiments discoverable in their looks, words, and actions, so have no notion of a person separated from all those organs of motion, and means of expression, whereby they are made known to us. We see that men have eyes to see with, ears to hear, and fingers to touch, and know that if there be any obstruction in those avenues the sensation cannot enter, therefore have no comprehension how there can be perception without any of those inlets; for a sixth sense must be an extravagance because nobody ever met with, or heard of a creature possessing it.

We can scarce give entrance to the thought of a Providence working imperceptibly without any of those sensible operations we employ in all our performances: we want to see visible appearances giving motion to massy bodies, to hold discourse with the secret agent, to call for particular events at our pleasure, or at least to find changes made in matter which could not have been effected by any natural powers. Our knowledge of nature extends no further than those qualities of bodies or compositions of bodies falling under our observance, so have no archetypes from whence to draw the image of another nature, proceeding by different laws with differently qualified materials; but the thought revolts against every suggestion of this sort, as unnatural and fantastic.

Nevertheless, the senses themselves lead us to the knowledge of something that is not their object if we lay their notices together, for the eye which sees can hear nothing, the ear which hears can see nothing, and the finger which touches can neither see nor hear, but it is the same something which sees, and hears, and

feels, and this something must be distinct from the organs which are wholly destitute of each other's sensations, and must be a real substance; for what is not so, can no more feel, than be felt. But we esteem the organs parts of ourselves, because we can have no perception of their objects without them: no more can I touch the ceiling without a long pole, nor see the satellites of Jupiter without a telescope; yet I never think them parts of myself, because I can do the same by taking another glass, or without either if I could be raised up near enough to the objects; so that which is capable of perceiving by the organs I now have, may as well be capable of perceiving by other organs wherewith it may hereafter be invested, or perhaps without any organs at all, if the objects which lie at a distance withoutside the body should be brought within the sphere of its perception.

Or if the idea of a purely spiritual substance be too thin for imagination to take hold on, we may easier comprehend what is not improbable to be the real case, that we have a minute but completely formed body within the grosser, fixed in the centre of our nerves, like a little spinner in the centre of his web, who, as Pope says, feels in each thread and lives along the line, with this difference, that the spinner's web hangs in the yielding air incapable of molesting it, whereas our's runs interwoven among the solid bones, the stiff muscles, and other carneous parts, which yet are disposed in such wonderful contrivance as not to hinder or obstruct its vibrations, so that notwithstanding their incumbence we still can feel in each thread and live along the line. While the spinner remains in this situation, perhaps his sensations all appear received at the further extremities of his threads; he lives only along the line nor perceives himself living or existing anywhere else: yet if you detach him from thence to put him upon a leaf, you can easily imagine how he may run about with his little legs, and receive variety of perceptions without any of his threads.

Then if we consult experience concerning the phenomena apparent to our senses, she will inform us that matter cannot begin an operation without an impulse received from elsewhere; for nothing is so contrary to experience as that a stone should jump and dance about of itself, without any impulsive force to move it; or to reason, as that the particles of air, of fire, or circulating juices in plants and animals should do the same: she likewise tells us, that bodies by their contrary motions may, and continually do, destroy one another's impulses, but can never renew them; that we ourselves never act without motives and ideal causes impressed upon us by the operations of matter; therefore that all the action we behold around us, must derive originally from some

other agent than matter, or the spirits of men. So that as on touching upon some desolate island if we found avenues of large trees and ruins of buildings, we should say we saw the hand of man in them, although the men whose works they were had been gone many years ago; in like manner on beholding the course of affairs in this world, we may say with equal propriety, that we see the finger of God therein, although we know not at what remote distance of time that finger gave the touch. And though all nature in our comprehension be comprised in the properties of elementary and other bodies coming within our notice, yet being satisfied that the form of it was established by the choice and energy of the First Cause, there seems no great difficulty in apprehending, that the same agent may have established another nature with elements, compounds, and machineries totally different from any we have yet had experience of.

But it will not suffice for our purpose to run over these contemplations only now and then upon extraordinary occasions; we must endeavor to habituate and familiarize them to our thoughts, that they may occur spontaneously at any intervals of immersion among sensible objects, yet without interruption to the business in hand; which is a branch of that expertness and ease mentioned in § 13 of CHAP. XXI. of interspersing serious reflections among common transactions without solemnity; for if we have gained this faculty, we may find many opportunities without impediment to any business or diversion going forward, to cast a transient thought upon the probability of the multitudes who have passed off this worldly stage, and particularly our own departed friends, being at that instant as deeply engaged in occupations suitable to their situation, as we are. By frequent practice of this sort we may loosen our attachment to the objects of sense, yet not abate that attention to them which the duties of our present station require, but inure imagination to entertain other ideas besides, which then will not appear strange nor hard of conception in seasons when we shall want them for our solace, and to occupy the places of such as would only fill us with regret.

15. Yet after all our cares there may still remain an aptitude of certain terrors to rise spontaneously we know not why, either forced upon us by the impression of external objects, or starting up mechanically in the imagination without fresh grounds of alarm to the understanding. For the senses many times affect the mind by an immediate operation: beauty inclines to love, deformity to aversion, nastiness sets our stomachs a kecking, elegance and active scenes make us cheerful, close gloomy caverns deject our spirits, and the discoursing or reflection upon those things will

have a proportionable effect. So the appearance of graves, or skeletons, or anything that puts us in mind of death, or even expressions and single words relative thereto, strike the eye and ear with a sudden horror, though not foreboding any particular danger to ourselves.

This effect does not proceed from nature but from early custom, our second nature, for there is no more reason either logical or physiological to be given, why the sight of a human skull and bones in a charnel-house should shock us more than the sight of a calve's head or a pair of marrow-bones in a dish, for both are emblems alike significant to remind us, that all animals must die ; but we have been used from our infancy to be affrighted at the one, and familiarized to the other.

When the wheels of imagination have been once set to this play, they will renew it again of their own accord without any external appearance or visible cause to put them a-going. Yet there are several causes frequently not adverted to, where it might prove no small comfort to know them : indigestion, thickness, or poor-ness of blood, east winds, changes of weather, want of proper exercise, or engaging employment, to which we may add a stagnation or weariness of thought. For there are people who perpetually puzzle their brains yet can scarce be said ever to think at all, for they fix upon one idea and find no currency nor issue to their thoughts ; so they weary themselves without making any progress, and then take the uneasy sensation of this weariness for something terrible in the idea they contemplate. I take this to be the case many times with persons righteous overmuch, who believing themselves under an obligation to think on serious subjects longer than their natural strength will bear, fall into mechanical despondences, that would be better prevented by a seasonable recreation as soon as they perceive them coming on.

Therefore it behoves us to study our constitution thoroughly, that we may know when the disorder lies in the mind itself, springing from grounds of danger apparent to our understanding, and when it is only sympathetic of a disorder in the body ; the latter may be borne with the same resignation as we do other natural evils ; for the spirit of a man will bear his infirmities, but a wounded spirit what shall support ? by knowing the true place of the wound, we shall prevent its ulcerating the mind herself, nor be ready to think ourselves undone because the springs of our machine happen to be a little discomposed. But a disorder of the machine, even in the organs of imagination, cannot be cured by arguments : you might as well think of haranguing a man out of a fever, as go to vanish his scruples arising from that cause by the remonstrances

of reason : the patient must help himself, and since his malady sprung from habit, he must try to acquire a contrary habit, taking care in the first place to avoid every occasion of encouraging the old one. Therefore it will be dangerous to deal much with gloomy writers, tragical representations, or doleful tales, or to converse with persons that have a knack of giving everything a melancholy turn, or to indulge a humor of being ruffled at accidents ; for there is a near affinity between vexation and fear, the habit of making ourselves soon uneasy by the one, will render us more susceptible of uneasiness from the other ; as on the contrary, if we have been accustomed to possess our minds in tranquillity and even tenor under some situations, we shall the readier learn the art of doing the like under the rest.

Nevertheless, it is but a temporary expedient to shut out the thought of our terrors, or try to laugh them off ; for when reduced to the company of doctor, apothecary and nurse, we shall have no stomach to laugh, nor veil to cover the reflections which then will force in upon us ; therefore the abstinence from melancholy subjects I recommended just now is only to prevent aggravations of our distemper ; as for that degree of malady we have already, it will be more prudent to probe it to the bottom, to examine frequently the grounds of all our apprehensions at the brightest calmest seasons when we can do it impartially, that they may not give a double shock in coming upon us by surprise, to store up carefully whatever comfortable topics may occur or be suggested, impressing them often upon the imagination until it becomes habituated thereto, to catch what courage we can by sympathy and imitation from such as have it, and choose the conversation of persons who can discourse on solemn subjects with seriousness, and yet with tranquillity and cheerfulness.

16. The last source of terror upon quitting this mortal stage is that of an after reckoning ; and this I can offer no solid arguments to remove where there is just cause to apprehend it will terminate in our disfavor. For how much soever I have spoken of an equality among all perceptive creatures upon computation made of their enjoyments and sufferings throughout the whole extent of their existence, this does not hinder great inequalities in the several stages of it ; and the stage of Being we are next to enter upon, may have a duration exceeding our powers of arithmetic, which makes it an eternity to us, and we are taught to look upon it as such by the best authorities : if there be a third life still beyond, we know of nothing to be done here for affecting our condition therein ; so our most important and whole concern lies with that immediately succeeding the present. And the only way to remove our appre-

hensions upon this article, is by a rational piety, and sound sentiments concerning our relation to God and our fellow-creatures, exemplified in the practice of good works, to remove the causes of them : for though Faith or an habitual right disposition of mind be the saving principle, yet the man who pretends to have Faith but never shows it in his actions, deceives himself, and the truth is not in him.

Nevertheless, as there are misapprehensions concerning the saving Faith, which sometimes occasion very terrifying scruples, I shall offer my idea of it, which whoever pleases may examine in time of health, making such alterations and amendments therein as he shall find reasonable, and store in mind for his use in time of trial. This Faith then I apprehend to consist in sound sentiments of the divine Attributes, a firm persuasion and trust in the goodness of God, an habitual bent of mind to refer all things to his Glory manifested in the happiness of his creatures, or a hearty disposition to give the greater good a preference before private interest, appetite, and passion, styled in Scripture language coming to the Father ; together with such other points of belief as stand so connected with the former, that it cannot be attained nor act vigorously without them, called in the same language passing through the Son.

As for many particulars more strongly stickled for in the Christian world, they seem to me no parts of the thing we are describing ; but whoever believes the word of Christ to be the word of God, and that by carefully exercising his reason thereupon he shall find a sure direction for bringing him to the Father, needs no further belief unless such as will strengthen and keep him firm in this. For I have observed in the Chapter of the Trinity, that these are the remote fundamentals which serve like gates and ramparts to protect and conduct into the essentials : in a siege all the fighting is at the outworks, which as mankind stands circumstanced it is necessary to defend strenuously for sake of the city within : but having no intrinsic value, it is likewise necessary to cast a greater degree of awe and sacredness upon them, because else you cannot make the plain man sensible of their importance, as you can of the moral and theological virtues which have a worth of their own explainable to his understanding. But how safe and prudential soever it may be during the course of our lives to exert a proper vigor in the maintenance of these remote fundamentals, I conceive zeal for forms and staunch orthodoxy no solid ground of comfort in the hour of death, nor of defence in the day of judgment.

