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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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VOL. II.

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1831.



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John Haynes...*

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**T H E O L O G Y**

**C O N T I N U E D .**

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# THE LIGHT OF NATURE PURSUED.

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## T H E O L O G Y .

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### CHAP. XVI.

#### GOODNESS.

Or all the divine attributes there is none concerns us more nearly, or the just notion whereof is more desirable than this of Goodness ; and yet none perhaps wherein we find more difficulty to form a satisfactory idea, not liable to objections and inconsistencies. Infinite power and wisdom avail us nothing of themselves, but are rather objects of amazement and terror than of comfort and confidence : and it were better for us to live under a kind beneficent governor, though a little defective in knowledge and ability, than one unlimited in either, but regardless of our weal or wo : for the former would procure us more good than harm, but what befel us from the latter would be mere chance and accident. The contemplation of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience, without goodness, has most of anything driven men into atheism : for they looked upon such a Being as a universal spectre hovering continually over them, prying into all their affairs, able and skilful to affect them in what manner he pleased ; and as we are apt to expect the worst from uncouth appearances, they chose rather to put themselves under the guidance of chance or necessity, therefore used all their wits to persuade mankind that a notion of a God was only a phantom, raised in their imagination by crafty persons who found an interest in affrighting them. Thus we find the idea of goodness inseparable from that of God in the minds of all men ; for those who could discern no marks of

it in the works of nature, concluded from thence that there was no God, admitting that if there were, he must be good : and all who have acknowledged a God, have ascribed goodness to him as an essential attribute. Even the Magi, when they asserted another co-eternal principle, they did it to assign a cause for some things they thought could not proceed from that unlimited bounty and goodness which they believed residing in God.

2. But the attributes of God must all be infinite, for there is nothing external, nothing prior to limit him in his powers or his operations : here then arises the difficulty, for if the goodness of God be infinite, whence comes there any evil in the world? Yet that there are innumerable evils the phenomena of nature sufficiently assure us : storms and tempests, earthquakes and inundations, lay fields and cities desolate with all their produce and inhabitants, blighting winds and pestilential vapors wither up and destroy, ravenous beasts devour, villains assassinate, thieves break through and steal, tyrants oppress, diseases torment, cross accidents vex, old age debilitates, our necessary employments fatigue, our wants interfere, our very pleasures cloy, and man is born to sorrow as the sparks fly upwards. We are necessitated to destroy vermin that would overrun us, to slay our fellow-creatures for our sustenance, to weary them out with toil and labor for our uses, to press one another into wars and sea services for our preservation. Nay, evil is so interwoven into our nature, that the business of mankind would stagnate without it, most of our cares being employed in delivering ourselves from troubles we lie under, or warding off those that threaten. If a man were placed in such a situation as that no pain or mischief, no satiety or uneasiness, no loss or diminution of enjoyment could befall him, he would have no inducement ever to stir a finger : but it is the perishable nature of our satisfactions that urges us to a continual exertion of our activity to renew them. Now it has been asked, that if these unfavorable circumstances attending human nature could not be prevented, where was the almighty power of God? if he knew not how to prevent them, where was his wisdom? if he could, and might have prevented them, but would not, where was his goodness? Nor will it suffice to answer that many of the evils before mentioned tend to produce greater good, and it is probable the rest of them do the like : I am so far from denying this probability, that I may offer some reasons by-and-by for confirming it ; but admitting that good springs out of every evil, this must be owing to the necessary connection between both in the present constitution of nature ; but when we consider that nature is not only directed and governed, but was originally constituted by the hand of God, the diffi-

culty still recurs. For if he wished to have given his creatures unmingled good, but saw no other constitution of nature possible besides that he has established, this seems to limit his power, and we are at a loss to account for such limitation: if there were other constitutions possible, containing no mixture of evil, this perplexes us with respect to his goodness, which we cannot conceive to choose a frame of nature disagreeable to itself.

3. Several solutions have been attempted for this difficulty, none of which reach to the bottom, for they stop all at second causes, without reflecting that the properties and powers of second causes depend upon the First: therefore, as often happens in trying to unravel an entangled thread, while they loosen the knot in one place they draw it tighter in another. Seneca lays the fault upon the materials, which he tells us were disobedient to the artist's hand, for he says there are some sluggish elements not susceptible of active and lively forms: how far this assertion unravels anything I leave others to find out, but it certainly supposes two first principles, a blind necessity or unsentient nature to furnish materials, and work them up into elements, and a divine artificer whose office was only to form such combinations as they were capable of being placed in: for if he had created his own materials, we may presume he would have given them qualities suitable to the purpose he intended them for. Some ascribe evil to our immersion into matter: I know we receive all our evil from the action, or by the intervention of material causes, but so we do all our pleasures and satisfactions too. This only points out the channel through which evil is derived to us, but does not go to the fountain head: for why should we pronounce it impossible that a matter might have been created with different properties from the present, fitted for exciting pleasant perceptions, but not painful? or what contradiction is there in spirits having a capacity given them of the former without any of the latter? or who can show the necessity of an immersion into matter at all? Might not spirits have been made capable of affecting one another with perceptions? or might they not, as Berkeley supposes, have received such succession of ideas as was thought proper for them, by the immediate hand of God? Others attribute all the mischief in the world to the abuse of free will: if they mean a free will of indifference, they ought to show there is such a power, for we have found no footsteps of it in our survey of human nature; if they mean a free will choosing upon motives, this acts always according to the state of the imagination representing distant good in fainter or equally vivid colors with present pleasure: and I believe all who admit a spiritual substance, hold that there are so-



cieties of spirits in nature, whose imaginations are so rectified, that they never choose amiss, and, though they hold their happiness by the tenure of their obedience, are in no danger of forfeiting it. Nor how little foundation soever there may be in fact for the doctrine of irresistible grace, can it be shown impossible in theory: for if desire, that is, the prospect of satisfaction, be fixed upon the proper point, free will never fails to follow it: and a prospect depends upon the objects lying in view, which in this case are the modifications of our mental organs, capable certainly of receiving any changes from the divine operation upon them, whereby our sentiments and actions may be influenced without the least impeachment or control of our liberty. Or if reason and free will must unavoidably draw some mischiefs after them, who will presume to say that almighty power had not other faculties to bestow not attended with the like inconveniences? Nor at most can this cause account for all the evil found in the world, for the brute creation though incapable of misconduct have their share of it, and though much of their sufferings springs from the tyranny and capriciousness of man, all does not: for there are pains and hurts, terrors and slaughters, wants and distresses, among the beasts, the fowls, and the insects, in wild forests, where the foot of man never trod, nor the Will of man ever interfered.

4. There are those who allege the absurdity of creatures being equally perfect with their Creator, and that imperfection necessarily implies a liability to evil: but this consequence I cannot discern; for there is a manifest difference between actual pain and the absence or diminution of pleasure. A child is less perfect than a man; but the uneasinesses befalling a child arise from diseases, ill management, or accidents, not from the imperfection of its organs. A creature with dull capacity, small powers, and few materials of enjoyment, might nevertheless be placed in a situation to exempt it from all want and trouble. The wise man of the philosophers and glorified saint of the Christians, although supposed to stand above the reach of all evil, are still very imperfect in comparison with the Author of their Being: wherefore evil is not so connected with imperfection, but that the one may subsist without the other. Besides, if it were otherwise, one should expect to see them always accompany one another in equal proportion, but the contrary appears manifest from experience: for persons of the brightest parts and most extensive knowledge, are not always the freest from troubles; an intelligent man has no less his share of them than the foolish ostrich or the stupid beetle. Nay, that quick sensibility, which is the groundwork of all advances towards perfection, increases the pungency

of pains and vexations. Many talk of a scale of Beings which, they say, must rise in a continued gradation from Nothing to the divine perfections: yet they cannot deny that there is an immense gap between the highest rank of creatures and their Creator, and why might not there have been a gap between Nothing and the bottom of the scale, so as to exclude all those degrees which necessarily contain a mixture of evil, if there be any such, which we have just now seen cause to doubt of? But neither do they show why there must be a scale of Beings, nor what incon-  
 veniency would ensue upon the lowest being raised to the condition of the highest. Do they make an attribute of curiosity, and imagine the Supreme Being like some great nobleman, who will have animals of all kinds in his menagerie to divert himself with looking upon them? Or did it cost omnipotence more trouble to make an angel than an oyster, so that being fatigued with working up the former, the latter was undertaken by way of play and recreation? Or does one take up more room in nature than the other, and after the universe was filled with Beings of the superior order, there remained space only for the inferior classes in the interstices between them? In short, it seems laying a restriction upon Almighty power to imagine that things could not have been constituted otherwise than they are, and to conclude that because we see a scale of Beings, free will liable to abuses, pains and troubles brought upon us by the action of matter, therefore God was under a necessity of ordering the world after this manner.

5. Sometimes we meet with persons who in handling this subject endeavor to stop our mouths with rhetoric instead of convincing us with logic, for they tell us that starting these difficulties concerning goodness is murmuring against Heaven. Hath not the potter power over his clay to make one vessel to honor and another to dishonor? This comparison was very proper for the purpose it was intended to answer, namely, to silence the unreasonable clamors of such as fancied themselves injured by the dispensations of Providence; but by no means helps us forward in a sober inquiry into the nature and extent of the attribute under consideration. For the question is not what the clay has a right to expect, but what we conceive it likely that a beneficent potter would do, if he knew his vessels capable of enjoyment or suffering according to the mould wherein they were cast. The measure of bounty is not the rights but the wants and capacities of the subject whereon it is exercised; nor does bounty begin until justice ends, for there is none in giving every one barely what is his due. Were there a man who should provide necessaries and conveniences for his

children, lead them into all useful accomplishments, indulge them with variety of pleasures and amusements, they ought to think themselves happy under such a parent, notwithstanding he might have some humors which were troublesome to them now and then; yet another who were clear of this exception were better. So we, when we weigh the blessings against the troubles of life and find how greatly the former exceed the latter, have abundant reason to be satisfied with our lot: yet when we reflect on the character of our heavenly Father in whom there can be nothing of humor, or ill-will, or grudging, the preponderancy of good does not account for the few evils scattered up and down among men, because though we can still acknowledge him good, we are apt to imagine that if these were removed he would be better. So that our want of title to better fortune than is allotted us does not help to reconcile the phenomena of nature with our notion of infinite goodness: for the difficulty springs from our idea of the Donor, not from our own merits, nor from any exception to the value of his gifts.

6. Thus all that has been suggested to account for the origin of evil has proved unsatisfactory, and it still remains an inscrutable mystery which has perplexed the thoughts of men from the days of Job down to the present times, and probably will continue to do so as long as there shall be men on earth to descant upon it. Though we have not an adequate idea of infinite power so as to determine in all cases what is absolutely impossible, or implies a contradiction, yet we may clearly see that whatever has been done might have been omitted, and that the capacity of suffering is a property given to creatures with their being: nor can we imagine a necessity constraining God to form a world in a manner not suitable to his intention, or attended with inconveniencies he would wish to have removed, without derogating from his almighty power and without admitting two First Causes interfering with one another. Therefore we must needs acknowledge that God created evil as well as good, and that nothing of either happens to his creatures unless by his appointment or permission: and if this seems to derogate from his goodness, let us consider whether we have an adequate idea of goodness, or know precisely what is belonging and what repugnant to it.

7. Goodness in ourselves is the prospect of satisfaction annexed to the welfare of others, so that we please them for the pleasure we receive ourselves in so doing, or to avoid the uneasiness we should feel on omitting it. But God is completely happy in himself, nor can his happiness receive increase or diminution from anything befalling his creatures: wherefore his goodness is pure

disinterested bounty without any return of joy or satisfaction to himself. Therefore it is no wonder we have imperfect notions of a quality whereof we have no experience in our own nature : for we know of no other love than inclination, which prompts us to gratify it in the same manner as our other inclinations. In the next place let us examine our idea of infinite goodness taken in the abstract before we inquire whether God be good or no, and we shall find it incompatible with that of infinite power : for infinite goodness, according to our apprehension, requires that it should exhaust omnipotence, that it should give capacities of enjoyment and confer blessings until there were no more to be conferred ; but our idea of omnipotence requires that it should be inexhaustible, that nothing should limit its operations so that it could do no more than it has done. Therefore it is much easier to conceive an imperfect creature completely good than a perfect Being, for if he pursues invariably all opportunities of doing good to the utmost of his power and knowledge, he deserves that character, and if there are any injuries sustained which he cannot redress, any distress unrelieved which he knows not of, his weakness and ignorance are a full excuse for his omission. But where there is almighty power, unlimited knowledge, and perfect wisdom, we can neither conceive that infinite goodness should extend to the utmost bounds of that which has no bounds, nor yet that it should stop until it can proceed no further. Since then we find our understanding incapable of comprehending infinite goodness joined with infinite power, we need not be surprised at finding our thoughts perplexed concerning them : for no other can be expected in matters above our reach, and we may presume the obscurity rises from something wrong in our ideas, not from any inconsistencies in the subjects themselves. In the last place, let us remember that the attributes of God are infinite, therefore if he were not infinitely good he must have been infinitely malicious, for either in him must be pure and original independent on further views which might sometimes render one expedient and sometimes the other : but this the most melancholy imagination never yet suspected of him, for there is nobody so destitute of enjoyment, or so overwhelmed with pains and distresses, as not to be sensible that almighty power might have made his condition still worse.

8. Having thus taken off the force of those objections urged against Divine Goodness, by showing that such will naturally start up upon matters whereof we cannot have a full comprehension, and that greater will arise upon the contrary supposal, let us now try what clear ideas we can form of it, and what evidence we can

gather of its reality from our experience. And we need not go far to seek for proof; the very air we breathe, the food we eat, the relish we find in our enjoyments, the materials ministering them to us, the benefits and mutual solace of society, the faculties of understanding and volition, the value of life which renders it generally desirable, are so many striking marks of a beneficent disposition in the Giver of all these things. Even our troubles come attended with their alleviations: we have remedies and assistance in diseases, comfort in distresses, and hope lies ready as a salve for every sore, nor are there any in so forlorn a condition but may find something to thank God for, if they will look about to seek it; for, he remembers mercy in judgment, and gives us a glimpse of his goodness in the very seasons when he afflicts us. Epicurus, though disposed to find all the faults he could in the system of nature, yet made it one among his collection of Masterly Maxims, That pain if grievous was short, if long it was light. Nor are the brute creatures disregarded by the author of their Being: he supplies them food for their sustenance, clothing of hides, feathers, or shells for their defence, harboring places for their security, appetites for their preservation and entertainment, instincts for their direction: the beasts and fowls breathe his air, the fish take their pastime in his waters, the reptiles live upon his bounty, and the most contemptible insects receive their portion of enjoyment from his hand.

9. The epithet Contemptible happening to occur in the last line suggests a train of thought that may lead to something serviceable upon the present occasion; for nothing is contemptible in the eyes of God; it is the vanity and selfishness of man that sets him in conceit at an immense distance above other creatures, and thereby renders them objects of scorn and contempt: so I run the hazard of offending the delicacy of my cotemporaries by representing almighty power and wisdom employed in providing conveniences and enjoyments for the pismire, the earth-worm, and the mite, the ugly spider, the filthy maggot, and the venomous adder. Nor might have succeeded with them much better had I extended the observation no further than to the human species; for they concern themselves not with what happens to the Indian, the savage, or the Hottentot, they care not for the greasy ploughman or the dirty cinder-wench: persons born in a cottage are thought below their notice, all who want their own knowledge and politeness deemed incapable of enjoyment. So that we lose the view of all the good done to objects we esteem unworthy of any regard, and when things happen amiss to ourselves we forget how often they have happened to our wishes. This narrowness of mind

contracts our prospect of nature, and as she has some dark spots upon her face, if the eye fixes upon one of these, it sees nothing but gloom and despondency; whereas were our vision a little enlarged we might perceive every dark place surrounded with a splendor of light.

10. It is observable that men commonly take their estimate of nature from themselves and their own situation: while success attends them they think they shall never meet with disappointment, and when disappointment stands across their passage they think they shall never see the lucky moment again: while in the vigor of youth, the constitution strong, the spirits alert, desires eager, and materials of gratification continually at hand, they find no fault or blemish in nature, the world is then a glorious world, and pleasures expected without end: we hear of no murmurings against Providence, nor mistrusts that things are not so well ordered as they should be, but they are rather apt to think God, as I may say, too good, so as to wink at their miscarriages, indulge them in their follies, and suffer them to do what mischief they please to their fellow-creatures without control. But when pain, disease, disappointment, or distress, pinches them, the tables are turned, they see not nor sympathize with the enjoyments abounding elsewhere, but take their judgment of nature from that little spot wherewith they have immediate concern, and then doubts arise concerning the condition of things: why was not this mischief prevented? where was almighty power that could not, or where was infinite goodness that would not, prevent it? Thus we see that infinite goodness ebbs and flows according to the state of our minds: when we are at ease in ourselves, we find no difficulty in entertaining the idea of it: when dissatisfied with our present condition, nothing is harder for us to comprehend. Nor is this to be wondered at, for vexations of every kind give a melancholy cast to the mind, destroying the relish of those pleasures which used to delight us before, so that we have nothing similar in our imagination wherewith to compare the sensations of others: for our only way of estimating other people's enjoyments is by imagining ourselves in their circumstances and reflecting on the joy we should receive thereby, but when the mind is so disposed as to care for nothing and find a relish in nothing, we cannot readily conceive others wishing or caring for what would not affect us; and therefore being unable to form a clear conception of enjoyment either in ourselves or elsewhere, we lose the idea of that goodness which can be apprehended only by its effects.

11. Thus we find our unfavorable suspicions of nature, owing to the wrong turn or disordered condition of our imagination,

when our own ill management or unlucky circumstances confine our view to the least favorable of her features : for so a man may take distaste to a fine building, if he be locked up in the necessary, or resolve to look upon nothing else. Therefore it behoves us to take the opportunity for forming our judgment when the mind is most in tranquillity, not ruffled by vexations, nor pressed by importunate desires, when the understanding is clearest, when we can extend our view all around and consider everything impartially : and we may help ourselves not a little towards enlarging our mind by contracting a habit of benevolence. I have already taken notice in the chapter upon that article, as one of the advantages accruing from a benevolent temper, that nothing contributes so much to open the heart, to enliven the imagination and give a cheerful cast to the scenes around us. For what we wish well to, we think well of, and if we wish well to everything we shall be attentive to the successes and pleasures that happen to everything : and by turning our observation constantly that way shall find subjects to rejoice at which the selfish and narrow-spirited never know. We shall cease to measure others' satisfactions by our own standard, or think nothing desirable to them which we would not choose for ourselves ; but shall discern a variety of tastes adapted to the several conditions wherein men are placed, and things which were irksome at first becoming pleasant by custom. We may see that children have their plays, the vulgar their amusements, coarse jokes, and may-games : even folly does not exclude pleasure, nor poverty banish contentment. There is as much mirth in the kitchen as the parlor, and as great diversion in a country fair or a cricket match as a card assembly or a ridotto. The cobbler whistles at his stall, the dairy maid sings while she is milking, the ploughman munches his mouldy crusts with as good a relish as the rich man eats his dainties, for he has that best of sauces, hunger, to season his victuals. Labor purifies the blood, invigorates the limbs, strengthens the digestion, insures quiet sleep, and renders the body proof against changes and inclemencies of weather, all which are considerable articles in the enjoyment of life, nor can their loss be compensated by any advantages of family, fortune, learning, and politeness. Nor is the lowest herd incapable of that sincerest of pleasures, the consciousness of acting right, for rectitude does not consist in extensiveness of knowledge, but in doing the best according to the lights afforded ; and many artisans, servants, and laborers, find as much satisfaction in fulfilling the duties of their station, as the philosopher in his researches into Nature. Nor need we stop at the human species, for the brute creation too exhibits scenes

agreeable for the good-natured man to look upon: he may rejoice to see the cattle sporting in the fields, or hear the birds singing or chirping out their joys, to behold the swallow building nests to hatch her young, the ant laying in store of provisions for her future accommodation, the flies in a summer evening dancing together in wanton mazes, the little pucerons in water frisking nimbly about, as if delighted with their existence.

12. Whoever has a heart to enjoy such contemplations will be apt to pursue them until he has satisfied himself there is a much greater quantity of enjoyment than suffering upon earth: for pleasures spring from steady permanent causes, as the vigor of health, the due returns of appetite, and calls of nature to exercise or rest: but pains proceed from accidents which happen rarely, or diseases which are either slight or temporary. And he will entertain a favorable idea of that bounty which supplies desires and means of gratifying them to every species, from imperial man down to the scarce perceptible insect. When he has filled his imagination with this idea, he may draw comfort from it in his seasons of affliction and distress, for though he finds no pleasures within his own reach, or have lost the relish of any that might be offered him, he may reflect how many thousands at that moment are dancing and singing, marrying and giving in marriage, advancing towards the accomplishment of their wishes, and pursuing all kinds of enjoyment with full gust and satisfaction: how many millions of animals are eating their food, providing for their accommodations, taking their pastimes, or ruminating in their lurking holes; and this consideration may alleviate his trouble. I do not mean nor expect that he should carry his benevolence to such an unattainable height, as to make the joys he feels in sympathizing with the joys around him stifle the smart of every evil that can befall him: but he may gather this consolation from them, that there is an inexhaustible spring of bounty flowing incessantly upon the world, and from thence conclude that himself shall partake in due measure of the stream at some time or other, if not in his present at least in some future state of Being.

13. For the great preponderancy of good over evil, in this part of the creation lying within our view, manifests a beneficence in the character of the Author, which must operate likewise no less in all other parts of his work: for so we reason in matters familiar to our acquaintance. We know nothing of causes unless by their effects, nor the characters of persons unless by their deeds. We know that fire will burn because we see wood consumed by it, that water is fluid because we see it fluctuate and disperse. If a man has been used to cheat, we expect he will



cheat again, or if he has long behaved with honesty and truth, we expect the like behavior from him for the future. Thus our whole dependence upon the qualities of bodies we daily handle and persons we daily converse with rests upon our experience: and we have or may have, if we will take pains to acquire it, the like experience of an unwearied bounty pouring blessings all around us: so that we have as good ground of assurance that God will continue to do good as we have that fire will burn; that the stone will resist the touch, or that our bosom friend will not betray us. Were we entertained in the family of some nobleman, if we found him kind and condescending to his dependents, humane to his servants, careful to establish salutary orders for the regulation of his household, watchful to see that even his cattle had their proper food and conveniences, we should naturally conclude the same good management prevailed in all his other houses. We have lived some years in this family of terrestrial animals, and we may as naturally conclude that the same beneficence which provides so amply for their welfare according to their respective wants and capacities, extends to every other family of sentient Beings throughout the universe.

14. By this means we may attain as full and clear an idea of goodness as may satisfy us of a character of benevolence in the Disposer of all things: but the evil we likewise experience cannot infer a defect of goodness, because the attributes must be perfect and infinite; nor yet an opposite character, because our clearest judgment informs us that contradictory characters cannot subsist in the same subject. Therefore we must acknowledge evil to be unaccountable, and unaccountable phenomena we never extend further than we can see of them. It is possible that what portion of evil there is in nature may be confined to the visible world and lie within the regions of matter, nor need we suppose it existent elsewhere until further reasons shall occur for the supposition. At least we may presume from the character of goodness that the quantity of good in the universe vastly exceeds that of evil, which is enough to give us an inviting prospect of our condition wherever we shall go, unless there be some unfavorable circumstances particularly attending ourselves which make us liable to fear the worst.

15. As to the perplexities involving our thoughts let us consider from whence they generally arise, and perhaps we shall find them not irremovable. We commonly esteem goodness to consist in a compliance with our humors; a parent that indulges us in all our desires we look upon as supremely good, and if we should happen to desire what is hurtful, still we should think his

denial of it a severity. But desire ordinarily fixes upon present satisfaction, and seldom runs along the whole line of consequences from whence the real value of things ought to be estimated : so that we often think ourselves hardly dealt with at the very time when we are receiving good. But when the trouble is once over, and we feel the benefits resulting therefrom, we can acknowledge that to be goodness we once esteemed hardship : and so we should have done at first had we had a clear discernment of the distant good and an earnest desire for it ; for then we should have thought nothing a hardship that lay in the way to accomplish it ; so that our discontents are owing to a misapprehension occasioned by the narrowness of our views.

16. So long as things succeed currently to our wishes we entertain no doubt of divine goodness : while we have the means of gratifying our desires we find fault with none of the laws of nature, not even that of rest after labors of the day, although sleep cuts us off from above a quarter of the enjoyments we might have had could we subsist without it. A moderate pittance of happiness contents us if we have no thoughts of anything higher, nor is there a man so unreasonable as to quarrel with the Almighty for making him an imperfect creature, or to think it an impeachment of goodness that he has not the capacity and enjoyments of an angel. Since then imperfection of happiness in any degree is not repugnant to our idea of goodness, let us consider whether this imperfection, although not necessarily implying a liableness to evil, may not well consist with a mixture of it. For the value of existence depends upon the quantity of happiness received therein, and every evil is the same as a subtraction from that quantity : if then the good and evil compared together leave a balance of the former, which if given alone, would be sufficient to denominate the creature happy, and be thought a gift becoming infinite goodness to bestow, why should not both together be thought so too, since they are of equal value? A salary of five hundred pounds a year, chargeable with a constant land tax of four shillings in the pound; is equal to four hundred without that deduction : and if a friend put you in a way of making a thousand pounds by laying out four hundred, you would think yourself as much obliged to him as if he had helped you to a clear six hundred. So if there be a profuse abundance of happiness together with a small mixture of suffering distributed throughout the universe, the condition of the creatures is as valuable as if the net balance of the former had been given alone : but this would have been thought to denominate the giver infinitely good ; why then

should the state of the world, as it is, occasion any doubts to the contrary?

17. Much of our good springs out of evil, for objects exciting pleasant sensations rarely occur, but it is the amusement we find in the exercises of our activity, and the engagement of our pursuits that furnish us with most of the enjoyments of life, and it is the desire of delivering or guarding ourselves from something we do not like, that chiefly prompts us to bestir ourselves: so that if there was no such thing as danger, want, or satiety, we should have little to do, and life would become insipid for want of employment. Nor does our reflection upon the good we possess contribute less than the pleasures we actually feel to that complacency of mind which renders life desirable, but this reflection arises principally from the contemplation of those evils from which we are exempted: it has been constantly observed that we know not the value of blessings until we lose them, and those who meet with nothing to ruffle them are scarce sensible of their happiness. For as a foil sets off a beauty, so the disappointments we have experienced or distresses we behold others labor under, give us a just estimation of our present good fortune. When we turn our thoughts to thanksgiving we generally find them run upon topics relative to some wants that are supplied, distresses that are relieved, dangers from which we are secured, or mischiefs from which we are exempted: nor can we scarce bring our minds to thank God for the air we breathe, because it is so common; or for the constant returns of spring and summer, of morning and day-light, because we never miss them; and when we do discern the value of these things it is by reflecting on the forlorn condition we should stand in without them. A rescue from some imminent danger gives a stronger apprehension of kindness than a thousand good offices, and pleasure never comes so welcome as when preceded by pain; nay, ease alone after deliverance from trouble affords a joy that satisfies the mind without any of those amusements necessary to content us at another time: most of our vexations make us some returns of this kind, and many of them perhaps greater than the uneasiness they gave us while present. The complicated machinery of our body, consisting of so many tender vessels and fibres liable to a thousand disorders yet preserved many years entire and unhurt, the variety of necessaries requisite for our food, our clothing, and our accommodation, continually supplied from innumerable quarters, fill us with a higher idea of the divine wisdom, care, and beneficence, than we could otherwise have entertained. Thus want, weakness, imperfection, and evil, tend to display goodness, and without them we

should scarce have known what it was: so that whatever joy and solace we receive at any time in contemplating the divine goodness, we owe to that mixture of evil falling within our notice.

18. Having satisfied ourselves by these and many more the like considerations which our experience may suggest, that there is a character of goodness in the Author of nature, let us now examine what we may conceive agreeable or repugnant to such character, this being our only guidance to judge of matters not falling under our immediate observation and experience: and we shall find these two inferences naturally follow from our idea of goodness. That the proportion of good must greatly surpass that of evil in the universe, and That good is given for its own sake, but evil never sent unless as a means productive of some greater good. The former of these conclusions may give us a favorable prospect of nature in general, and the latter may yield us comfort in particular seasons of trouble. For we may consider evil as a tax imposed, not to feed the avarice and ambition of the great, but for the support and exigencies of the government; and though we do not always see the uses for which it is wanted, yet we may rest assured of the application being in good hands, and that no more is levied than will be disposed of to the advantage of the community: therefore we may look upon every payment as a purchase of something more valuable than the price that is paid for it, or as a call for money to be improved at interest upon the best security. Whoever can possess his imagination with a lively sense of suffering being a purchase, and this seems not impossible to be effected by a due and habitual reflection upon the nature of goodness, will be so far from being disturbed at the weight or sharpness, or continuance of the miseries he sees among mankind, that he will regard it as an evidence of some unspeakable enjoyment lying in store, which infinite goodness judges worth the purchasing at so high a price. Nor need it stagger him to reflect that suffering is sometimes inflicted for a punishment of wrong doing, for we have seen in the last volume, that a righteous man will never punish unless with a view to some greater advantage accruing therefrom: so that even punishment may be looked upon in the light of a purchase. Neither can this representation of it give an encouragement to do wrong for the sake of purchasing that greater advantage, for besides that persons inclined to catch excuses for doing wrong are not likely to attain the persuasion above mentioned, the purchase in case of punishment either redounds to the benefit of others, or consists in an exemption from those worse punishments which impunity would draw upon the delinquent.

19. Since then we find the estates of happiness in this sublunary kingdom subject to taxes, we must take the whole together, the rents and profits together with the disbursements. Or since evil is so interwoven with good that one cannot be had without the other, we must not pick out single threads but regard the whole contexture as one piece, and in this light it will appear that every dispensation is good and worthy divine bounty to bestow. As to the existence of evil and its being so interwoven into the fortunes of creatures, we can do no otherwise than refer this to some unknown attribute. For as has been observed before, the little we know of God being drawn from those few of his works lying within our cognizance, we cannot expect they should discover the whole of his nature, but there may probably be other attributes belonging to him of which we can entertain no conception. We have already found the necessity of some such in the article of omniscience: for though wisdom may discern what capacities and stations are requisite for completing the grand design in view, it cannot determine what particular substances shall have such or such capacities, or occupy such or such stations preferably to any others. So upon the present article we have found it repugnant to our notions to suppose either that infinite bounty could stop until there was nothing further to bestow, or yet that creatures should be raised to the perfection and ineffable happiness of their creator. Therefore we must necessarily conclude there is some other attribute to moderate between goodness and omnipotence, to set the proper limits of imperfection ascertaining how near it may approach towards perfection, and what distance it must always keep therefrom, and to be the origin of evil: with all which we need not perplex our thoughts either to raise doubts or attempt discoveries concerning them, since they spring from a source whereof we can have no comprehension.