I shall remark further, that Faith, whatever be the proper ob-

ject, is a habit, not a single act ; for the one may subsist while the other cannot be exerted : a man may have a true fondness for hunting or other diversion, yet find no relish for it at particular times when his stomach is full, or his body indisposed ; so he may have a real Faith though scarce able to make a faint exercise of it, through some weakness or indisposition of his organs, therefore had better take his estimate from the tenor of his past conduct, than from the present colors in his imagination.

But who can have the testimony of a conscience void of offence? For in many things we offend all, where it was possible for us to have acted better : but we must distinguish between what is possible, and what is practicable ; every failure of our duty must be in instances where it was in our power to have done otherwise, for what is not in our power cannot be a duty ; yet it is impracticable in this vale of mortality constantly to use our power well, so as to perform an unsinning obedience ; this perfection is reserved for those who shall inherit the kingdom of the just, and be completely saved from the original sinfulness of human nature ; to which state we can only make some short advances here. For, as observed in the Chapter on Redemption, we are none of us completely saved in this life, having not attained that character of perfect endurance and forbearance which must put us into possession of salvation ; yet may not improperly be said to be saved by being entered into a sure way that will conduct us thereto : and if we have continually struggled with our inordinate appetites, and been overcome by them only by surprise or through natural imbecility without deliberate consent of the mind, and have a sincere love of rectitude as a thing desirable of itself without regard to the punishments escaped by it, there is no cause to be affrighted ; for there is mercy with God as well as justice ; the one flows voluntarily from him, but the other is drawn by the exigencies of the creation : and I hope many a man can have the testimony of his conscience for so much as this amounts to. This testimony will find the fairer reception if we have used ourselves to an openness of heart and willingness to think well of other persons ; for it is much easier to believe that God is good to many, than to a chosen few ; but the rigorous and narrow-minded throw so many difficulties in the way of salvation, that they can never be sure of having surmounted them, themselves : thus it is true in this case that with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again ; and I believe the doctrine of the strait gate, as vulgarly understood, has been the source of many disquietudes, which might be removed by the exposition given in the Chapter last cited, yet without abating our vigilance and industry in striving to enter it.

If there should still remain a suspicion that being on our departure, but in the road to salvation not entirely delivered from the corruption of our nature, we may still continue liable to some evils and severe exercises to perfect us completely, let us consider that we shall at least be delivered from those troubles which oppress us here : and if there be others of another kind needful to be gone through, we may be content to take our share with the rest of our fellow travellers, and may as we proceed onward in our progress be able to bear them better than any we have sustained here ; yet not with the Stoical presumption of blunting the edge of them by our sturdiness ; for evil were no evil, nor could answer the secret purposes rendering it necessary to be suffered, if the mind were so steeled as not to feel it, but confiding in the Goodness of God that he will lay no burden upon us greater than we shall be able to bear.

17. I have now done my best towards unravelling that texture of terrors which render the thoughts of death so dreadful, and pointing out the topics of consideration by which we may know how to deal with them, and prevent their entangling among one another again. But let no man expect to find a cure upon once giving me the hearing : he had better use what he sees here as hints for giving scope to his own thoughts ; for our own imaginations and our understandings are as variously formed as the features of our faces, so that the same object which strikes upon one person with the most forcible colors, scarcely touches another ; whatever he can draw from his own sagacity and observation will do him more service, than a thousand arguments suggested by anybody else, because they will not so readily coincide and join with his usual trains of thinking to make his system all of a piece. Only I beg leave to warn him once more, to keep clear of his But thens, and pursue his reflections upon one source of alarm to the end, before he gives admission to a second ; for while he suffers them to break in upon one another, he will never come to an end with any of them.

And I flatter myself that he may find encouragement in the foregoing sections, to enter upon the task with a resolution to make it one principal business of his life ; for while the fear of death, which may be stifled during health by a continual round of engagements, is apprehended only for the uneasiness it may occasion for a few days or a few hours on the near approach of his end, he may think it scarce worth while to give himself much trouble or much interruption to the course of his pleasures for sake of escaping so transitory an evil. But upon being put in mind here what methods and habits of thinking are needful to secure him quiet in



the day of danger, he will see that by escaping a transient evil he will attain a positive and substantial good, for that many of them will help him to pass his time more usefully and satisfactorily in this world, and promote his interests in the next.

For our abhorrences and tormenting passions, as well as the soothing, were designed for our benefit, that in struggling with them we may not only deliver ourselves from their tyranny, but gain the *Spolia opima*, the richest spoils, in an accession of strength to our spiritual body from the contest. Fear of Death was given to man for its usefulness; for I may style it given although not innate but the child of custom, because the course of affairs in the moral world which introduced the custom that generated it, lay under the disposal of Providence, and it has other uses besides those answered collaterally in the endeavors to master it. It is commonly said a man who values not his own life has every other man's in his power, so that if there were not a sense of self-preservation which makes the law formidable by its capital punishments, there could be no order nor government, the number of house-breakers and banditti must increase, a great part of mankind would become savage beasts, the more dangerous by how much they have the more cunning.

The dread of death proves likewise some little check to intemperance when the excesses of it have brought them into apparent danger: it makes them compassionate to sickness and accident, for they seldom pity another for the tooth-ache, or other complaint that puts the life to no hazard, to strengthen which sympathizing temper is the use of burial ceremonies, and it puts the giddy upon thoughts of Religion and another world, which would never enter their heads amid the bustle of amusements without some powerful alarm to force a passage: nor is it unavailing to anybody so far as it urges him to exert his endeavors to overcome it, not by shutting his eyes against it, for this is more a cowardly flight than a brave conquest, but by taking the proper measures to turn the dreadful object into a harmless one. The cry of *Memento mori* is generally thought a dismal sound, and so indeed it is become through the indiscretion or artifices of those who make it loudest in such manner as increases the natural terrors of mankind, that they may govern them the more easily in the confusedness of their minds. Hermits and holy men are described sighing over death's heads, sobbing and groaning at their being men and not angels, practising austerities and self-denials without intermission.

But why do we need a death's head for a memento, when every church-yard, every probate of a will, every newspaper, or wall of a hundred years old, nay, every butcher's or poulterer's

shop we pass by might do as well, if we turned them that way in our thoughts. If we perceive a use in any particular exercise of austerity or self-denial, either for our future ease in this world, or preparation for the next, let us go through it manfully in God's name, with a view to the advantage to be gained thereby, as we encourage ourselves to any other laborious or disagreeable task by prospect of the profit expectant therefrom; but why need we afflict our bodies, only to deject our spirits, and double the horror of that which is formidable enough already?

18. For we shall do well to examine the uses of every measure before we employ it, and know why we wish to keep ourselves and others constantly in mind of our mortality: the memento mori serves first to strike a terror upon the thoughtless, not for the sake of tormenting them, but to bring them into a habit of serious consideration: this point once gained, the memento deserves still to be continued, not to increase their terrors which now are become needless, having already answered their purpose, but with a contrary view, namely, to allay them by so familiarizing the object to their thought, that they may be subject to none of those mechanical alarms which shock with their suddenness and their strangeness, and by connecting them in train with other lightsome objects which shall take out all the dismal colors. For people who seldom think of death, when forced upon it can think of nothing else, it so fills their imagination; whereas, when used to the reflection, it overwhelms with no confusedness, but leaves room and even introduces other ideas of more pleasurable aspect, so that they can think calmly and cheerfully while thinking most seriously.

Therefore our endeavors ought to tend to make the memento mori a memento renasci or memento vivere, that the remembrance of our being to die may suggest a remembrance of our being to be born into some other state, and of the manner wherein we are to lay our plan of conduct for this present life. For which purpose it may not be unserviceable to entertain the idea of an Aion, journey through matter, consisting of several stages whereof the passage through this visible world is one, but divisible into the under stages of gestation, childhood, and manhood.

On our expulsion from the womb we left at once all the provisions for our warmth, for our sustenance, for our circulation, necessary to our support there: in that state we were formed and fashioned with members fitted for the conveniences we now find in them; our eyes and ears and curious organs of sense were fabricated, of no use to us there, but to be of signal service afterwards; it may be presumed we had some pleasurable sensations,

some enjoyment of life, and some pains which prompted to many little motions beginning that suppleness of joints and agility of limbs from whence we now reap so continual advantage. In our childhood we were sent to school or apprenticeship, or some other method of preparation for the succeeding stage of life, for I suppose nobody who was assured his son could not live beyond fourteen, would ever think of subjecting him to the discipline of a school: we had our holidays and amusements allowed us there, and have passed our time agreeably, insomuch that many look upon that as the happiest part of our lives: the pleasures permitted us there, were not only compatible with our learning, but had their uses too with respect to our condition of manhood, as they invigorated our health, enlivened our spirits, and whetted our sagacity by the little contrivances we practised to enhance them.

Thus by reflection on the stages we have already passed through as parts in the whole line of our visible existence, we may habituate our minds to the idea of this too being the part of a much longer line to run on through many centuries: as upon what passed with us before birth depends our constitution, our natural talents, the limbs, muscles, and fibres which are the sole instruments of our action now, and what passed with us under the schoolmaster, supplied us with the degree of expertness we reap the benefit of in our present occupations; so it is not unlikely that what passes with us now, may contribute to the formation of organs and faculties capable of being employed to better purpose, a hundred years hence. In our infancy we had no notion of the improvements then going forward for our subsequent benefit, and in our youth we could have little more in prospect than the rules and directions prescribed, without discerning the expedience of them; but as the judgment ripens we can discover grounds for the community of interests, and see that our proper direction for attaining a good unknown in the remaining stage of our Aion, is by doing apparent good to ourselves or others, great or small as opportunity serves, for we are members of the community whose interests we are to consult; and true industry will attend to little profits in default of greater, be it only of a present amusement, which is a mite added to the stock of happiness.

Therefore the memento is serviceable for keeping us steady in this track, that we may not run a gadding after our fond desires without considering whether any mischievous consequences may ensue. For if by help of this monitor we have been accustomed to carry our references to the glory of God manifested in the good of his creatures, and to receive the enjoyments of life as the bounties of a gracious Father indulgent even to our humors when they

can be indulged without hurt, should anybody set a death's head before us while busied in our lawful occupations or even in our pleasures that have had license from our sober judgment, it would be so far from proving an interruption or damping of them, that we might be ready to say, this is nothing new to me, for this I had in my thoughts before when laying the plan I am now pursuing.

19. Whoever once reflects that the improvements needful for his well-being in the remaining part of his Aion, are not to be worked by single acts, but an habitual turn of sentiment, and considers how much attention and perseverance are requisite to gain a habit, will not care to lose sight of his memento, lest he should thereby lose all his opportunities till the last moments, when there will not be time for the business he has to do; for if he delays at all, there is a great chance he will delay till then. Procrastination is a habit which like other habits gathers strength by every repeated indulgence; so that if you put off your work to-day, you will stand more inclined to put it off to-morrow. Not that I or anybody will deny, that a habit may be broken or created by one violent impulse of something operating strongly upon the imagination: a burnt child dreads the fire, being cured once for all of the habit of playing with it: but this very rarely happens, and is never to be depended on upon several accounts.

For there is great hazard of having no opportunity in the last moments: many are cut off by sudden accidents, apoplexies palsies, and other disorders giving no warning; others will not take warning, still flattering themselves to the last, or being flattered by their attendants with hopes of a recovery; most distempers come accompanied with pains and bodily uneasinesses which engross the whole attention, or if the body be tolerably quiet, they darken and weaken the faculties of the mind: so that perhaps there is not one in a hundred who on the last day of their present stage, have it in their power to do anything effectually for their advantage in the next. And if an opportunity be afforded it is generally wrested away again by other engagements, the care of settling temporal affairs, the solicitude for destitute children, the vexation of schemes broken off abruptly, the memento now forced in with a sudden shock and appearing in a terrible strangeness, so confuse the mind, that she has no judgment nor calmness to take care of her own concerns.