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## CHAP. XVII.

### EQUITY.

If this shall appear a novel title, it is so no otherwise than by making that a separate article which used to be included under a more general term: Equity being a species of Justice, which has always been ascribed to God in the most perfect degree. For justice is commonly divided into distributive and commutative, and though the latter epithet be not properly applicable to the pro-

ceedings of God, with whom we have nothing to commute in return for the blessings received at his hands, yet neither do all our dealings with one another relate to matters of exchange or such wherein our own interests are concerned. In apportioning the cares of a parent among his children, the protection afforded by a prince to his subjects or countenance given to his servants, there are certain rules which a just man will observe, and these belong to that branch of justice usually styled the commutative, nor can we conceive the like rule of equity disregarded by him who is righteous in all his ways.

2. This attribute seems the easiest of any to our comprehension, for it is no more than a perfect impartiality inclining God to be good alike to all, and to spread his mercy over all his works. It involves us in none of those difficulties we met with before on contemplating omnipotence, omniscience, and infinite goodness, which we cannot well conceive either with or without bounds. For the opportunities of success given to one man, must be possible and may be afforded to another, nor can wisdom want methods of bringing about events similar to those it has already contrived, nor do we see any hindrance that whatever measure of bounty is thought proper for the creatures may be diffused equally among them. And it is agreeable to our notions of God that it should be so, for his bounty is pure, unexcited by objects, but flowing solely from himself, and we naturally expect that the same cause should produce the same effect wherever it operates, unless by reason of a difference in the subjects: but there could be no difference of one man from another in their state of nonentity: what difference lies between them, was of God's making, and if he has been more sparing of his favors to some, we may presume he will make them amends upon another occasion. Nor can we fail of being confirmed in this notion when we reflect what it is that makes men partial or unequal in their good offices: we perform them to those from whom we expect the like return, or in gratitude for services done us, or to gain credit and reputation in the world, or for relation or intimacy sake, or because their humors suit with our own, because we find a pleasure in their company, or have taken a favorable liking to their persons: but the more a man improves in reason and virtue, the more equal we find him in his sentiments and behavior towards those with whom he has intercourse. Thus we find the seeds of partiality in wants and weaknesses of human nature, none of which can have place in the Divine. I shall not presume to limit the authority of God, or set up a claim to the like proportion of blessings that others enjoy; for we are the work of his hands, and he has not only full power but lawful right to

dispose of us as he pleases, to bestow a larger measure of his bounty upon one, and less upon another : but the question here, as before, in the case of goodness, is not what the creature has a right to expect, but how our idea of the dispenser of all good things makes it likely he should deal with us. And for my part, when I consider the nature of pure unmerited love, I can see nothing that should cause it to make a difference in objects where those objects have not a prior intrinsic value. Therefore we may abide by our theory and conclude the love of God extended in equal measure, to all who are objects of it, until we shall find our theory corrected by experience.

3. But it may be thought experience does contradict our supposition by the very unequal distribution of good and evil we see prevailing among mankind : some abound in superfluities, while others want even the necessaries of life ; some enjoy exuberant health, while others struggle continually with distempers and infirmities ; some increase knowledge without measure, while others scarce know their right hand from their left. Fortune, honor, accomplishment, success, and ease, take up their abode with a chosen few, and leave the rest of the world to labor, trouble, and anxiety. But in the first place, let us examine the conditions of men narrowly, and we shall find them not so very unequal as may appear at first sight, for there are many unobserved joys and vexations which we do not take into account ; therefore we are very bad estimators of happiness, for we judge of it by our desires which fasten upon intense pleasures, and run eagerly after those things which would give us the greatest joy in the acquisition, or the most pungent sorrow upon losing them : but it is the continual produce of satisfaction and complacence yielded by possessing, not the first transport on obtaining, that constitutes the real value of things. The poor man wishes for riches, the diseased and weak for health and vigor, the ignorant for knowledge, and such as are possessed of those advantages, would think it a grievous misfortune to lose them : so that it is acknowledged by the concession of all, that they are better had than gone without, nor can it be doubted that the giving of them would cause extraordinary joy in the receivers, and the deprivation of them as great grief and vexation in the losers. But could we lay open the thoughts of those who have been used to either fortune, without having ever known the opposite, and penetrate into their sentiments and feelings, we should find that pleasures grow insipid, and misfortunes light, by custom, that wants increase by success, and content springs out of disappointment ; that both have their joys and their vexations, their comforts and their troubles, their amusements and their dis-

likes, their satisfactions and their uneasinesses, perhaps in nearer proportion than can easily be imagined. At least, it must be admitted that all receive some share in the bounties of heaven, and pay their quota to that tax of evil imposed upon human nature. Nor do salubrious or pestilential airs, vernal suns, or the scorching dog star, seas or winds, make any difference between high and low, strong and weak, wise and foolish.

4. In the next place let us remember, that notwithstanding we cannot, with all our allowances, make the lot of all men exactly equal, the spirit will remain entire after dissolution of the body, still capable of receiving good and evil, of satisfaction and uneasiness; and though all the channels conveying either now should be taken away, we know not what new faculties it may acquire, or what materials may be provided for exercising them in the world whereto it is going: so that we can no more pronounce upon a man's lot by that small period of his existence within our inspection than we can upon his enjoyment of life by seeing him pass a single day. For what was wanting here, may be made up in another state, and what was redundant may be retrenched. Wherefore our experience is too imperfect to warrant our altering the theory of this attribute, which is the clearest of any to our conception.

5. A little observation may show us how naturally men's reason may lead them into an opinion of the Divine Equity. Such as do not much exercise their reason, conceive of God as having his favorites and his aversions, because they have so themselves, and value themselves upon it, for we form our idea of God upon the model of what we esteem most excellent in ourselves; but those who practise thought and consideration, see that an equitable temper is a commendation in a man's character, and consequently ascribe it in a most eminent degree to that Being which is the fountain of perfection. Therefore the unequal distribution of good and evil upon earth has always been made an argument to prove a future state, that the account might be set even there which was left unsettled here: and opinions have been embraced without other foundation than because they were thought necessary to reconcile the different lots of men with the perfect equity of that power by whom they are disposed. Xavier, the great apostle of the Jesuits, taking for granted that the only way to happiness lay through the Roman Church, and yet being sensible that thousands are born and die without ever having an opportunity of being admitted into it, asserts positively that every Tartar and savage has a revelation of the Romish faith made to him in the very article of death. He could have no evidence to support



this assertion ; for who knows what passes in the departing soul after it has lost the use of speech by which it might declare what it felt to the standers by ? but he had recourse to this wild imagination as the only way to salve that equity which he could not but acknowledge must deal alike favorably with all and propose the terms of happiness to every human creature. To this cause likewise we may attribute the invention of a free-will of indifference, that men may make their fortunes unequal where the favors of heaven bestowed on them were equal ; as a child for whom the father has made an ample provision with the rest of his brethren may yet run himself into poverty by his own extravagance : but if the Will were constantly determined by motives, it was thought the lot of every one must depend upon what motives were furnished. Since then we have the concurrence of the sober and considerate part of mankind in behalf of this doctrine of God being equitable and alike good to all his intelligent creatures, and we find men so firmly rooted in this persuasion as to practise all contrivances to bring their particular tenets to coincide with it, we need make no scruple of ranking equity among the attributes and using it as a principle whereon to build what judgment we can concerning the constitution of things unseen.

6. These are all the attributes whereof we have any distinct knowledge or conception, and I call them primary as being essential to the Divine Nature. Nor let it be thought an omission that I have taken no notice of Justice, Purity, Majesty, and Holiness, which have always been esteemed attributes equally with those before mentioned : but I look upon these as secondary attributes, not arising from contemplation of the Divine Nature considered in itself, but in conjunction with the nature of man and constitution of things in the universe ; upon which I shall want to make some further observations before I can explain my thoughts concerning them. Therefore shall postpone the consideration of these secondary attributes for the present, and hope it will be left to me to choose the proper time for entering upon it according to the course wherein my reasonings shall carry me.

## CHAP. XVIII.

## TWO CHARACTERS IN GOD.

We are told that no man can see God and live, by which I do not apprehend it necessary to understand that the sight of him is so terrible as to destroy us, but that our faculties are incapable of a full discernment of him : so that no man can see God while he lives encumbered with this veil of flesh, nor until invested with a finer organization, or enabled to see intuitively even as also he is seen. And we have found this truth exemplified upon our inquiry into the attributes : we saw clouds and difficulties gather around us, and discovered a necessity of other unknown attributes, whereof the understanding of man has never yet received a glimpse, to furnish objects for infinite wisdom, and set the measure to infinite goodness. On the other hand, we may be said to see God continually before our eyes : our own existence and that of the objects we behold lead us to the knowledge of his Being, the curious structure of our bodies, the wonderful agility and variety of ideas in our minds declare his wisdom, the blessings poured daily around us manifest his goodness, the sun that rules by day, the stars that twinkle by night, the vast expanse of heaven, display his power and greatness.

2. Since then God is incomprehensible, and the thought of him an unfathomable abyss where the line of reason can feel no bottom, yet at the same time an object obvious to our notice, and which it is highly incumbent upon us to pursue so far as our faculties can reach with clearness, let us endeavor to separate what we find clear in our conceptions of him from what is dark and mysterious. And I believe this may best be done by considering him in two capacities, as Creator, and as Governor of the world : for creation being a matter whereto we find nothing similar in our experience, we have no idea of it, nor anything belonging to it. We know that substances owe their existence and properties to an almighty power ; but in what other manner they might have been created, or what others might have been added to their number, or whether any, or what inducement there was for creating them, we know nothing of. All the difficulties before started concerning absolute impossibilities, the necessity of previous objects to serve as materials for wisdom to work upon, the limitation of goodness, and origin of evil, relate to the first constitution of things ; from which we had better withhold our thoughts, for the further we push them, the more we shall find ourselves entangled in perplexities and contradictions.

3. But the governance of the world lies nearer to our apprehension, as proceeding upon a constitution of things already established, disposing and giving motion to substances according to the properties assigned them, ordering the laws of nature and directing events falling under our cognizance, and by various structures or combinations, either of matter alone or in conjunction with spirit, raising secondary qualities perceivable by our senses. For our own volition being determined by motives, and our actions constantly aiming at some purpose suggested either by fancy or judgment, we have no conception of a power exerted without previous objects to direct and guide it: which has given rise to the notion of a nature of things eternal and unalterable by any Will or power whatsoever. But we may escape this absurdity and bring our ideas to tally with one another by considering a Governor of the universe, working upon a nature of things already assigned him, and acting according to certain rules established by the Creator from everlasting. I am far from intending hereby to divide the Divine Unity, or deny that it is one and the same God which created and still governs the world: I only propose this as an imaginary division rendering the subjects more suitable to our narrow faculties, which may comprehend in part what they cannot compass entire. Nor do I see any hurt in imagining that to be two which we know to be in reality one, for we have observed formerly that our conceptions often vary from our knowledge, and may find further occasion hereafter to show that it is expedient they should do so. We conceive the sun to run his race every day through the heavens, though we know the fact to be otherwise; for it is more convenient to speak and think of that seemingly little orb as moving about, and the wide stretched earth with all the buildings and mountains upon it as stationary. And so I apprehend it more convenient for our imagination to conceive the world and affairs of men administered by one power limited and prescribed to by another.

4. The Creator dwells in inaccessible light, where the eye of man cannot approach or sees little distinctly, being dazzled by the bright effulgence. We know that he is almighty, self-existent, uncaused, without beginning, and unspeakably happy, and this perhaps is all we can affirm safely concerning him: unless that to him belong those unknown attributes of which we can say nothing more than that there are such. He has established some things so firmly that their existence seems almost as necessary as his own: Time and Space, the imperfection of creatures, the relations between numbers, lines, angles, and forms, we cannot conceive ever to have had a beginning. His ways are unsearchable

and his actions past finding out, therefore it is in vain to attempt accounting for his proceedings. We see there are substances around us, but why they were created in such numbers and no more, or with such particular properties and no others, or in such certain stations: why our ideas are variable and the face of nature continually changing; why productions are formed and events brought about, by a long chain of second causes, and not by an immediate exertion of omnipotence; why evil was intermingled among the good, or in what exact proportion; of all these points we are utterly ignorant. Nor can we know any more concerning the time than the manner of creation, or determine whether the creatures may not have been co-eternal with the Creator: for though they be effects requiring an efficient cause to produce them, yet an effect may well be eternal where the cause is so. I could easily believe the Thames to have run eternally if I could persuade myself that the springs supplying it had flowed forever: and if there had always been a sun, there would have been no beginning of day-light. So, though the creation depended upon a superior power for its existence, it may nevertheless have subsisted from everlasting, because that power was never wanting whereon it might depend. Nor let it be urged that the Will and good pleasure of God must set omnipotence at work before there could be anything created: for when we reflect on the immutability of the divine nature, we can no more assign limits to the determination of his Will than to the exercise of his power. Therefore it behoves us to know our own ignorance, for this is the strongest mark of such wisdom as the frailty of human nature can rise to: as it is an instance of folly to conceit oneself understanding everything and to decide confidently upon every subject. And if we be at all sensible of our ignorance, we shall be very cautious in our assertions concerning creation or the Author of it, esteeming him an object of our admiration and adoration rather than of our inquiry. Nor need we be disturbed at the want of further knowledge, which could avail us nothing if we had it; for we must take things as we find them, our capacities and the qualities of other substances affecting us as assigned them, nor can we expect they should be altered to please us. If we know what are proper for our uses, how should we be the better for knowing why they were so constituted? If we can discern the sources of good and evil, this is enough to direct us what to pursue and what to avoid, nor could we do it more effectually were we able to trace those sources up to their original causes. Besides, when the Creator had laid the foundation of nature he rested from his works, and having once made us, retained, as I may say, no longer any concern with us,

but delivered us over to that Providence which governs and disposes the things already created, exercises the capacities, and employs the qualities already assigned.

5. But the Governor of the Universe is a more discernible object, easier for our imagination to comprehend, clothed with milder rays of glory, the subject of our hope and confidence as well as of our admiration. For we may behold him provident, wise, gracious, and beneficent, protecting us against the confusion of Chance and hard hand of Necessity, having all nature under command, so that no disturbance or disorder can intrude against his liking. To him belong those attributes of which we can form any distinct notion : omnipotence, to give what motions and directions he pleases to substances, to change their situations and throw them into what combinations, or associate them with what company he thinks proper ; omniscience, to discern at one glance the whole number of substances existent, their capacities, qualities, and positions ; wisdom, to know exactly what secondary qualities will arise and what effects shall be produced by the operation and concurrence of second causes, so that among all the various impulses of matter and actions of spirit, nothing shall fall out contrary to his design and expectation ; omnipresence, that nothing may escape his notice, but every particle of corporeal or spiritual substance be directed with the same vigilance as if it were the sole object of his attention ; unwearied goodness, to provide all the happiness for the creatures which their capacities can receive or the pre-established nature of things will admit ; and impartial equity, to allot the just proportion of good and evil among sentient creatures, so as that none may have cause to complain at being unequally or arbitrarily dealt with. These things we find no difficulty to comprehend, and these are enow to assure us that the course of nature and fortune is ordered for the best, and that we live under a government which a prudent man would choose for himself if it were left to his option.

6. To consider God as Governor of the world is the light wherein we ordinarily behold him, that which gives us the clearest conception we can entertain of him, which best answers all useful purposes, and has this peculiar advantage that it represents his goodness, the attribute we are most interested with, in the fairest colors, as attentive to produce all the happiness possible for his creatures in the nature and constitution of things. This, when well calculated, satisfies the minds of the vulgar, and would satisfy those of the speculative too, if they would abstain from idle questions concerning creation, and forbear to ask why things are not otherwise constituted so that more happiness might have been

produced than is now possible. For if we survey so much of nature as lies within the reach of our observation and reason, we shall find there is a balance of good sufficient to content any reasonable person.

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## CHAP. XIX.

### EXTERNAL NATURE.

By Nature I understand here that disposition and order of things wherein we are likely to have any concern ; so much of this as relates to ourselves in our present state of Being, we must discover by observation and experience, or learn from the information of others, as being our surest guides : for no man who is going to the East Indies, recurs to theology to know what manner of living he may expect, but inquires of those who have been there before him ; or if he find himself indisposed, applies to a physician, or recollects what has done him good on the like occasion formerly. But we know that this body of ours shall be dissolved, when whatever was of use or solace to it shall be no longer serviceable : though the trees continue to bear fruit we cannot taste it ; though the sun goes on to shine, we cannot see it ; though trades and manufactures be still carried on, we can receive no benefit from them. Yet the Spirit shall remain entire with her two faculties of perceptivity and activity ; but what organs, what instruments, what materials, she shall have to exercise them, experience informs us nothing of : for we have no ground to expect that anything wherewith we have intercourse here, shall be the object of our perception or action hereafter. Nevertheless, our curiosity and concern for the future naturally incline us to look forward ; but we find nothing affording any glimpse of light, unless in the character of that power which disposes of things visible and invisible : therefore, we must content ourselves with such judgment as we can form from thence of our future condition and expectations.

2. And this leads us to the consideration of final causes, which the most judicious persons have always taken into account, and made the principal foundation in forming their opinions concerning things invisible : for if at any time we can discover what are the views of our Almighty Governor, we may rest assured he wants not power nor wisdom to compass them. Some indeed carry this argument too far, applying it to the affairs of this world, and

inferring what is or shall be done from what they imagine should be done. Thus the Papists prove an infallible judge of controversies upon earth, because they conceive it necessary there should be one : and many good people expect deliverance from all distresses and injuries, or that in wars and contentions the better cause will always prevail, because they apprehend it agreeable to their idea of God that things should be so ordered. Our murmurings and repinings against Providence arise from our unwarrantable expectations, which upon finding them disappointed, tempt us to suspect the ways of Heaven unrighteous, rather than acknowledge ourselves mistaken in our idea of what righteousness requires. But our business here is to learn, not to decide, nor can we ever depend upon what will happen solely by our idea of final causes, nor otherwise than by remarking what has usually happened in similar cases : for our knowledge of God and his proceedings is very imperfect at best, and he has given us experience and a capacity of observation to correct our errors in theory from time to time. But with respect to the invisible world, he has given us no experience nor means of observation ; if we were ever there ourselves, we have utterly lost all remembrance of it ; and those who are gone there before cannot return to communicate their discoveries : but he has given us some knowledge of himself discoverable in that portion of his work we have seen, and this we may depend upon in matters whereof we have no other evidence to direct us ; for we need not doubt that he knows how to adapt his means to their intended effects, and therefore may be assured the knowledge we have is sufficient to answer our purposes, until we shall find him imparting future lights. It is true we cannot enter into the counsels of God, nor discern his manner of proceeding with the same exactness and certainty as we can the qualities of bodies and characters of persons familiar to our acquaintance ; but we may reason upon them in many cases with a clearness that shall work as full assurance upon the mind to the exclusion of all doubt, as even experience or demonstration : provided we keep chiefly in generals, and do not enter too minutely into particulars, which we have no opportunity of knowing nor are necessary to be known by us.

3. Our own final causes lie behind each other in trains, for we desire one thing for its tendency to procure another, and that other because it conduces to a third ; but good, or satisfaction, stands at the end of every line, recommending the whole to our pursuit : nor can we conceive of Providence otherwise than as aiming its dispensations at particular purposes productive of others, and those again leading to others beyond : the business

then is to settle with ourselves what we may reasonably suppose to be the point, answering to satisfaction in ourselves, wherein all dispensations ultimately centre. For we may immediately discern that this cannot be satisfaction, such as operates upon us; for the desire of satisfaction implies a continual want of something to better our condition, to make our lives valuable, and prevent our time from passing away unprofitably, but our clearest apprehensions of the Deity will not allow us to imagine him wanting anything of his creatures, or capable of accession to that happiness he enjoys from everlasting in himself, or administering the government of the world for his own amusement, to pass his time more agreeably, to provide company for his conversation, or produce pleasures from whence he might receive a moment's entertainment. This consideration overthrow the supposition of Glory, which some have made a predominant attribute and ultimate end of the divine views; for they say God created and still orders all things solely for his own Glory. But when we consider that a fondness for applause is a weakness in human nature, engendering pride, vanity, and affectation, which denote a little mind: that the sounder a man's judgment is, the less solicitous we find him to display his accomplishments to others, and that honor at best is but an expedient to supply the shortness of our views, and lead us into those courses which we want discernment to see the prudence of; we shall think it unbecoming to ascribe this motive to the most perfect of all Beings, with whom there can be no weakness or frailty, no concern lest he should miss his due tribute of praise, no loss or disappointment if it be not regularly paid. Nor do the phenomena of Nature agree with the supposition of such a principle, for of all the innumerable variety of creatures upon earth, man alone is made capable of acknowledging his Maker, and among men, how few are there that rise to conceptions worthy of him! far the greater part being drawn off by their occupations and necessary engagements in life from that attention they might else have given to his excellencies, and those few best furnished with opportunities of knowing him, how imperfect is their knowledge! perplexed with doubts and difficulties which they are forced to solve by their own incapacity and want of discernment. Nevertheless, I do not deny that God is extremely jealous of his glory, and does all things for that end, because he knows his glory is of the utmost consequence to his intelligent creatures: for entertaining unworthy notions of him, would fill them with darkness and despair, lead them into vices and fatal errors, induce them to break those laws he has established for their happiness, and introduce a general disorder and confusion: so that



glory is a secondary end subservient to goodness, not an original principle, but springing from the love he bears to the works of his hand.

4. Wherefore goodness remains as the ultimate principle beyond that of glory, and though we have supposed an unknown attribute to set the measure to goodness, and restrain it from exhausting omnipotence; this belongs to the Creator whose ways are unsearchable, and concerning whom we can pronounce nothing safely: but the Governor of the Universe we may apprehend as infinitely good, and if there should be any higher source of his actions, we cannot trace it out, therefore must refer to this as the first motive of all his dispensations, and if there be anything repugnant to goodness, we may be sure it will not be permitted. For we may conceive him producing all the happiness possible in the nature and constitution of things: only we must not expect his goodness should regard ourselves alone; for the nature of it requires it to flow where the greatest numbers may receive benefit by it, where there are the highest capacities for enjoying it, and where it may be attended with the fewest inconveniences. For we may observe that good and evil often generate one another, but it is the whole design in view that denominates the action: he that mingles poison with a palatable dish, acts maliciously, though he does all in his power to enhance the present pleasure; and the surgeon who performs a cure by some painful operation, acts kindly, though he gives a present pain. And sometimes consequences of both kinds follow each other in succession, but they must all be taken into account, in order to determine the quality of the action: the physician who sweetens an emetic for a child, does not act unkindly though he entices him thereby to drink that which will make him sick at stomach, because he intends the removal of a disorder, by bringing on that sickness. So the severities that befall us, or the pleasures that lead unwarily into trouble, may be instances of kindness, if in their whole consequences they tend to greater advantage than detriment: and that they do so, we may justly conclude from the character of goodness, which requires that every evil should terminate in good somewhere or other; and that if there be any which yield no fruits in this present state, they should produce a plentiful crop elsewhere, which will abundantly repay the trouble sustained by them here.

5. For, from the unity of the Divine Nature, we may justly infer, that the universe is one immense kingdom governed and administered by the same legislative and executive power: and though this consideration alone will not hinder but that it may be divided into many distinct principalities, each separate within itself,

and having no communication with the rest, yet, when we reflect upon the mutual dependence of things in this world, and how much their interests are interwoven, we shall find reason to believe there is a like connexion of interests running throughout the whole. We commonly say, that all things were made for man, and so we well may, provided we do not add, for man alone, but allow him likewise to be made for other creatures. The sheep and oxen feed upon his pastures; the horse receives provender and tendence from his hands; the birds eat the grain he sows; the little mouse shares in the provisions of his table; the swallow nestles under his roof; the mastiff and spaniel earn their wages in his service; the flea and the gnat regale on his blood; the harvest-bug burrows in his flesh; and his carcass breeds and nourishes the worm and the maggot. He employs his cares and reason to provide for the uses of animals subservient to his uses, and those of others he provides for in providing for his own. And there is a constant intercourse between the animal and vegetable kingdoms: man sows the corn that is the staff to support his life, plants and prunes the trees that yield him fruit, cultivates the flax that serves him for clothing: the cattle manure the pastures that feed them, the birds carry about the seed that grow up to supply their future occasions. It is thought the misletoe would be lost out of nature if it were not continually propagated from tree to tree by the thrush. And every species of living creatures has an interest in the curious structure and alimentary qualities of those plants which furnish them respectively with proper sustenance. Nor are the properties and courses of the elements, the subterraneous works of nature in forming minerals, fossils, exhalations, and vapors, of little consequence to the things upon her surface: the blights that bring disease upon corn and trees threaten us with famine, that unknown vegetative principle promoting their growth, and making the difference between one soil or one season and another, fills us with plenty: the docility and capacities of brutes furnish employment and uses for man; the various passions and characters of mankind affect one another; and that long and intricate chain of events we call Chance or Fortune, determines the time and condition of our birth, and influences us in every part of our lives.

6. Thus nothing stands alone, but each depends for its preservation and welfare upon many others around, with which it stands in some respect or other connected. From hence we may gather a little more knowledge of nature than we could by a bare contemplation of the final cause: for goodness would have been equally satisfied whether the due measure of happiness had been

dealt out to the creature directly by an immediate act of omnipotence, or conveyed by the intervention of second causes, or how many soever of them had intervened to operate upon one another. But since we find that God governs by a long subordination of second causes in this spot of nature exhibited to us for a spectacle, we may reasonably presume he takes the like method in other parts of his dominion. And we may observe, that he not only employs a concurrence of causes to produce one effect, but likewise produces various effects from one and the same cause. The air that supplies us with breath assists the growth of vegetables, sustains the clouds and vapors, and purifies the earth with its continual agitations: the sea that contains the stores of rain and dew, that wafts our ships from coast to coast, serves likewise as an element for the fishes: and there are seldom any events befalling among mankind, which concern no more than a single person. From hence we may infer the probability of there being other uses in the works of nature, besides those we discern, much more than there are uses where we cannot discern any.

7. It is this manner of proceeding by second causes that discovers the divine wisdom, which could not so well be manifested by a direct exertion of omnipotence: the raining manna from heaven might display power, and a kind concern for the wants of mankind; but it would not give evidence of wisdom like the admirable contrivance in a grain of corn, made to protect and nourish the tender germ, fitted with little tubes for straining such earthy particles as are proper for our sustenance. If almighty power were employed at every turn, there would be no room for wisdom, because nothing more would be requisite than to choose what should be done, and to do it accordingly: as a man who carries a bowl in his hand wants no skill to place it where he has a mind; but if he rolls it along the turf, he ought to know exactly the inequalities of the ground, and what force and direction must be given to make it rest just in the spot where he would have it lie, much more when a multitude of causes are set in motion to produce a variety of effects, does it require a consummate wisdom to adjust them so nicely as that nothing may fall out contrary to intention. And the subordination of causes gives admittance to subordinate ends, wherein we may sometimes discover a wisdom and contrivance in the manner of compassing them, though we cannot trace their tendency to the ultimate end: for we may discern a curious contexture in the parts of weeds and noxious plants, of toadstools and moss, of pyrites and other useless productions of the earth, though we cannot see wherein they promote the benefit of any sentient creature.

8. But wisdom cannot be disjoined from goodness, for it must have some purpose to proceed upon, and none other can be conceived worthy of it: it may direct to proper means, and so far furnish itself with employment in supplying other means to procure them, but must receive its ultimate end from some other quality. Wherefore the most considerate of mankind have laid down as an incontestable maxim, That nature does nothing in vain, by which must be understood unproductive of good, either directly or remotely, for this would be vain with respect to the point it has ultimately in view. And Plato, with some others, carried this notion so far as to say, that if any single event had happened otherwise than it did, the whole universe would have been damaged thereby. Whether we may run such length as to assert that every creature has some concern in every dispensation that happens, there is no occasion to examine; but our idea of infinite goodness warrants us to suppose that the course of nature or fortune could not be altered in any particular, without a loss of happiness somewhere or other: and this supposition will necessarily infer an intercourse of interests between the known world and the unknown. For we find nature often defeated of the purposes she seems principally to have intended; she forms her grains of corn in a manner fitted for producing plants of their different kinds, but how few of them ever attain that end? Such as man employs in his uses make no difficulty, for we suppose her to have had the service of man in view equally with the continuation of the vegetable species: but what quantities are destroyed by blights, by mildews, by storms, or scattered about by accident, where they neither grow up to fill the reaper's hand, nor yield a sustenance to any creature! She forms the eggs of birds with curious integuments, one within another, to foment and nourish the growing foetus: for such of them as man converts to his uses we think her pains not ill bestowed; but how many of them are addled, chilled, or broken, unprofitable either for the nest or market! What multitudes of fruits of all kinds fall to the ground, where they decay and perish without being of service either to man or beast! What quantities of fertile soil are annually driven down into the sea! What havoc do tempests, inundations, and earthquakes make, as well among the works of nature as of human industry! In short, there seems to be a general waste around us, a great deal of pains and contrivance thrown away, and half the provisions that are made fall short of their destined purpose. If we turn our thoughts to man himself we shall find, that after all the wonderful cares of nature to form children in the womb, many of them never come to the birth; of those that do, one half are cut off by diseases, accident, or ill manage-

ment, before they arrive at the use of reason. Sleep renders a considerable part of our time useless ; many of our waking hours pass irksome and insipid, unprofitable to others, and unpleasurable to ourselves. Ignorance and error frustrates half our undertakings ; infirmities, passions, and fantastic humors, make us troublesome to one another. Such observations as these have tempted men to deny a Providence ; and Lucretius urged it as an argument that the world could not be made in wisdom, being so full of faults. But we have too many proofs of a superintending vigilance in the many provisions actually tending to our preservation, our sustenance, our accommodation, and our enjoyment, to be overthrown by these negative ones to the contrary ; from which we may more safely infer, that Providence has something else to take care of besides ourselves ; therefore all cares are not thrown away which do not turn to our particular account.

9. I know that such as set themselves impartially to examine the ways of nature, daily find more and more uses in things that at first appeared nugatory : but some of the phenomena are of such a kind as not to be applied with any color to the benefit of man, and many, wherefrom we do receive some use, are of too noble a fabric for us to claim them as our sole property. Man has no further concern with this earth than a few fathom under his feet ; was then the whole solid globe beneath made only for a foundation to support the slender shell he treads upon ? Do the magnetic effluvia course incessantly over land and sea, only to turn here and there a mariner's compass ? Are those immense bodies, the fixed stars, hung up for nothing but to twinkle in our eyes by night, or find employment for a few astronomers ? Is that prodigious effusion of light darted every way throughout the expanse of heaven for no other purpose than to enlighten and cherish two or three little planets ? Does the vast profundity of space contain no more inhabitants than we see crawling about us, or may conjecture abide on other earths like ours ? Surely he must have an overweening conceit of man's importance, who can imagine this stupendous frame of the universe fabricated for him alone : and he must be too partial an admirer of visible nature, or entertain too mean an opinion of infinite wisdom, that can persuade himself things could not have been contrived better for the accommodation and happiness of man, had he been the sole object of the divine attention. To consider only the turns of the human Will, which constantly follows present motives and judgments, would anybody deny that man's understanding could have been more illumined, and his imagination rectified, so as clearly to discern, and strongly to desire, his truest interests, and this alone

might have made a paradise upon earth without changing the face of nature.