But supposing sufficient warning, ease of body, clearness and strength of mind, leisure, calmness, freedom from all interruptions, and everything else you can wish but have no reason to expect, how can you be secure that your repentance will be sincere, that it will be a true metanoia, a thorough change of sentiments

and desires? For when destruction hangs over you just ready to seize, your sorrow may be attrition only, not contrition, an abhorrence of the punishment, not of the courses leading into it, without a spark of love to God, but in servile submission and dread of his vengeance, without any inclination to virtue, though you wish ardently to have followed it because you wish to escape the mischiefs that might have been prevented thereby. For though fear be the beginning of wisdom, it is not perfect so as to answer any good purpose, until the aversion first belonging to the object of fear is completely transferred upon works of folly, and turned into a hearty desire of wisdom; but you can never be certain it is so, until you have had experience of the aversion and desire subsisting at times when the terrible object was not held in contemplation.

Nevertheless, there is a work peculiarly proper for the hour of death if it be so circumstanced as that any work can be done in it, commendable as well to those who have, as those who have not done any good work before. The old proverb holds good here, better late than never: while there is life, I can scarce say there is hope, but there is a possibility, and who would not besur himself in a matter of the utmost importance so long as there is a possibility that he may succeed? Some addicted to hard drinking have cured themselves of it by one strong resolution upon a sense of the danger it brought upon their health; others have got rid of a fond passion of love in like manner by a lively representation of the mischiefs attending it: many have been turned by an alarming distemper from a course of dissoluteness and indulgence, to sobriety, and regularity, never afterwards to be parted from; and the great St. Paul was converted from a persecutor to an apostle by a fright: if these persons had been called away immediately after their change, we cannot doubt but God would have numbered them among the righteous, and that he did so in one instance the trite example of the penitent thief is an evidence. Yet this possibility, which had better be treated with the contempt it deserves while we have length of time and fairer opportunities before us, that we may not be tempted to neglect them for such a slender dependence, can do no hurt by being magnified into a probable assurance to him, who is reduced to it alone: therefore it is rightly done by such as are called in upon these occasions to preach nothing but comfort and hope to the patient from such efforts as he is then able to make; not only for his present quiet which is an object worth regard, but because it may spread a calmness and composure over his thoughts, which will give him the fuller and better use of them: and if he can be brought to

suspend his terrors and feel an immediate satisfaction in the topics suggested to him, this may make him see the vanity of sensual pleasures or worldly pursuits and the desirableness of good sentiments, which will go a great way towards infusing them with the force of a habit, and effecting that thorough metanoia which is the one thing needful.

20. Nor need the last hour pass unemployed with those who have spent many preceding hours with a view to that : their bodily pains and uneasinesses, or if perhaps they have some mechanical tremors of mind they may consider as throes of the new birth introducing them into another world more commodious than this, and with a more agile better-constituted body, which whether they fancy it will be six feet high or the thousandth part of an inch it is no matter, so as it be a spiritual body making them almost purely rational creatures with very little of the sensitive, no more than can be well managed by the superior faculties. They will regard this as a last labor finishing the work they had to do here, and if there be any work to do hereafter it will be rendered easy and sure of success by what they have done ; here for this life only is a state of probation, the next a state of certainty and uninterrupted progress towards perfection. They know that habits are strengthened by single acts, and the benefit they now find in the good sentiments they have been habituated to by their former conduct will encourage them to expect the like benefit in futurity from such acts of patience, tranquillity, resignation, and trust in the divine goodness, as they are able to exercise.

If they have been always taught to look upon the favors of Heaven as obtained by interest, it is not a time now to deal in argumentations, they must avail themselves of such ideas as they find in their possession ; but they cannot have a better patron than their Redeemer, to whom they may resort directly without needing an introduction or other passport beside a sincere love of righteousness, and true cordiality for their fellow-members of his body, which he has made the sole conditions of his intercession. Or if they regard his mission and sacrifice as the sole necessary means leading mankind into that righteousness which will make them acceptable to the Father without any interest, and reflect that they attained what degree of righteousness they have by adherence to the doctrines, institutions, and instructions delivered from him, this will confirm their dependence on him for his further aid in their new state of Being : and the signal interpositions of God in his second and third persons to rescue the human race from the corruption of their nature, will be an earnest and experimental proof of his care over them throughout all the stages of their existence.

To which may be added another evidence springing from the contemplation of this world, for their openness of heart and well-wishing eye, quick at descrying prosperities and enjoyments everywhere, which must have discovered to them a copious flood of bounty poured on man and animal, reptile and insect, wherein themselves likewise have had a share, will have familiarized them to the expectation of a nature and course of events called fortune, together with divine interpositions if there be vacancies left requiring them in that part of the universal plan respecting other worlds, not less beneficent and gracious than those whereby sub-lunary affairs have been conducted.

These reflections inducing a serenity of mind and acquiescence in the summons whether given by the call of nature or of accident, they need not want employment in ruminating on such sound sentiments concerning the divine Attributes and government of Providence, as having been deeply inculcated by their former reasonings and a conduct conformable thereto are become firm persuasions or articles of Faith. To which may be added any little kind offices of charity which occur readily without solicitude, to hunt for them, and can be performed without much exertion. But I do not mean leaving legacies to pious uses, for this is not so much giving as compelling executors to give, but whatever may be profitable whether by way of admonition or example to others who stay behind. For the solemnity of the scene makes every little object strike a strong impression, not presently to be defaced: so that a single word, a gesture, or composure of countenance of a dying person may do signal service to the by-standers, or others to whom they report it. And charity being the fulfilling both of law and gospel, the best ruling principle to guide the conduct of our lives, the only one of the three virtues which will bear us company into the other world, we cannot end our course in this, better than by an act of Charity.

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## CHAP. XXXVIII.

### CONCLUSION.

My labors are now drawn to an end, not by having exhausted my subjects, which perhaps were inexhaustible, but my stock of materials: and labors they have been to me, who, wanting that

readiness of thought and expression which many people have at command, found great difficulty in collecting and digesting my matter, drawing out the threads of argumentation, preventing them from entangling, guarding against misapprehensions, and against giving occasion for inferences to be drawn from my words which I never intended. The women generally end their letters with, Excuse mistakes through haste; and many male authors affect to give you a hint, that they could have done better if they had a mind or would have allowed themselves more leisure : but I happen not to be of a humor to desire excuse for mistakes through haste; I had rather the reader should stand satisfied of my care and honest zeal in his service though at the expense of my abilities, and believe where he sees a blemish, that I should have done better, if I had known how. For of how little importance soever this attempt may prove, it seemed the most important I was qualified to undertake; and I have laid down all along that it is not so much the significancy of the part assigned, as the just and diligent performance of it that merits a plaudit.

Having this testimony of my own conscience, I may now make holiday with a quiet mind, and with the same joy as a workman upon having finished his task before the evening of his day is quite spent; but my pleasure is considerably abated by finding the performance fall short of the idea preconceived at entering upon it. Nevertheless, I may comfort myself with this being a common accident happening to thousands besides myself: the projects of ambition, the contrivances of avarice, almost all the schemes of life, whether in great designs or small, promise more than they perform, not only by rubs falling in the way, but when suffered to take their course they give greater expectation in the embryo, than satisfaction in their full maturity. And it is necessary they should do so, that the business of the world may go currently forward, for our indolence is so lumpish that it cannot be stirred unless by flattering hopes: we will not work for small wages and do not deserve great; therefore when Providence has any little service to put us upon, we are permitted to magnify it in our imagination, or else we should want ardor to exert ourselves; yet when the toil is over it is quickly forgotten, like the pains of a woman upon her delivery; and one may rest contented with a less favorable success than was necessary for one to undergo it. I now perceive by experience that my design required a more expert and masterly hand to execute, appearing as here managed rather a tissue of separate essays, than a neat compact and workmanlike composition, strengthened in all its parts by their mutual dependence and clear connection among



one another ; yet has it something of a shape and a juncture between the principal members.

2. My aim in the first volume was to bring men acquainted with their own nature, the frame and texture of their composition consisting of a perceiving part, and a machinery of organs and instruments to serve its uses ; to distinguish between secondary properties resulting from composition, and the primary belonging separately to the parts, which are the foundation of the other ; for if one of the wheels in a watch were changed for a waxen wheel, the watch could not go ; to observe that a compound can neither act nor receive action within itself unless by an operation of some one of the parts upon another, for in all action there must be a distinct agent and a patient ; and to discern that the common transactions of life, each whereof we are obliged for convenience sake to esteem one entire action, are divisible into many little motions or acts succeeding one another instantaneously, one completed before the other begins.

The next inquiry runs upon the causes of action, with an endeavor to show, that the mind never stands indifferent to operate either in her great or small, her deliberate or sudden motions without some view, however transient, to prompt her ; that this view always contains an idea of her own immediate satisfaction, under which term I take leave for brevity sake to comprehend the escape from uneasiness : but this naked satisfaction cannot be had alone without some sensation, or other pleasing idea to introduce it, which therefore as it occurs is the motive determining to every exercise of our activity.

It seemed then to follow in order, that we should search out the rise of our ideas from the two funds of sensation and reflection, how they unite into combinations and trains supplying us thereby with apprehensions, opinions, assents, and judgments. It appeared expedient likewise to distinguish the two faculties of imagination and understanding, the former the executive power, having for the most part the direction of our conduct, the latter the legislative, to be resorted to only upon great occasions, and serviceable chiefly for putting the other into proper trains : from whence it appears that we are sensitivo-rational creatures, having a larger mixture of the sensitive than the rational, more of the brute than the angel in our composition, and must learn to treat ourselves accordingly with discipline and honest artifice.

From this we pass on, perhaps a little immethodically, to the variety and generation of motives, touching upon the passions, affections, aversions, and habits which give most of them their currency and color, and have their seat in the imagination. After this to

bring the multitude of our motives into some distinguishable order we distribute them into four general classes, Pleasure, Use, Honor, and Necessity.

Having done for the present with imagination, we consider the faculty of reason, which must have some certain end to pursue : this proves to be the same as that which actuated the other faculty, with this only difference, that imagination with all her train of passions, appetites, and desires, catches always at the satisfaction of the present moment, whereas reason looks forward to all distances and all quarters to find the larger sum of satisfactions, or greater good that will result from her measures. Nevertheless, reason is too short-sighted to discern clearly or make just computation of all the consequences to follow upon the measures she has under deliberation, therefore must take some rule, the product of her former exercises or of other persons' experience and judgment, for her mark of direction ; so that her ultimate end is very rarely her ultimate point of view, yet is it her business always to extend her view as far and wide as opportunity or the prospect lying before her, will permit. But when she has fixed upon her point whether ultimate or subordinate, it will avail nothing, imagination being the executive faculty, until she has raised an appetite or habit there, creating an immediate satisfaction in the prosecution, or uneasiness in deviating from it.

Hence spring the virtues, which are habits or turns of sentiment inclining spontaneously to such points of aim or courses of action as sober reason and sound judgment would recommend : and hence likewise it is dangerous to break the force of a virtue for sake of some apparent good, because greater good may be lost for want of this impulse at other times, when the line of expedience is not so apparent. This being the nature of the virtues, it is evident their foundation must stand upon Prudence, which is the habit of weighing distant good and expedience in a fair balance with present pleasure, or of being affected with remote satisfactions and evils, as strongly as with those that are nearer. The other cardinal virtues are only particular exercises of Prudence under the attacks of danger or pain, the allurements of pleasure, or temptations of self-love drawing us into a total disregard of our fellow-creatures : the last I have split into two, making a fifth cardinal of Benevolence, which seems naturally distinguishable from the obligations of Justice, for kindness does not begin till obligation ends.

Having collected these grounds, I thought it might be expedient to sketch out a plan of morality such as would lie thereupon, defective indeed, not in the main drift of the design, for it would be hard upon any hypothesis to assign an ultimate end beyond that

of each man's own good, but in the scantiness of our limits, being confined only to the pleasures of this present life. But it was advisable to go through with the examination of human nature, and form something of a regular system out of the materials furnished by continual experience, before we proceeded to the consideration of futurity: because men are so attached to their own peculiar notions upon matters relative to futurity, that they will deny experience itself if they perceive it leading into a way they do not like. The safest course to escape the bad influence of prejudice, must be by first marshalling all the stores we can gather from experience in their proper order, that we may know where to find them again upon occasion, and then applying them to correct or serve for the basis of our speculative opinions.

And the observant reader will perceive in the sequel, that the subjects handled throughout this volume are not the playthings of wanton curiosity, for I make frequent use of them afterwards, when coming to higher matters. But if he expects to profit by me, he must still make large use of his own understanding for putting the rude ill-joined materials presented him into neater order, shaping and polishing them in his own manner to have a coincidence with his ordinary trains, that they may lie ready and convenient for his service.

Nor will it not be needful to familiarize his thoughts to the difference of primary and secondary qualities, the analyzation of action, the deliberate and transient motives, the two faculties of imagination and understanding, the ultimate end and ultimate point of view, and other minute but useful distinctions which I have called figuratively microscopic observations. For if these things are to be scrutinized over again every time application is made of them, the sequel in many places will appear dry, toilsome, and unintelligible, but with a readiness in them he will be able to judge easily and clearly what is or is not worth his reception afterwards.

3. The scope of my third and fourth volumes tends to supply the deficiency left in the former by such researches as we are able to make into futurity, the first point whereof must be to inquire whether we are likely to have a continuance therein: and this depends upon our being compound or simple substances, for the laws of nature can only produce or destroy the former by bringing the materials of them together, or dissolving them again, but have no power over the latter, either to increase or diminish their number.

In order to discuss this point, we are still obliged to employ the microscope for examining the nature of composition, which appears to be nothing else than a certain arrangement or juncture of

substances, each having a distinct existence of its own before their coming together: so that a compound is no new existence, but a collection of things already existent though perhaps not discoverable by our senses; and upon the compound being destroyed, there is not a being lost, though perhaps the parts may be dispersed beyond reach of our observation. But neither can a collection or compound perceive without a distinct perception in all its constituent parts, for if some of them have a perception the others want, it is the parts and not the compound that perceives; so that perception must be a primary property, not a secondary resulting from composition. Therefore from the consciousness of our personality and existence, and from our perceptivity may be inferred, that we are individuals or simple substances, not consisting of parts, nor destructible by all the powers of nature.

From the faculty of perceiving likewise it appears that we are not material substances, for it is of the essence of matter to be inert and stupid, nor would a grain of sand placed in the most exquisite organization perceive ever the more, therefore being incapable of receiving the notices brought to it from external objects: and this substance specifically different from matter is called spirit, which, wherever it shall fall, or of what compound soever it may become an ingredient, will still retain the same personality, and always continue to be our very selves.

Nevertheless, the discovery of our perpetual duration will avail us little without some further light into the manner how it may pass, whether in satisfaction or uneasiness, of both which we are capable. But here experience can give us no help, for we must expect to lose all intercourse with the objects from whence we receive our satisfactions, by losing our organs which were the channels through which they flowed; nor have we any experiment whereon to found a conjecture in what manner the floating particles of matter may affect us without organs. We must now therefore take the telescope in hand, as having distant objects and extensive prospects to behold, and must survey the face of nature lying visible before us, which experience testifies is a tissue of effects produced by a train of operations depending upon one another: this line we must investigate up to its original, which will quickly lead us to a God, the fountain of all powers, and intelligent disposer of all events we see around us.

Having found there is a God, the next step of inquiry tends to the knowledge of what he is, which we can only gather from contemplation of visible nature whereof we have experience, together with such conclusions as we can draw from thence in our considerate

judgment concerning the character, and attributes of its Author. Of these attributes I first consider only the primary, postponing those I call secondary, as resulting from the nature of the creatures considered jointly with that of God, till a better opportunity. Perhaps I may be singular in having made an attribute of Equity which is commonly blended with that of Justice, but seems to me apparently distinguishable from it; the one making a difference between persons according to their deeds, the other void of all partiality, favor, or predilection, and no respecter of persons. And I should be glad the intelligent reader would examine this point thoroughly in his own mind before he goes on, because if I have made a mistake anywhere it is the most unlucky here, as being the corner-stone of my subsequent building. He may please to consider among all the causes that can incline to partiality or favor of one person above another, whether they must not proceed from some want or weakness which can have no place in the Almighty: and if he thinks an attribute of Equity most agreeable to his reason, he may suspend objections arising from the various distributions of fortune among mankind, and from Scripture, until he sees in the sequel how far I can bring them reconcilable therewith.

Yet I do not pretend to give this list of attributes for a complete analysis of the divine nature, for there must be other attributes besides, whereof we can have no imagination to account for the origin of evil, the limitation of goodness, and the effects of it being conveyed by the contrivances of wisdom, rather than the operations of power; for to our apprehension it seems that Omnipotence might have distributed what portion of good and evil was judged proper to the creatures by immediate acts, as well as by a long complicated tissue of second causes. But since the method of acting by the intervention of second causes has been constantly pursued so far as our experience and observation can reach, it may be presumed the divine conduct is uniform and of a piece throughout, and therefore that there is a plan of nature extending to the invisible world, whereof this of the visible is a part, the second causes employed in the one being calculated to produce effects in the other. And it being impossible for us certainly to investigate in what particular manner the causes at work here can effect our condition hereafter, or to know what scenes may pass with us then, there seemed no hurt in imagining a manner in order to render our general idea of being so affected less hard of conception: for as observed in a former volume, imagination is our strongest faculty, and the convictions of reason seldom have much weight or duration unless they can be represented in sensible images upon that. In this view I have ventured upon my two

hypotheses of the Vehicles and the Mundane Soul carried on in the Vision, as a narrative of matters of fact, the better to illuminate my idea with visible colors. I am not conscious of those notions being hurtful to the substantial of Religion or doctrines of the Church; on the contrary, I have sometimes found a use for them in treating upon those matters, and their being capable of this service, if it be not thought an evidence in their favor, may at least pass for my excuse in entertaining them.

From these speculations I proceed to the dominion of Providence extending to all events, comprehending every minute motion that may influence them, and leaving no room for chance to interfere. From hence may be gathered, that there is a plan of Nature and texture of second causes spreading over all regions of the universe, yet not excluding immediate interpositions interwoven therein, to be exerted at predetermined times for supplying of vacancies, left on purpose for making them requisite. But difficulties being apt to start in this idea of Providence, as appearing subversive of liberty, it was necessary to enter into a minute discussion of this privilege in human nature, in order to show that a man is free when nothing hinders him from doing or choosing just as he pleases, notwithstanding the certainty of prior causes inclining him to choose or act in one particular manner, and to make it intelligible how Providence may govern the actions of men by having the sources of their inclinations, motives, and apprehensions at command, as well as by compulsive force or authority.

I come now to make application of what we have been able to gather from our experience and meditations thereupon, concerning visible nature and the divine; from all which it appears, that as all matter is homogeneous, the same everywhere in solidity, mobility, and other primary properties, the difference of quality and operation in bodies resulting from their composition or arrangement of parts, and the action of other bodies upon them; so have we no color of evidence to disprove that all created spirits are likewise homogeneous, possessed alike of perceptivity, activity, and other primary properties, their differences arising solely from the material organizations wherewith they are united, or the action of other substances affecting them and their secondary qualities, as also their perceptions varying according to changes made in the material composition, or in the substances wheramong they are conversant. But the laws respecting the formation of all compounds, and the particular operations of all substances, being comprised within the universal plan of Providence, whatever good any creature receives, whether procured by his own industry, or conveyed by the channels of nature or fortune,

must derive originally from the divine bounty, with certain knowledge and direct intention that it should come to his hands.

Then taking into consideration the attribute of Equity, by which the distribution of bounty must be regulated, there will follow an exact equality upon the balance of good and evil allotted to every perceptive creature. Nevertheless, this equality in their whole portion is not inconsistent with inequalities in the present world, where they receive a very small part of it, but requires inequalities in some other parts to compensate the differences made here. Nor can it be thought an improbable conclusion, that there is some immense period wherein the balance between all creatures, although greatly unequal for a time, shall be brought even at last. Hence follows a general connection of interests throughout the universe, a partnership in one common stock, which cannot be increased or diminished in any individual without proportionably affecting the share of every other : so that every hurt done by one creature to another hurts his own interests, as every good advances them, and every dispensation of Providence bringing damage upon individuals, must, to be consistent with our ideas of goodness and equity, terminate in some greater good of the creation, and therein of the party sustaining it.

I then examine into the secondary attribute of Justice, having its foundation in the short-sightedness of the creatures, and their insensibility to distant advantage needful enough for spurring them up to work in the attainment of good unseen, or too remote to touch their desire, by the nearer expectation of reward and punishment, which though distributed according to the conduct past, it is always with a view to their influence upon the future, and this influence they may sometimes have when brought upon one person by the deeds of another. From these observations it follows, that punishment cannot be absolutely endless, which would violate Equity by keeping the balance perpetually on one side : for since wickedness is permitted by Heaven, and it must needs be that offences come, undoubtedly for some necessary uses of the creation redounding from their punishment, there would be a partial withholding of bounty, unless the sufferer were to take his share in the benefit of those severe services he is permitted to go through.

This is the only point I am sensible of, whereat offence may be taken, as seeming contradictory to a received opinion ; for which reason I would gladly have suppressed it but could not, it being a principal link in the chain of reasoning, whereby the interests of our fellow-creatures are connected with our own, from whence I conceive all the rules and duties of life may be derived.

If I have erred, it has been in company with men of great note even in the Church, and hope to stand acquitted of having proceeded wantonly, with a disregard to consequences, by the pains taken to expatiate upon the intenseness of punishments to continue for a duration, whereof no man knows the bounds; which may well be styled an eternity in the language of the poor to whom the Gospel was preached. For though to God a thousand years are but as one day, to us they are an eternity, the utmost length of our view and our concern: and it were happy for us, if we never deemed a much shorter length expected to pass in the pleasures of this world an eternity, beyond which we need take no thought. The subtle speculations concerning the possibility of successive eternities to follow one another, if blameable, will show me too zealous rather than too indifferent in saving the credit of established tenets from being shaken by anything I have advanced.

Thus having shown in the first volume that each man's own satisfaction, interest, or happiness is the *primum mobile* or first spring of all his schemes and all his actions, as well rational as inconsiderate, and that the acquisition of moral prudence or the sensibility of enjoyment certainly to come at any distance of time equally with the present, is the sole and ready road to attain that purpose; having then in this volume deduced the connection of interests, throughout the creation whereby every individual becomes interested in the good or evil befalling anywhere: from these two premises follows the grand fundamental rule of conduct of laboring constantly to increase the common stock by any beneficial service or prevention of damage among our fellow-creatures wherever we can, preferring always the greater discoverable good and good of the greater number, before the less.