10. Nevertheless, we may so far acknowledge all things made for man as that his uses are regarded conjointly with those of other creatures, and that he has an interest in everything reaching his notice, either for the sustentation of his body, the improvement of his mind, or entertainment of his thoughts. We know he has some concern with the remotest objects; the satellites, that turn the night of Jupiter into day, assist him in ascertaining the longitude, and measure for him the velocity of light: the mighty Sun, that like a giant holds the planets and comets in their orbits, enlightens him with its splendor, and cherishes him with its warmth; the distant stars, whose attraction probably confines other planets within their vortices, direct his courses over the boundless sea and the inhospitable desert, and display the magnificence of that power which stationed them. Nor can we suppose him forgotten in the laws respecting other worlds, which are so framed as not to interfere with his interests, or infringe upon that measure of good thought proper to be allotted him: for the omnipresent vigilance of our Governor overlooks nothing, and his wisdom is so consummate as to form his several systems complete, without their disturbing or breaking in upon one another.

11. But it is the narrowness of our understandings, confined to work upon such materials as are thrown in by the senses, that makes it difficult to conceive there should be creatures totally different from those falling under our observation for Providence to take care of, and therefore we expect that every provision of nature should be calculated solely for our uses. For many ages this little spot of earth was thought the only habitable part of the universe, nothing else being deemed capable of receiving a colony. Xenophanes was laughed to scorn for asserting the Moon bigger than all Peloponesus, as an absurd and extravagant notion: and though later discoveries have persuaded many persons of the Planets being habitable earths like ours, yet they think no further than of peopling the surfaces of them conformably to what we see in this of our own, and even this appears a wild imagination to common apprehensions, which cannot deviate a step from the track whereto they have been accustomed. Epicurus insisted there could not be intelligence out of the human shape, because he had never seen a reasonable creature of any other: and we cannot comprehend an animal without muscles, fibres, vessels, and organs, such as we find in those we are acquainted with. I suppose if we had never known of fishes we should have been positive that life could not subsist without air to breathe, or that

there could be generation without sexes if we had never heard accounts of the Polyypus. But who can set bounds to Almighty power or reckon up all the varieties that infinite wisdom can contrive, or show the impossibility of organizations dissimilar to any within our experience? Who knows what cavities may lie within the earth, or what living creatures they may contain, endued with senses to us unknown, to whom the streams of magnetism may serve instead of light, and those of electricity affect them as sensibly as sounds and odors do ourselves? Why should we pronounce it impossible there should be bodies formed to endure the burning Sun, to whom fire may be the natural element, whose bones and muscles are composed of fixed earth, their blood and juices of molten metals? or others suited to bear the frozen regions of Saturn, having their circulation carried on by fluids more subtle than the highest rectified spirits raised by chymistry?

How does it appear necessary that sensation must come by that long train of channels leading into one another through which we receive it? The light strikes upon the corneous tunicle of the eye, thence passes on through the aqueous, the crystalline, the vitreous humors, till it falls upon the retina, there it excites tremulous motions, which are propagated onwards in winding mazes along the optic nerves quite to the brain, causing it to excite the sensation of sight. The mind receives her notices from particles penetrating or lying contiguous to her: such as their modifications are, such from time to time are her perceptions; and why may not they take various modifications from the action of external objects without that tedious process of organization employed in terrestrial animals? Hartley and some others pretend to demonstrate that sensations and all our ideas are produced by an ether lodged in the interstices of our brain: if the case be so, when disengaged from the grosser parts of our machinery, we shall have a denser ether surrounding us, which might excite stronger sensations and of other kinds than any we now experience. May there not be bodies fitted for the purposes of sensation and reflection, consisting of simpler organs, and lying within a narrower compass than anything we can imagine, all eye and ear without, all memory and understanding within, small enough to permeate the densest metals with the same ease as we walk about in a grove of trees, too minute for wind to take hold of or fire to penetrate and rend asunder, which may expatiate in the boundless fields of ether and find a pabulum there to support them, or have such contexture as not to be liable to continual waste, and consequently needing no recruit? Or who will undertake to demonstrate that spirits may not act and perceive without any organs at all, finding ob-

jects for one faculty to discern, and subjects whereon to exercise the other, in the particles passing perpetually through the sphere of their presence? or that they may not affect one another with perceptions in greater variety and vigor than we receive them from the play of our organs? not vitally united to any system of matter, but joining themselves occasionally to whatever falls within their reach, whereby, if locomotion be expedient, they may transport themselves easily from place to place; for considering the swift and incessant fluctuation of many subtile fluids in all directions, they need never want a conveyance to carry them whithersoever they desire.

12. It is true these are all no more than possibilities, nor do we pretend to bring evidence in proof of their being fact; but the suggestion of a possibility which cannot be contradicted is enough to convince us that we have not the whole extent of almighty power in our view, nor all that nature can perform exhibited in the scenes she has displayed before us: for we find there are other ways of proceeding feasible, and if she has chosen none of them, it may be because she has still others in store whereof we cannot form the most distant imagination. But that she has other methods of supporting life and dispensing enjoyment unknown to us, we may satisfy ourselves from the vast profusion of second causes she puts in act, yielding no proportionable benefit to the reptiles on this lump of dirt, nor any others we can reach with our glasses or our conjectures. So that in our Father's house are many mansions, many not only in number, but in variety of plan and disposition, built partly of the same kind of stone and timber, but fitted up diversely according to the occasions of the respective inhabitants, and serving for little else than ornament to the rest. Since then there are mighty works fabricated which contribute little to our uses, but we must conclude from the principle of nothing made in vain, that they contribute more largely to those of other creatures, this evidences a connection between the two worlds in having so many things the benefit whereof they share in common. Nor is it probable only that the several systems of Beings have partly the same materials supplying their conveniences and enjoyments, but likewise that their actions in the consequences of them mutually affect one another. It were mere guess-work to go about explaining in what particulars this happens; all that we can pronounce assuredly is that we are equally incapable of discerning whether what passes among other Beings does or does not concern the affairs of men: whether, as toads and adders suck up the poison from the earth, there may be some invisible animals which purify the air, or else prepare it



for our respiration as milk is prepared for our nourishment by passing through the bodies of cattle ; whether the emission of rays from the sun be owing to the action of some creatures upon his surface ; or whether the ministry of substances purely spiritual be employed in the four attractions and putting other laws of matter in execution.

13. But there is one respect wherein it cannot be doubted that other Beings have concern in what happens among us. Whoever admits the doctrine of final causes and nothing made in vain, will scarce imagine that our two faculties of perceptivity and activity were given us only for a few years employment upon this sublunary stage, to lie buried ever afterwards in eternal sleep, but that the soul upon quitting this country passes into some other, whose districts are continually peopled by colonies sent from hence. Now when we reflect how much the births and deaths of human creatures depend upon the constitution of nature and disposition of affairs here, how men increase and multiply more or less and their lives are lengthened or shortened by the condition of the air, fertility of the soil, concurrence of accidents, regulations of states, introduction or decay of arts and sciences, manners and customs, humors and fancies, virtues and vices, prevailing among them, it will appear that the inhabitants of the other world are interested in all these things, to have them so disposed as that our annual exports may just answer their demands. Nor is it likely they are concerned only with the numbers and times of our migrations, but likewise with the qualities and characters of the new comers to be incorporated amongst them. We see that nature forms none of her productions at once, but brings them slowly to perfection by many gradations rising upon one another : the seed shoots up a little bud, from thence springs forth a slender twig, which by degrees hardens into a stem, spreading in branches and leaves until it becomes a full grown tree : the little animal comes into the world small and feeble, but grows through several stages to full stature and vigor : our judgment takes forty years in maturing by the rudiments of infancy, the improvements of education, converse, and experience. When the plant has stricken root, the seed that before involved it rots and perishes ; when the chicken is hatched, the shell and other remains of the egg crumble and moulder away : so we may presume that this gross body of ours, which will decay and return to dust, is an integument to preserve and form the embryo of some future animal.

We know of but one pre-existent state, I mean that of the womb, and though it be not clear, what Hartley's German friend, Stahl, affirms, that all the automatic motions of the heart, the ar-

teries, the glands, the digestion, were originally voluntary actions of the child, yet we must needs acknowledge that upon what passes there, depend our constitution, our strength, the acuteness of our senses, the quickness of our parts, the retentiveness of our memory, much of our passions, desires, and tempers: and by parity of reason we may infer that upon what befalls us here, depend our constitution and all that may be called the natural endowments we shall be born with into another state. Some skip over life entirely, passing directly from the womb into the other world; some are allowed but just a taste of it, being snatched away in their infancy, conversant only with a few objects striking their senses, unexercised in their understandings and unpractised in the ways of men: and of those who fill up their full term of years, how various are their professions, their manners of living, and ways of thinking! From whence it follows that not only this life in general is preparatory to the next, but each man's particular fortune is calculated to fit him for the functions he is to fulfil hereafter, and that there is a society wherein the talents of individuals are given for the service of the whole: so that, like the Israelites gathering manna, he who carries little away with him has no lack, and he who carries much has nothing over. Nor is it necessary the consequences of human action should be confined to himself or his future compatriots; for nature works several uses by the same spring. The sheep applies diligently to his pasture, and thereby fattens his flesh and lengthens his wool for the service of man: the silk-worm weaves her web for a safeguard to herself, and at the same time furnishes us with materials for our clothing and ornament: the fly injects her juices into the oak leaf to raise an apple for hatching her young, and therein supplies us with ink for our correspondence and improvement. So man by his ploughing, his planting, his felling, his burning, his draining, his mining, his manufacturing, may be reckoned among the second causes operating upon matter wherein the invisible world has some concern: nor are there wanting Beings to whom his joys and sorrows, successes and disappointments, frailties and miscarriages, may serve for a spectacle, an instruction, and a warning.

14. In short, the more we contemplate the complication of interests, of causes and effects in the visible world, the more ready we shall find ourselves to take this for a sample of the whole: and the more we reflect on the character of goodness and wisdom, the more easily we shall persuade ourselves that every provision terminates in good worthy the largeness and extent of it; that whatever brings evil, or little advantage, or none at all to man,

redounds to the greater benefit of something else ; and whatever appears unaccountable, either in the works of nature or courses of fortune, has a purpose which it does not fail to answer. Thus we may look upon corn and cattle as made for the uses of man, because he receives his uses largely from them, but the central earth which serves him only for a basis to support the ground he stands on, the vast effusion of light whereof a few rays only reach his eyes, the wide-extended constellations which furnish him with nothing more than a spectacle to admire, must be designed chiefly, and those more distant stars beyond the reach of human ken solely, for the service of other creatures : and man himself, much of whose time is lost in sleep, whose actions are in great part unavailing or even hurtful to himself, must be supposed set at work for the benefit of some invisible Beings. Yet as the brutes have their enjoyments while employed in the service of man ; the ox indulges his appetite in fattening flesh for his master's table, the hen gratifies her desires in hatching and breeding up chickens for the larder : so care is taken that man shall enjoy all the accommodations and happiness consistent with the services he is destined to perform.

15. Thus the dispensations given to the several sets of creatures regard partly themselves and partly the interests of other species, and it may naturally be expected that those of the highest class should be preferred : for mischief falls lightest upon the dullest capacities, and the interruptions occasioned by pain make the least loss of time to those who have the least important and delectable employments, therefore wisdom and goodness require that evil should be lodged there where it does the smallest hurt. When we consider how much of skin, bone, and tunicle, how much of vital juices, flesh, and parenchyma, enters into the composition of all terrestrial animals, we may look upon them as upon a man encumbered with a load of clothes, who cannot have so quick a feeling through them as he might upon his naked body. An organization framed all of nerve and fibre must strike stronger sensations, and unembodied spirits receiving their notices from one another must have more numerous, clearer, and livelier perceptions than any we experience. So that man, although the highest actor upon this sublunary stage, has perhaps the lowest stage to act upon in the whole theatre of the universe. From these considerations joined to our idea of infinite goodness we may reasonably conclude that evil, although here bearing an inconsiderable proportion to the good, is still more thinly scattered in other regions of nature ; and the most thinking and considerate persons, from earliest antiquity, have been persuaded that there are some

states of Being abounding in unmingled happiness, without any tincture of uneasiness or suffering.

16. We have observed before, that some have ascribed the origin of evil to our immersion into matter, and to the ill use of our active powers; but though these cannot be assigned to account for the first origin, they may well be the channels through which it is dispersed among sentient Beings: and the last, as has appeared upon our examination of human nature, is consequent upon the first, for it is the obstinacy of our habits, and turbulency of our passions, deriving their strength and violence from the state of our organs or courses of our animal circulation, that raise those inordinate desires continually leading us astray. But the inhabitants of the visible world, being more deeply immersed in matter than any others we can imagine, and having many parts in their frame not subject to the action of the mind, must be supposed to receive more copiously\* of the noxious stream flowing from that channel.

17. But when we consider what is probably the use of evil, namely, to excite the mind to bestir herself in avoiding it, there does not appear a necessity it should be dispersed everywhere, to answer that purpose. Satisfaction and uneasiness are the two hinges whereon our actions turn, nor can we conceive any creatures so constituted as to proceed upon other motives: if there were no mischief to be feared, and no loss of satisfaction to be incurred, there would be little inducement to act at all, for why need a man do anything who is in a state of complacence from whence he can never be removed? He that should have no notion of danger would run among horses and carts, into the fire, and all kinds of mischief: and he that should think his pleasures could never depart from him would take no pains to secure them. But though the knowledge and apprehension of evil will suffice to put us in motion without feeling it ourselves, there must be real suffering somewhere to raise that apprehension. Yet a little actual evil may spread the idea of it very wide: if one man hurt himself grievously by his carelessness or obstinacy, it may make thousands sensible of the danger attending such a behavior; and the mischiefs befalling one set of creatures may inspire others with a caution to guard against their approach. For the avoidance of evil having so large a share in the action of spirits, may justly persuade us, that those placed in the best conditioned state are liable to innumerable mischiefs, but such as they can easily escape, and therefore make no diminution of their happiness; but the idea of danger, prompting them to take measures for escaping it, they receive from the contemplation of actual suffering among

inferior Beings, not from an experience of it in themselves. Since then a few objects may suffice to furnish matter for that contemplation, we may suppose them exhibited by creatures deeply immersed in matter : and that there may not want samples of evil in all the regions of the universe, the stars are stationed at immense distances, which, by themselves or the planets rolling round them, are fitted for the reception of such creatures. The repugnance of evil to our ideas of goodness I think will warrant our extending the supposition of it no further than necessity requires, and we see this necessity does not hinder our confining it to the regions of gross matter, which will reduce it within a very narrow compass : for if everything corporeal, within the orbit of the furthest Comet, were compressed into a perfect solid, I suppose it would not form a mass bigger than the body of the Sun ; then the proportion this bears to the whole solar vortex will exceed the proportion of evil in nature to good, because even embodied creatures have their balance of enjoyment in life. Nay, we might have grounds to hope that this gross corporeal state is the only seat of evil in nature, and from the moment we get rid of it we shall continue exempt from all mixture of uneasiness ; but we shall find reasons by-and-by to caution us against too great security, for that there are states of suffering elsewhere, into which we may plunge ourselves by carelessness and ill management.

18. Nevertheless there is no reason to imagine from anything occurring either to our observation or our thoughts, but that there are more states of complete happiness than of suffering, or those containing a mixture of both ; or else that the former are infinitely fuller stocked with inhabitants : for this idea agrees best with our notion of infinite goodness, which we must take for the foundation of our theory in matters whereof experience gives no information. But what measure of evil is found necessary in nature stands confined to particular forms of Being, so that a few regions share the whole of it amongst them : nor will this appear an unequal distribution since the same inhabitants migrate from one region into another, whereby every one has an opportunity of taking his full share in the good as well as in the evil ; and many glorified spirits have attained the height of happiness by passing through the vale of misery. If such Beings are totally disjoined from matter, and receive their perceptions by communication from one another, we may reasonably suppose them equal in their condition and their enjoyments ; for we know of no difference in the capacities and primary properties of spirits, and cannot well imagine them partial in their dealings among themselves. Hence it follows there must be one or more intermediate states to pass

through, wherein the lot of individuals is unequal ; for inequalities here require the like inequalities elsewhere, that every one's account may be set even at some time or other. But this consideration alone does not make it necessary that evil should extend beyond this terrestrial mansion, for the balance may be brought even, as well by an abatement of good as by actual suffering. He that has struggled here with disease, misfortune, and distress, may have ample amends made him in his next state, by receiving a larger share of bounty than others around him, although the portion allotted them be not alloyed with any pain or uneasiness. For an increase of enjoyment will repay actual suffering ; and so we often judge ourselves, when we choose to pass one day disagreeably, for the sake of more than ordinary pleasure in the next, rather than pass both in our common amusements.

19. Nor is it a contemptible argument of this terrene habitation being the lowest part of the creation, that so little value appears to be set upon life by him who is the best judge of what is valuable : every one takes notice upon how slender a thread it hangs, daily liable to be snapped short by a thousand accidents. Few complete their full term of years ; one half never arrive at manhood ; and multitudes are denied an entrance into the world at all. We may observe nature almost as careful to provide for means of destruction as preservation : ravenous beasts, venomous animals, and poisonous herbs, are fitted for the instruments of death ; diseases, famines, wars, damps, suffocating vapors, and pestilential airs, sweep away by numbers : appetite urges men to pernicious excesses : many necessary occupations run them into dangers ; folly leads them into fatal errors ; vice plunges them into destructive courses ; even virtue sometimes drives them upon hazardous enterprizes. So that life seems to be given, not for the benefit of the individual, but for some service done therein to the whole : and those enjoyments poured plentifully upon it, proceed from that unbounded goodness which appoints wages to every service, and comforts to render the burden of it easy ; and one might be almost tempted to believe, with some of the ancient sages, that the luckiest thing could have befallen us, was never to have been born, and the next lucky, to have been taken away again immediately.

20. Now to sum up the whole of what has been offered in this chapter ; we may gather from the perishable nature of our bodies and durable nature of our minds, and little use appearing in many extensive and operose productions observable around us, that there are forms of Being besides this, wherewith we are invested : from the method constantly taken by nature of bringing her works to perfection slowly through several stages, of

generating one thing by the corruption of another, and the mutual dependence between the several parts of this visible world, that there is a like connection of interests running throughout the whole : from the gross composition of our frame taking in notices only through a few very complicated channels, that we may be capable of stronger, clearer, and more variety of perceptions than any we now experience : from the nature of the mind that it was designed for action : from the nature of action that evil is a necessary inducement to excite it ; and from the nature of judgment which renders the idea of hurt without actual suffering a motive urging to avoid it, that a very little quantity of evil may suffice to set the spiritual world in motion. Thus far we discover what may be, but not so fully as to satisfy us in the main point we want, for the quicker sensibility of a refined state may render us liable to acuter pains as well as more exalted pleasures, and the greater variety of perceptions may give room for more of the irksome as well as the agreeable kind, nor can we see enough of second causes to discern what proportion of evil they tend to produce. But when we raise our thoughts to the First Cause, and contemplate the character of wisdom and goodness therein, manifested by the works of which we have familiar knowledge and experience, our possibility turns into assurance : for they will not suffer us to entertain a suspicion of evil being inflicted needlessly, or dispersed in greater quantities than the welfare and good order of the whole creation require. Therefore we may look upon the enjoyments dispensed in every state of Being as given for the sake of the members, but the troubles and uneasinesses annexed as a means conducive to the far greater benefit of some others.

21. Nor need we perplex our thoughts with inquiring whether things might not have been originally so constituted as that evil should not be necessary for the production of any good : for if every hurt yield a greater advantage elsewhere and we ourselves have an interest in whatever redounds to the good of the whole, this may make us contented under it as long as we can retain a firm and lively persuasion of its so doing. I do not expect that this should entirely take off the smart of every violent pain, or weight of every pressing uneasiness : for evil were no evil, nor the good purposes intended by it answered, if a remedy were constantly afforded to prevent it from hurting : but whenever we have the free use of our thoughts, these reflections may give us a favorable opinion of the universe, whose regulations are all established in loving mercy and kindness, and a reasonable expectation of exchanging our present condition for a better ; provided we do not, by our own ill conduct, cast ourselves upon those few

inhospitable spots, which are the sink of nature, as draining away all the evil from the rest. But our hope and dependence rests solely upon the character of our Governor, not upon anything we can discern in the tendency of second causes to our advantage: yet this need not disturb us; for if we receive good it is no matter of what sort, or by what instruments or channels we receive it. He that should be assured of an ample supply from a wise and indulgent parent, need not be anxious whether it were to come by the post, or the carrier, or an express messenger; whether in money, or negotiable notes, or marketable wares. Therefore we may content ourselves with the assurance of happiness in general, having no clue to direct us to the particulars whereof it consists. Our reflections and sensations here come to us by corporeal organs, which we must expect to leave behind, and without them there can be neither eating nor drinking, marrying nor giving in marriage, gardens nor prospects, writing nor language, but everything to tally dissimilar from what we now experience: and the occupations and enjoyments of another state, as well in kind as degree, such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.

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## CHAP. XX.

### HYPOTHESES.

NEVERTHELESS, the heart of man finds little scope for contemplation, without a prospect of something it can conceive; for imagination wants a ground more solid than mere abstraction to walk upon. Though complacence be the only thing valuable to the mind, we can never obtain it without some other perception to usher it in, nor can we be pleased without some agreeable sight, or sound, or taste, or event, or reflection, to please us; and when we go to frame the idea of pleasure, we find ourselves unable to do it unless by recalling another idea of those things that used to introduce it. Therefore, as men turn their thoughts upon another state they find ideas rise bearing a similitude to what they have known in the present; and moralists comply with the bent of human nature in this respect, leading imagination in such tracks as she is capable of pursuing; for finding naked happiness too thin for the mind to lay hold of, they represent it under such veils as may render it discernible. Hence arises the so common use of figure, allegory, fable, and parable, which shadow forth



things unknown, by allusion to things well known and familiar; and are not intended as an exact description of what shall happen, but only to give an idea of the joys that shall be received by comparing them with those we should receive in the circumstances represented. Therefore, when we are told of sitting in white robes, with palms in our hands near the throne of glory, this is not to be understood literally, but only to signify that the pleasure to be expected will not fall short of that a common man would feel, if honored with such array and such a situation. Therefore, those are to blame who draw conclusions concerning the manner of existence in other forms of Being, from the expressions used in parables: and those who employ figures, ought to be very careful in choosing such as may not hurt the imagination by leading into gross ideas that will have a bad influence upon the conduct.

2. But figure and parable being employed occasionally, and often varied as occasion requires, men of thought and contemplation, desirous of forming their ideas into a regular plan which may serve them upon all occasions, invent hypotheses comprising in one system all that they can imagine concerning things unknown. So that Hypothesis is a kind of continued allegory, connected in all its parts, calculated to answer all the purposes intended by it, and formed upon one uniform design. It differs from Fable and Parable in this respect, that fable represents an action impossible to have been performed, parable one that is possible and similar to those frequently happening, but not proposed to our belief as an historical fact; whereas hypothesis exhibits such a representation of things as may be the real case for anything that can be shown to the contrary. It requires no positive evidence to build it upon, the framer of it always being looked upon as a defendant, and the burden of proof lying upon him that would overthrow it: but its strength lies in the consistency and mutual dependence of its several branches upon one another, its not contradicting any known phenomena or received principles, its helping to join into a regular body those which before were detached and independent; and is thought to receive great confirmation if it can be made appear an improvement or explanation of former hypotheses embraced by men of judgment and reputation. Your hypothesis-makers are commonly so fond of their schemes as to take them for demonstrations, and try the truth of everything else by its conformity therewith: but this is an abuse, for hypothesis requiring no certain proof, nor anything more than plausibility, cannot justly be offered, to prove anything certainly; nevertheless I think it may be brought in support of truths for which we have a solid founda-

tion elsewhere, to make them more clearly apprehended and more readily received. For as the law admits of parole evidence in favor of an heir or an executor, but not against them, so the tissues of imagination may be employed to adorn and illustrate what solid reason has established, but not to cover it over nor as a foundation to support any superstructures of itself: they may rather be looked upon as engines of rhetoric to familiarize and persuade, than as weapons of logic to overthrow and convince; yet in this capacity may perform excellent service, by turning the conviction of important truths into an habitual persuasion.

3. Nor should there be caution wanting against throwing in too many particulars, for the more of them there are to maintain, the more difficult it will be to ward off the attacks of an adversary, and if he can undermine any of them it will bring a disrepute upon the whole. The general laws of nature affecting all her inhabitants can be supposed but few, nor can there be many instances of resemblance imagined between the visible world and the invisible. For most of our employments and ideas must be peculiar to ourselves, as springing from the constitution of our present frame, composed of complicated organs affected by our animal circulation, and a gross body subject to many wants requiring materials and long preparations to supply them. The vibrations of air are not likely to effect us with sounds, nor the rays of light with colors; nor savors, odors, or tangible objects, to operate upon us in the same manner they do now. The cares we take for clothing our backs, the provisions we daily make for our stomachs, will be no longer needful. Honors, preferments, estates, trades, professions, that now take up the time and thought of men, will cease: nor will there be room for the arts and sciences, which find their encouragement in the uses and conveniences they procure for life: neither can we converse together in the manner we do now, after having lost the organs of speech. And when we consider how much our organs of reflection are affected by the state of our bodies, how much our knowledge depends upon the traces remaining fresh in our memory, we cannot expect to carry our mental acquisitions with us, nor to think and reason in the manner we do at present. Therefore we can hope at most to frame but an imperfect and partial account of matters wholly unknown to us, and if we can do this so far as to give a general idea that there may be methods of employment and objects productive of happiness, it will suffice for the purpose intended.

4. Nevertheless, it can scarce be doubted there are some general laws running throughout the creation, which to distinguish from the municipal, prevailing only in the regions we inhabit, seems the

proper province of philosophy. We receive all our perceptions here from the action of body, they varying as that is variously modified: the like source then may be presumed to supply us with perceptions in another state, perhaps by modifications very different, exciting in us sensations and reflections whereof we have no knowledge now. The pleasures of life for the most part lie in exercises of our activity, nor is there cause to deny this a general law which will never leave us destitute of employment, in providing for our benefit and avoiding our hurt, how much soever the goods, and evils, and measures, respecting them shall then be dissimilar from those which engage our attention at present. We have a curious texture of organs, serving as a medium or channel of conveyance for the impulse of external objects, which cannot come near enough to operate upon us directly; and though we know this will be dissolved, what should hinder but that another may be provided for us which shall perform the same office more perfectly, without that long transmission of objects from one vessel to another, whereby their appearance may be altered and we made to discern them otherwise than they are. We have risen here from the mere vegetative condition of a fœtus to the helpless simplicity of an infant, and afterwards by many gradations to the maturity of manhood; from whence many judicious persons have augured that we are in the ascending part of our orbit, expectant of further improvement in the next stage assigned us: not by advancing onward in the progress we have already begun, for our present knowledge and habits scarce seem likely to prove of future use to us, but by being endowed with quicker parts and higher faculties capable of making larger acquisitions than any known among the sons of men. Thus by observing what circumstances of our present situation are not necessarily confined thereto, we may take rise from them in framing a system, which may be such as shall receive a good countenance from them though perhaps not an infallible proof.

5. Since the method of hypothesis has been fallen into more or less by most who have attempted to treat of the unknown state, and since there is a good use to be made of it, why should I be debarred the liberty of trying my hand as well as another? But I shall use my liberty sparingly, observing the rules and cautions before laid down, regarding use rather than curiosity, and forbearing to launch into minute particulars which may be either unwarranted or inexpedient. For imagination may be lawfully employed in the services of reason, but ought to be restrained from all sallies which those services do not require. I have endeavored all along to draw my reasonings from observation and experi-

ence in as close a deduction as I was able, and intend adhering to the like method for the future : therefore, if I should be catched hereafter at proving anything from hypothesis, it must be looked upon as an inadvertency, for I expect no more therefrom than to render those truths more intelligible that have their foundation elsewhere. We have already seen reason to conclude from the contemplation of that Power which governs both worlds, that they stand connected in interest with one another, and that what befalls us in this will affect our condition in the next ; and I propose no more now than to draw a slight sketch, which may make us more sensible how this may be effected : for a general idea of mutual dependence weighs but little upon the mind, unless we can imagine some particular ties whereof it consists ; and as physicians mingle their subtler medicines with more solid ingredients that they may not be lost in the mouth, so our abstracted ideas must be clothed with others more sensible to make them sink down into the imagination.

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## CHAP. XXI.

### VEHICULAR STATE.

WHEN death puts an end to the animal circulation, we see the body remains a mere lump of sluggish matter, showing no signs either of perception or activity, from whence we naturally conclude that the spirit is departed from her : but whether or no it carries anything away with it we are wholly uncertain ; we see nothing fly off upon the last groan, but our senses are not acute enough to assure us that nothing does fly off. Therefore, by virtue of the privilege constantly claimed in making an hypothesis, I may fairly assume, what nobody can disprove, that the spirit, upon quitting her present mansion, does not go out naked, nor entirely disengaged from matter, but carries away with her an integument from among those wherewith she was before invested. And I am far from being singular in this notion, for many wiser men have assigned a fine vehicle for the habitation of the spirit, after its being divested of flesh and blood ; and the ancients generally painted the soul of Psyche with butterflies' wings, to represent that she came out with a new body as a butterfly does from the Chrysalis : nor do I want the best established authority in my support, for the apostle Paul compares the body to a seed which rots and perishes in the ground, nevertheless a germ survives pro-

ducing another plant bearing some resemblance to that which generated the seed.

2. But we must suppose this vehicle extremely small, so that the nicest eye may not discern it when going, nor the finest scales discover an abatement of weight in what remains after it is gone: yet it must contain an organization capable of exhibiting a greater variety of ideas than we now experience. No doubt it will appear strange and extravagant to the generality to imagine, that so many organs of sensation and reflection, and instruments of action, as a man possesses in his present condition can ever be contained in a body so small as to be undiscoverable by the finest balance or the most piercing eye; for so must everything appear that differs widely, whether in size or composition, from the objects we have been constantly conversant with. The young fellow, who has never been in a nursery since he left his own, the first time he sees a new born babe, is apt to wonder at its littleness: and if he dips into a treatise on the formation of a fœtus, can scarce believe the lineaments of a human body could be comprised within so narrow a compass as he sees there described. Thus every further reduction of size gives a fresh shock to his imagination, until familiarized thereto by frequent contemplation; for things are no longer strange than while new to the thought. For which reason I was willing to prepare for my present subject in the third chapter of this volume,\* where I have endeavored to put the reader upon reflecting on the great divisibility of matter, and to show that the least conceivable particle is capable of containing as great a variety of parts and machinery, as the whole human body. But what clogs our comprehension in these minute divisions is, that we commonly think of making them by dividing the whole without dividing the parts, which must certainly spoil the composition. If St. Paul's Church were cut in halves, each half would not be a church; if into quarters or lesser portions, they would still be more remote from the plan of the architect; but were all the stones, the timbers, the ornaments proportionably lessened, the whole form, disposition, and symmetry, might still remain the same, though reduced to the bigness of a nut-shell. This indeed is what the clumsy hand of man could never do, but nature is a finer artificer than man, and I doubt not might succeed if she would undertake it. So if she were to waste away one half of a man from the head downward, without destroying his vital and animal functions, yet he would have but one arm and one leg, and must lose many of his powers: but if she lessened all his component parts, his bones, his muscles, his fibres, the globules of his blood and other juices in equal degree,

\* Vol. I. p. 411 of this edition.

he might still continue a man, how small soever reduced, with the same variety of powers and faculties as before. He could not indeed exercise them upon the same objects he used, but she wants not means of furnishing him with other materials, useless and unknown to him before, but suitable to the condition she has thrown him into. And it may be presumed he would be better able to manage them, his strength not decreasing in proportion to his size, because small bodies are more compact and solid than the larger made up of them, for composition always adds to the quantity of pore in the compound. A bushel of peas has less specific gravity than the single peas it contains, because there will be hollow spaces between each pea and its neighbors, besides the pores within their substances: and if a multitude of bushels be packed up in a room, there will be vacancies between them, besides those among their contents. Therefore the finer parts a body contains, the fewer atoms they must severally consist of (for these cannot be divided,) the less of pore there will be among them, and consequently its nerves and sinews will be so much tougher and stronger.

3. And as the limbs and instruments of action in such a little body will be stronger with respect to the materials they have to deal with, so likewise must they be more agile and pliant: for this we find to be the case between animals of similar make, whose motions are commonly more unwieldy in proportion to their largeness. A little horse shifts its legs quicker than a tall one; the vulture and the eagle cannot flutter their wings so fast as the sparrow; nor did you ever see a hornet crawl so nimbly along the table as a fly; and little men are generally the quickest in their motions. Imagine a race of giants as big as Hampstead-hill, placed on an earth which, with all its animals, fruits, corn, trees, and vegetables, should be proportionally vast: they might then have the same accommodations as we have, but could not find the same uses and convenience in them, by reason of the tediousness of their motions. Consider how long they must be at dinner; if they sat down at eight in the morning they would scarce finish their repast by night, having a mile to carry every morsel from their plate to their mouths; when they went to bed, it must take an hour to get up stairs, and after having unbuttoned their coat, they must give their arm a swing of two or three miles round to pull down the sleeve behind; when they talked together it would require four or five seconds for their voices to reach one another's ears; and as it may be supposed their mental organs are conformable in size to their bodily, if you asked what's o'clock, it might be necessary to consider half an hour before they could think of

the proper answer. In short, they must needs be a slow, solemn, and heavy generation, without any spark of wit or liveliness belonging to them. If one of us were migrated into their enormous hulks, should we not, think ye, wish ardently to get back again into our less than six-foot bodies? And by parity of reason it may be presumed, that when delivered from our present cumbersome bodies, if we remember anything of our situation therein, we shall be as much rejoiced to find ourselves in a body proportionably less and proportionably more alert and vigorous, wherein we may despatch as much business in a minute as we can now in an hour, and perhaps be able to read through Guicciardine in the time we are now poring over all the nothings in a four-columned newspaper. Nor do there want objections against the supposal of bodies equally large with those we possess: for besides that it may be asked, how comes it we never see them? if they are gross bodies, composed of flesh, blood, and bones, like ours, where shall they inhabit? They cannot live in the fields of ether, for they must have food to support them, solid ground to walk upon, an atmosphere to breathe and to keep their veins from bursting by its pressure, or to buoy them up if you should fancy them provided with wings. They cannot live under ground where no corn can grow, no pasture to feed their cattle, no light can reach them, and the air, if any, must be too dense for their respiration. In what other earths then will you dispose of them? for they will want more than one, considering the vast multitudes that have incorporated among them since Adam: what planets are there among those we know of, that will not either melt them to oil, or freeze them to statues? or could you find a commodious habitation, how would you get them thither without a miracle? But if you suppose them hollow skins, or mere surfaces, as vulgarly fancied of ghosts or apparitions, they can have no strength nor firmness in their limbs, no consistency of parts to prevent their being torn in pieces by winds, no solidity to keep them steady from being blown about by every breeze of air, nor power of motion, being unable to overcome the resistance of whatever medium they may have to pass through. Therefore, when we reflect on the endless divisibility of matter, the extreme porosity of solids, the vast spaces lying between the particles of all fluids, it seems easier to comprehend our vehicles so sized as to slip between such corpuscles as are too bulky for them to cope with, rather than empty shadows or gross composites of flesh and blood like ourselves.

4. I have hitherto spoken of vehicles as little diminutive men with arms, legs, and so forth, such as we have; but I do not think

so narrowly of nature as to pronounce with Epicurus, that she cannot form a reasonable creature unless in a human shape. It seems to me more agreeable to reason, at least more soothing to the imagination and better suited to our expectations of exchanging this present mansion for a more commodious, to suppose them not made in the shape nor provided with the limbs of any animal whatever, but consisting all of muscle and fibre, tough and strong, but extremely flexible and obedient to the Will, susceptible of any shape, and in every part capable of being cast into any member of any animal, of being made soft as a feather or hard as a bone. We have some few imperfect samples of this changeableness in our own composition : our tongue lies round and yielding in our mouths, yet we can thrust it out to a considerable length, make it push with some force or support a small weight hung upon it by a string. If a man not very fat sits resting his leg carelessly upon a stool, his calf will hang flabby like the handkerchief in your pocket, let him stand upright with a burden upon his shoulders as much as he can well bear, and you will find his calves hardened into very bones. We can open our hands into five moveable fingers for any nice or nimble work, or we can close them into a kind of hammer for striking, or bend them in rigid hooks for pulling. We have but one windpipe to sing, to talk, to whine, to rant, to scold with, nevertheless, we can cast this single instrument into as many various forms as there are voices and tones of voice we utter : whereas were it necessary to have a different pipe for every articulate sound, our throats must have been made bigger than a chamber organ. Thus we see how great advantage and convenience must accrue upon the members being convertible to many uses : and at the same time this may lessen our amazement at the multitude of powers we suppose comprised within so narrow a compass, for there may be more powers of action without requiring more works than we have in our present machinery ; especially if the works be simpler, not consisting of a multitude of parts whose operations must be propagated from one to another, and all concur to perform every single action, whereby the variety of our motions must needs be greatly contracted. You may have a bell-handle hanging by your chimney side with which by means of strings and pulleys you may ring a bell at the other end of the house : but you can only jerk it towards you, and cannot give it so many shakes up and down, to and fro, quick and gentle, as if you held the bell itself in your hand. In like manner we act upon external bodies with gross members lying at an immense distance from the seat of our activity, requiring a long contrivance of strings and pulleys to give us any command of them ;



we move our limbs by our bones, the bones by tendons, the tendons by muscles, the muscles by nerves, and the nerves perhaps by a series of imperceptible fibres which no anatomy can investigate : whereas were the externals needful for our uses so sized as that we could apply our first fibres immediately to them, we might manage them a hundred times more handily, expeditiously, and cleverly.

5. And the same advantage, accruing from the great flexibility of fibres to cast themselves into the form of any limb occasionally as shall be wanted, may be extended likewise to the organs of sensation, which are only so many textures of network variously woven from similar threads. The retina of the eye, whereon all our visible objects are painted, takes its name from a net ; the auditory nerves are represented to us by anatomists as expanded in a reticular form at the bottom of the ear ; the like is told us of the olfactory nerves spread over the lamellæ composing the ossa spongiosa of the nose ; of the gustatory papillæ of the tongue, and tactile papillæ of the fingers and all the rest of our body. Now if we had the power of changing the position of our threads, what should hinder but that we might cast them into any texture fitted to receive the vibrations exciting any sensation we pleased ; so as to see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or feel with the same organs, according to the qualities of external objects striking upon it ? Here I must beg indulgence from modern delicacy to allow me a childish experiment for explaining my idea : boys almost fit for school have an ingenious play they call cat's cradle ; one ties the two ends of a packthread together, and then winds it about his fingers, another with both hands takes it off perhaps in the shape of a gridiron, the first takes it from him again in another form, and so on alternately changing the packthread into a multitude of figures whose names I forget, it being so many years since I played at it myself. If then we should be enabled to erect the interior fibres of our little body like so many fingers, we might take off the exterior therewith, still shifting them from one set of fingers to another, sometimes in retinas, sometimes in auditory or olfactory expansions, or perhaps others capable of conveying new sensations whereof now we have no conception. Nor let it be objected that the retina cannot perform its office without an eye-ball consisting of cornea, uva, the three humors aqueous, crystalline and vitreous, before it ; nor the auditory nerve without an ear containing a meatus auditorius, a tympanum with its malleus, a cochlea and fenestra ovalis with its stapes : for these are only wonderful contrivances to gather the rays of light into pencils, or modulate the vibrations of air, that they may be compact and vigorous enough

to affect our gross and dull organs ; but the finer vehicular fibres may be so agile and sensible as to take an impulse from single corpuscles of whatever shall serve them instead of lights and sounds, without needing a long process of refracting media or winding ducts to marshal numbers of them in a proper order for their reception.

6. Such little bodies likewise must be directly under the action of the mind in more of their parts, without needing the complicated machinery of strings or engines to propagate it to them : for the mind's immediate activity reaches no further than the sphere of her presence, which can never be enlarged, therefore the smaller body she inhabits, the greater proportion of it will fall within her presence and subject to her command. But the sphere of presence must be extremely minute because the bodies capable of containing it are found to be so, for nobody will doubt that every spirit vitally united to a corporeal organization is wholly surrounded and covered thereby. The great Boerhave assures us that the human fœtus was once no bigger than an ant, that the doctrine of animalcules is generally received among the moderns, that he has seen them himself, that his friend Leuwenhoek has demonstrated them to be ten thousand times, and believes them ten million times less than a grain of sand. Who then can doubt that this ant and this animalcule were our very selves, or that that living principle, appearing to actuate the animalcule with great vigor and sprightliness, is the same perceptive individual which afterwards acts, and feels, and understands, in the full grown man? If we would seek for the place where this individual resides in our human composition, there seems no likelier method to find it than by tracing the channels of conveyance through which sensation is transmitted from external objects to our notice ; for they, one would think, must all conduct to some one spot, which is the royal presence chamber, where their messages are ultimately delivered : but no investigations by dissections, by microscopes, and by ceraceous injections, have yet been able to discover this chamber, for they all lose their clue before they can be supposed to reach the mind herself. Those channels are now generally agreed to be the nerves, propagating the impulse of external objects to the brain, and others of them carry back from thence the voluntary motion by which we move our limbs. The same Boerhave tells us, they are innumerable in multitude, all conducting to the brain, whose medullary substance is made up of them : that each has its distinct office, for the optic nerve is not capable of conveying sound, nor the auditory of colors, and so of all the rest ; therefore they must all have some communication with the mind, for else we could not receive the variety of

sensations we do by their ministry : that they all terminate in the two anterior ventricles of the cerebrum or brain, where their last operation is performed, and of whose arched surface they are the component parts ; which surface he therefore calls the sensory, or place of our ideas. In section 574 of his lectures, he has these words : " The spirits must have a free course [through the nerves] from their origin in the brain, from every point thereof, even to those muscles which are under influence of the Will. Hence follows, that the sensory is a part of the brain, where all those points are collected together.—The sensorium is that part of the body where the action of all the sensitive nerves terminate, and from thence the influence of the Will first begins to operate upon certain muscles. This common sensory seems to be seated where the ultimate lymphatic arteries unite with, and fill the beginnings of the nerves with spirits through all the ventricles and inequalities of the brain. But the territories or limits of this sensory seem to be very large and various, so that each nerve has its particular part where those ideas dwell, which are conveyed by the same : the ideas of odors about the termination of the olfactory nerves, of colors about that of the optic nerves, and of motion about the nerves subservient to voluntary muscles, &c. It cannot be in the pineal gland, for so many thousand nerves can never take their origin from so small a particle, but in the arched medulla encompassing the cavity of the ventricles." This cavity then we may take leave to entitle the palace of the mind, where she keeps her constant residence, but can with no propriety be styled the royal apartment, as being by much too large for her personal occupancy : for that sphere of presence which once lay enclosed in the ant-like fœtus or diminutive animalcule, can never fill the whole circumference of so spacious a building. Therefore there must necessarily be some connecting medium between, and from hence we may draw no feeble argument for the reality of our vehicle, whose imperceptible fibres we may reckon her domestic servants, who continually bring her the messages they receive at the doors and windows of her palace from the medullary nerves, and carry back her orders to the like nerves for them to forward to the muscles. Thus the mind lies enveloped with two bodies, the inner, or vehicle, which I beg leave to style the Ethereal, not that I pretend to know it is made of ether, but to distinguish it from the gross outer body, which I would call the Elementary, as being taken from the dust of the ground aptly mingled with the three other known elements of fire, air, and water.

7. We learn likewise from the above cited lectures, that the little animalcule gets into the ovum through the fresh wound of the calyx or stalk newly broken off from the ovary. If this animalcule has a slender elementary body (as it may be presumed no animal is without one) we may suppose it presently to dissolve, and the pieces discharged back again at the same aperure of the calyx, upon which the vehicle being left naked may adhere to the ovum in many points, which, as that grows and expands, are drawn out thereby into strings, until in process of time they take the form of a spider's web, stretching throughout the whole compass of Boerhave's sensory or arched vault of the ventricles in the brain. For that interior part of the ovum whereto the vehicle coalesces may be counted an incipient brain, because it is observable that the formation of all animals begins by a brain; from thence grow the cerebellum and spinal marrow, from them the heart, arteries, and bowels, then the muscles, tendons, gristles, and lastly, the bones. For all parts of an animal are nothing else than bundles of exceeding fine threads or fibres, variously knit together; which in their loosest texture compose nerves; when a little more compact they form muscular flesh, glands, and membranes; as closer and closer bound they make tendons, sinews, vascular coats, cartilages, and when tightest become bones, in one of which, the os petrosum or rock-bone of the ear, they grow into a substance hard as steel. This web-like expansion of the ethereal strings being an unnatural state, it may be presumed that when upon death they get loose from the medullary fibres, they will contract into their main body, like the horns of a snail upon your touching them: but it is not impossible they may carry with them some particles from the grosser nerves whereto they had adhered, whereof may be formed another slender elementary body minuter than that which invested them before in the animalcule. It is easy to comprehend that the vehicle lying so long enclosed in the body wherewith it is connected, to whose action it must be perpetually subject, may receive some alteration in its make and texture therefrom; and thus every form of being it undergoes may affect its condition in the next. It will appear evident that the animalcular state has an influence upon the human, when we reflect how much children take after their fathers, as well in their outward lineaments as in the temper of their minds: but the father contributes nothing more to the composition of his child than by furnishing the animalcule. Therefore there seems ground to imagine that the animalcule, differently constituted according to the humors of the body wherewith it was bred, either moulds the little ethereal inhabitant enclosed

in it variously ; or when having nestled in the ovum, breaks in different places and so causes it to catch hold of different fibres thereof. From hence may be understood how the course of this life may naturally have an influence upon the next ; for the vehicle may be differently affected according to the manner wherein it stands connected with the gross body, receiving some change of disposition from the deeds, and words, and thoughts passing during its conjunction therewith, more especially from the settled habits of acting and thinking practised therein. And since the laws of nature are all established in perfect wisdom, tending unerringly to good and holy purposes, it seems more than likely that vicious courses will endamage the little ethereal body ; incrustating its fibres with terrene concretions so as to render them stiff and useless ; or fixing too many and too gross elementary particles upon them, which when drawn into their main body, will prove grievous hindrances and painful disturbances there ; or stretching them beyond their strength with the eagerness of sensual appetites, which will render them feeble like a strained sinew or flaccid like a paralytic muscle : whereas the practice of virtue will strengthen, supple, and mature them, and suffer no more elementary matter to adhere than will grow into an agile healthy body adapted and subservient to all their uses.

8. There is one stumbling block that may lie in the way of many against admitting the doctrine of animalcules, because for one that finds entrance into an ovum there must be millions that perish : but let us consider that when they perish (as we call it) they are not annihilated, they are only cast into the same condition with every soul just then departed, that has lived fifty, or eighty, or a hundred years. For death levels all, not only the prince and the beggar but the frisking animalcule, the sleepy foetus, the sucking child, the wanton schoolboy, the positive stripping, the state-mending citizen, the doating great-grandsire and the longevous antediluvian : all go into the same world and all partake in the same form of Being only with different constitutions according to the length and circumstances of the corporeal stages they have passed through. Which if it be a better world than ours, best fares it with him who can soonest get admittance into it : so that as before observed, it may be true what some ancient sages have affirmed, that the luckiest thing could have befallen a man was never to have been born. Nevertheless this ought not to lessen the due cares of our self-preservation, for life considered in itself is undoubtedly a blessing for which we have abundant reason to be thankful, and if it be a misfortune it is only comparatively so by detaining us from a happier state : yet even in this light we

ought to value it as believing ourselves stationed here for some service accruing therefrom to the community whither we are going; and to resign it willingly upon summons, because that is an evidence that the necessary service is performed and we are called to receive the wages earned thereby. Therefore we cannot do better than follow Milton's advice, *What thou liv'st, live well: how long or short permit to heaven.*

9. But small as these ethereal vehicles are we need not apprehend lest their slender bodies should be driven to and fro by storms, or tossed about in whirlwinds, for whoever pleases may imagine them conveyed by some law of nature to the fields of ether where all is calm and serene: or taking shelter in the pores of solid bodies as we do in our houses until the tempest is blown over. But these expedients are not requisite, for their own minuteness will preserve them against such like injuries. We are told by naturalists, the particles of air lie at a great distance in proportion to their bulk, so that there is room enough for them to pass on each side of those little bodies without touching, as we know the rays of light from innumerable stars cross one another in all directions without interfering: or if any one of them should happen to strike, it would do them no more hurt, considering their lightness, than a stone thrown against a feather hanging loose in the air.

10. Perhaps it may give disturbance to some folks to think of being reduced to such contemptible animals, tenderer than a worm and weaker than a flea: but let them consider that the strongest creatures upon earth are not the most favored by nature; the mighty elephant, the vigorous horse, and the unwearied ox, are governed by man, and among our own species the most robust and athletic are generally of the lowest rank. If strength be desirable, why do our fine gentlemen throw away what they might have of it by intemperance, sloth, and effeminacy? But the strength of creatures need only be proportioned to their wants of it: what would the ant be better for the vigor of the horse, or the polypus for the mighty sinews of the whale? those insects have force sufficient to carry in their provisions and draw in their prey, and more would only make them dangerous to one another. We in our present state have large works to do in providing for our sustenance, our clothing, our habitation, and accommodations of life, powerful enemies to cope with, and great beasts to employ in our services, all which we could not manage without a consistency of flesh and bones, and some competency of bodily strength: but the vehicular people have no such bulky wares to move about, such massive stones to heave, such beasts of prey to con-

tend with, nor such beasts of burden to break to labor : therefore, though their strength be trifling in comparison with ours, it is greater in proportion to the subjects they have to deal with, and sufficient to serve them in the employments and amusements suited to their station. Or if it were a little defective, they may supply their want of force by their greater sagacity and agility.

11. For their bodies contain nothing superfluous, nor that number of vessels concerned in our animal circulation, but consist chiefly of sensory and motory fibres ; so that every part lies within the observation and under command of the mind. If anything insinuate into their composition which might create diseases, they can remove it as easily as we can wash the dirt off from our hands : their faculties are more piercing, their understanding better furnished with materials, and less liable to be overclouded than ours : and they can throw their vehicle occasionally into such form as to receive what kind of sensation they choose from external objects, so as to make it all eye or all ear, or some other sense we know nothing of, or a mixture of several. Nor need we fear, lest a multiplicity of ideas should perplex and confound them, for perceptions take up no room in the mind, nor does she ever find herself unable to receive as many as her organs can excite. Confusion springs from the darkness and imperfection of our ideas, not from an incapacity in the mind to perceive such as are presented clear and distinct. And as they are fitted for discerning minuter objects than we can distinguish, they will have an opportunity of observing the motions of those subtle fluids whereon gravitation, cohesion, magnetism, electricity, heat, explosion, vegetation, muscular motion, and sensation, depend, which will furnish them with sciences to us unknown. We find that light discovers to us the form and situation of bodies at an immense distance, and when we reflect how extremely moveable and elastic the ether is known to be, we may conclude that no single particle of gross matter can stir without affecting its vibrations to a prodigious distance : this then may answer their purposes better than light does ours, and inform them accurately of the positions, the distances, the magnitudes, the motions, of all the visible universe. By which means they will have a full display of nature before them, from the most magnificent of her works to the most curious and minute : nor can they fail of rising from thence to a completer knowledge of the Author of Nature, his greatness, his wisdom, his goodness, than we can attain. And perhaps they may fathom that to us inscrutable mystery, the origin of evil, so as to reconcile it perfectly with their ideas of unlimited power and infinite goodness.

12. Nor can we deny them the means of discourse and correspondence with one another: ours we know is carried on by arbitrary signs, either of sounds or letters, and any other marks that might be exhibited with equal facility, variety, and distinctness, would do as well: therefore we cannot but suppose that such agile creatures, all nerve and sensory, may form characters upon their vehicle, or throw off little particles of the fluids surrounding them, or find twenty other ways of communicating their thoughts. Nor can we deny them methods of transporting themselves from place to place, not in the manner we walk, by pushing our feet against the stable ground, but rather like the steerage of a ship, whose sails are set before or sidelong to the wind, receiving the direct or oblique impulse of the little streams passing continually on all sides of them, with such dexterous management as not to be thrown aside from their intended course. It would be in vain to conjecture what are their common employments and amusements, but enough has been suggested to show they do not want for either, and perhaps we may find more subjects to occupy their time than these: but amid the variety of objects and ideas continually presenting, it cannot be doubted there will be some of the agreeable and disagreeable kind, which will demand their care to procure the one and avoid the other, or to assist one another upon occasion, from whence will arise desires and aims, prudential maxims and rules of conduct, the one perpetually instigating their activity, the other directing their measures. And if the idea of evil be requisite to action, they will not want samples of actual suffering in some of their compatriots, who will come infirm and maimed into their world by reason of hurts received in ours.

13. But how much soever they abound in methods of business and enjoyment, sciences and accomplishments, we must imagine them totally dissimilar from those which occupy and entertain us here, for our ways of thinking and acting would neither be of use nor could be practised among them. What service could our knowledge of agriculture, of manufactures, of painting, of politics, of navigation, do them, or what materials could they find to exercise it upon! Where is there room for optics among those to whom the corpuscles of light are so gross as to be objects of touch rather than of sight? of mathematical lines and angles among bodies continually moving? of our virtues when the passions they restrain solicit no longer? of our moral theory, when human nature is exchanged for another? of our natural religion to those who may quickly strike out a better from the fuller display of nature lying before them? Nor are our mental acquisitions of a kind to be portable with us upon our departure hence; our first



stock of materials is all thrown in by the senses, nor have we anything else but what is made up by working upon them: our abstractions have all some reference to sensible objects of their motions or changes, or actions upon them. Our imagination we find connects with the animal machinery, and so does our memory, the foundation and repository of all our knowledge; for the images and traces in both appear stronger or fainter, or not at all, according to the temperature and disposition of the body, according to the stages of infancy, manhood, and old age; and that fatigue, that briskness or lowness of spirits, that earnestness or flushing of the face, that tremor of the nerves, brought upon the grosser part of our frame by our several courses of thinking, make it more than probable that not a thought stirs in the mind without some corresponding movement in the vital circulation. Therefore the springs employed in working all our various turns of thought being removed, we can expect to have no more of the same ideas return: and we shall be better without them, as they would be troublesome to us, by continually raising wants that could not be satisfied, and putting us upon methods of exerting our power that would not be feasible, as not having the same limbs nor instruments, nor materials nor objects, as are provided for us here.

14. We have shown in CHAP. VI. that percipience and rationality are secondary qualities from a composition of fine matter curiously organized, together with a perceptive spirit vitally united thereto, and this spirit so circumstanced is what we understand in common discourse by the rational soul. For we are currently held to be born reasonable creatures, that is, capable of reason or having the rational faculty, for we do not attain the use and exercise of reason, until some years have passed over our heads, wherein experience has furnished us with materials to think and reason upon. So then this vehicle or inner sensory constituting us rational creatures we received before our birth: it continues with us during our lives, enabling us to perceive and understand the notices brought from external objects by our bodily organs, the traces lying in our memory and all those stores of knowledge contained in the repository of our ideas: it remains entire after dissolution of the body, and though it can neither think nor reason after losing all its former ideas and materials to work upon, yet retains its rationality and cogitative faculty ready to be exercised upon whatever objects a fresh set of senses shall throw in or new experience supply. Nor let it be objected that I make the memory one of those parts that shall be left behind, so that the naked soul how quick soever its perceptions may be, will have no retention; for though I have supposed the vehicle almost all nerve and fibre, it may contain a

small mixture of other parts capable of working into traces, or those parts which are kept soft by their present covering may harden upon being more exposed and become stiff enough to retain impressions, or new particles adhering from without may form a membrane fitted for the like purpose. But without troubling ourselves to conjecture the particular manner, we may depend upon that wisdom, by which all the laws of nature are established, to provide means of exercising so necessary a faculty without which there can be neither understanding nor reason, neither prudence nor judgment. Thus we may conclude that the soul will be born into another life as much a blank paper as ever she came into this, having all the characters formerly written upon her totally expunged but capable of receiving any new ones that shall be written from thenceforward. And though we shall not be wholly disengaged from matter, it will be of a very different frame and texture from our present : for we are told there is a carnal body and there is a spiritual body, and that what grows from the seed is not that body which was sown, but God giveth it another body. And this he gives, not with his own hand, but by the stated laws of nature and instrumentality of second causes.

15. But this vehicle, lying so long enclosed in the human body, cannot fail of receiving some little changes in its texture from the continual play of our sensitive organs and action of our animal circulation thereupon : for every sensation and every suggestion from our memory or reflection passes through that in its way to the mind, and though each singly may affect it no longer than for the moment of its passage, yet by being frequently repeated they will work a durable effect. Just as if you press your nail upon the back of your hand, the flesh will return to its smoothness as soon as you take it off, but if you do this for hours together every day, the skin will part asunder and leave a dent between. The variety of our ideas can be owing to nothing else than the various figures or modifications of the organs exhibiting them, and as they act upon the sensory, this during their action must correspond with those modifications ; so that every time a man sees a color his sensory takes one modification, when he hears a sound another, when he meets with something to make him laugh another, when he meditates seriously another ; so when he is angry, affrighted, afflicted, or joyful, every affection gives a different disposition to his sensory. And as we have each of us particular courses of thinking, wherein we are led to travel more frequently than in any others by our several habits, our passions, our desires, our education, our situation in life, and the objects most familiar to our senses, the ideas passing almost continually in the same track will work

the tender sensory thinner in some places, and leave it thicker in others, separate the fibres or drive them closer together, stretch or contract them, and cause various alterations in their condition and texture. So that every man goes out of the world with a differently modelled vehicle, according as he has been a soldier or a scholar, a merchant or a mechanic, a gentleman or a laborer; according to the pursuits and expectations that have taken up his thoughts, the successes and disappointments, the joys and afflictions, that have hung upon his mind, the occupations and amusements that have filled up his time.

16. Nobody can help observing how much the condition and tenor of our lives depends upon the constitution we bring into the world with us, upon the strength and health of our body, the sagacity and natural talents of our mind; and we must acknowledge these affected by what passes in the womb: it is there the eyes and ears, the legs and hands, the lungs, the instruments of speech, the tablet of the memory, the organs of reflection, are formed, all which are of no use to the fœtus but of necessary use to the living man. Nor can we well avoid concluding from the similitude discoverable in the ways of nature, that we carry about within us a little fœtus continually forming and fashioning by the gross body wherein it lies enclosed; that according to the nourishment and action received therefrom will be its future lineaments and character, constitution and quickness of parts; and that as men are said to be born here poets or painters, politicians, mathematicians, navigators, or mechanics, so they will be born hereafter with talents fitted for particular acquisitions and employments. Neither must we imagine the forming fœtus uninfluenced by our manner of conduct in our several professions and stations: the practice of virtue invigorates and supplies the little limbs, strengthens the senses, quickens the faculties, improves that small mixture of unfibrous matter which may serve as an integument or instrument for the uses of the soul. Whereas vice debilitates, distorts, overclouds, and benumbs the soul, and fixes too much of the terrene concretion so as to disturb the operations of the nobler parts. As opposition is not my favorite passion, I shall not dispute that punishment may be inflicted by the immediate hand of Heaven, or the ministry of devils employed to torment those who are judged objects of the divine wrath: but I think the same purposes may as well be answered by supposing misery the natural consequence of wickedness. For who but God holds the reins of nature in his hand, establishes her laws and ordains her courses? so that whatever they bring forth is as much his doing as what is done by other instruments: nor is there the less discouragement

to sin if evil follow inevitably upon it, whether this be brought about by the operation of necessary or voluntary agents. But that a mighty weight of suffering may be thrown on in the way I have assigned, we may easily comprehend when we reflect on the miserable condition of those wretches who are born into this world, diseased, maimed, and imperfect, and how small a quantity of foreign matter in our bodily frame causes great inconveniences and disturbances. A grain or two of sand gives racking pain in the kidneys, and a much less concretion of terrene particles is likely to give acuter anguish in the more sensible vehicle: a drop of rheum in our joints, disables us from using them, and the like obstruction in a finer body would render it incapable of helping itself against impending dangers, so that it might incessantly be rapt in whirlwinds or buffeted about by the agitations of fire for want of power to extricate itself: a little thickness of blood in our brain fixes an incurable madness, and a similar foulness in the naked sensory might overwhelm the soul with perpetual delusion and perplexity, tormenting fears and jealousies, intolerable horror and despair.