4. My design in the fifth volume was to bring our theory reconcileable to practice, in order whereto the great fundamental rule is first parted into two main branches, Prudence and Benevolence, commonly called our duty to ourselves and to our neighbor, the one directing to the care of our private interests, the other to those of our fellow-creatures with whom we have a visible intercourse: for we are members of the universe, therefore whatever we can do for ourselves without greater detriment to any other, is an increase of happiness upon the whole, and by preventing others from encroaching upon us, or forbearing to encroach upon them, we alike save the common stock from diminution.

But since to keep us steady in the exercise of these two branches it is necessary to inculcate just sentiments of the supreme Being, because it is by the knowledge of his Attributes alone that



we can discover anything with assurance concerning things invisible, or trace the connection of interests, or discern any measures of conduct in this world conducive to the improvement of our condition in the next; hence arises a third branch of the fundamental rule, our duty to God. For the foundation of this duty is not the obligation of serving God himself, of which we are utterly incapable, but because by so doing we serve ourselves, and one another most effectually. This duty is fulfilled by the best exercise of our rational faculties to form the soundest notions they are able to reach of his essence and manner of government, and then employing such expedients as the nature of our constitution requires to impress them deeply upon the imagination, that they may rise spontaneously in their genuine lively colors. But the understandings and imaginations of men being very various, it seemed an useful attempt to explain the distinction so much talked of among philosophers, between the esoteric and exoteric doctrines, and to show that they were not contradictory to each other, nor the one a concealment of treasures, or the other an imposition upon the vulgar, but both an expression of the same substance in different languages, accommodated to the difference of conception among mankind.

Here seemed the proper place to discourse on the three remaining secondary Attributes, namely, Purity, Majesty, and Holiness, which are rather of the exoteric kind, being not expressive of anything in the divine nature, but preservative of the idea of it in our hearts against heterogeneous mixtures insinuating from the imperfections of man, for man being made after the image of God, it was natural to take our idea of him from his likeness; but then we must remember, there are many features in the image utterly unlike the original, and be careful to admit none of them into the composition.

The last of these subjects gave occasion for endeavoring to remove a scruple that might have arisen from our doctrine of universal Providence extending to all events, produced as well by man as by matter, and showing that God notwithstanding can in no propriety be styled the author of sin, nor do his provisions give a sanction or warrant to the commission, nor exempt it from being an act of disobedience, nor from the punishment consequent thereupon. The Chapter on Providence in the fourth Volume having been mostly esoteric scarce applicable to common use, it was needful here to resume the subject more in the other language, and show that although all events without exception were contained within the plan of Providence, nevertheless there is a profitable distinction to be made between those which are providential, and

others which are not : this disquisition perhaps contains more striking evidences even of the being of a God, though not more solid than those produced in the beginning of the third Volume : and some persons of good common sense who had the patience to hear my works only because they were mine, have declared that this was the first Chapter wherein they found me intelligible.

5. Hitherto I have proceeded by the sole light of nature ; I come now to compare the discoveries made thereby with those imparted to us from the religion wherein we were bred up, in order to find what there is of conformity between them, and with a desire of bringing them conformable in points where they have been thought to stand at variance ; agreeably to my principal intention set forth in the general introduction of effecting a reconciliation between contending parties rather than taking side with either, to which design the observant reader may already have perceived a tendency at several times by occasional allusions and introduction of passages from the sacred text ; but having now gotten together and prepared my materials, it is a proper time to enter directly upon the application.

The title Religion prefixed to the next chapter belongs rather as a running title to the whole remainder than to this particular chapter, which contains little more than an address to both parties, suggesting a presumption that if one would always strive to find a rational construction agreeable to our natural notions in the divine oracles, and the other would consider the facts of the evangelic history, though supposed to proceed from merely natural causes, as events extremely providential, having an extensive beneficial influence upon mankind, the result of both would terminate in a system of sentiment and conduct very little different in substantial : and exhorting them to deal with one another not as adversaries, but as persons in an amicable conference upon their common interests, for so the issue of their conference may justly be deemed, because, the general connection throughout the universe being borne in mind whoever hurts himself hurts me, therefore if I think another in a wrong way I shall endeavor to bring him into the right by such methods as are likely to prevail with him, but if I cannot do that, I shall strive to turn his own opinions to his greatest advantage. But the work of reconciliation being a very nice business to manage, requiring a sober freedom and strict impartiality void of all bias or prejudice, it was needful enough for my own direction to examine what is true freedom of thought, and wherein it differs from bigotry on the one hand, and that called freethinking on the other ; and to take warning against every danger that might threaten our liberty of judgment, whether from

scrupulous fear, obstinate attachment to old notions, fondness for novelty, secret self-conceit, or the vanity of doing something extraordinary. This blemish of human nature creeping in some measure upon us all, extending its influence to all our motions as well momentous as trifling, deserved a particular discussion, the drift whereof was to ascertain the difference between true and false honor : for honor being the source both of the brightest virtues and most pernicious extravagances it was attempting a good service to settle it upon its proper foundation, which is the prospect of attaining things excellent in themselves, rather than that of excelling or surpassing other persons.

Armed with these cautions, I enter upon some of the doctrines of our religion ; for I do not undertake to go through with them all, that would have been above my pitch, but what I have done may serve as a specimen of what is capable of being done this way, which may encourage abler hands more expert at the task to complete what I have left defective. But the reader must not expect to see me enter into the evidences proving the truth of those doctrines ; this would have been a violation of my neutrality necessary to be adhered to in a scheme of reconciliation, because without it there can be no hopes of gaining a favorable attention from the opposite parties : it was my business only to examine how they are capable of being understood, and to seek for such expositions as they may easily receive without changing or wresting a single word in the forms delivered, as might be reconcilable with our knowledge of nature, with philosophy, and with the tenor of the foregoing work ; nor have even my hypotheses been unserviceable in some places for explaining my idea. And I have succeeded so far in my own apprehension, as that the chapter on things above and contrary to reason is become almost superfluous, having by turning the subject about in my thoughts brought some points to lie commodiously within the compass of my own reason, which I had thought inexplicable at the time of writing that chapter.

In touching upon the mysteries I shall wish to put myself upon the judgment of persons who can see an honest intention though wrapped round in the mists of error ; with others an inadvertent word upon such sacred subjects is deemed as the sin of blasphemy. I by no means desire to lessen their veneration for those subjects, but have offered reasons why a greater degree of sacredness is, and ought to be, sometimes annexed to outworks than to the substantials within ; so that the sacredness of a tenet is no certain mark of its being an essential ingredient of the saving Faith. The having just sentiments of our Maker, of his govern-

ment, of our dependence on him, and of the relation we stand in to one another as children of the same father, I take to be the essentials of natural Religion : submission to Christ, taking his word for the word of God, reliance on his institutions and assistance for conducting us into the former, or being persuaded that no man can come to the Father unless through the Son, I take to be the essentials of Christianity : all particular articles beside I humbly conceive to be no more than necessary outworks for protecting the substance, and therefore demand a sacred veneration in proportion to the danger that substance must be exposed to by abandoning them. But it is well known the rules of fortification vary in different ages, therefore some defences, which were indispensable formerly, may be safely slighted now, and of those which remain, the angles and breastworks may be new planned to accommodate them to the modern methods of attack, as carried on by the great Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Freethinker, who batters not with the balistæ and catapultæ of old, drawn from the Fathers, the Councils or the Mishna, but with carmon and musketry and even squibs of witticism, stolen and transmodified from the storehouse of Philosophy.

After the doctrines next in order follow the virtues comprised under three general heads, carrying a consistency with the cardinal virtues of philosophy. I have endeavored to rescue Faith from the imputation of being no voluntary act of the mind, by explaining its nature upon the basis of our sensitivo-rational constitution, and showing that it is not assenting to certain propositions, but turning the convictions of our understanding into habitual, lively apprehensions of the imagination that constitutes it a virtue. If the province of Faith according to my representation be thought too comprehensive, as extending to the inclinations of the heart as well as the opinions of the mind, it may be considered that happiness in the prospect depends wholly upon opinion, and our desires follow our persuasions ; for we take affection to things because we believe they will prove satisfactory in the possession, the pursuits of avarice, ambition, and all other schemes that engage us so eagerly, proceed upon this foundation : therefore if a man could have a perfect knowledge and lively apprehension of everything conducive to his benefit, his desires would be rightly set, and the whole tenor of his conduct run in a right course by necessary consequence : for we all live by faith of some sort or other, though too often it is a rotten one : whence apparently it is a matter of the utmost importance to work our soundest conceptions into vigorous apprehensions, for till then they are not completely our own, nor will have an influence upon our practice.

Upon the article of Charity, which in vulgar estimation may be defined giving guineas to the Church and half-pence to beggars, I have strove to restore it to its rightful dominion, extending in wish and disposition, like the bounty of Heaven, to all created beings without respect of persons, but confined in its exercises by the scantiness of our powers to the degrees of neighborhood wherein they respectively are situated, even contentions and the hurts done to some having their foundation in Charity to others; and to show how there may be Charity towards God, although we stand in no capacity to do him any service or kindness.

6. Having gone thus far in this dispensation of God to mankind, whether you suppose it conveyed by his ordinary or extraordinary Providence, it appeared not unserviceable to take a fuller survey of the administration of the moral world, and observe the share this had therein. In doing this I lay no stress upon prophecy and miracle, as being contested points unfit for the use of a neutral, but proceed upon historical facts notorious to everybody; from the course of which may be gathered, that there is a progress towards perfection of the human species, in general analogous to that of single persons through the stages of infancy, youth, and complete manhood, carried on by the workings of three great springs, Religion, Philosophy, and the science of common life, concurring by slow and imperceptible degrees, and sometimes with temporary retrogressions to advance the grand design.

If I have touched upon the Millennium, it was not to dwell upon number sixes nor the precise term of one thousand years, nor the return to earth in gross bodies like our present; for these things are figurative, denoting a time of perfect righteousness, moral wisdom, and happiness, which whether it shall pass upon this terraqueous globe or among the Vehicles, it is no matter: but this kingdom of the just will be the kingdom of Christ or state of reward, as the absorption in the Mundane Soul, when he delivers up all dominion to the Father, will be the kingdom of God or state of undistinguishing bounty. From hence, besides the general connection of interests throughout the universe, there results a nearer connection among the human species, because none of the inheritors of the kingdom of the just can be completely happy, until all are so by their common nature being perfected; which yields an additional incitement to seize every little opportunity of contributing towards an advancement of the great work, and to prevent everything that appears likely to retard it.

It might have been thought a suspicious silence, if I had said nothing of the rites and institutions of the Church; therefore I have taken some of them into consideration, still pursuing my plan of

reconciliation between authority and reason ; for I have proceeded upon a postulatam which I apprehend many very good and orthodox Christians will grant me, namely, that the commands of God are none of them arbitrary, but given for the benefit redundant therefrom to the receivers ; and though it be no warrant for us to reject a command, because we see no benefit, for we ought to trust the wisdom of the giver that there is some which our shortsightedness will not permit us to discern, yet it is a commendable inquiry to search so far as we can into the manner wherein the benefit accrues, because it will help to discover the design of the command, and to perform it according to the spirit rather than the dead letter. This is what I have aimed at doing upon the articles taken in hand, endeavoring to explain how they may be rationally understood, what is their efficacy and manner of operation, and how they are calculated for our sensitivo-rational nature to bring imagination to act in the services of reason. If my explanations have rendered them less mysterious, I hope it will not lessen our reverence and attachment to find their uses made intelligible, and be shown they have a solid foundation in human nature, and the knowledge springing from experience.