17. Thus we work out our future fortunes by our present behavior, and fit ourselves unknowingly for the several parts we are to act upon the next stage by practising those assigned us in this: so that we may look upon life as a necessary preparation to qualify us for the employments of another state. And when I consider the vast variety of engagements and amusements among mankind, the very different characters and employments of the several nations upon earth, the many unavailing hours passing over our heads, the great loss of time in sleep, all which cannot be accounted for from their uses here, I should regard this conclusion as more than hypothetical if it were not for one objection occurring, which is, the multitudes of human souls passing directly into another state without touching upon this, and so capable of receiving no preparation thereby. From this observation we may gather that the rational soul is completely formed in all its essential parts before entrance into the human body, and that the fashion and lineaments it afterwards takes by long habitation therein are not necessary for its subsistence in the vehicular state, but preparations fitting it for some particular functions useful or convenient there. Perhaps the arts and sciences, the rules of public and private conduct, may be struck out or quicker attained by souls who go thus prepared, and the others may enter into their new life in a state of infancy similar to that they would have been born in here. I know we reckon children more docible than grown persons, but then it is of such childish instructions as are forgot-

ten again afterwards, and serve only to give the mind a firmness for the reception of more solid knowledge. But those who want this preparatory firmness acquired by the exercise of their faculties upon earth will have a singular advantage in another respect, for they will be free from that terrene concretion and remains of the carnal part bringing on the inconveniences, disabilities, pains, and mental disorders, spoken of in the last section; and as they can do nothing to improve their future condition, so neither can they do anything to hurt or incommode it.

18. And if the next life begins for the most part like the present in tender infancy, this will require the care of the old inhabitants to overlook and cherish it: so that the business of nurture, education, and parental fondness, will be no less considerable sources of employment and amusement among them than among us. For there being neither marriage nor generation in that country, they will provide themselves families by a kind of adoption out of the new comers continually flocking in upon them. Nor will they want means to direct them in their choice: for though we have denied them all remembrance of what passed during their abode here, there are other ways of discovering former relations and connections beside that of inspecting the traces in our memory. If it were not so common among us we should be astonished to think how a man, by looking upon a few scratches upon paper, according to the shape in which they are drawn, shall come to the knowledge of what his senses and his experience could not have informed him. By this way my friend at a hundred miles distance may know where I was yesterday, what I was doing, and what I thought of in my most retired meditations: and by this way we know what was done two thousand years ago in the days of Hannibal and Scipio. But though this be accomplished by the consent of mankind affixing certain ideas to certain characters, let us consider whether the like intelligible writing may not be exhibited by nature in the dependence of effects upon their causes; so that disembodied souls, having acuter faculties than ours, and improved them by long application and exercise, may acquire a dexterity at investigating causes from their effects, know precisely what has happened from what they see happening, discover their own pre-existence, trace out all that has befallen them in their former state, become acquainted with the history of mankind, learn by the manner and condition wherein the new comers arrive from what parts they must come, and discern from a resemblance of features that the same causes must have operated upon them which have affected themselves. By these marks they may find out a wife, a child, a brother, a friend, a

neighbor, a compatriot, and what is more than we could do with our remembrance, may distinguish their descendants who never came to the birth or were snatched away from their cradle. The endearments arising from these discoveries must double their diligence in the tendency of those who come helpless, and relief of those who come contaminated with such impure mixtures of their former composition as can possibly be removed. Nor if particular inducements were wanting, would they want the spur of general benevolence to the rational species which is ever more glowing in proportion to the clearness of judgment and extensiveness of understanding.

19. Upon this view of the two worlds it appears there is a mutual connection of interests between them : for we are interested in what befalls us here, not only as it affects our present condition, but our constitution and talents hereafter ; and likewise with what befalls other people in distant corners of the earth, with whom, though we have no dealings now, we are likely to have in time to come. And the people of the invisible world have an interest in all that happens among us, as it tends to form the genius, abilities, and characters, wanted for future services among them. Nor yet need we fear their interfering in our affairs, for their forces are too small to set masses of matter in motion capable of affecting any of our senses : or were they able, they have something else to do than to amuse us with idle dreams or terrify us with ghastly apparitions : neither can we suppose them so imprudent as to disturb the courses of nature and fortune, which they must be sensible are wisely provided with regard to the benefit of their own community.

20. For that a community they have we cannot well doubt when we reflect on the variety of dispositions wherein we quit our present mansion to take up our abode in theirs. For if we were to live single and apart from each other, one kind of preparation would serve us all ; but the great difference among us in our manner of living and dying indicates a like difference of occupation in the country whereto we are going : and as a nation cannot subsist here without a variety of professions to supply the wants and conveniences of the whole, so there will be a public interest there to be served by members variously qualified, contributing their several parts to the general emolument. For where one individual wants what another can supply, this will naturally lead them to seek each other's assistance, and unite them into a regular society.

21. But though the rational soul or vehicle survive the body, we cannot conclude from thence that it will live forever : on the

contrary, the numbers daily pouring in from hence upon the next world, seem to require a proportionable drain somewhere or other, for else the country might be overstocked ; but where to dispose of their superfluous members is the question. Some have supposed the soul to migrate to and fro between the two worlds, and that after passing some ages in the other, it shall return back into a fresh body, and so be born again, as at first, in the usual manner of generation. But this notion prevailed no longer than while the thoughts of men were narrow, while this globe of earth, with the atmosphere surrounding it, was esteemed the whole of nature, while the most enlarged understandings could conceive the sun and moon as little bigger than Peloponnesus, and the stars as fiery meteors rolling round the upper regions of air : so that the soul could never soar above the reach of terrene exhalations, which, adhering and gathering round it, might weigh it down again to the earth from whence it rose. And perhaps after all, the doctrine of transmigration was never seriously held by those who taught it, but employed only as an hypothesis, to make the future advantages of a virtuous life more intelligible and striking to such as could conceive no other enjoyment or suffering than what may be conveyed through bodily organs. Nor is it likely the soul should return again to her former confinement ; for we see everything that has life grows therein, animals as well as plants, and whatever lay enclosed in integuments, bursts forth too large to be contained in them any more : the little silk-worm, just crawled from its egg, or the moth from her chrysalis, could not creep into them again, nor could any art replace the seeds of vegetables in their husks. But if the vehicle be not sustained by nutriment, which might increase its growth, nor swell instantly upon coming out of its case, nevertheless it may gradually expand by the continual action of the spirit within, so as to be no more capable of lying within its former receptacle, than a man is of re-entering his mother's womb. And this expansion cannot fail of introducing stages into the vehicular life similar to those of youth, maturity, and age ; the last not indeed attended with the pains and infirmities accompanying it here, but distending and separating the fibres of the vehicle, until at last they open and let loose the enclosed spirit, which will then fly off naked and alone. But though the spirit, no longer vitally united to any corporeal particles, either ethereal or elementary, which used to serve for a conveyance of ideas and instrument of volition, must lose its rationality, percipience, and active powers, it will retain its two primary faculties of perceptivity and activity : and whoever admits the doctrine of final causes, and nothing made in vain, can hardly

suppose they can lie overwhelmed in eternal sleep, or that means shall ever be wanting of exercising them. But what means of perceiving and acting we can imagine supplied to pure spirit, totally disengaged from matter, and divested of all organization whatever, we shall reserve for the subject of the ensuing chapter.

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## CHAP. XXII.

## MUNDANE SOUL.

WHEN I consider Bishop Berkley's notion of the non-existence of all bodies, and that the appearances they seem to exhibit are only perceptions raised in our imagination by the Divine power, I cannot help wondering that he did not go on to deny the existence of all spirits too ; for we have no better evidence of the latter than of the former. How know I there are any other persons in the world, unless by seeing them before me or hearing them speak ? and if they have no real bodies, nor there be any real air, whose vibrations bring the sound of their discourses to mine ears, what reasons have I to believe there are any real Beings, whose action occasions the motions of those bodies, or that air, which are purely imaginary ? So that if when I see the sun rise in the morning, ascend to the meridian, and set again in the evening, trees buffeted about by winds, or rivers roiling along their foamy waves, the whole be nothing else than a succession of ideas in my own mind : by the same rule, when I behold my friend enter the room, and hear him talk to me of various subjects, perhaps I am alone all the while, and what I take for the sound of his voice is nothing else than a like succession of perceptions excited in me by the same power that excited those of the sun, the trees, and the rivers, before mentioned. From hence it will follow, that possibly there may be no more than two Beings in nature, God and myself. Thus, if we give way to the suggestions of a lively fancy, and think ourselves warranted to take anything for certain the contrary whereof cannot be mathematically demonstrated, we shall never know where to stop. But as these notions are apt to hang upon the minds of the speculative, I know of no better receipt to cure ourselves entirely of them, than by setting up opposite notions equally possible, and equally incapable of being demonstratively disproved. If it cannot be made appear with absolute certainty that there is that multitude of objects existing without us, which we daily see and handle, neither can it be made appear



with the like certainty that there are not multitudes of sentient Beings in the composition of every man. We know so little the nature of spirits, that we cannot tell how a number of them, lying contiguous together, without any bars of flesh intervening, would affect one another : perhaps a perception raised in any one of them, by some particle of matter, would run instantly through them all quicker than fire does among the grains of gunpowder. If this be the case, for aught we know, there may be many spirits contained in one sensory : nor is there any need the corporeal organs should operate upon them all, for whatever sensations, judgments, or ideas, are exhibited to each of them, will immediately be apprehended by the whole number. I have shown in CHAP. V. § 9. that every time we look upon a chess-board, covered with double sets of men, we have at least sixtyfour particles of matter operating upon us at once, and considering how many corpuscles of light are requisite to give the sight of every single piece ; if I had said sixtyfour thousand I had been likely to come nearer the mark : now if there be the like number of spirits in the human soul, each may receive the action of one particle, and yet, their perceptions being communicated, every one will have a distinct sight of the whole chess-board. Thus, instead of being the sole inhabitant of the universe, as I might persuade myself upon Berkley's principles, I shall not be the sole inhabitant of my own pericranium, but one member only of a most numerous family lodged there.

Nor let it be objected that it is much I should know nothing of my fellow lodgers, if there were such multitudes of us together in one chamber ; for I know nothing of those inner ends of my organs which impress sensations upon me : besides, that receiving no other perceptions from my companions than they first received from matter, I have no mark whereby to distinguish them therefrom. Neither can it be urged that there would often arise an opposition among us, some would be for walking while others chose to sit still, some would want to stretch out the hands while others had rather keep them folded in the bosom : for if there be a variance of opinions in all numerous assemblies of mankind, it arises from their having their several views, designs, and judgments, and seeing things in different lights ; but we coparceners of the same sensory should constantly have the same ideas, the same appearances, the same motives, exhibited to us, and discern satisfaction resting upon the point. When our stomach grew empty, we should all at the same instant feel its cravings ; if a well-spread table were set before us, we should all be guided by the same palate to stretch out our hands towards the same dish : and thus we should proceed in all our measures with such perfect conform-

ity, that each would think himself the sole author of our actions, and our every motion appear to bystanders as actuated by one agent. It is pity somebody did not hit upon this thought, at the time when disputes ran high upon original sin: he must certainly have made his fortune by it, and perhaps risen to be a cardinal, for he might have demonstrated (as a little matter will amount to demonstration on the right side) that the spirits of all men were contained in Adam's pericranium, and of all women in that of Eve, and so were actual partakers of their transgression; which would have overthrown the objection of infidels against the punishment of descendants for the sin of their primogenitors. But as such a notion now-a-days is not likely to raise one to preferment, I may even reject it as an idle fancy, fit only to be opposed against the no less idle fancy of Berkley's, that all about us is nothing but idea and delusion. Nevertheless, I have received this benefit from letting my thoughts roam a little upon it, that the communication of perceptions among spirits, whereby many of them may discern ideas exhibited by one sensory, has furnished me with a hint for understanding that old notion of a Soul of the World, in such manner as to make it a fit receptacle wherein those who depart from the vehicular state may be absorbed. I shall now pursue my ideas upon that subject, not barely as a commentator, expounding what has been said aforetime, but taking the liberty to new model it in some few particulars, which I think may render it more intelligible and answerable to our present purpose.

2. The doctrine of a Soul of the World, otherwise called the Mundane or Universal Soul, must be acknowledged of very ancient date, as old at least as the Ionic philosophy; and seems to have been generally embraced by the most eminent sages of antiquity. They held it eternal, immutable, completely wise and happy, extended throughout the universe, penetrating and invigorating all things, the maker of the world and all creatures therein, the fountain of sense, life, and motion, from whence the souls of men and animals were discerped, and, after dissolution of their bodies, absorbed thereinto again; and they gave it the appellation of God. Their calling it by this name has made it generally believed that they meant thereby the Supreme Being: so Pope understood them when he talked of one stupendous Whole, whose body nature is, and God the soul; so likewise many of their followers understood them, which gave occasion to those pompous expressions of the human soul being a ray of the Divinity, an efflux or emanation from the substance of God himself: expressions which have no other foundation than in human vanity and arrogance. The doctrine thus interpreted became liable to just objections; as that it

made God to consist of parts, some of which might be discerned from him, and that the Divine substance, being clothed in body, might become imperfect, passive, weak, ignorant, susceptible of error, sin, pain, and misery.

3. But I apprehend the mundane soul originally was not intended to be understood of the Supreme Being, but a created God dependent on him for its existence and faculties, produced from everlasting by his almighty power and good pleasure : and though it was supposed the maker, it was not supposed the Creator of all things, but to have formed the world out of pre-existent materials according to a plan assigned it. The ancients, even those who held the unity of the First Cause, did not, like us, appropriate the term God to him alone, but applied it to other Beings of an order and intelligence superior to man. Seneca speaks of the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, as Gods, and I suppose he would have called the four elements so too, for he ascribes sense and understanding to them ; yet he acknowledges one supreme God over all, whom he styles the Rector of the universe : and we read in our bibles that there be Gods many and Lords many. Therefore when we find the ancients talking of God, we must not always take them in that restrained sense wherein we now use the word : and that it is not to be so restrained, when applied to the mundane soul, may appear from the *Timæus* of Plato.

4. By this exposition we escape the objections afore mentioned, for the human souls being now no longer thought parts of the Divine substance, may be supposed capable of pain and weakness without the absurdity following upon the former construction. Yet there still remains another objection arising from the individuality of the mundane soul, which we find spoken of, as one entire thing, one Mind, and therefore cannot, like compound bodies, consist of distinguishable and separable parts to be discerned from it. Besides that this doctrine seems to confound and destroy the distinction and personality of particular souls, for they were not created upon their discernment, the substance of them being already existent in the universal soul, but before any of them were discerned, there was but one created mind in nature, therefore they were then the same person with that mind and consequently with one another : yet upon their immersion into matter we see they are distinct persons and things, one doing and perceiving what the others do not and perceive not : again, upon their separation from body they will lose their personality and distinction, being absorbed and resolved into their original principle. The ancients perhaps did not think themselves affected by this objection, having

no correcter notions of individuality and substantial identity than our modern vulgar, who imagine that even bodies may impart something from their substance without diminution of the mass from whence it issued, if they perceived no visible alteration therein. Thus the vapors rising from the sea, were part of its substance and drawn up therefrom, but when formed into clouds we deem them distinct substances, nevertheless we consider the sea as remaining always the same body of waters notwithstanding the vast quantities continually exhaled by the Sun. In like manner the rivers seem to have a being of their own no longer than while running in their channels, for when intermingled with the sea, we look upon them as lost and swallowed up in that, which nevertheless we apprehend to be the same substance it was before their influx.

5. But it has been observed in the beginning of this volume that compounds are creatures of the imagination, nature making all things by individuals, therefore compounds having an ideal existence only may well preserve their identity notwithstanding an increase of diminution or change of their component parts, provided those changes be made imperceptibly, and do not work any change of appearance in the whole. Thus the Thames is always esteemed the same river, because we always see waters running between the same banks; although the waters running to-day are not the same that run there yesterday: and if in a summer's evening we see a mist rise up out of the Thames, the mist exhibits a new idea we did not discern before, therefore we conceive it a new Being produced from the substance of the river, which yet we suppose remaining the same without diminution because we do not find it abated in its fullness. So likewise if we throw a handful of salt into the river, we lose the appearance of salt we had before, and apprehend it destroyed by being diffused among the substance of the water. But when we turn our thoughts upon individuals, the only real existences in nature, we cannot reconcile them to any transmutation of substance or production of one thing out of another. We have made appear in CHAP. III. that there are atoms actually, if not potentially, indivisible, and each of them, however disposed of, or wherever placed, whether in a drop of rain, in a river, or in the sea, must always continue identically the same, numerically distinct from all others how closely soever united to them, or how indiscriminately soever mingled among them. And with respect to spirits, the case is stronger, for they have a personality annexed from which they cannot be divested without losing their existence. I have been a child and am now a man; I have been in joys and in troubles; I may im-

agine myself transformed into a lion, a sheep, or an ostrich, inhabiting the vehicular state, or wholly disengaged from matter and mingled among similar spirits: yet in all these changes I should still continue to be myself, for from the moment I began to exist I must have been myself, and must remain so until I cease to be at all. Nor is it possible to understand that what was once another person should become me, or I should become or be contained in another person: that there could ever have been perceptions in this substance which is me without my perceiving them, or actions performed thereby which I did not do.

6. Now without troubling ourselves to conjecture how the ancients would have removed this objection, or resolving to understand their theory in all parts precisely as they did, let us endeavour to explain in a manner conformable to our ideas, whether discordant from theirs or no. And in this view I shall lay down that the mundane soul is one no otherwise than as the sea is one, by a similitude and contiguity of parts, being composed of an innumerable host of distinct spirits as that is of aqueous particles: and as the rivers continually discharge into the sea; so the vehicular people upon the disruption of their vehicles discharge and incorporate into that ocean of spirits making the mundane soul. As for the discription of souls from thence to inhabit human bodies I have no concern with that, the doctrine of pre-existence being now universally exploded: for every good woman knows for certain that we were created some little time before our birth, for this plain reason, because if we had existed a hundred years before, some or other of us to be sure must have remembered what passed with us in our former state. And since many learned divines admit an intermediate state between death and the final consummation of all things, I hope that what has been offered in the last chapter concerning the vehicular people will not be counted heterodox. Nor let it be objected that the mundane soul, already full and not having a proportionable discharge, cannot contain the fresh supplies continually poured in upon it: for some have supposed that the fallen angels have actually occasioned a considerable discharge therefrom. Or if this will not satisfy, let us consider that since creation is currently esteemed so common as to be practised every day in furnishing souls for children in the womb, we may as well suppose the same creative power constantly employed in producing new spaces, extending the bounds of the universe, and giving room for the mundane soul to expand according to the new members it continually receives.

7. We have found reason to conclude in the course of this work, that all created spirit, as well as all matter, is homogeneous,

and as bodies receive their difference and secondary qualities from the various forms and combinations whereinto the similar atoms composing them are thrown, so spirits derive their characters, their percipience, their rationality, their powers and faculties, from the organizations whereto they are united, or means of conveying perceptions supplied them : so that the spirit of an angel, a politician, a shoe-cleaner, an idiot, a man, and a child, are intrinsically the same, differing only in their being variously lodged and circumstanced. From hence it follows that the spirits composing the universal soul are all of similar nature, having the same capacities, the same primary properties of perceptivity and activity, and altogether such as ourselves, except these bonds of flesh wherein we lie imprisoned. But since we receive all our perceptions from our corporeal organization, and have no other sensations than what come to us through the windows of our prison, it remains to inquire what sensations or reflections they can have after being disunited from all material composition whatsoever. As we live here separate and alone, each immured within his several cell, we have nothing to discern besides the modifications of the organ in our sensory, nor can we converse together unless by the intervention of some bodily medium, as of sounds or letters ; but if we could have immediate intercourse with one another, who can say how much more expeditely, easily, and clearly, we might carry on our conversations? Suppose any two of us could thrust out that centre of our ethereal cobweb, which is the royal apartment or presence chamber of the mind, through the pores of our cranium quite to the outside of our head, without hurting ourselves or cutting off its communication with the bodily senses, and then laying our two heads together could, by opening some door of the said chamber, bring our spirits into immediate contiguity with one another, who can tell what would ensue? Perhaps whatever either of us saw or heard or apprehended, by any of our senses, or rose up in our imagination, might instantly be discerned by the other. Perhaps this might not be a necessary consequence, but the effect of choice, for both being possessed of volition, we might select what perceptions we thought proper to impart, and keep the others to ourselves ; as in conversation a man is not obliged to utter all he knows, but selects such of his thoughts as he judges worth hearing by the company : so that if I were eating apple-pye and cheese, and knew my companion had an aversion to the latter, I should communicate the one taste but suppress the other. We will now if you please draw in our ethereal web again for fear of its catching cold, and suppose one of us intending to partake

in the diversions of Scarborough while the other stays in London : as soon as he is gotten there, we will suppose a string of spirits reaching from him to me. As they are mighty little folks, and perhaps penetrable by body, they can easily insinuate themselves into our presence-chamber without our feeling them, so that one end of the string might lie in contact with his perceptive part and the other with mine. Having this channel of conveyance ready at hand, we should despise the tedious method of correspondence by the post, wherein we might sometimes be misapprehended or imperfectly understood, or at best could give but a partial account of what had happened to us : for our intermediate friends in the line of communication might transmit all that either of us saw or heard in either place, together with our judgments and observations thereupon, with a precision, clearness, and vigor, equal to that wherewith we discerned them ourselves. Imagine further that we had a friend at Plymouth, another at Paris, another at Amsterdam, and that there were the like spiritual strings of communication from every one to every one : we should then all five have immediate knowledge of all that was worth knowing in the five places, by perceptions continually transmitted along those conveyances.

8. I will not undertake to prove, logically, that perceptions may be thus imparted from spirit to spirit, when all corporeal obstacles are removed from between them, having no positive evidence, that I remember, within the compass of my experience, whereon to build an argument, nor ever conversed with another person, unless by the usual means of discourse or writing, or significant looks and gestures ; but on the other hand it would be a bold undertaking for any one to prove the contrary, for I suppose nobody remembers his having ever been in contiguity with other spirits, and attempted an intercourse of perceptions but without effect. Therefore in a matter so uncertain I may lawfully take the privilege annexed to an hypothesis and assume the affirmative. Having laid down this basis I must proceed to one assumption more, wherein I am as safe against confutation as I was in the former, and this is that all space not occupied by matter is replete with spiritual substance called the mundane soul, each part whereof, that is, each component spirit lies contiguous to others : so that there runs a continuity throughout the whole as there does throughout the waters of the ocean ; for lines might be drawn from any drop in the Atlantic sea to every spot in the European, African, or American shores surrounding it, which should pass over rows of drops contiguous to one another. This being premised it will follow that by the mutual communication of percep-

tions every one may have those arising in every other. But though I have assumed a power of imparting perceptions I cannot assume that of making them, for this would be running counter to experience. We cannot impart more knowledge than we have first ourselves, nor can the mind call up a single thought without employing some instrument to introduce it: for in all perception we are purely passive, receiving such from time to time as the modifications of our organs excite in us. Since then such is the nature of our minds we must conclude that all perception must begin by the action of matter, how much soever it may be carried on by a spiritual substance: and as although a man may come to the knowledge of transactions he never saw by information from other people, yet somebody must have been present at the transactions to begin the relation; so neither can the mundane soul perceive anything without an object exhibited to some of its parts. But this need make no difficulty, for when we consider how the stars with their several systems of planets are dispersed up and down, how light, ether, and perhaps many other subtile fluids we know nothing of, are diffused everywhere, and that all these bodies, great and small, must lie contiguous to some parts of the mundane soul, we shall see there will not want objects for it to perceive. And as our sensations, reflections and judgments, are impressed upon us by the configuration or motion of the particles in our sensory, so the bodies floating about in the mundane soul may exhibit a greater variety of ideas thereto, whereby it may discern them all, their combinations and modifications, together with the comparisons and other relations resulting therefrom.

9. If we suppose every component spirit to perceive all that every other does, it will appear impossible that so vast an infinity of knowledge can be contained in any created mind; and we find a multitude of objects, although distinct in themselves, confounds us merely by their number; but this is owing to the scantiness of our organs, for according as they are more copious in one person than another, we find the same number of ideas appear clear or confused. Cæsar could dictate to three amanuenses at once, and call all the Roman citizens by their names; and if it would perplex any of us to attempt the like, it is because we have not the same quickness of parts, that is, the same fineness of organization. When we have so many visible objects before us that we could not admit another without confusion, we may still apprehend a sound or idea from any other sense distinctly. So that in our present condition, it is our organs that set the limits to our understanding, nor do we know what our mental capacity



is, our sources being too scanty ever to fill the vessel. We may possibly be capable of twenty senses, but being provided with inlets only for five, have no more conception of the others than a blind man has of light. Therefore we have no reason to confine the extent of the mundane understanding to the narrowness of our own, but rather to believe it much larger than anything we have experienced or can imagine. Nevertheless, large as it is, we have no need to suppose it infinite, or that the objects discerned by every part are communicated to every other, for this communication being not a necessary but voluntary act, each spirit may impart such perceptions to his neighbor as he knows will be of use or entertainment to him, suppressing the rest: and thus every one having all the knowledge he wants or can be serviceable, may be styled completely knowing, although he does not absolutely know everything. Thus the parts of the universal soul will serve for organs to each other, conveying perceptions instantaneously from the most distant regions of nature, distributing to every one whatever information it concerns him to receive: for we know of nothing so quick as thought, nor that it takes up any time in its progress. And their knowledge being derived from one common fund, they will all have the same sentiments, the same motives and rules of conduct: not that I imagine they will all have the same parts to act, for these must vary according to their several situations and the bodies falling within the sphere of their activity, but they will contribute their respective shares in perfect concert and unanimity towards carrying on one general plan. For we are not to think they have nothing else to do than transmit perceptions to and fro: but since we ourselves have a power of giving motion to our limbs, we may allow them the exercise of the like power, although they have no limbs to move, for the bodies dispersed among them may serve for subjects of their activity instead of limbs.

10. Now in order to find what work there may be for them to do, let us cast our eye upon two known laws of matter, Gravitation and Cohesion. Sir Isaac Newton, who best understood them, declares that they are not inherent properties of matter, but effects of some external force, which he supposes to be the repulsion of ether, acting by different rules in the production of either. This ether, he tells us, is more dense, and consequently more elastic, in proportion to the distance whereat it lies from any gross body: therefore the ether on the most distant sides of any two bodies being stronger than that lying between them, drives them together, and so causes their gravitation, and makes them seem to attract one another. Therefore weight is made by the

differential, not the absolute pressure of ether; for this, like all other elastic fluids, expands equally on all sides, pressing upwards as well as downwards: so that the ether beneath whatever we have put into a scale heaves it up, but the ether above, being a little further from the earth, impels it more forcibly downwards. Wherefore the weight we find it have, measures to us the excess of force wherewith one ether surpasses the other, but discovers nothing of the precise force belonging to either. It may seem astonishing that so small a difference of distance from the earth, as between the upper and under side of a common leaden weight in the grocer's shop, should increase the density of ether in so sensible a degree that it may be felt by taking the lead into one's hand: but since there are many astonishing things in nature, we will make no objection of this, but try to form some notion of what the absolute force of ether must be. If we could make an ether-pump, as we do air-pumps, we might ascertain by experiment what is the pressure on all sides of an exhausted receiver; but this being impossible, let us seek for some expedient to supply the place of it as well as we can: and though I am afraid we shall find none that will enable us to make an exact computation of the strength of ether, we may hit upon such as shall convince us it must be exceeding great. If we toss a guinea upon the ground, we know that it weighs there about a quarter of an ounce, therefore there is that pressure of ether upon it: but the ether repelling equally on all sides, if another guinea be laid upon the former, will heave that up with the like force wherewith it pressed the other down. Nevertheless we know this other guinea gravitates likewise downwards with the weight of a quarter of an ounce, therefore the superincumbent ether must press with the force of half an ounce, the weight arising from the different repulsion of the two ethers. By the same rule, if you put on a third guinea, it will have a pressure upon it of three quarters of an ounce: and so on, how high soever you raise the pile, the uppermost guinea will always be pressed down with a force equal to the weight of the whole pile. Let us now imagine a hole drilled in the ground quite down to the centre of the earth, and then filled up with guineas, how many would it contain? To take whole numbers, I shall suppose twenty to fill up an inch, and the semidiameter of the earth to be just four thousand miles: upon these data we shall make the whole number of guineas amount to five thousand sixtyeight million eight hundred thousand. But we must not reckon all these guineas to have their full weight, for whatever is carried under ground loses of its weight in exact proportion as it approaches the centre, and when it comes there, weighs nothing

at all. But arithmeticians know that where numbers decrease in arithmetical progression down to nothing, the sum of them all is just half what it would be if they were all of the highest number; therefore our column of guineas would weigh what half their number, that is, two thousand five hundred thirtyfour million four hundred thousand, weigh in a scale above ground. Our next step will be to compute the weight of that prodigious sum. I have been told that at the mint they cut out a pound of gold into forty-four guineas and a half: upon this footing we shall find our column amount to the weight of twentyeight thousand four hundred seventysix tons troy. Supposing then the pressure of ether at the centre nothing, which cannot be certainly inferred from the want of weight in things there, which is thought owing rather to the contrary attractions of the several parts of the earth around them balancing one another than to their having no attraction at all; but supposing the pressure nothing at the centre, still that of our ether at the surface of the earth must act with a forcé equal to above twentyeight thousand tons within so small a compass as the superficies of a single guinea.

11. Having found such an amazing force in ether, we might think it sufficient to account for the attraction of cohesion too, which may well be stronger than that of gravitation, although depending upon the same cause: for the latter results only from the differential strength wherewith the upper ether exceeds the lower, whereas particles in actual contact can have nothing between to thrust them asunder, therefore will be held together by the absolute pressure against their outsides, which we have found is more than enough to make them cohere stronger than any substances we know of; for I suppose a bar of any metal whatever, equal in thickness to the breadth of a guinea, would be broke asunder by a weight of twentyeight thousand tons suspended at the end of it. But there is this difficulty in deriving gravitation and cohesion from the same source, that since the density of ether increases so fast as we have found it to do upon receding from the earth, things would cohere much more tenaciously at considerable heights than they do near the ground, and a wire upon the Peak of Teneriffe would support a greater weight than might suffice to break it here below: but I never heard of its being found to do so by any experiment. Indeed the difference upon examination will not come out so great as at first sight one might expect, for the highest mountains being, I think, not above four miles above the level of the sea, the cohesion there will bear the proportion only of five hundred and one to five hundred compared with the cohesion here below; a difference too small to be discovered by any experiments

upon the strength of strings or wires. But then, on the other hand, it is found that attraction prevails between particles very near together, though not in actual contact: in this case ether must find room to rush in between and push them asunder, therefore their attraction will depend upon the differential, not the absolute, pressure of external ether, and cohesion become gravitation, which we are told is not strong enough to exert the efforts made by the other. This brings us back again to Newton's position, That the two attractions result, if not from different causes, yet from different operations of the same cause. And we may conclude the same of fire, heat, muscular motion, and sensation, wherein he likewise suspects ether to have a hand; but it seems to operate differently in producing those several effects: which indicates a kind of choice and discernment not to be found in the motions of matter, unless where directed by some understanding; and this direction it may receive from the action of the mundane soul.

12. But how much soever we may resolve attraction into repulsion, this will not put an end to our inquiries; for repulsion is no more an inherent property of matter than attraction was. The learned tell us, that the particles of ether do not touch, but keep one another always at a distance: but it is an established maxim, obvious even to common sense upon a little attentive use of it, that no substance can act where it is not, nor operate upon anything at the least distance from the place where it exists, therefore there must be some medium between the particles of ether pushing them asunder. Thus we shall be reduced to the condition of the Indian philosopher, who asserted that the earth was supported upon the back of a huge elephant, and the elephant stood upon a tortoise, but what the tortoise rested upon he could not tell: so after having demonstrated that all motions we see result from attraction and that from repulsion, what if we should be asked for the cause of this latter? for a cause it certainly requires, as matter cannot exert it by its own energy. We have observed before, that there is a prodigious consumption of force every moment, occasioned by the collision and pressure of bodies throughout the universe: and where shall we seek for a fund from whence to draw supplies for repairing the continual decays of motion? The shortest way would be to recur to Almighty Power, which certainly does not want efficacy to complete whatever is wanted to be performed by it; and I know that how far soever we may trace our chain of second causes, we must come sooner or later to the First. But it is the mark of a weak mind to be forward in ascribing events to the divine operation which cannot presently be

accounted for otherwise : and the soundest philosophers have made it a rule never to call in Omnipotence without absolute necessity. Since then we experience in ourselves a power of giving impulse to matter, and there is none of it but must lie within the reach of some spirit contiguous thereto, why need we scruple to believe it liable to the like action therefrom, as we exert upon our motory fibres? Thus we may assign spiritual substance for the first of second causes, from whose action the repulsion of ether, whence all other material agents derive their vigor, begins ; by whose ministry the laws of nature are executed, the continual decay of motion repaired, the world and all things therein kept in order. Nor will the admission of such a power derogate from our idea of the Supreme Being. For since all, both material and spiritual substance, received their existence, their powers, and properties from him, and not a particle of either stirs unless by his permission or appointment, they are to be regarded only as instruments in his hands, and whatever mighty works they perform ascribed ultimately to him.

13. As to the force a spirit is able to exert, we have no measures in our own experience to determine it by ; for though we can lift heavy weights, it has been shown in the former part of this work that we do not this by our own strength, for we receive considerable assistance from our animal circulation : yet we must begin the motion upon some little nerve or fibre to pull up the valve for letting in the vital stream upon our muscles, but what momentum we impart thereto I know of no method to ascertain. Our power must certainly be confined to very narrow limits because the sphere of our presence is so, for as nothing can act where it is not, we can act only upon such particles as may be drawn within that compass, and consequently can give no greater momentum than those little particles are capable of receiving. Yet for aught we know our strength may be very great in proportion to our sphere of activity, nor can we tell what limits to set it : therefore a multitude of us acting together might perform mighty feats upon huge masses of matter : If cohesion depend upon the action of spiritual substance, let us consider what weight a bar of iron as thick as the breadth of a guinea would sustain, and if the theory of gravitation before laid down be right, we have seen how vast a pressure lies upon bodies of the same dimensions : this then will be the force exerted by so much of that substance whose presence can extend throughout the surface of a guinea. And the same force that can hold the particles of bodies so strongly together, may suffice to dart them along, when detached from one another, with a proportionable rapidity : so that we shall not

want a cause for the velocity of light, vibrations of ether, or other the swiftest motions that human sagacity has yet discovered.

14. If anybody objects that by giving a spirit extent of presence I ascribe it bulk and consequently a consistency of parts; I shall desire him to resolve me two questions, Whether he denies God to be present throughout all immensity, and whether he conceives him to have bulk or to consist of distinguishable parts? And I shall refer him further to CHAP. IV, V. where I have made it evident, at least to my own apprehension, that we are individuals not consisting of parts, nevertheless that there is a certain portion of space throughout which we are totipresent, because we can receive the action of many corporeal particles at once which cannot be brought into contact with a mathematical point. Since then we have each of us a certain sphere of presence, a multitude of these spheres may extend, to any magnitude in proportion to the numbers of them, and the spirits residing in them, having a communication of ideas, will join in exerting their activity throughout the whole magnitude composed of their spheres. Thus though the strength of each singly, by reason of the narrowness of their presence, be very trifling, perhaps scarce able to lift a mote in the sun beams; yet by their united force they may perform more stupendous exploits than Milton's angels, and without the trouble of loosening to and fro, from their foundations may pluck the seated hills with all their load, rocks, waters, woods, and by their bases broad uplifting rear them high in air, or toss with rapid whirl o'er ocean's furthest bourne. For we know the efficacy of union to produce strength out of weakness, as well in the works of human industry as of nature. When a number of men are disciplined to act at one signal, or obey one command, what masses cannot they move, what performances cannot they achieve! We know of few things weaker than water or more yielding than air; yet what havoc and devastation do storms and inundations make by the combined force of little corpuscles, thousands of which one might blow away with a breath! How feebly does one grain of sand attract another? so that we cannot discover it by the nicest experiment: yet it is the aggregate of such attractions from all the grains in all the earth, that holds down the moon in her orbit. But the mundane spirits, intimately persuaded of the benefit of unanimity, and by their mutual participation of perceptions having the same understanding, the same motives and apprehensions of things, enow of them will always be ready to concur in completing every work that shall be discerned expedient.

15. An objection may be started here against the possibility of our spirits doing the mighty things ascribed to them above notwithstanding their strength and unanimity: for action and re-action being reciprocal and opposite, whenever a spirit goes to impel a particle of matter he will thrust himself backward with equal force, and though he may have some good friend behind to keep him steady, he will thereby impart the same force to him, who will likewise transmit it to the next beyond and so on until the thrust be propagated to the outermost bounds of the mundane soul, which expanding by degrees, the parts of it must open, and thereby losing their contiguity with either corporeal or spiritual substance, must lose both their percipience and active powers for want of materials to exercise either within their reach. But though we find reaction constantly prevailing between bodies, it does not necessarily follow from thence that the like prevails between body and spirit, one acting by impulse and the other by volition: nor have we reason to think it does from anything happening to us in our common actions. We feel our limbs move and the outer parts of our body, but we feel no resistance from the inner fibres we employ in moving them: in short, we are so little affected by those first instruments of our action, and have so little notice of them, that Hartley and some others have denied that we ever move them at all, but insist upon their being moved mechanically by the vibratiuncles bringing us our perceptions. And this consideration may obviate a difficulty concerning the laboriousness of those tasks we have assigned the mundane spirits in exerting their utmost strength incessantly to produce repulsion, cohesion, and gravitation in matter, which may be thought incompatible with that happiness we have supposed them to enjoy. For there is nothing operose or toilsome in volition, our limbs indeed tire upon being over worked because they can bear no more than a certain measure of exercise, our reflections satiate by a constant repetition of the same ideas, because our organs lose their relish and return us uneasy perceptions instead of the agreeable ones they gave at first: but if we can find employment for a fresh set of muscles or bring a fresh set of objects to our imagination, we find as much amusement in them as if we had done or contemplated nothing before. The mind is never tired of commanding from morning to night, so long as the instruments are not tired of executing; therefore the actions of spirit are always performed easily without either weariness or satiety.

16. As we have supposed all space replete with material or spiritual substance, it may be doubted whether in that case there could be any motion of either, because there would be no vacant place for them to move into. But it is the more generally re-

ceived opinion that spirit is penetrable by body, therefore can oppose no obstruction against the motions of that : and as I never heard it determined even by conjecture whether spirit be penetrable by spirit, it remains wholly uncertain whether they will obstruct one another. But admitting them neither penetrable by one another nor by body, though I have supposed them contiguous I have not supposed them present in every point of space ; for the waters of the sea lie contiguous, yet are there many pores and vacant spaces between them : therefore spiritual substance may be considered as an extreme subtile fluid, continually at motion within itself, and admitting bodies to pass through it with more ease, than fishes swim through the water. But this is offered only upon supposition of their being impenetrable, which I have before declared my sentiments that they are not ; and of locomotion being necessary for them, which is more than I know to be the fact : for as they will have perceptions brought from every quarter, they will hardly want to change their situation in order to change their scene, and examine objects they could not discern before. But if locomotion be requisite, I do not imagine they can move themselves nor one another : but as we are vitally united to some part of our body which carries us about with it wherever it goes, so they may join themselves occasionally to some particle of matter, which is going the way they desire. Nor need it be wondered that the courses of nature should go on so steadily as they do, if guided by voluntary agents, some of whom we might imagine, would proceed in a different manner from others, because we find them do so among ourselves : whereas bodies gravitate and cohere, air condenses and rarefies, light reflects and refracts, always exactly in the same manner under the same circumstances. But when we consider that our own contrariety and changeableness of behavior springs from the ideas starting up in our imagination, which each man has peculiar to himself, nor does his neighbor discern or stand affected by them, and that in proportion as every man possesses a more enlarged understanding and judgment we find him more steady and uniform in his conduct, we shall cease to wonder that these spirits, whose knowledge by their participation of ideas must extend much wider than ours, not liable to overlook things which when discovered must alter their judgment, should pursue constantly the same tenor of conduct ; that what appears expedient to one should appear so to all, and what they judge proper to do at one time they should adhere to at all others without variation.

17. This entire unanimity of sentiment and perfect harmony of action, may well warrant us to look upon the whole as one thing,



to which the material world will serve as a sensory exciting sensations and reflections, and exhibiting ideas, and the spiritual part as a percipient to receive them and a vivifying principle to invigorate and actuate the motions of the other ; having in a manner one understanding, one design, and one volition, making all together one compound as the human soul and body make one man. So that with the Stoics we may call the universe an immense animal, or say with Pope, All are but parts of one stupendous Whole, whose body nature is, and God, not the Almighty, but this created god we have been speaking of, the soul. This god, or animal, or glorified man containing all men (for it matters not what name we use so our ideas be clear) which is the world, will have a full discernment of all his parts with their combinations, proportions, symmetries, situations, and uses : nor will anything minute escape his notice, for being not confined like us to one little cell in the brain, where we know nothing of the many secretions, circulations, and other transactions, passing in our frame, but his spirit, insinuating and penetrating everywhere, not an atom can stir without his knowledge and observation. Nor must we imagine him to receive sensations only from all these objects, for as the modifications of our organs furnish us with judgments, relations, abstractions, and other ideas of reflection, resulting from the notices of our senses, so his sensory the material world will supply him with the like in far greater abundance, free from that disorder and perplexity attending them in us, as being selected and purified in their passage through spiritual substance by the channel of communication : so that he will be all intelligence, perfect reason, and unerring judgment. And though we must needs admit him passive in perception, he will have such absolute command over the causes and instruments of perception that no thought can intrude against his liking. Yet we must not imagine him subject to those sudden starts and wanton sallies which too often hit our own fancy, for this would occasion strange irregularities in the visible world, but best pleased with that regular scene of contemplation exhibited by the stated laws and steady courses of nature, and therefore constantly employing his activity to execute and preserve them in order. For his activity being coextensive with his intelligence, every limb of his immense body will be under his immediate government, so that all the motions therein will be voluntary ; nothing automatic, or at least the automatic be exactly directed by the voluntary : and ether, whose various repulsions are the grand springs of all natural movements, may be considered as performing the office of nerves and muscles in moving the larger members. By his strength he rolls the huge planets along the boundless sky ; by his agility

he dashes the light on all sides with inconceivable velocity ; by his energy he produces gravitation, cohesion, heat, explosion, fluidity, contraction, and dilatation of the circulating vessels in plants and animals, and all other operations discernible throughout the visible world.

18. In him as parts are contained all the powers that men can imagine concerned in the phenomena of nature or affairs of mankind ; for we might style the god or angel of the sun, the god of the moon, of Saturn, Jupiter, or the other planets, so much of his substance as actuates their motions and operations, and so much of it as surrounds every particular man may be called his guardian angel or demon : so that by this theory one might almost reconcile the pagan theology with sound reason and probability. Yet I would not suppose the same particles of spiritual substance to attend the moving bodies throughout their progress, but transmit them to others having the same dispositions, purposes, and activity, whereby there will be no variation nor irregularity in their courses. For we divide the ocean into seas, gulphs, and bays, the waters whereof continually change, so that those which compose the German Sea to-day, may make the British Channel to-morrow, the Bay of Biscay the next day, and afterwards the Mediterranean. And as the wake of a ship, by which I think the sailors understand the stream drawn after the stern by its motion, follows the ship throughout her voyage, yet consists every moment of different waters : so wherever a man goes he may always have his guardian angel about him, the same in kind and quality, in character and ability, but not a minute together the same in personal identity. Nor can it be doubted that this spiritual substance, having so minute a discernment and perfect command over the particles of matter, might form them into any shapes or appearances he had a mind ; or by throwing our sensory into proper modifications impart any knowledge, even such as could not naturally enter into the human imagination. Not that I mean to decide whether such things have or have not been done, but whoever believes they have, may find here a fit agent by whose ministry any commands of the Almighty may be executed, as well ordinary as extraordinary. For without such command, or some very substantial reason, we may rest assured he will not deviate a step from his usual method of proceeding. Therefore we need not fear any fantastic surprises nor hurts from him ; not for the same reason which secured us against the vehicular people, because they were too feeble to affect any of our senses, for he wants neither skill nor ability to raise dreadful phantoms or rattle chains or terrify us with horrid dreams as well in broad sunshine as at

midnight, nor to work all the feats of witchcraft and magic ; but because such more than childish pranks are inconsistent with his consummate wisdom and importance of character. To entertain these apprehensions of him would be as idle a fear as if, upon our friend of the best credit and character, coming into the house, we should disturb ourselves lest he might steal a silver spoon, or take some sly opportunity to slit holes in our furniture : and we ought to be as backward in giving credit to reports of that kind as we should be in believing anybody who told us he saw a group of persons of the highest dignity and most venerable character playing at law together in the street, or robbing an orchard, or practising the little mischievous tricks of an unlucky school-boy.

19. But as we are perpetually sustained and protected, and the springs from whence we receive our uses and enjoyments actuated, by the mundane soul, so it may be presumed that we are likewise of some use to him. For embodied spirits, each confined with his several cell and having no ideas unless what his particular sensory exhibits, must be allowed to operate differently upon the matter environing them from those which lie at large in the mundane substance, and thereby diversify the scene, presenting ideas he could not find elsewhere. For though I do not suppose him contiguous with our spirits, because then we should become one with him and participate of his knowledge, yet he may be so with the outside of our sensories, and by observing the motions there and knowing from what operations of spirit they must proceed, he may read our thoughts as currently as we read one another's thoughts in a letter. And if evil be necessary in nature, as we must conclude from its having admission therein, it may be dispersed among the corporeal and vehicular states that the inhabitants of the mundane, by applying to the sensories of the other two, may attain the knowledge of evil without actual suffering. Thus our pains and displeasures, our vexations and disappointments, our errors and follies, which we look upon as oversights or neglects in nature, promote the service of more exalted Beings, doing them more good than hurt to ourselves. Our various constitutions, talents, passions, desires, professions and fortunes, all the transactions and dispensations befalling us, which we regard only as they affect our present condition, have a two-fold use besides : as they prepare us for several functions in the vehicular life, and as they present objects wanted for the purposes of the universal soul whereon his happiness in some measure depends. Perhaps our interests may furnish him with a principal part of his employment, for being completely happy and placed out of the reach of evil, he may have nothing to desire for himself, and no-

thing to do but exert his power and contrivance in lessening the burdens and enhancing the enjoyments of animal life as much as possible: so that for aught we know, the most glorified Beings may be constantly attendant upon the services of man, not for the greatness of his importance, but because he is the only poor creature that wants their cares.

20. Having given the fullest explication I could of that exalted Being the universal soul, the head and principal of creatures, let us now consider how well he may deserve the glorious things said of him in former times. And first we need not scruple to admit him for maker of the world, that is, the agent employed in executing that stupendous work: for penetrating into every pore of material substance, being all intelligence and activity throughout, he might discern all the particles in Chaos, if ever there was one, know what they were severally fit for, assort them into elements, and of them compose habitable earths. Upon the word given, Let there be light, he might twist the sevenfold rays and dart them about in all directions, or upon a second word collect the main body of them into a Sun. He might give the heavy planets their tangential motion by one strong and exactly poised stroke. He might gather the waters from the dry land, having first scooped the capacious bed of ocean, and raised the equatorial parts, lest the diurnal rotation should cast up the sea above them. He might give the earth a twirl as easily as a child twirls round his whirligig, to produce the vicissitudes of day and night. He might thrust the poles askance twice ten degrees and more, that summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, should never fail. He might draw out strings of viscous juices from the ground, and perforating them into tubes, and interlacing them artfully together, compose therewith the tree yielding fruit after his kind and the herb after his kind, whose seed is in itself. He might form the dust of the earth into animal organizations with proper members for walking or flying, or creeping or swimming, as soon as the breath of life should be breathed into them: and extracting the finer particles from the grosser, might work them into mental organs and sensories, fit for the reception of perceptive spirits who should be created for them to begin the race of men upon earth. And as he went on completing his task, the Lord Almighty looked forth from heaven, and saw every handy work of his minister, and behold, it was very good. The six days' formation being ended, though God rested from commanding, his agent did not rest from acting; for his reason could now direct him how to proceed in sustaining the work he had been taught to make. He still continued to turn the grand wheel of repulsion, that first

mover in the wondrous machine of visible nature, all whose movements follow one another uninterruptedly for ages according to stated laws and in regular courses without failure or disorder in any single wheel. Until the fulness of time being come, or the signal given from the throne of Glory, the same agent turning the wheel of repulsion the contrary way, will rend the mighty fabric asunder, throw the parts of compounds out of their order, dissipate them with a sudden explosion, and reduce all into Chaos again. From whence upon a new plan assigned, new systems may be formed, new earths stretched out, new vegetables and animals produced to cover and inhabit them.

21. I think offence cannot be taken against our ascribing the generation and sustentation of the world to a created Being, as it seems rather to raise than depress our idea of the divine majesty; and everything done by the deputy, commissioned for that particular purpose is always esteemed the act of the principal. The very expression commonly used that God made all things by his word warrants our supposition of an intelligent agent who should understand and obey the word when spoken; and those writings which speak of supernatural effects many times declare them performed by the ministry of an inferior hand. It was not the Lord himself, but the angel of the Lord, who smote the host of Sennacherib: and when a promise is made of peculiar protection to some particular person, it is said that God shall send his angel to direct thy steps that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone. Nor do I apprehend any danger in removing the divine power as far as possible from those operations we see or know of, provided that we bear constantly in mind that all other powers must be referred originally thereto. Therefore how mighty works soever are performed, so long as we can conceive, God having a minister in his kingdom capable of executing them, we need not call in omnipotence: reserving only to that the prerogative of giving the powers and lights requisite for obeying his orders and fulfilling his word.

22. The powers and operations of the universal soul being settled, we will proceed next to consider his state and condition within himself: and we may agree with the ancient sages in pronouncing him immortal, unchangeable, completely intelligent, wise, and happy. For having nothing external, he will be secure against dangers and accidents from without: being not vitally united to systems of matter, their dissolution can affect him no otherwise than a change of objects or of one thing for another taken into our hands does us: and consisting of similar parts, whose qualities do not depend upon their order or combinations, he will not suffer by their taking new positions, as we should do upon the mis-

placing an eye or an ear or any little fibre in our bodies ; for every component spirit would be able to perform the same office with that into whose place it succeeded. Or if anything were to happen in his immense body tending to his damage, being active and discerning throughout, he would know how to prevent the mischief in time. The extensiveness of his intelligence communicated perpetually from every part to every part, must render him universally knowing in all the combinations of matter, their situations, orders, motions, and secondary qualities, together with the judgments, reflections, and sciences resulting, or consequences and uses expectant, therefrom. All this, together with his exemption from passion and error, must make his wisdom consummate to provide effectually for his own interests and those of inferior creatures committed to his charge. For if in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, how great must the wisdom be of this innumerable host of spirits mutually imparting their lights from all quarters of the universe ! Therefore he will act invariably right, doing always that which virtue requires, though without any other virtue than that of prudence ; because he will want none other. For to us the virtues are necessary marks directing to that happiness we want clearness of sight to discover, and strength of mind to pursue : but he having a foresight of remotest consequences, and an intuitive discernment of their just amount, will see clearly what is best, and need no spur to instigate nor mark to direct him in the pursuit of it. The clearness and largeness of his understanding will secure him against all partial views and unsteadiness of conduct ; for it is folly and ignorance that makes us capricious, changeable, and inconsistent with ourselves ; but wisdom is ever uniform and the same throughout ; therefore he will have no variableness in his sentiments, his designs, or his measures, but approach as near to the divine immutability as can be conceived possible for created substance.

23. With all these accomplishments and perfections, we cannot doubt of his being unspeakably happy ; and if any sparks of evil should be sprinkled upon him by contemplation of the miserable wretches in the two embodied states, they would be so overwhelmed with the joys flowing from elsewhere, that he would feel no more disturbance thereat than a man, having just received news of some great good fortune befallen him, would feel upon happening to break a China saucer. Nor need we apprehend his being satiated with the sameness of his prospect, having no other object beside his own immense body to entertain him, with which, being long since perfectly acquainted, he can make no new discoveries for his amusement. For though pleasure cannot

subsist without novelty in ourselves, because our bodily organs, losing their quickness upon repetition of the same objects, will not continue the relish they gave at first : yet where the spirits serve as organs to one another, it is not certain the same inconvenience must ensue. But supposing variety of objects and employments necessary to happiness, he will not want for plenty of either : for his immense body, the universe, though but one, and he have nothing external to gaze at, consists of numberless systems, each containing a multitude of under parts, whose incessant movements perpetually change the face of nature and exhibit a diversity of scenes as well among the larger members as in the minuter particles. Nor is it necessary that every component spirit should have the whole in contemplation at once ; for large as their capacity may be we have never represented it as infinite ; therefore their streams of communication may be varied by the pouring sometimes one kind of perceptions upon each other and sometimes another ; or they may travel to and fro to visit different regions and take a nearer view of objects that lay at a distance from them before. Add to this, that the follies, the passions, and miscarriages, of embodied creatures will probably furnish them with new scenes unknown to wisdom, and dissimilar to anything of her production. Nor need we fear their want of employment to engage them, for considering the vast consumption of motion everywhere, which requires their continual efforts to renew it, besides the mutual communication of perceptions, and choice of those proper to be communicated, they will constantly have enough to do in giving impulse to the matter falling within their reach. For as they do not run along with the bodies they actuate, but hand them on to one another, they will have different functions to execute : sometimes busied in pushing forward the corpuscles of light, spreading the tails of comets, or regulating the vibrations of ether according to their proximity or distance from masses of gross matter : sometimes in gravitating heavy weights to earths, or holding the parts of metals in cohesion, or giving fluidity to liquors, or agitating the particles of fire, or contracting and dilating the circulating vessels in plants and animals.

24. We have heard talk of a beatific vision supposed to constitute or enhance the happiness of disembodied spirits, nor shall I attempt to disprove the possibility of such a supposition, for we know not the extent of our perceptivity. We may be capable of new senses, higher faculties and sublimer reflections, than our present organization can exercise. When totally disengaged from the veil of matter enwrapping us, we may be able to see even as also we are seen, and discern sensibly that glorious object which no

man can behold and live. But without this extraordinary privilege we may well imagine the universal soul must attain a completer knowledge of God than we can, though by the same way that we do, namely, by the contemplation of his works. For having the whole book of nature constantly open before him, and by the largeness of his understanding and mutual communication of perceptions throughout his substance, being able to comprehend the spacious pages at one glance, he will read there the whole divine economy, discerning the uses and wisdom of those parts which to us appear superfluous or mischievous, and forming a clear conception of the divine attributes, not excepting those unknown and inscrutable to man. Nor will it lessen his adoration to know, as from the account herein before given it may be inferred he must know, that nature is the work of his own hands and the regularity of her courses carried on by his own energy : for as a man who has done extraordinary things, if he thinks justly, will derive from thence a greater veneration for the power which gave him the sagacity and talents enabling him to perform them ; so the universal agent will always bear in mind that he is but a minister and instrument in the hand of a superior upon whom he continually depends. For if God were to withdraw his material world for a moment, the spiritual would instantly lose its percipience and action, having neither object to discern, nor subject to act upon, nor means of communicating perceptions where none were excited. Nor can he forget that how well soever he may continue the order of succession in the courses of nature, his operations must have had a beginning, his intelligence some premises furnished for it to work upon, and there must have been some original order and position in matter to be the basis and foundation of his resolutions before he could make or act in pursuance of them. The existence of evil, which proves to us a stumbling-block, would teach him a useful lesson, for we may presume he would not admit it willingly in any part of the universe under his care : but the necessity of its being scattered somewhere must convince him that he is not omnipotent, but under control of a higher power by whom that necessity was imposed. And if the courses of nature are sometimes to be changed, new systems to be formed, he will perceive modifications in his sensory directing them, thoughts and designs occurring there which he did not introduce himself. With all this we cannot doubt of his having as full an insight into the divine nature as is possible or requisite for created Being : he will find no perplexities in his ideas of the attributes, nor appearance of their clashing one with another : he will clearly comprehend the nature of infinite goodness, and be able to reconcile the permission of evil therewith : therefore will



apply himself heartily to every task assigned him, well knowing that all are calculated for the benefit of the creature. He will be so intimately penetrated with the idea of the divine equity, that there will arise no opposition nor struggle for preference among the component parts of his substance: for each discerning that no hurt can befall another but what must redound to his own damage, the general interest will actuate them all, and self-love become benevolence. That sole virtue which accompanies us in the last stage of our existence, when the persuasions of reason shall be lost in intuition, and the expectation of future good swallowed up in the fruition of present.

25. This host of happy spirits called by one name, the universal soul, from their uniformity of action and sentiment, we suppose the receptacle for particular spirits as they can disengage themselves from their vital union with matter; and that upon disruption of a vehicle, the perceptive inhabitant will be discharged therein and incorporated therewith: whereby the communication with spiritual substance being opened, it will instantly partake of all the knowledge and designs of its neighbors, and immediately take its share in their operations according to the station wherein it happens to fall. And though leaving the traces of its former memory behind, it will have the records of the universal sensory to inspect, wherein is preserved the remembrance of events happening throughout nature more exactly and fully than can be comprised in any animal organization. Thus, in this state, there will be no infancy nor growth of faculties or advancement in learning, but the new comers upon their first arrival will stand upon the same footing with the old members, as if they had resided among them from everlasting. As they act in concert carrying on one plan of operation, the act of all will seem the act of every one, and each feel a kind of consciousness of what is performed by the whole company. For as among men concurring heartily in one undertaking, all claim the credit to themselves; the majority at an election exult as much as if the choice had depended upon their single votes, and a tradesman at a coffee-house triumphs in a victory and thinks himself entitled to say, We have beat the enemy, because he pays some trifle towards the supplies, or is a member of the nation whose quarrel it is; so the members of this mighty agent, the universal soul, although singly feeble, will partake in the joy of those stupendous works carried on by their united strength. For all contributing their activity to roll the celestial orbs in their appointed courses, to diffuse light throughout the vast expanse, to keep the elements in order, to distribute all things upon earth by number, weight, and measure, to produce

and preserve the several species of plants and animals, to direct the affairs of men and turn the wheels of fortune, to fulfil invariably the Will of God and execute the mighty plan assigned them, the pleasure of the performance will redound entire to every one as if he had been the sole agent employed.

26. With all these sources of enjoyment, the contemplation of universal nature, the science of all operations as well in the largest as the minutest bodies, the possession of an enlarged understanding and perfect reason, the assurance of an immortality and unchangeableness of character, the constant occupation without labor or difficulty in the most magnificent, delightful, and important works, the consciousness of acting invariably right, and the clear conception of the divine attributes, we may well admit this the happiest state created substance can be placed in, therefore we need seek no higher, but may take this for our idea of the kingdom of heaven. In that kingdom almost everything is the very reverse to what we find it upon earth: here we live single spirits vitally united to unwieldy masses of matter which but ill perform our services, for most of the parts of our composition lying out of our notice we have no command over them, their motions are for the most part mechanical and automatic, nor can we prevent diseases and disorders from gathering among them, nor passions, habits, and thoughts, cast upon us involuntarily from them; we depend upon things external for our uses and enjoyments and the sustentation of our bodies, therefore are liable to continual wants, disappointments, and accidents. There the spiritual substance being diffused everywhere has no more of matter to deal with than it can manage, directs the movements of every limb and fibre in his immense body, which containing everything requisite for his uses and enjoyments within itself, and being subject to no decay, needs nothing external; and each corporeal particle by the communication of perceptions serves the purposes of many spirits. Here we have the whole portion of actual evil distributed among us in all its various forms of pain, disease, disappointment, vexation, trouble, and uneasiness: there they have only the idea of it, which perhaps they find necessary to their happiness; for perception being transient and momentary, and probably not excited without some motion in matter, if they had not an apprehension of damage to ensue upon their forbearance, they would have no inducement to exert themselves in giving those motions to bodies from whence they receive all their perceptions. The narrowness of our views occasions private aims and contrariety of interests, so that half our cares are laid out in opposing one another's designs, whereby much of the power

we might have is lost : but they, using one common understanding, proceed with perfect harmony, so that their strength, though singly far inferior to ours becomes immense by their unanimity. We follow the gratification of our desires thinking of nothing further, and God works out his own purposes from them, giving an issue to our endeavors contrary to what we intended : they keep their eye steadily fixed upon the Will of God which it is their constant desire and delight to fulfil, therefore as nothing can happen anywhere contrary to that Will, nothing can happen contrary to their wishes. We labor for the most part to serve ourselves, not much regarding what ensues therefrom to our neighbors, nor can we do otherwise in many of our actions wherein nobody else has any concern : they pursue always the general good, so that love, pure judicious love, actuates all their motions, displaying itself in a cordial obedience to the fountain of blessings and sincere attachment to one another's interests.