The consideration of religious institutions being despatched so far as anything pertinent occurred upon the subject, there remained something to be added concerning the spirit and principle of religion in general, to rescue it from the extravagances fastened thereupon by some indiscreetly righteous persons, with good intention I am willing to believe, but dangerous in the consequences, as tending to drive the weak into despair by setting them upon tasks far beyond their forces, and to draw them off from their duty to their neighbor and themselves, by a mistaken zeal in their duty to God. I have attempted to explain what is to be understood by doing all things for the divine Glory, showing first that it is speculatively possible, next how far it is practicable as men stand circumstanced, and lastly recommending some means for increasing in the practice of it. The principal difference between me and the persons just mentioned, lies in their employing so perpetually the motives of fear and obligation, which I would get rid of as fast as we can substitute a better principle in their room. I know the work must be begun by fear, and that there hangs an obligation upon us all to do our best, but if we can learn to fulfil our obligation without thought of its being one, I conceive we shall succeed better : nor are divine services completely acceptable until we can perform them upon inclination and persuasion of their being beneficial, without being dragged thereto by the reflection of their being duties.

From the topics of philosophy and religion I have descended to some practical subjects applicable to the conduct of life, which having been treated of more amply by many abler hands, I could not expect to add anything material to what has been done by them, but was willing to show that my speculations may be turned to common use by deducing from, or correcting by them such rules and observations, as may prove of general service: subjoining thereto a few thoughts relative to education and such methods for curing the fear of death, as in the pursuit of them may prove profitable to us while living, and yield us a benefit for ages after.

7. By this miniature of my performance, which like a convex mirror strengthens the colors, and takes off the coarseness of objects by contracting them, or like the chart of a wilderness produces a discernible form by drawing all the mazes within compass of a single view, it may possibly be seen there is a uniform design pursued steadily throughout, a contexture of sinews and muscles deriving strength from their mutual dependence, and forming something of a regular body, yet disguised by the unskillful manner of putting the limbs together, and defective in point of symmetry or elegance of shape.

It is customary to give the reader his bill-of-fare beforehand, but it was not in my power to gratify him herein, having not been able upon repeated trials to sketch out the lines of my design, so as to leave nothing more to do afterwards than fill up the colorings. Pursuits and inquiries are generally only descriptions of a route already preconcerted and travelled over by the author in his own mind, and this may be the most masterly way of proceeding for such as can take it; but my inquiry has been a real one even to myself, producing discoveries of tracks I was wholly unacquainted with at setting out, often not knowing what would be the subject of the next Chapter until the preceding was ended, sometimes forced to rehandle my premises to fit them for a further application, and continually finding my materials grow out of one another. Perhaps it has happened never the worse either for myself or my readers, that I could not do otherwise, having thereby escaped the influence of that prejudice mentioned above in the second section; for when there is a scheme ready prepared, one lies under a temptation of misapprehending or undesignedly wresting facts in order to accommodate them cleverly thereto; and as few people are without their schemes, they will not look with an impartial eye upon anything offered to them which they foresee or suspect will contradict any part in that they have already adopted: besides that, when it is known

beforehand what is to come, there arises an impatience of arriving at it too hastily without fully digesting the matters necessarily preparative thereto : therefore it is safest to examine the foundations first by themselves, without casting an eye upon anything else ; and when they are well settled, then is the time to consider what superstructures may be raised thereon : nor is it always necessary that the superstructures should be novel, for we may find old ones that will stand firmly upon our groundwork after having a little smoothed their bottoms, and struck off the tottering stilts upon which they had been awkwardly hoisted before. This is what I have all along been more desirous of doing, than of drawing conclusions entirely my own, having so much deference for the general opinions of mankind, as to presume them just, if they could be cleared from the misconstructions, colorings, and excrescences which make them appear to rest upon a false foundation.

8. For the manner of handling my subjects I shall need great allowances ; and for those who are disposed to make none, I shall be best pleased if they should happen to disagree among themselves in the particular spots they condemn : for as I have had different persons in view, it was impossible to hit the taste of every one, it will be great luck if he finds something suiting it in places that others dislike. Some may think me too light and others too profound, or perhaps find me guilty of both extremes at different times : but they will please to distinguish when the obscurity is unavoidable as arising from the nature of the subject, and when owing to unskilful management, charging the latter only to my account ; and may ascribe the levities and singularities of thought to a desire of enlivening abstruse matters, and rendering them visible by familiar images, not always chosen by the courtly standard, for want of perfect acquaintance with modern delicacy.

For I live a good deal retired within myself, little conversant with political or other performances of general currency among my compatriots, so perhaps have taken too strong a tincture from the exceptionable parts in the ancients, among whom I find Plato, mingling low humor and coarse objects among the most serious subjects, and Homer comparing Ajax to an ass drubbed by boys, Agamemnon to a bull, and making Helen call herself impudent bitch, which may have led me to transgress the modern rules of elegance and decorum, though I hope in no instance so grossly as the last-cited example. Repetitions and misplacings I fear there are several, for being more solicitous for the substance than the form, if any clearer explanation or further application occur-



red than had been made before, it seemed more pardonable to resume an article already despatched, than omit anything material, or lose a use it was capable of being turned to.

If propriety of diction and harmony of composition have suffered in many places, or the period has like a wounded snake dragged its slow length along, it has not been through inattention but an unwillingness to curtail the sense for the sake of measure; and though Horace directs to send back the ill-turned line to the anvil, I have found the first working too laborious to leave me strength for a second hammering, yet I may probably go through a slight revisal to retouch some few parts where it is most wanted. I have endeavored to be industrious but not profound; thinking it a less fault for the horse to be a little too mettlesome than jadish: therefore, after carefully considering my substance, have chosen to follow impulse rather than rule in the disposition and clothing, yet keeping the rein in my hands to check it upon occasion for which my own word must necessarily be taken, because nobody else can know in what instances I have restrained its scamperings. And I have generally observed that productions which were more the growth of nature than of art, have been better received than those which proceeded with a scrupulous unvaried exactness; for men have such an indolence of temper, they want something continually to awaken it, and will easily pardon negligences springing from a close attention to that view. Nor may these prove unserviceable to attract the notice of such as have quicker eyes and better memories for a blemish than a beauty, because while busy in picking out the chaff, they may chance to find clinging thereto a few grains of sound corn, which they would otherwise never have meddled with.

9. Mankind has been usually distributed into two general classes, heretofore called the adept and the vulgar, but I would rather entitle them the contemplative and the active; because the word vulgar is now become an expression of arrogance and contempt, though formerly innocent, having no relation to lowness of rank or want of natural capacity, but only of that particular expertness gained by assiduous application of the mental faculties.

These two classes must be addressed in two different languages, the esoteric and the exoteric; but there being a variety of gradations between, requires an equal variety of mixtures of the two languages to accommodate them to every one's taste, so that you cannot talk to a man satisfactorily, till you know what portion he has of the contemplative and of the popular in his composition, which you must find out as well as you can; for if he would tell you, he cannot, never knowing himself how much there is of the

latter. This variance of languages has laid me under considerable difficulties, requiring all the caution I could muster up, as well as all the freedom needful to maintain the cause of truth : for being desirous of attempting something for the benefit of both classes, it was unavoidable that I must appear unintelligible to some, and hazard the scandalizing of others ; which I know no way to prevent unless each person will be so kind as to suppose whatever he dislikes was intended for other people, without a thought of perplexing or offending him.

But it may be perceived that my principal view, especially in the former parts has lain towards the intelligent, whom I would not presume to instruct, but only to offer hints which may save them some trouble in making discoveries for themselves. Revelation indeed has begun with the vulgar, for the Gospel was preached to the poor, and we all know how the knowledge imparted by it has passed through the channels of superstition and monkish ignorance to the heights we now are blessed with. But this is one of the intricate ways of Providence explorable only by the all-seeing eye, which purblind man must not pretend to imitate : human reason can only apply to reason, and if her votaries by carefully contributing their lights can come to a conformity upon any material article, they will want neither skill nor authority to draw the rest of the world after them.

The fundamental article I have aimed at establishing is that of universal charity, unreserved benevolence or public spirit, not confined to our own country alone, but extended to every member of the universe, whereof we all are citizens ; these terms are in everybody's mouth, and the principle of action expressed by them meets with every body's applause, probably because, the excellence of it is so generally acknowledged they are ashamed to appear singular ; for it gains the full assent of their understanding, yet perhaps without an intimate persuasion in the sensitive faculty of its real value. This persuasion can only be worked in the persons I am now speaking of by clear deductions of reason, evincing that the good done to another is an advantage secured to the doer ; for it must be owned that each man's own happiness is the true original spring and proper first mover of all his actions, so that the profit of others can have no solid weight with him in his contemplative moods, until shown conducive to that, or at least must have an irresistible weight when once so manifested.

Therefore I would entreat him to examine well the several links of the chain whereby this deduction has been attempted : the nature of man constantly actuated by motives either of judgment, inclination, or fancy, void of all free-will of indifference giving a

preference to things which had none in his apprehension before, yet having a freedom of action and choice to execute what in his present idea appears eligible, the individuality of his perceptive part rendering it indestructible by all natural powers, the insufficiency of chance and nature for first causes, the divine Omniscience, the universal plan of Providence, comprehending all things as well general as particular, the derivation of good from the divine Bounty, the Attribute of Equity concerned in the distribution thereof, from whence follows an exact equality of fortune computed upon balance of the whole, however unequal in the several parts, and consequently an universal partnership wherein every profit accrues to the benefit of the whole and of every component member ; which brings home the interests of his fellow-creatures to himself. To which may be added as a corollary, that the more general interest and the greater good always deserves preference before the less, nor ought to be lost for fear of bringing a damage upon one which will be over-compensated by its produce to the party sustaining it, or to others : and that every benefit or even present gratification and pleasure procured for any individual, not excepting himself, if unattended with bad consequences, is a profit made to the whole.

10. Yet the necessity we lie under many times in the commerce of the world to punish, to hurt, to thwart, and contend with one another, and to maintain our private interests in disregard or opposition to those of our neighbor, is apt to loosen our attachment to the general good ; making it appear impracticable and romantic, because finding ourselves perpetually driven into measures seeming contrary thereto. But when we consider how much the world would be the worse for a total omission of those measures, for every one proceeding by a softness and milkiness of temper, untouched by injuries, unmoved at offences, unconcerned for his private interests, we shall be convinced that the practice of them is no deviation from our principal aim, the good of the whole. But since it is the nicest point in all the science of morality to distinguish how far the impulses of affection, resentment, and self-interest coincide with the public good, and when they endamage it, we shall do well to trace our references thereto continually with our best skill and discernment, examining the tendency of our conduct, not only in its immediate consequences, but likewise in the influence it may have by example and sympathy upon the bystanders. By frequent custom of doing this, we may gradually bring our common aims to become lines in the scheme conducting into our principle, shall have a warrant therefrom to quiet our consciences in the prosecution of them, and having thus accommo-

dated it to daily use, shall never need to swerve from it; whence will grow such an habitual attachment, as will readily restrain any desire or impulse that urges apparently to a departure from our plan.