27. This spiritual community being heaven and all space not occupied by matter being replete with spiritual substance, it follows that heaven is not local but everywhere, all around, above, below, on each side, and within us, filling not only the starry regions, but likewise the air, the earth, and the seas, and permeating the pores of all compound bodies. Therefore that we are out of heaven, is not owing to any distance we stand at from thence, but to our being pent up in walls of flesh which cut off our communication with the blessed spirits, and shut us out from all participation in their lights and their joys. We are like persons inclosed each in a sentry-box having all the chinks and crannies stopped that might let in the least light or sound, and in this condition set down among the splendid throng in a full Ridotto : they would be alone in the midst of company, as knowing nothing of the gaiety and diversions passing round them. If they had strings reaching to one another's boxes they might make signs by them, learn in time to understand one another's motions, and carry on a sort of conversation together ; but very imperfect in comparison of what they could do if let out and permitted to converse like other people. So we, while imprisoned in these earthly tabernacles, see little and know little of all that passes around us, and converse together imperfectly by the corporeal mediums of sights and sounds. Upon the dissolution of this gross body, we may find an inner integument still clinging round us ; but when the appointed time shall deliver us from this too, we shall not have far to travel before we join our company : for wherever our vehicle leaves us, there we shall find heaven, and take our place and occupation therein immediately without any of that surprise, or awk-

wardness, or agitation, usually thrown upon our corporeal organs by scenes wholly new, but with the same readiness and familiarity as a man coming off a journey, having his own house, his own family, his own furniture and conveniences about him; for we shall then understand and apprehend, not by our old ideas, but by those of the universal mind, and partake in the expertness and full-digested remembrance belonging to that.

28. Though this notion of the mundane soul was first broached by the old philosophers, I hope the moderns will not be offended with me for attempting to revive it, since I have brought it at least to my own thinking compatible with some of the most important articles now received among us. For one cannot well imagine a more intimate communion of saints than that above described: the exemption from evil implies a release from punishment, and full forgiveness of sins: the unchangeableness and immortality of this soul are but other words to express a life everlasting: our incorporation thereinto, whereby we shall have the whole frame of material nature to supply us with objects and serve as instruments for us to act with, may be reckoned a resurrection of the body; for though this body were existent before, yet we may be said to rise again upon our admission into it, by being restored to our percipience and animal functions. Indeed, the vehicular state is a resurrection too, therefore that may be reckoned the first, or resurrection into the kingdom of Christ, and this of the mundane state the second, when he shall deliver up all power to the Father; and whereas we are taught to expect a spiritual body on our rising again, we cannot thereby understand one composed of spirit, for that were a contradiction in terms, nor can any material composition better deserve such epithet than that whose every member, limb and fibre, is actuated by spirit. As to the vulgar notion of a resurrection in the same form and substance we carry about at present, the various ways in which it has been expounded, and many difficulties raised upon them all, sufficiently declare it untenable: and the reason ordinarily given, because the body being partaker in the deed ought to share in the reward, as well requires a resurrection of the sword a man murders with, or the Bank note he gives to charitable uses; for our mind is the sole agent, and our hands are as much instruments as anything we hold in them. But since the mind can neither perceive nor act without matter, there must be a resurrection in some sense or other, that is, a re-instating in some composition answering the purposes of a body, to render her capable of another life. Lastly, the occupation proposed for us there is the glorifying our Maker, which cannot better be performed than by steadily fulfilling his

Will, constantly attending his services, carrying on his appointed courses, executing his laws of nature, and heartily concurring in his beloved work, the general good and happiness of his creatures. This seems a more acceptable praise than singing hymns and psalms to all eternity : for obedience is better than sacrifice, and to do the Will of God than the fat of lambs.

29. I know of but one exception can be taken against the idea here given of heaven, which is, that it leaves no room for the blessed spirits to differ in their degrees of happiness as one star differeth from another star in glory. But since the communication of perceptions which constitutes their happiness is voluntary, who-so pleases may suppose them communicated in greater or less measure to every one according to his deserts, as we give more or less countenance to different persons in the same company according to our esteem of them. Yet it being customary to consider no more than one world besides this sublunary, and to speak promiscuously of the intermediate and final states, I should rather choose to interpret whatever is said of the different degrees of happiness as relating to the former, than admit a partiality and particular favor among the most perfect of created Beings.

30. I have now offered what I can conceive may be the condition of our intermediate and final states after we shall leave this world and be seen no more. My intention herein was to give a livelier idea of some important truths, which I think discoverable from our observation of nature and knowledge of the Divine Attributes, than could be entertained while they remained in abstract and general terms : namely, that there may be life, enjoyment, and action, out of this body ; that there are other beings to whom what appears useless to us, may be serviceable ; that there is a connection of uses and interests throughout the whole creation ; and that whatever befalls us here, though seeming nugatory or hurtful, will turn to our account some time or other. So far as any one shall find what I have here suggested answer this purpose, and impress stronger upon his imagination or display in more sensible colors what he knew before to be true, I shall be glad he will attend to me : for I did not propose it as an article of faith, and pretend to prove nothing by hypothesis, nor am so wedded thereto, but than if anything therein shall be made appear contradictory to the judgments of sound reasons, or hurtful to the mind or good manners, I shall be the foremost to reject it.

## CHAP. XXIII.

## THE VISION.

Speciosa dehinc miracula promat,  
Antiphaten, Scyllamque, et cum Cyclope Charybdin.

ONE day, after having my thoughts intent all the morning upon the subject of the two foregoing chapters, I went out in the evening to a neighbor's house to recreate myself with a game at cards. After some time spent in this amusement, we sat down to supper, during which, according to the English custom, we began to settle the affairs of the nation, particularly that important point then in agitation, a Spanish war, whereon we could not come to a satisfactory determination: For though we depended upon the valor of our fleets and armies to take Portobel, Carthagene, and the Havannah, in one campaign, we could not be sure that would end the war, and were a little doubtful how long we might be able to continue raising twelve millions a year, and conveniently pay the taxes necessary for the interest of such enormous sums. Under this difficulty, and finding that our own politicians could not agree, we wished for some of those to extricate us, of whom we had read wonders in former times, the Godolphins, the Burchells, and the Walsinghams: and some of the company, who held that mankind degenerates every age, as well in bodily strength as in mental sagacity, wanted to conjure up the souls of Julius Cæsar or Philip of Macedon. This latter thought turned the discourse upon necromancy, and leaving the national concerns, which we believed would go on full as well without us, every one fell to consider how he might best gratify his curiosity if he were possessed of that art, what persons he should evoke from the shades, and what questions he should put to them. One was for seeing his relations and friends again, another for a tete-a-tete conference with Elizabeth or Mary of Scots, others for calling up Belisarius, Cicero, Archimedes, Alexander, and the heroes of antiquity: till I happening to say, I had read somewhere that Socrates learned to play upon the fiddle at threescore, that Plato made love-verses in his youth, and putting them in mind that they had all heard how Orpheus used to draw the trees and beasts after him by his music, the ladies declared they should be vastly delighted to hear a solo on the violin by a philosopher, or hoped his scholar would accompany him with an amorous sonnet of his

own composing, and that the entertainment might conclude with a dance of forests full of lions, bears and tigers, to a jig of the Thracian harper. Being thus drawn to think of the ancient sages, we proceeded to some of their peculiar doctrines, wishing to hear them explained by themselves, as likewise to know some particulars concerning their occupations and manner of living in the regions where they now inhabit. With conversation of this kind, partly serious, but mostly jocose, we passed the time until the company parted, which they did pretty early, some of them having a great way to go. When I came home, finding it not my hour of bed time, and being unwilling to fatigue my spirits with anything that might be called study, I walked to and fro in my chamber giving my thoughts a liberty to run as they listed. I found ideas start up promiscuously from what I had thought of in the morning or heard in the evening, each introducing the next by any slight connection in that transient variety and wanton assemblage customary with imagination when judgment throws the reins upon her neck. In this manner I continued to be amused while undressing and until laid upon my pillow: when having neither crudities, nor crying sins, nor debts, nor hopes of preferment, nor schemes of cajoling a county, or buying a borough, to break my rest, I presently fell fast asleep.

2. I cannot tell how soon afterwards it happened, but methought something broke on a sudden in my head, in the manner I have heard described in an apoplectic fit. Instantly I found my limbs and all my outer parts benumbed so that I had no feeling in them, yet I had still a feeling of my muscles, whose motions I could distinguish plainer than before: for I could perceive myself swell them in thickness and contract them in length, thereby drawing the tendons fastened to them, but what these tendons drew I could not perceive, having no knowledge of anything beyond. But this lasted only for a moment, for the muscles quickly lost their feeling too, and I could perceive no further than the nerves or strings of bladders by which I injected a subtle fluid into them. Thus my sense seemed gradually to retire inwards, and as it withdrew, sensation seemed always to reside in the extremities of those parts wherewith I still retained a connection, and to convey notices from them which it had not done while it had any to convey from others beyond them. Just as a man straining to look at a distant prospect, overlooks things close before him, but if clouds intercept his sight from the remoter scenes, his eye contracts and presents him with a distinct view of those lying nearer. At the next step, my perception was confined to the valves closing the orifices of my nerves, which I could open and

then feel the animal spirits rush in like the stream of a river when one pulls up a floodgate. At length I found myself reduced to my sensory, where I could discern ideas of reflection and abstraction like pictures hanging round the walls of a room ; or rather like those machines shown about for a sight, where the images continually change their places, or vanish, and others are made to start up by unseen springs : but I had not leisure to observe their motions, for the whole of what I have related passed in less time than I have been relating. The last thing I perceived was that I seemed clinging to something hard like a stick, much in the condition of a man who hangs by both his hands clasped round the bough of a tree, only with this difference that the bough I clung to, moved with a prodigious swiftness and dragged me along after it. Not liking to be hurried on, I knew not whither, with such impetuosity, I let go my hold, when instantly the stick slipping away left me behind utterly destitute of all sense and perception whatever.

3. How long I remained in this state of total insensibility I know not, but was first roused out of it, by something brushing along nimbly by me : I felt it touch me gently as it passed sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. These sensations set my ideas afloat again, and though they appeared very obscure and confused, like those of a man not half awake, I had discernment enough to persuade me that I was now a defunct : that the stick I had clung to was that part of my human composition whereto I had been vitally united, which, as I afterwards learnt, being carried on with the annual motion of the earth after the rate of about nine hundred miles in a minute, had departed from me upon my quitting my hold : or in other words that I was actually departed into the other world. I rejoiced however, to find I still retained my existence and perceptivity, and having been piously educated, cast up a short but fervent ejaculation to that power who governs both worlds, with an assured confidence of his being alike able and willing to provide for me in this, as well as he had done in the former : but knowing that we have no title to expect assistance until having done the best we can by our own strength, I resolved not to be wanting to myself ; for I presumed my activity remained with me too, but how to exert it was the question, for I knew of no limb or organ of sensation belonging to me, nor could find any muscle or instrument to act with. However, I determined to use my endeavors, and believing that the brushes I received were to be the first rudiments for laying the foundation of my future understanding, I made one strong effort at random, with an eager desire of catching hold of whatever occasioned them,



that I might feel what it was made of. Immediately I seemed to stretch out a hundred arms all around me, but with no better success than a man who should thrust his arms out at window, while the bricklayers are sweeping down tiles, bricks, and pieces of mortar, from the gutters above him : for I felt my limbs knocked about incessantly by a shower of hard balls, which besides hurting me grievously, turned me round and round, by the violence of their strokes, as a chaff is whisked about in a whirlwind. This made me the more earnest to grope about for some stay which might keep me steady, but the more I strove the worse it proved, for no stay could I find. I do not know what might have been the consequence if I had not presently perceived something hold me and draw me aside from the troublesome stream of bullets : but as some of them still struck against my fingers, I judged it prudent to draw in my arms and give myself up to the management of my new protector.

4. I now lay quiet and easy awhile, well pleased to find I had no bruises remaining, and that my blows smarted no longer than just in the instant of striking : but soon a new desire started up in my mind of seeing what it was that took so friendly care of me. As I did not know whether I had any eyes nor where they lay, I cast my attention every way in hopes of finding a peep-hole : upon this effort I presently saw little flashes of light sparkling and vanishing again on all sides of me, together with various objects, but all indistinct : being now satisfied I had the faculty of seeing, I attributed the little use I could make of it to my own hurry and want of management ; so resolving to proceed with more calmness and caution, I confined my endeavors to a part near that that I was held by. After repeated trials I found I could form a set of optics, but they would return back again, almost as soon as I had thrust them out ; till by a little further practice I learned to keep them steady so as to observe anything before me. I then beheld a kind of sack or bag filled out like a bladder with air, uniform everywhere excepting that from one place there came out the arm which held me, and from another a longish neck with a head upon it, having a meagre lank-jawed face, very like the prints I have seen before some editions of Locke's works. It looked upon me steadfastly with a mild and benign aspect, and the lips moved as in speaking. This made me quite impatient to hear what was said, but I was as deaf as a post : however, having already found myself provided with hands enow, and eyes enow, I did not despair of finding plenty of ears too, if I could but tell how to open them. My whole attention and desire being now bent upon hearing, my eyes sunk in directly, and left me in

the dark, but I heard a confused jumble of whispers, short, broken, and inarticulate at first, yet that did not discourage me, believing I should manage better by degrees as I had done in the use of my sight. Accordingly I could soon distinguish my own name repeated, which surprised me agreeably to find I was among friends. How's this! thinks I to myself, that the retired Ned Search, scarce known to twenty people in the other world, should be so well known here that the first person he meets accosts him by name! It must certainly be some old acquaintance whose face I have forgotten departed hither before me. Sure it can never be really John Locke himself sewn up here in a sack for his sins, for he died before I was born. After this soliloquy, reflecting that the more haste the worse speed, I moderated my impatience, and observing my motions carefully and minutely, it was not long before I formed a complete ear, with drum and everything requisite for the auditory function.

5. My good friend perceiving me prepared for an audience addressed me as follows. Welcome, Ned Search, into the vehicular state : you are in the hands of one who is not an utter stranger to you, though not your cotemporary : for know that I am John Locke, with whose writings you are not unacquainted. I have observed a faint resemblance in your way of thinking with mine which, though mingled with a great diversity of character, has given me a family kindness for you. I was apprized of your being to make a visit here, and came this way on purpose to assist you. I have already given you a seasonable relief when you were tossed about among those flying balls yonder, and am ready to do you further service in any way you shall want. Consider you are but a baby just born into this new world, and may find it expedient to put yourself under some tuition.—It is natural to suppose I wanted very much to thank him for his kind assistance and offers of continuing it ; and to declare my willingness to submit to his guidance until he should teach me how to manage without giving him that trouble ; but I knew not how to express myself. The business now was to attain the use of speech, which I no sooner attempted than I felt myself hung round with mouths and tongues innumerable. I was yet so inexpert in my faculties that I could exercise no more than one at a time: if I went to look I could hear nothing, if I listened I could see nothing, and now I tried to talk I could neither see nor hear : so wanting the guidance of my ears to direct me in the formation of my words, I strained all my mouths to make as much noise as possible that I might be sure of being heard ; like those disputants who make up for their want of sense by their vehemence of

vociferation. After some little time spent in this violent exercise, I returned to listening again, for suspecting my pronunciation might be somewhat defective I did not doubt my good tutor would set me right. I heard him laugh most immoderately, and when his mirth was over, Prithee, Ned, says he, what didst thou make those hideous mouths at me for? If you could have seen yourself you would have been frightened. Why you made a worse figure than the picture of Fame in a folio Virgil. I guessed at your meaning by your gaping, that you wanted to speak to me, but not a single sound did you utter. Don't you consider that though you do not want for tongue you have neither lungs nor respiration, and without breath the other organs of speech are useless. We do not talk by the mouth in this country, and if I showed you one in my face, it was only to put you upon exerting yourself, by exciting a desire of conversing with me, because I knew you had no notion of any other way of speaking. Look at me once more and observe how I manage: but contrive if you can to hold out an ear at the same time, for else you will not believe but that I play you tricks.—I endeavored to do as I was bid, and as use makes perfectness, after two or three unsuccessful trials, I learned to see and hear together. I then saw his face had no mouth nor opening below the nose, but from thence downward was all enormous chin: nevertheless I could hear him speak distinctly. I took notice indeed that his voice was something different from the human, having a little twang like that of string music.—Nay, says he, do not stand staring me in the face, you will learn nothing there: look down upon my vehicle.—I did so, and observed little fibres bouncing up with great strength and agility in a kind of network, consisting of various shaped meshes. I can liken them to nothing so well as the little wrinkles continually changing their form in the skin on top of warm milk set in the window to cool, only they moved much quicker, and with a more tremulous motion.—There, says he, that is our way of talking: now try if you can copy the style.

6. I tried and tried again with might and main, but all to no purpose; for though I found myself all over in agitation, like a Quaker when the spirit pours plentifully upon him, yet not a single sound or whisper could I get out: so that I began to despair of ever making progress in this new-fashion string language. My good patron saw my distress and laid a little innocent plot to relieve me. Your strokes, says he, are too gentle, and have too long intervals between. Do not you know the strings of a harpsichord will shake a long while after they cease to give any sound? such feeble quiverings will do no good: you must make your

pulsations a great deal stronger, with nimble jerks following instantly upon one another. But I find you do not care to exert yourself: nay, if you grow idle, I must take another course with you.—On a sudden his head changed to the form of a lion's, with great gaping jaws full of monstrous fangs, and he shot out twenty paws armed with claws pointed as sharp as a needle. I was horribly frightened at this unexpected freak, in a friend and a philosopher, which I took for a fit of frenzy that had seized him. But not knowing how either to get out of his way, or defend myself, I exerted all my strength, and cried out O! with a more violent scream than that wherewith Belinda rent the affrighted skies when the rape was made upon her lock. Very well, says he with a smile, having instantly resumed his human benign countenance, now we have broken the ice we shall go on swimmingly, I did not intend to hurt you: do not be angry with me for frightening you into a scholar when I could not make you one by instruction. But do me the favor to try whether you cannot repeat your O, without being in a passion: you need not brawl it out quite so vehemently as you did just now.—My terror had left so strong an impression upon my fancy that I had a clear idea of every little motion it had occasioned within me: with this help I found I could say O, in cool blood, as often as I pleased, and with as careless a tone as a very polite congregation, while adjusting their dress or thinking of their routs, when that little particle occurs in the responses of the litany.—Courage! my boy, says the preceptor: now you are perfect in O, we shall soon teach you A, E, I and U: but mind me, child, you must ply close to your lesson and follow my directions, they will make your learning the easier.—Ay, thinks I, that I shall with a willing mind, for I long mightily to be asking you questions.—

You know, continues he, that our faculties assist one another: therefore try now to thrust out a neck and head, with a pair of eyes and ears to it, that you may see yourself speak.—I obeyed orders, and turning my face downwards, saw that I was made just like my neighbor: both like two tortoises, only inclosed in bags instead of shells. I did not think of amusing myself with brandishing arms and legs about, for being overjoyed at having recovered my speech, though as yet consisting only of one simple sound, I kept plying my O's with great delight in all pitches of voice from the highest to the lowest, all the while diligently watching the little fibres as they jumped and vibrated upon my skin.—Bravely done! says Locke. Why, you perform as dexterously as if you had served an apprenticeship: it is not everybody can bend his neck so easily the first time. This is an advantage attending us who

have used ourselves to reflection, for most of those who come from the other world, have a great stiffness in their necks, they can see anything sooner than themselves. But since you have such a facility at retrospection, I would recommend to you to pull in your head, and examine what passes within your vehicle while you perform any of the functions you are already master of.—By following this admonition, I discovered that my bag or case was lined all over on the inside with little hairs like the nap of velvet, which were the first instruments for me to act upon: for by squeezing any one or more of them, as one squeezes the kernel of an apple between finger and thumb, I could shoot them out, and in this manner performed all my actions; and I observed that many of them produced no external motion, but served only to present me with ideas of reflection. But my discovery of such a multitude of springs I had to employ, subjected me to one inconvenience: for those of different uses being promiscuously intermingled together, and every use requiring several of them to concur in operating towards it, I made frequent mistakes by touching the wrong springs. If I went to stretch out an arm, I should sometimes loll out a long tongue; if I wanted to form an ear, I should kick with a foot: if I endeavored to look earnestly at an object, I should find a mathematical problem start up in my imagination. So I resolved to have recourse to my instructor to teach me the proper command of my faculties, and I did not doubt but he would begin with that of speech which was what I wanted most earnestly to attain.

7. It would be tedious to relate all the particular lessons he gave me; let it suffice to say that he proceeded much in the same manner we teach children to read, instructing me first how to form the sound of letters, then syllables and afterwards words. But I found the most difficulty with diphthongs, vowels preceding one another, and syllables having as much vowel as consonant. I could not say *Chariot* nor *Extraordinary*, but *Charrit* and *Ex-todny*, like the ladies, nor *Beloved* or *Moveth*, but *Blodv* and *Moves*, like most young parsons in reading the exhortation: nor could I presently get the knack of joining my words into one continued sentence, for in my first essays, making a kind of staccato music, there seemed a stop between every sound; so he was forced to begin with sentences that we should account the most harsh. The first he tried me upon was that line of *Ausonius*, *Sic himi nux, nox, nix, nex fuit ante diem*: then we went to *Drayton's court of Fayrie*, *Hop and Mop* and *Drop* so clear, *Pip and Trip* and *Skip*, that were to *Mab* their sovereign ever dear, her special maids of honor. *Fib* and *Tib*, and *Pinck* and *Pin*, *Tick*

and Quick, and Jill and Jin, Tit and Nit, and Wap and Win, the train that wait upon her. But he brought me pretty soon to Pope's harmonious versification, While melting music steals upon the sky, and softened sounds along the waters die, Smooth flow the waves, the breezes gently play, Belinda smiles and all the world is gay : then to the Italian of Tasso, Ed al pavone spiegar la pompa de l' occhiute piume : Virgil's Avertens, rosea cervice refulsit, ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem spiravere ; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos, et vera incessu patuit Dea : and lastly to some flowing Greek words, as Genet argurioio bioio, and Met okeanoio roaoon.

But, says he, we have another language among us we call the Sentient, in distinction from the Vocal, wherein I have been speaking to you. This is carried on by applying our vehicles close to one another, and raising certain figures or motions on our outsides, which communicate the like to our neighbor, and thereby excite in him the same ideas that gave rise to them in ourselves, making him as it were, feel our thoughts. This is a much completer way of conversing, being not liable to misapprehension, provided the recipient takes care to remove all his own ideas, that none of them may confound or interfere with those delivered : but to do that effectually, requires great dexterity and long practice, therefore I will not attempt to teach you. You have gotten one language and that may serve your purpose while you stay here, so you be careful to employ it well.

8. It is easy to guess what was the first use I ought to make of my voice, as soon as I had attained a competent skill in the management of it : the polite Reader's own imagination may suggest better, than I can relate, what fine speeches I made to thank my benefactor for the pains he had graciously bestowed upon me, to express the joy I felt on hearing that I had a particular share in his favor, and to assure him it should always be my utmost ambition to improve those features wherein he was pleased to say I bore him some faint resemblance.—Truce with your compliments, says he ; we deal but little with that coin in this land of sincerity : we find an immediate pleasure in doing a good-natured thing, so want not the spur of applause to instigate us : we follow virtue for its own sake, that is, for the secret complacence of mind constantly attending it. But lest you should think the liking I have taken to you only a sudden fancy that may wear off again presently, be assured I look upon you as a relation. You know I had no children upon earth.—I beg pardon, says I, for interrupting you : but though you left no issue of your body, you had a more prolific head than Jupiter, for he brought forth one single

Minerva, but you have a most numerous family : the whole body of sound reasoners in the nation I came from, of which I should be proud to be admitted an unworthy member, derives from you. He smiled at this conceit. No, no, says he, it is not that way I make out the kindred ; I trace it from a higher stock : it is but since your arrival here I consider you as my child, before I regarded you only as my cousin. I had no descendants below, and we being here Isangeloi, without marriage-or sex, have no means of raising up any. Such of us as stand so circumstanced, especially those who have been tired out with the comfortless state of an old bachelor, provide themselves families by adoption, wherein we commonly choose among those of the same lineage with ourselves : for similitude of sentiments conciliates affection, and it has been observed in the race I am going to speak of, that the same turn and disposition of mind, runs through the whole line.

You must have read that in the early ages, such as applied themselves to the study of nature were reputed conjurers by the vulgar, thought knowing and expert in everything, and dignified with the appellation of wise men : not that they ever assumed this title to themselves, as being more sensible than anybody how little human science deserved it, but they could not help what other people called them. At length Pythagoras prevailed to have the name of wise man, changed into that of admirer of wisdom, by which he intended to take upon himself the character of a person assiduously employed in the search of knowledge, without ever pretending to have attained it completely. Thus he became the founder and father of Philosophy, and his descendants for a while preserved the same tenor of conduct and temper of mind ; always inquisitive, always improving, sensible their greatest wisdom lay in the knowledge of their ignorance, and unsolicitous to conceal it. But in process of time, another set of persons mingled among them, whether really of the family, but tainted with a corrupt mixture of foreign blood, or whether a spurious issue gaining admittance through the negligence of the heralds. These folks, finding how great submission had been paid to the ipse dixit of the founder, and from thence supposing he delivered his doctrines as oracular truths, never to be controverted or examined, thought to prove themselves his offspring by an air of positiveness and self sufficiency : so they set for up oracles too, issued their ipse dixits like the edict of an emperor, and re-assumed that claim to wisdom which he had taken so much pains to reject.

From thenceforward the family became parted into two branches, the Searches and the Knowals. The former, retaining the spirit of their ancestor, were perpetually searching after knowledge with-

out ever thinking they had enough, pursuing always the useful rather than the curious or regarding the latter only as it might be made subservient to the former. Diffident of their understanding they examined their premises carefully before they built upon them, and submitted their deductions to a review upon proper occasions : and though despairing of absolute certainty in anything, they wanted not moral assurance to keep them steady in following the best lights of their judgment. In their intercourse with others they were docible, humble, and modest, willing to learn of any body, and ready to communicate what they had were it ever so small : desirous of reputation only as it might gain them the better hearing, wishing to be believed no further than as they could offer reasons convincing to the hearer : lovers of unity and reconciliation rather than opposition, striving to interpret a different opinion so as to bring it compatible with their own rather than to overthrow it.

On the contrary, the Knowals, confident in their abilities, soon thought themselves masters of whatever they undertook : they scorned to examine their principles minutely as betraying a want of genius and penetration, so they commonly took up their tenets at hap-hazard, and then pleased themselves with showing how dexterously they could maintain them : more solicitous to gain the applause than promote the benefit of mankind : assuming, peremptory and overbearing, proving everything by demonstration, or expecting their word should be taken in lieu of demonstration : impatient of contradiction themselves and delighted to overthrow all who but seemed to differ from them. This branch produced the Sophists of Greece, the Academics of after times who would maintain the pro and con upon any subject proposed, the schoolmen and popish doctors in the dark ages of Christianity. According to the humor of the times they lived in, they would brag being skilful in all arts whatever, even to making the shoes upon their feet and ring upon their finger ; or of running ye off two hundred lines while they stood upon one leg ; or of writing a gallop and furnishing sheets for the press faster than they could be printed off. In modern days there have been two off-sets sprung out from them : the Methodists, who pretend to know the secrets of Heaven and deliver all their fancies with a Thus saith the Lord : and the Freethinkers, who though sole masters of reason, do not use it for the information of mankind but only to pick holes in the works of others, and if they can make themselves laugh esteem it the same as making an adversary submit.

The Search branch, not fond of putting themselves forward, have scarce ever composed a visible Church, but lie dispersed up and down minding their own business quietly according to their



several talents and stations. To this branch belong those who have made any real improvement, not only in philosophy, but in any art or science conducive to the benefit of mankind, and those who, wanting ability to strike out improvements of their own, endeavor fairly to understand and make a good use of those imparted to them by others. For many of the Searches have very moderate parts, but then they do the best that is to be done with them: on the other hand we often find shining talents among the Knowals, but then they seek no more than to shine with them, and it is well if they do not turn them to mischievous purposes.

9. As I was a Search myself it is natural for me to favor my own relations, and I need not use flattery to persuade you of your being one: for it is not brightness of parts nor extensiveness of learning, but an honest, industrious temper, a cautious freedom of inquiry, a sobriety of mind, and humility of disposition, that characterize our line. If I had found no other mark I should have known you for a true Search by the pliability of your neck. The Knowals have a wonderful stiffness in the vertebræ, therefore they judge of their size by the noise they make, and having most of them pretty loud voices they despise the rest of us as so many pygmies. Pray now did you not fancy yourself bigger than you are before I made you thrust out a head to look? Very true, says I, and I wondered how such a shrimp as you could drag about such a great carcass as mine: but that was not the first time I have found the benefit of retrospection. When I first set out to pursue the Light of Nature, I thought myself a stout fellow capable of mighty things, till having thrust out half my body and surveyed my person exclusive of the clothing, I found it strangely dwindled into a button.—If you can contrive, says he, to work a few golden threads into your button it will be better worth than a bladder full of air.

But to speak my mind freely, you have worked up your button in a manner not very suitable to my taste: you have a great many more flights than ever I pretended to. I should never have thought of likening the human machine sometimes to a mill, sometimes to a study hung round with bells, sometimes to a chamber organ; nor of proving by a chessboard that the sphere of a spirit's presence is wide enough to contain sixty four particles of matter, nor of computing the corpuscles of light in a grain of wax, or absolute pressure of ether upon a guinea: much less should I have ventured to introduce Hatchet the carpenter, or the cook making plumb-pudding into a metaphysical discourse, or bring a cat to assist in an optical experiment. Therefore I told you before that you have some resemblance mixed with a great

deal of diversity : but whatever other features you have, since I discern the attentive praying eye, the modest brow, the serenely serious countenance, and flexible neck of the Searches, and find you here in the helpless condition of a new-born babe, it raises a kind of paternal instinct towards you.—And I, says I, feel myself possessed with a filial reverence and dependence. I begin to wish I had not taken notice of your annexing the faculty of thinking to a system of matter, I am afraid you think me an ungracious boy, but indeed it was nothing but my zeal to defend the spirituality of the mind, which that position of yours had been employed to overthrow, that drew me in to contradict you.—Oh! says he, you need no apologies : we Searches are the last people in both worlds to take offence at anybody for differing from us. As we desire nothing but truth, whatever liberties are taken with us out of an honest regard to that, if they do not convince neither do they displease us. I assure you I do not think a whit the worse of you upon that account, nor for your battling my doctrine of consciousness and the uneasiness of desire. I see plainly you did not go out of your way to meddle with me nor dispute in the Knowal spirit of opposition and rivalship, by the pains you take to explain the forbearance and continuance of action, and to distinguish between want and desire, so as that we might both retain our opinions consistently with each other.

Neither do I absolutely blame you for your sallies of imagination, for I know every one must follow the bent of his genius ; to do otherwise would be like dancing in fetters : but I doubt you have been dabbling with the French and Italian authors. Take care you do not catch the grimace and levity of the one, the quaintness and marvellous of the others.—Thank you, Papa, says I, for your kind advice. As to the French and Italians I never had much notion of them, I endeavor rather to take my taste in matters of humor from our cousin Addison. But I cannot yet be quite out of conceit with my flightiness, because but for that perhaps I had not enjoyed the pleasure of your conversation here, nor ever seen that lion's face of yours, which first made me a spokesman in this vehicular language. Besides, if I remember right, many of our ancestors have soared upon eagle's wings before now. Your great uncle Plato gives large scope to imagination, especially in his Phædrus and Timæus, and introduces images as low as the carpenter, the cook, or the cat, in many of his dialogues. Nay, I have been told by Prince Maurice's parrot, who you know deserves credit, being a rational animal, that you yourself were not utterly averse to the familiar and the marvellous.—You are a saucy Jack, says he, smiling, to

come over me thus with my parrot. But I related no more than I believed myself: you tell stories that no mortal can believe.—So did uncle Esop, says I, Hesiod, Homer, and even great grandpapa himself when he talked of his golden thigh, and having fought Menelaus at the Trojan war.