It cannot be expected that men in busy life, how good soever their talents may be, but having other duties to employ them in, should find leisure or gain expertness enough to trace their references fully, and bring all their measures of conduct into an uniform system dependent throughout upon the ultimate end, but must proceed occasionally upon particular views, and maxims, whereof they do not see distinctly the foundation. For though imbibed from custom, they appear to need no foundation, being self-supported by an inherent certainty, the strangeness with which any doubt raised against them sounds in the ear giving them a character of self-evident truths. These principles then respecting not only Religion but morality, natural philosophy, politics, politeness, private prudence, and all the measures of conduct, some whereof pass for self-evident truths in one country and with one man, but for self-evident falsehoods and palpable absurdities in another country or with other men, are nevertheless the materials to be employed in rendering theory practicable. Therefore if any man thinks he has pursued his science to the lowest foundations of experience and reason, and formed his own speculative plan thereupon, let him consider next, how far it is practicable to bring others to co-operate therewith; for which purpose he must give attention to the opinions, desires, and ways of thinking prevailing among them, endeavoring to discover wherein he can contribute, be it ever so little, towards correcting or turning them to the general advantage.

But this advantage requiring abilities as well as right disposition to promote it, (for a man of great talents but very slight regard for his fellow-creatures may do more service to the public than another with the most upright intentions but little capacity,) he will concur in encouraging those propensities which urge men to improve and exercise their powers; for it is better they should do good undesignedly, or upon private views, than not to do it at all. Nor will he strive indiscreetly to eradicate all fond desires, if they be needful to counterbalance others more pernicious: for he will bear his ultimate end constantly in view, weigh in all his measures what profit will accrue upon their whole consequences, and proceed with a judicious moral policy and sometimes practise honest artifice. But the better to succeed herein he cannot be too careful to clear himself from every fibre of that evil weed the desire of excelling, which would unavoidably make him conceited, opin-

ionative and selfish, fond of things new and extraordinary, negligent of small services, aspiring to be the leader of a sect, and more solicitous to maintain a point than discover a use to be drawn from his observations. Nevertheless, if the whole reason of things together with all its connections cannot be laid open to the busy, yet they might be led into a compendium of it containing the principal links; some whereof, such as the Being of a God, the creation of substances, the superintendency of Providence, the spirituality and unperishableness of the soul are now become popular tenets, though in ancient days the subject of disputes and philosophical inquiries.

And a general humanity and benevolence of mind is so far a popular doctrine too, as that nobody will deny its obligation and commendableness; yet I fear without an intimate persuasion of the truth they acknowledge with their mouths, owing I presume to the injudicious practice of teaching Religion and morality as a distinct science from that of common life, which is indeed a branch of the other, and deserves a diligent endeavor to explain in what manner it grows therefrom. For he that takes a proper care of his private interests, and a proper notice of injuries or offences, acts therein for the public good, because it is better for the world that men in general should do so, than that they should omit it. For though the interests of our greater Aion, commonly called the bliss of Heaven, be deservedly the ultimate aim of all our schemes, yet we cannot discover either by anatomy, or politics, or natural philosophy, or any other human science by what methods to attain it; but the temporal happiness of our fellow-creatures, or the greater good resulting to one or more of them from our actions, is the mark which God has given us as well by his light of nature as of Revelation, for our sure direction thereto. Therefore if men of thought would join the knowledge of the world to their abstract science, and observe what reference the common transactions and even amusements of life may bear to the general good, they might remove that objection against the possibility of acting steadily upon this motive, which starts up in people's minds when they cry, we must take a prudent care of ourselves, we must sometimes contradict, oppose, do hurt, and displeasure to one another: for they might show that whenever those things must be done, they tend to increase the common stock of happiness, and whenever they have apparently a contrary tendency, there is no must in the case, but they may and ought to be foreborne.

I do not suppose the whole line of this tendency can be made visible to every common eye, but the principal parts might, and the connection wanting between would be supplied by the author-

ity of the persons tracing it, if unanimous in their drawings, so that a principle of universal charity would be generally esteemed the highest prudence, which, as I have several times said before, must in time restore a paradise upon earth : mistakes might be made at first, but experience and the mutual endeavors of all to assist each other in improving upon it, would correct them. It would be too sanguine to hope this can ever take effect completely while the present sublunary form of human nature continues, yet this is the point whereto all our aims ought to be directed with discretion, and calm perseverance rather than eager zeal : the more hands concur in the work, the quicker advances will be made, and every little approach will yield its proportionable advantage.

For the business of life seems to lie in extending and enlarging our views : while children, we care only for ourselves and the present minute, in a little time our concern reaches to the next hour, or the next day and to the persons about us ; in youth we look forward to the pleasures of some years before us, and take part in the successes of our friends or acquaintance ; when arrived to full manhood, we deem ourselves in some shape or other public persons, and entertain prospects of family, fortune, or fame : but these are still delusive or narrow views, nor is the heart opened to its just dimensions unless by an universal charity, prompting to every service of our fellow-creatures that opportunity shall make practicable, whereby to secure to us and them a happy establishment for ages to come.

11. But though I have had the speculative chiefly in mine eye, my view has not been to them alone, but besides the efforts towards forming a regular system for their accommodation, I have endeavored to lay open the sensitivo-rational constitution of human nature, by the study of which they may learn to apply their knowledge to the service of such as want either capacity or leisure to make the full use of their own reason ; and have given specimens of the manner wherein some of the popular doctrines may be founded, explained and enforced upon our theory. For it seems too narrow a vulgarity in those who value themselves upon being raised above the vulgar, to despise every old woman that thrums over good books all day, and groans for her sins, because she does not understand Latin, and has no interests in the county : my notion is apparent enough by this time concerning the intrinsic equality of the spiritual individuals, their differences proceeding from the structure, and fitting up of the habitation wherein they are lodged, therefore I can regard none of my fellow-creatures as below my notice. Perhaps the learned reader will take this oddity, if he thinks it one, as an excuse for some sections up and down which

were designed for the old lady : as I hope the latter will admit the like excuse upon the merit of those sections for what she finds strange and latitudinarian elsewhere, believing me a well-intentioned body, but a little bewildered by dealing too much among heathen authors.

But one must run hazards of disgusting some in endeavoring to accommodate others ; for all expect to have their own occasions solely consulted, and whoever does otherwise they censure, the wise pronouncing him a weak, and the simple a bad man. This danger was unavoidable in the prosecution of my design, for I wanted to bring both classes to be more sociable and mutually helpful to one another, by making the one a little more sympathizing, and the other a little more rational. My apprehensions of blame are greatest from the latter class, as abounding more in absolute certainty and self-evident truths, and consequently of a less forgiving temper, because every questioning of a self-evident truth can proceed from nothing but wilful wickedness : and I know not whether they may not be known by this characteristic, or whether how well soever a man may understand Latin and Greek, or how deeply soever be read in Collins' Heraldry, or the Parliamentary Journals, yet if he be positive in his conceptions, and look with a contemptuous strangeness upon everything that does not exactly tally with them, this ought not to be taken as a sure mark that the sensitive part is predominant over the rational in his composition.

But though desirous of keeping upon good terms with every body, I am less solicitous of the two to save my own credit than to avoid doing real hurt to any : I have used all the caution in my power when handling of ticklish subjects, and if I have transgressed the bounds of discretion in some material point, the candid reader may please to know that my conversation for some years past has fallen among persons who had other ways of employing their thoughts than those I have travelled, so was forced to break through the briers of abstraction by myself, without company or assistance on my journey ; therefore he will consider me as inopem consilii, destitute of advice, and grant me the same indulgence which the law-courts upon the like consideration allow to a will, wherein they endeavor to discover the testator's intentions, without insisting upon a legal nicety of form or expression : so he will judge upon the spirit rather than the letter, and upon the line of view followed upon every particular occasion, than accidental slips made for want of better eye or seasonable admonitions.

I wished to have imparted my thoughts to different persons separately, but this was impossible in a written treatise where the

reader chooses his book, not the author his readers. I should then have paid a due respect to the self-evident truths which some discern by the eye of faith, and others by the moral sense, which two organs sometimes discover absolute certainties contradictory to each other. The former may take scandal at my ascribing too much to nature, as derogating from the divine dominion, and the latter at my supporting the credibility of immediate interpositions, as implying a want of skill in the Maker to construct his work perfect without needing to be perpetually rectified by his own hand. But my idea of nature is not that of a distinct independent agent or power, but a tissue of second causes set at work by God with certain foreknowledge and intention of every minute effect they should produce : therefore I cannot be charged with impiety for attributing too largely to nature, or even supposing the rewards and punishments of another life effected by natural causes, because by giving to nature I take nothing from God, every operation she performs being his act, as truly as if done by a direct exertion of his omnipotence.

And if there have been immediate interpositions among mankind, I do not conceive them employed for correction of defects or oversights in the original plan, but interwoven thereinto on the first formation, for manifestation of the divine agency to the creatures, lest by constant attention to nature alone, they should forget there was a superior power establishing her laws, and giving the first motion to all her courses. So likewise if there be a written word, my conceptions of the Almighty represent him as consistent and uniform throughout in all his dispensations, therefore his word cannot be new laws repealing any of those promulgated by the voice of Reason, but contains only suggestions leading to the discovery of secrets in nature we should never have hit upon without that aid ; which when traced down to their foundations become parts of our natural philosophy, taking that science in its largest latitude extending beyond what is styled physiology, to the laws of nature respecting the invisible world, of which we can have no other knowledge than what can be gathered from contemplation of the character, and observation upon the ways of their founder.

12. The generality of mankind, how acute soever their optics may be, rarely have them set either for microscopic or telescopic observations, their necessary commerce in the world confining them within certain dimensions convenient for common use, beyond which compass they can see no objects greater or smaller than the familiar sizes. . This gives a strangeness to all discourse upon a plan of universal nature, a series of causes running immeasurable



lengths, the connection of interests, the foundation of justice upon expedience, and an equality worked by the balance between a diversity of states in some immense period : as on the other hand it creates a difficulty of analyzing the component parts of compounds, of action and operation, which are apprehended in the gross, of discerning the latent and sudden motives necessary to be known for a thorough insight into human nature, and noting the variations of language according to the several occasions whereon it is used.

Hence spring the difficulties upon free-will and the dominion of Providence, the self-moving powers of nature, the idea of chance as an agent, the propensity for having recourse to Omnipotence without intervention of second causes, the intrinsic goodness of rectitude and virtue without relation to consequences, and confused notion of the soul as being purely spiritual yet possessing powers which cannot subsist without material instruments. Hence likewise the diversity of dialects distinguishing them into esoteric and exoteric, wherein several words carry different and sometimes opposite senses, such as pleasure, interest, substance, person, individual, divine agency, Providence, besides many others : so that the same expression may contain sound orthodoxy in one person's apprehension, and greatly scandalize others, and this not by any real variance in their opinions, but from their variously understanding the terms wherein it is couched. Thus follow pleasure, and consult your own interest, are fundamental rules in the esoteric code, whereon all the obligations of religion, morality and discretion are primarily supported, but would be extremely fatal to such as speak only the vulgar tongue, because with them pleasure and interest are two great deceivers we must warn men against, as continually leading them astray : for those terms in the former case denote the whole sum of satisfactions consequent upon a measure under our option, in the latter they signify the present gratification of some desire starting uppermost in the fancy.

So likewise it is a maxim holding invariably true, that the end sanctifies the means ; but then this is to be understood only of the ultimate end when clearly discerned, and the road thereto apparent beyond all hazard of a mistake : yet it would make wild work among the generality, who act always under subordinate ends, many times palmed upon them without their knowing it by some secret passion, if they were allowed to pursue their end by any means whatever, good or bad. For this reason I am a little in pain about inconveniences from my doctrine of the Vehicles and Mundane Soul ; for though I do not know that those hypothe-

ses tend to invalidate any one article of religion or morality, not even the eternity of punishment, understanding that term by the popular idiom, yet there is a hazard that some folks, capable of apprehending nothing unless by sensible images, if once persuaded the room is full of mundane spirits with some departed souls intermixed, may take it into their heads to fancy they see them whisk to and fro, or feel them in their insides, or hear them buzzing about their ears, or perceive some operation performed by them : but I must desire such people not to charge their superstitious notions at my door ; for in my idea of spiritual substances they are not the object of any sense, and though I have supposed them concerned as first movers in the operations of matter, they act therein as instruments in steady conformity to the will of God, with clear understanding of his great and gracious design, and the propriety of their several parts for carrying on the courses of nature marked out in his plan of Providence, nor are they liable to any of those vagaries or irregularities too continually practised by ourselves. And for the Vehicular gentry, if we have any of them in our company, their minuteness is such that we can have no intercourse with them whatever, nor see them with all our straining any more than we can the corpuscles of air, whereof nevertheless we know the room is full.

It was lucky I happened to escape the notion of pre-existence ; for though I have shown upon several occasions how that whimsy may be turned to excellent advantages, yet it might have set some fanciful people a-dreaming, that they conversed with the unborn in their sleep, or had scenes renewed of occurrences passing with them in a former state, or perhaps they might have given into the only foible remaining upon record of Socrates, who imagined that when a man, after poring over a mathematical demonstration, happens at once to discern the force of it, this was a reminiscence or recollection of a truth familiarly known to him a hundred years before ; just as if you had an intimate friend gone to the East Indies, and after twenty years absence you see somebody you have seen before, but do not know where, till upon examining his features carefully you feel a sudden joy upon recollecting it is your old acquaintance.

But the scientific system in general is by no means convenient for common use ; it serves only to rectify the ordinary rules whereby we must act, to restrain their extravagances, to determine between their variances where they appear to clash, and to prevent their being misapprehended or misapplied. For how can the artisan, how can the man of business, deduce his measures of conduct from the general good of the universe, first parting it into

two principal branches, prudence and benevolence, and from thence drawing out the particular twigs suitable to his own occasions? or how tell in what manner his contentions and caution in bargains are conducive thereto? therefore he must follow the duties of his profession, and maxims of private prudence or self-defence, as first principles. And he may answer the end of his vocation thereby, as well as men of deeper penetration: for the purpose for which our span of life was given us, as observed above, seems to be for strengthening the judgment by exerting it in opposition to appetite; therefore not he who has the most piercing judgment, but he who makes the best use of such judgment as he has, is the better man; but strength is gained more by the struggle than by the victory, for when opposition ceases, judgment grows into an appetite, and we act under it by habit or impulse without aid of the rational faculties: therefore whoever adheres steadily to any rules which have the approbation of his judgment upon the best evidences he can obtain, performs his part completely so far as relates to his own merit in the execution.

But since there are various offices among mankind contributing to the service of the whole, various talents distributed, and stations assigned respectively suitable thereto, some being qualified to examine the propriety and general expedience of measures which others can only execute, the former ought to consider themselves as persons placed upon a promontory for sake of others, not as a peculiar privilege to themselves, to make signals to their fellows below, warning them against deviations from what they discern to be the proper ultimate point of pursuit: not striving to force attention with a dictative authority, but choosing rather to proceed by ways of friendly admonition and gentle persuasion, adapted to the character of those on whom they would prevail.

13. I have taken pains to suggest plans of observation to my brother centinels for the better execution of their office, and have not been wholly negligent to take my part among them by giving notices to such of the travellers below, as are willing to receive them: but those pains have cost me so many weary hours, they seem to need an apology with the world for undergoing such drudgery. For amusement is so much thought the sole business and obligation of one who is not driven from it by necessity or the duties of a profession, that all voluntary labor, or abridging one's self of diversions in one's power, appears an oddity and strangeness, and by that mark must needs be self-evidently wrong.

Yet I think there is one exception against this rule in the case of self-interest: a man may constrain himself in his pleasures for

the sake of raising an immense fortune, or getting a place among the ministry, or a title, or for establishing an influence in the country, without imputation of folly or being thought a strange creature. This exception I may claim the benefit of, being in principle one of the most selfish mortals upon earth : not but that to my shame it must be owned, I daily swerve in my conduct from this unerring guide, but then it is upon being taken by surprise, obscured by the darkness of my optics, hurried by some impetuous or beguiled by some sly passion, or driven by the torrent of the world ; but in my contemplative moods, when having the best use of my understanding, self lies at the bottom of all my schemes ; and this work being the produce of my considerate tranquil hours, it may be admitted, that I was actuated all along therein by the same laudable motive. But it will be asked what private advantage I can propose by taking a course which lies neither in the road to profit, nor honors, nor popularity, nor can be expected to draw notice enough for gaining an empty reputation. These objects indeed I had not in prospect not even the last of them, for the world admire what they love, and love what gratifies their humors, not what aims at correcting them : coincidence with a popular passion will make a single line of half-starved spiders fed on half-starved flies, outshine all the sublime of Homer and Milton, and obtain a currency almost equal with the Bible ; but though I have ranked compliance among the virtues, I am unluckily ill qualified for a servile compliance either with court or common council. Besides, supposing the most that can be supposed, performances of the kind I present, if they make their way in the world at all, do it by very slow degrees, being first regarded only by a few, until by them recommended to public notice ; so that I cannot hope to reap a benefit therefrom, for a few years will enroll me among the Vehicles, where if I should know anything of what passes here below I should probably retain as little relish for the trumpet of earthly fame, as I do now for the applauses bestowed in my childhood upon having made a pretty bow, or repeated currently the fable of the frog and mouse.

Nevertheless, I have already in part reaped some benefit from my labors, having thereby cast my thoughts into a more regular train affording light, wanted before in some points as well of speculation as of daily use, thereby rendering my conduct a little more consistent and satisfactory. Could I conform my practice completely to my own doctrines, and turn all my convictions into habitual lively persuasions of the sensitive faculty, I should be a clever fellow and a happy man : but of this I fall greatly deficient,

yet this very failure is not without its benefit, as helping to check that noxious weed the desire of excelling, by making me fully sensible how little ground of encouragement there is for expecting to succeed in such a desire. For self-conceit grows most copiously out of ignorance, as heath and brakes do from barren sands: the better a man becomes acquainted with what is real excellence, the more he will be mortified on finding how far he falls short of it; and he will sometimes discover those very sentiments and proceedings to be weakness, which otherwise he would have been extremely proud of.

Yet if anybody else can make a better use to his own emolument of the lights here struck out, he is heartily welcome: I do not mean this as a compliment, nor to beg an applause of uncommon disinterestedness; for to confess the honest truth, I am so thoroughly selfish, that I should hardly concern myself much with what happens to other folks, if I did not think my own interests involved with theirs. For I have taken so much tincture from my speculations, as to stand persuaded of the general connection and partnership throughout the Universe: so that by playing a beneficial branch of trade into a partner's hands, I serve myself, and whatever good is procured for a fellow-creature will redound upon the author; either in the exoteric language, by reward annexed to the declaration of that sentence, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me; or in the esoteric, by provisions already made in the laws of universal Nature, working the same effect through a chain of consequences uninvestigable by human science.

14. Perhaps it will be asked again, What considerable progress I expect to make in the reformation of mankind with all my toiling; for people will not easily pardon you for taking great pains without great prospects; and this humor of the world seems to be figured in the parable of the talents, where it was the one talent only that was abused; for we may suppose the possessor of it argued with himself in this manner, Had I been entrusted with five talents there had been good encouragement to have aimed at obtaining the government of five cities, but it is not worth while to plod with a single talent, for sake of the slender profit that may be made of it by the best management.

But my idea of industry has been seen, wherein its genuine characteristic appears to be an attentiveness to small profits in default of opportunity or powers for greater; so I am not solicitous to measure the size of my talent, nor find out important services to employ it in, but to turn it to the best advantage it is capable of. I am not gifted to serve my country in the cabinet or senate, nor

to declaim in prose or verse for the cause of liberty without understanding or well considering what liberty is, and am of too timid a constitution to address my sovereign with professions of inviolable loyalty, but upon proviso that he will employ such ministers as I shall like : therefore to how little purpose soever I have bestirred myself, I know of no other way wherein I could have attempted a better. And I seem the fitter for proceeding in this way by my situation in life subjecting me to no prior engagements, which renders the passage more expedite and open to me than to the clergy, within whose province it might be thought properly to lie : for besides that they are suspected by many persons in all they say as coming from parties interested, from advocates retained to support a cause rather than friendly monitors or impartial inquirers, they are likewise a little confined in their motions by the necessary regard to their profession and character ; for the same truths are and ought no more to be spoken by all men, than to all men ; there is a respect due to the audience, and a decency to be observed that nothing may be let slip unbecoming one's station. This I conceive still restrains them a little in their freedom, notwithstanding that of late days they make frequent excursions, so far as that commendable regard to decency and discretion will permit, in the way of rational explanation, the same I have attempted to travel : to instance particularly in one article, that upon the operation and efficacy of prayer, there seems to be some strokes of similitude between my chapter and the treatise of Archdeacon Stebbing upon that subject ; and I flatter myself the resemblance would have been greater, if either he had addressed to the studious, or I been to write for the better sort in a country parish.

With respect to my own expectations of success from my labors, I do not look for much notice to be taken of them, nor much service to be done by them directly, for want of a facility in expressing my trains of ideas with clearness, which perhaps may be further obscured by the desire of gratifying that general fondness for amusement, mentioned above : for one is apt to judge of the rest of the world by the little circle of one's own acquaintance ; and though they perpetually recommend books to my perusal, I never hear them do it because the book is instructive, but because entertaining, nor do they tell me the author has handled his subject with solidity and judgment, but with spirit and smartness : so this idea of obligation to aim at liveliness may sometimes have overwhelmed the substance ; for though I have endeavored all along to be serious without being solemn, and to keep something solid in view even when appearing most familiar and playful, this stratagem

may fail of taking effect ; because some, like children to whom you give a pill wrapped up in a raisin, will suck the plum and spit out the medicine, while the indignation of others will rise on seeing themselves treated like children, by going to tempt them with sugar plums.

Yet how little benefit soever I can hope to do myself, it is not impossible but this imperfect attempt may put somebody or other upon the like method to erect a system of Religion upon the foundation of human nature, and such knowledge of our Maker, as can be gathered from contemplation of the world around us, taking directions from the Sacred Writings in what lines of bearing to pursue his inquiries : and as Falstaff valued himself upon the cause of wit in other men, so if my rude sketches should occasion some completer production which may gain general currency and do signal service among mankind when Search and his embryo work are clean forgotten, I may still take credit for it in my own account. For had I been able to do the like, those to whom I was obliged for my education, or by whose works I have profited, would have been entitled to their share in the produce ; and whoever is remotely instrumental to a good purpose, though achieved by other hands, promotes his own interests therein. Therefore I shall conclude with a wish well becoming a selfish person, which is, that this in any manner may prove wholesome bread, which I cast upon the waters, for I do not fear to find it again after many days.

END OF VOL. IV.