10. But, continued I, though I suppose the true reason of my blending the serious and the trifling, the useful and the curious, might be the turn of my imagination drawing me so to do, yet with submission I seem to have found a good reason to justify me in following the bias. You know everything is not proper to be said to everybody, therefore our predecessors had their esoterics and exoterics, and delivering their lectures by word of mouth, adapted their discourses to their audience: but we moderns, having no other channel to convey our thoughts than the press, cannot pick and choose our company, but must pour out meat and milk into the same dish; leaving it to the men and the babes to help themselves, by which means some of the latter might swallow viands that would not only offend their palates but might really prejudice them in their healths. Now if we can cook up our messes of both sorts in such Frenchified manner as that the eye cannot presently distinguish which is which, our guests must cull and carve for themselves, and taste before they eat, each taking what suits his palate and digestion, looking upon the hard and odd tasted bits as intended only for garnish of the dish. I have said so much in recommendation of virtue, that I hope nobody believes I ever intended to lessen her influence in the least, but as the same observations seem to weaken it in the minds of some, which tend to establish it more firmly in those of others, I endeavor to mingle jest and earnest, speculation and argument, promiscuously, wishing that one man might take me in jest in those very places where another understands me in sober sadness. Therefore, if anybody finds anything that appears to overthrow the common rules of religion or morality, let him suppose that I am only amusing the speculative, or that he does not comprehend my drift; or that I have no other than to exercise my talents, or show how dexterously I can walk in slippery places, or anything rather than he should mind me seriously.—Well, says he, I can absolve you for your uprightness of intention, and honest care to avoid hurting the scrupulous. Perhaps I might have taken the like method had I had a more lively vein of fancy; but then I should have studied to imitate our progenitors, who were never superficial though they sometimes showed a sparkling outside. When they talked the most familiarly, it was to gain the readier attention to some important truths. If they intro-

duced coarse and vulgar images, there was always some valuable substance within. While they seemed only to set their hearers agape with an idle story of a cock and a bull, they would slyly steal in some solid reflection one might be glad to remember. They were wanton with discretion, and careless by design. Therefore I will not enjoin you against following their example, provided you follow it throughout: do not trifle for trifling sake, nor unless you have some good purpose to attain by it.—If my execution, says I, shall prove answerable to my design, I dare undertake to satisfy you: but I can promise only for my endeavors, the success is not in my power.

11. But that I may not degenerate from the worthy ancestors you tell me I am descended from, let me give way to the inquisitive temper of the Searches who want to be informed of every particular they think worth inquiry. And since I have learned from you to seek for knowledge from contemplation of the phenomena exhibited, give me leave to ask some questions concerning those I have already experienced. I found an easy passage from the other world, one momentary pang I felt upon the breaking of some vessel in my head, but afterwards my senses retired still further and further inward until I lost them quite without pain or uneasiness. Pray, is the stroke of death always so gentle, or was I favored in a particular manner? I have read in grave authors that the soul cannot be torn from the body without more pungent anguish than drawing all the teeth from one's jaws or tearing the skin from one's flesh: and the poets describe the gates of death as surrounded with terrors, pains, regrets, and despondencies.—Prithee, says my patron, do not mind either of those gentlemen; they pronounce confidently upon things they know nothing of: but you must distinguish between the gates of death and the avenues leading thereto. Men are generally brought to their end by some violent distemper or grievous wound or bruise, and these are certainly painful, but so they are to those who recover from them.—I remember, says I, to have heard an eminent physician, now with you, say, that a man who recovers from a bad fever suffers more than him that dies of it.—The doctor, says he, was in the right: for it is the struggle between nature and the disease that makes the pain; when either ceases to resist, the patient finds ease. It requires as much vigor in the organs of sensation to give pain as pleasure, and when they have lost their tone, they can excite neither. The same may be said of those of reflection, for when imagination is become stupefied it can no more exhibit ideas of terror and melancholy than it can those of joy and content. As for the convulsions called the agonies of

death, they are merely mechanical, not expressions of uneasiness, but like the twitchings we sometimes feel in our limbs, or habits men get of cutting faces. Therefore, whoever has gone through a painful, dangerous distemper, and given himself over as past recovery, knows the worst: nor has death itself, abstracted from the harbingers of it anything terrible.—I am glad to hear you say so, says I, for the sake of those who are to take the same passage after me.

12. But how came I among that river of stones? what are they, and who threw them at me so violently?—Upon quitting your vital hold, says he, which you might have done at any time before, but for want of knowing what kind of action to exert, for you know we can do nothing without an idea of the thing we are to do, your body, carried along by the Earth's motion, left you behind: while the nocturnal shadow protected you, you remained insensible and quiet, but that soon departing too exposed you to the rays of light, which follow one another in several lines, leaving large spaces between, and you being of very light substance, they only shoved you gently from one line to another by very oblique strokes, which gave you those brushes you first felt and awakened your ideas; until upon thrusting your arms directly into the stream, they buffeted you about in the manner I found you. So the streams you complain of, are no other than the corpuscles of light, darted incessantly from the Sun and Stars.—Nay, now, Papa, says I, you treat me like a child indeed. Am I to swallow this, or is it an esoteric, that we babes are to take for garnish of the dish? Sure the light of this country must be a vastly grosser element than ours in old England: instead of being fit to enter the tender tunicles of the eye without hurting, it is enough to knock out one's brains. I am sure I found no colors, nor anything but bumps, and bangs, amid the bright effulgence poured round me.—You forget, says he, your own doctrine, that all magnitude is relative. The light here is the very same with that below, but you are not the man you was. You are but an atom in respect of your former body, and that makes you think the corpuscles of light so much bigger, by comparison with yourself.—Truly, says I, I seem to myself a good proper sized person: what though I am but a bag and not a man, methinks, I could hold two good Winchester bushels of corn, without bursting.—No no, says he, little gentleman, thousands such as you, might creep into a single grain. But your present composition being much finer than your former, that which before was the object of vision, becomes now an object of touch.—Touch, indeed, quoth I, with a witness! if we have

nothing softer to touch I shall never desire to use my fingers again as long as I am a vehicle.

13. Since then, continued I, we can only feel the light, how come we to see one another so plainly? Is ether such a jack of all trades, as to serve for light, and sound, and everything?—Our ether, says he, contains various mixtures, though you folks below use to call it by one general name, because you cannot distinguish them. And so you do water and air, yet you may know by the different tastes and sediments of the clearest waters, and the substances extracted from them by chymistry, that they are not homogeneous. The same you may know of air, by the clouds, vapors, lightnings, and meteors formed there, by the dust falling upon your furniture, the concretions gathering upon tops of walls and bark of trees. In like manner ether consists of many dissimilar fluids respectively performing the office of light, sounds, flavors, odors, and objects of senses you know nothing of. It supplies us likewise with a pabulum for our sustenance. Will you taste it? I think you look a little faintish as if you wanted refreshment.—Now you put it in my head, says I, I do find myself very hungry, though I was so busy in attending to you I did not perceive it before.—Come, says he, put out an arm at one end of your vehicle for me to pull you along, for our pasture does not grow everywhere, it comes from the tails of comets, dispersed up and down in long gleams throughout the vortices. I know of a very good layer about a hundred miles off; we shall be there in an instant.—No sooner said than done: he set me down in the stream, and bid me open my mouths, but not gape so wide as I had done before.—But, says I, may 'nt I overeat myself? Now I have left my old cravings behind, I should be sorry to let any new ones get the better of me.—Never fear, says he, you will contract no vices here, if you have not brought any with you.—Upon opening my lips I found a delicious clamminess hang about my tongues and palates, and though I could not swallow, I felt it insinuate into my pores, as the vivifying spirit of air does into a man's lungs, and refresh me prodigiously. As soon as I had enough it would cling no longer, but I perceived my mouths empty.—Well, says Locke, how do you like our celestial ambrosia?—Charmingly, quoth I. It is better than all the sauces of a French cook; better than venison, turtle, or even than a slice of good mutton after a whole morning's air and exercise; and which is best of all to a Search, one may indulge freely without danger of excess.

14. We came back as quick as we went, and I, all life and spirits, without any of that heat or listlessness usual upon a plenti-

ful meal of earthly cates, began to throw my legs and arms about and exercise all my faculties with more dexterity and alertness than I had done yet. I was so pleased with my pastime that I could not help crying out, Methinks I perform a multitude of feats for such a little fellow ; I like this agile body hugely : it is a thousand times better than that great clumsy carcass I was stifled up in upon earth.

But if I am really the minute insect you would persuade me, thousands of whom might creep into a grain of corn, how is there room for that variety of parts I contain ? I have arms, and legs, and eyes, and ears, and mouths all around me, every one of these must have muscles and fibres to move them, besides organs of reflection, vocal fibres, and those numberless springs, composing the velvet nap in my inside, by which I move every thing else.—You forget again, says he, your chapter upon the divisibility of matter, and that the smallest conceivable particle may contain as great variety of works as the whole human machinery. But you multiply the parts of your composition too fast : do not you know that all matter is homogenous, and the secondary qualities of compounds result from their form ? The same texture may form an eye, or an ear, or any other organ, according as the threads of it are variously disposed, provided the agent have a command over every particular thread to hold it in what posture he thinks proper. We have a little mixture of flesh with vessels fitted for vital circulation, carried on mechanically, but this is very little in proportion to our system of sensory and motory nerves, which lying within a small compass, our spirit, bearing as large a share in our whole composition as our body, is present throughout the greatest part of them, and operates almost immediately without that long string of channels beyond one another, propagating motion to the human members.

Not that you have acquired any new instruments of action upon coming hither, for you had all you now possess before you left your terrestrial mansion, but the gross veils encompassing you there were an impediment to your functions : all the velvet springs that did not communicate with some nerve of your outer frame being wholly useless to you. Upon being delivered from our corporeal manacles, we have the command of every part belonging to us as soon as we have learnt the ready use of them by competent practice. You shall see me now throw myself into a variety of shapes to satisfy you of what I say.—At this word he played all the pranks of a Proteus, first a man, then a horse, an eagle, a dolphin, a serpent, a stream of water, a flame of fire, a Briareus, an Argos, a Virgilian Fame, a polypus.—Upon my word, says I, this is very pretty

sport : you can never want divertisement, being such a nation of Harlequins.—We do not amuse ourselves with these gambols, says he, we have something else to do : I only played them now to show you what you are capable of.

We have another slight of hand we are more fond of practising : we have our imagination as perfectly under command as our limbs, so can raise passions and desires of any sort we find expedient. Passion you know assists greatly in the exertion of activity, and you have found a secret unknown to former moralists, that happiness consists chiefly in the gratification of desire : therefore it may be said of passion and desire, as of fire and water, that they are excellent servants, but very bad masters. We never let them get the mastery over us ; as we take them up we can lay them down again the moment we please, so to adopt your distinction, never have any wants though we abound in desires.—O, charming ! cries I, this is a most desirable accomplishment. Pray, dear good father and tutor, cannot you instruct me in this art ? I had rather you would begin to teach me this than put me in the way of exerting those new scenes you spoke of.

15. You will not have time, replied he, to make much progress : it is a difficult lesson, not to be learned presently. As to more senses, you have enow already : the two of sight and hearing, together with the vocal language you have acquired, will suffice for all you have to do during your short stay among us.—Alas ! alas ! cries I. Now you strike me quite down. What, then ! Am I to be snatched away from this new life in my cradle ? I was in hopes I was settled here for two or three thousand years at least.—I tell you, says my tutor, you are not come now to reside among us, but only upon a visit, in order to carry back an idea of this place and people to your countrymen. It will not be many years before we shall have you here again to take up your abode among us, and the manner of it will depend very much upon your conduct below. Possess your mind with becoming sentiments of that power who presides over both worlds, and do all the good you can to your fellow-creatures : no matter how small your powers be, the part you are to act is of divine appointment, it is your business to act it well. Endeavor what you can towards moderating your passions, and bending desire to the ply of reason : it will make you apter to learn that science when you come here again. We have many regions in this country : perhaps upon your return you may not find everything just as you have seen it now, nor may I be in the way to assist you : but wherever you fall, if you come rightly prepared, God will find you a protector, and a commodious habitation, fitted for a life of happiness.



—I listened attentively to his advice, hoped to retain it strongly in memory, and that the idea he had already given me of things here would instigate me to follow it. And am I then, says I, to travel back the irremovable way? I thought nature had opposed indissoluble bars against the return of a departed soul to its old habitation.—Your present journey, says he, is supernatural, so being out of the course of nature, I will not pretend to account for it. The like has never happened within my remembrance nor that of any I have conversed with. That stroke you felt in your head was not a real apoplexy, for your body lies below as sound and entire as before you fell asleep, without rupture or disorder in any of its vessels, still performing its vital circulations and secretions, though destitute of all thought and sensation.

16. And you came here differently accoutred from other travellers, for you have brought away your memory and imagination along with you; not that they have not the tablets of those faculties too, but without any writing or figures whatsoever upon them; all their old traces, their science, their sentiments, their habits, their desires, their experience, and in general their ideas, totally effaced: so they come into this world as much a blank paper as ever they were born into the last, ignorant and helpless, and having everything to learn. Sensation begins the fresh writing upon them, from whence grow ideas of reflection running into combinations and associations, generating comparisons, distinctions, and relations, and at length forming judgment and understanding: thus they rise to knowledge slowly and gradually, in the manner they did in their former state. Some or other of us are constantly near at hand ready to undertake their nurture, to lead them into the ambrosial streams as they have occasion, to assist in opening their new faculties, and instil instruction into them as they can receive it.—With your leave, says I, good master, I would beg your information concerning two difficulties that occur upon this theory of the blank paper. One is, how you can remember what you knew below so well as I find you do: the other, how your condition here can be affected by your former deportment, if you leave all your old sentiments, habits, and passions, behind you. Is there any judicature to assign your several fortunes according to your merits.

17. He replied, let us consider your difficulties one at a time: but we will begin with the last, because that may help to explain the former. We receive not our portions by the decision of any visible judicature, but all things fall out among us according to the operation of natural causes: nevertheless, we know that nature does not work by chance, but her courses are established in wisdom

and justice, so as by a chain of inevitable consequences to answer the purpose of a strict and impartial judicature. Our vehicles, by lying so long enclosed in human bodies, receive a change in their texture from the continual action thereof, so that we come out diversely modified with different talents, natural parts and genius, according to the way of life we had followed before; we leave indeed all our old acquisitions behind, but bring with us a particular aptness to make new ones similar to those we possessed before. The laws of nature are so provided, that vice weakens the animal powers, distorts the mental organs, and introduces particles of gross matter into the delicate body, which give racking pains and cause grievous disorders of mind. Whereas the practice of virtue strengthens the constitution, purifies the faculties, and gives a happy facility to acquire the same virtues again. As no man is perfectly virtuous, none arrives here without a mixture of terrene concretion, which proves very troublesome and a hindrance to his operations. In some it is so deeply infixed as never to be moved, so as to be forced to abandon those poor wretches to misery and despair: the rest furnish us with a great part of our employment to clear them of their obstructions, which requires much time and pain, the more or less of both and attended with the greater or less inconvenience to them in the mean while according to the degrees of foulness they have contracted. Thus every man receives the just reward or punishment of his actions by the ministry of second causes without needing a formal trial and judgment.

18. To come now to your other difficulty: it is easy to comprehend from what has been said upon the first, that we may know by the condition a new comer appears in, what have been his courses of behavior, his way of living, the company he has consorted, or objects he has conversed with, and consequently the particular country he came from supplying him with them: and by tracing back our own residence in like manner we may discover who has been our relation, our friend or our compatriot. You may suppose likewise that ether being extremely voluble and elastic, not a dust can stir upon earth but must affect its vibrations and disposition of its particles here: and we, having a very piercing sight to discern the minutest objects together with a great readiness at investigating causes from effects, can read in the situation of the fluids composing ether all that passes or has passed below. But as I doubt it will be difficult to make you sensible how we can do this, I shall pass on to another method you may more easily comprehend. You remember I told you of our sentient language, wherein, by withdrawing our own ideas, we can perceive those arising

in any other vehicle applied close to our side : now we can do the same with respect to living men, for by applying ourselves close to their sensories, though their coats being thicker they would hear nothing of us if we were to speak to them, yet we can discern all they know or remember or think on. We are not very fond of this employment, the sublunary air being not agreeable to us, but some of us go down from time to time to bring accounts for the benefit of the rest. As other vehicles have played the same game with us formerly while we were alive, they can inform us of particulars happening or relating to ourselves which we had utterly forgotten. And thus I may be said to remember occurrences I am not conscious of, as you could remember the transactions of ancient times which you had read in history. When you come to converse with our people you will find that, notwithstanding their coming here a mere blank paper, they have since got written upon it an exact memorial of their past life and conversation.

19. I readily apprehend, says I, this last method of recovering your former traces, though I cannot say the same of the other two. But if these new-born vehicles advance so slowly in their learning, how came I to make such a rapid progress as I seem to have done? You do not consider, says he, you brought your imagination with you and old stock of ideas, so had little more to do. I needed only lead you to the exertion of your new senses, you had judgments and reflections in store, by which you could make use of their notices ; only bring you to your voice, for you had matter ready for utterance as soon as you could pronounce it. And let me tell you your progress has been more rapid than you think of. How long do you imagine you have been among us?—Why, I cannot tell exactly, says I, having observed no distinction of days and nights : but by the many trials I made before I could get the tolerable management of my faculties, and the many lectures you have favored me with, I should guess myself about a fortnight or three weeks old.—What sort of time, says he, do you reckon by?—Time ! says I. I do not understand you : I know but one sort wherein sixty minutes go to an hour, and twentyfour hours to a day.—Ay, but, says he, I mean celestial or sublunary time. You know, I have told you below, that we measure time by the succession of ideas: now our ideas here flow in so much quicker succession than those of heavy mortals upon earth, that we pass a great deal more time between sun and sun. The clocks you left at home have gone but one hour, fortytwo minutes and fourteen seconds, since I first found you boxing with the corpuscles of light.—Surprising ! says I. Now this ends another wonder of mine, that I never felt myself drowsy all this while.—No more would

you, says he, if you were to stay ever so long. We never sleep, nor never find the want of it.—Then, says I, how do you find employment for your time of which you have so much more than other people? Does it never hang heavy upon your hands?

20. Never in the least, says he. We have an inexhaustible variety of employments: when we have enough of one, we find others ready at hand to which we can turn with fresh relish: you do not know what a field we have to expatiate in. There is the nurture and education of our adopted families, the providing instruments to pick out the terrene concretion gotten into them: these we procure from the planetary systems, for you know that Newton tells you, that air is an extract of little particles from the most solid bodies, so it furnishes us with fine spiculæ of steel, silver, gold or any other hard substance we want. The dividing the ambrosial streams to disperse them about more equally, as you disperse your New River water for the uses of the several quarters of the town. The journies down to earth, to learn what passes there. Studying or practising that art of reading I mentioned before, by the disposition of ethereal fluids, and investigation of causes from effects. Observing one another's talents and characters, which we may call the knowledge of the world. Purifying ourselves from any fæces remaining within us, or removing any new concretions that might gather: for we have the seeds of diseases among us, though we suffer none of them to grow, because we can expel them almost as easily as you could have washed the soil off your body. Besides the benefit of conversation by our sentient language, wherein we can mutually impart and receive information of all kinds, and from all quarters, with the greatest readiness and precision. Then we can travel with incredible swiftness to distant regions of the world, follow the motions of the heavenly bodies, study the systems of nature and economy of Providence, and from thence rise to the Divine Attributes: which let me tell you afford larger scope for contemplation and delightful wonder than I can explain to you in a manner suitable to your conception.

These are noble occupations well worthy the attention of a rational creature and copious enough in their several branches to engage our attention incessantly: if we had any vacancies, we should not want means of filling them up with divertisement, for we could gather materials of all sorts from the several atmospheres, and as those little particles, which repel so strongly at a small distance, would cohere as strongly if brought into contact, we might practise the mechanic arts, fabricate various machines and weave curious textures for our entertainment; but we have

no use for those things and no leisure to throw away upon trifles. Add to this the great agility and pliancy of our bodies, of which I have given you ocular demonstration, and our absolute command over desire. We have none of that sullenness and perverseness which often sets you mortals against things in themselves agreeable: on the contrary we can turn desire on the most insipid objects or make those pleasant which naturally had nothing alluring, upon proper occasion, if nothing more inviting or important should offer. I was as much pleased in running through those metamorphoses I showed you a little while ago as you could be in the novelty of the sight, and could this instant, if there were good reason for it, apply as eagerly to a game at push pin as any child of four years old. With all these advantages you may well conceive we have work enough before us to take up an eternity without weariness or satiety.

21. What then, says I, are you to live forever in this vehicular state? Not so, answered he, we are longevous but not eternal: yet we reckon ourselves immortal because we do not look upon our departure as a death. We have not all the same length of life allotted to us, some depart sooner, others later, but we all wear out our natural terms, having neither diseases nor wounds nor destructive accidents among us; for the threads of our texture, though extremely pliable, are of so tough a nature that nothing can break them: when the appointed time comes, our vehicles, worn thin by age in some particular part, suddenly burst and let loose the enclosed spirit. Those who have gone through the most arduous and painful trials below commonly go first: next to them such as have died before their birth or in their tender infancy: but none were ever known to be advanced, for so we term our departure, before they have entirely purged themselves from all remains of their terrene concretions. By our thorough insight into nature, we know assuredly that there is still a third world beyond this, a world of purer love, stricter harmony, higher capacities, and more exalted happiness, than we now possess; replete with spiritual substance wherein we shall be absorbed: therefore, instead of condoling, we congratulate one another upon discovering signs of an approaching dissolution. Nevertheless, being so amply provided here, we live perfectly well satisfied with our present condition, content to stay here forever if it so pleased God, yet desirous and glad to be advanced upon receiving the summons to a higher station.

22. You give me, says I, a most inviting description of your situation and way of life: methinks it is worth any pains I can take, for the time I am still to grovel upon the earth below, to fit

myself for a state so abounding in sources of present enjoyment, with such glorious expectations beyond. But since you have mentioned conversation as one of your principal amusements, pray where do you find your company? I suppose they gather together in cities, and we are here in some remote desert, out of the way of any road, for I have not seen a soul besides yourself since I could use my eyes. That is, says he, because you have not made the full use of them. Put me out twenty now all on one side, and direct them upon the same point: then look about ye and observe what you can see. Oh! now I see, says I, a multitude of long lank bags flitting by me like shadows: but they all go the same way. Have they any wings? for I protest I cannot discern. They whisk along so nimbly I cannot get a distinct view of them. And now I recollect, when you carried me to the ambrosial fountain, you kept kicking behind you all the way, like a dab-chick in diving, with a pair of sprawling legs, one on each side of me. But I cannot guess what you did with them; for though I can sprawl out legs too, I feel neither ground to tread on, nor water to push against, and I am afraid to stretch them out too far, for fear of those plaguy rays of light knocking against my shins.

Those very rays, says he, so formidable to you, are the springs to convey us on all our journeys. Do not you know that in mills, watches, and other complicated machines, one power is made to produce various movements? The stream, for instance, driving a throwing mill, runs always directly forward one way, yet the artist finds means of turning this force laterally or obliquely, or circularly, upon any of the works. In like manner we make a more simple machine of ourselves, for thrusting a leg against some corpuscle of light, we take any momentum we please therefrom, and any direction within the compass of a quadrant. You are sensible it is expedient for our speed that we should take a very oblique direction, making as small an angle as possible with the line of the ray: but as this must still throw us away from it, in time, we quickly find another ray on our other side, from whence we take with another leg a direction equally oblique, but turned the contrary way. Thus we pass along between two rays, one for right foot, and the other for left, much in the same manner as a Dutchman skating upon the ice. Our motion indeed is a little serpentine, but the rays being no more than one thousandth of an inch apart, and we going about ten miles at a step when we are in haste, this small undulation may well pass for a right line. As the ether makes resistance against our light bodies, we throw out lengthways in the form of worms when we go forwards, and draw

ourselves out dish fashion when we would stop.—Oh pretty ! says I. Be so kind as teach me to skate a little. I am loth to give you the trouble of lugging me always about, like a beggar's brat.—Be content, says he, since I do not grudge the trouble. Think with yourself how much time and dexterity is requisite to practise this art : for we must give our touches with the nicest exactness imaginable, the least mistake would carry us out of our course, or throw us into the middle of those streams you found so troublesome. Therefore, this is the last thing we learn to be perfect in : there are some among us have been here these two hundred years, and can scarce waddle yet.

Those who were bigots below, being always used to leading strings, come on very slowly : they will let us carry them about where we please, and tell them anything, but it is the hardest matter in the world to get them to help themselves, or try to find their feet. On the other hand, the Knowals will not submit to be shown anything, so they kick and cuff about at random, and get themselves tossed from ray to ray, without ever learning a step. It is well our vehicular flesh is of so healing a temper, or they would be beaten to mummies before they had made any progress.—Ay but, quoth I, you do not consider what an apt child I am, having brought my imagination and memory entire with me. Besides, as I am a Search, I shall have the benefit of my own reason and other people's experience too.—No, no, says he, I tell you the difficulty and danger of the attempt is greater than you apprehend.—Are there no go-carts in this country ? quoth I. Do, nurse Locke, get me one if there is such a thing to be had. You understand the mechanic arts, and are there no wooden particles in the air of which you might make me a pretty one now ? I would willingly learn to creep if I cannot run.—Prithee, child, says he, be patient : I never knew a Search urge things so pressingly before. Besides there is another art necessary to qualify you for practising this : if you were now to take a strong impulse with your foot, you would find yourself doubled in like a night-cap, and your knee driven through your body, would bump up against your head : therefore when we go to receive a stroke, we at the same time give a rigidness to every fibre of our vehicle, which makes us compact like a body of steel, and the whole of us moves together.

I beg pardon, says I, for my eagerness : but if I must not think of the practice, may not I wish to understand the theory of your motions ? I took notice before that all the travellers I saw were passing the same way, and as the rays keep continually flowing from the Sun, I can easily comprehend how you may skate along

them, quite to the regions of the comets : but how do you contrive to get back again? Can you strive against the stream, or sail like a ship with the wind before the mast?—There is no occasion, says he, for we never want favorable gales which way soever we are bound. Do not you consider that there flow rays from the stars too as well as from the sun, and as they come in all directions we never fail to find some or other of them that fit our purpose to a hair.—But then, says I, you must go very slow, for their feeble impulse cannot carry you near so fast as the vigorous solar rays.—Pardon me there, says he : you know the inert force of matter by which a body would move on forever with the same swiftness, unless stopped by something else ; therefore these transverse rays do not abate at all of their pace for their immense distance from the star whereout they issued. You below see the sun brighter than any other luminary, because more of its rays enter your eye together, but each ray taken singly, whether of solar, or stellar, or culinary light, moves with the same strength and velocity. Indeed the stellar rays being wider asunder, make our path a little more serpentine, and our progress slower, but this is a trifling difference not worth taking notice of : and we are obliged to be a little more circumspect in crossing the sun's rays, that we do not dash against them. He then drew me a little aside to a place where I could see travellers hasting several ways by help of different rays : and it delighted me to admire how, though they went at a prodigious rate, they managed with such amazing dexterity as never to touch the crossing streams of light, nor jostle one another.

23. While I was entertaining myself with this spectacle, I heard my friend call out with a loud voice that almost stunned me. Holla ! here we are. Presently there came up a vehicle that stood and stared at me wistfully as I did at him again : he then entered into close conference with Locke in the sentient language ; after which he surveyed me a second time from top to toe, and having perused me as much as he liked, I saw him strike his foot against a solar ray, which wafted him over to a stellar, from whence he took a direction almost at right angles with the former, and was instantly gone out of sight. Pray, says I, who might that very curious gentleman be? He should be a Search by his prying eye, but methinks he looks like a weak brother. He examined me all ever so strictly, that if I had not heard you call to him, I should have suspected he had some design upon us.—So he has, says Locke, but no bad one. You cannot know his face, he having been dead above a thousand years ago, but you have read his compositions. He is Aulus Gellius, author, or rather collector of the Attic night's entertainment ; for having a very moderate capacity,



he could produce little of his own, but made it his business to pick up and gather the scraps of his oracle Favorinus : however, as he was a diligent honest creature, we acknowledge him for one of our line. You find him often quoted by the learned, for though his writings contain nothing of much importance, yet such minute matters as he has recorded are sometimes turned to good use by others.—I am glad of that, says I, for the sake of my microscope : for if I am not useful myself, I may be the cause of other people's being useful.—As industry and exactness, continued he, are his talents, we put him upon employments here wherein those qualities only are requisite. He is now gone down to earth, upon an errand of that sort for you.—I thank him kindly, says I : but what service can he do me there? He cannot carry news of me to my family, for you told me you could not make your sentient language understood by the living.—No, says Locke, it is a business relating to your own proper person. You have now no intercourse with your body, so can leave no traces there of all you do or see : now he is gone to engrave traces of every particular in your sensory with a fine pencil or style he will pick out of the air as he goes along ; for else when you awoke you would think you had slept sound all night, without anything extraordinary happening to you. I gave him an exact account just now of all that has passed hitherto, and shall take care to send down intelligence from time to time of what further shall fall in our way.—I hope, says I, you will suppress what we have just said of the gentleman : he might have reason to take it amiss that we have spoken so freely of his character and performances, especially at the very time when he is doing us a friendly office.—Never disturb yourself about that, says my patron : we have none of that vanity clinging more or less to all mortals, and which is the first speck of terrene concretion we endeavor to pick out of them, as being the most troublesome. We value ourselves here not upon our talents but the application of them : natural infirmity and shallowness of capacity are no disgraces among us, therefore he is not ashamed of having them, nor will be offended with us for taking notice of them. So I shall suppress nothing, neither will he, but you will find a completer narrative of your journey than if you had pen, ink, and paper, to set down everything as you go along.—That pleases me much, replied I, for I would not lose a tittle of all the very remarkable occurrences befalling me here.

24. But with your good leave, Master, I would beg your explanation of one or two particulars relating to this errand of my cousin Gellius. As I have my memory with me, and actually remember all that has passed since my arrival, cannot I recollect

it again when I go back without troubling my cousin to write it down for me? Then if I have brought away the tablet of my memory, what is there left for him to write upon? And how can you, or anybody, send him intelligence of my private thoughts?— I will tell you, says he, how the case stands. The human memory consists of several membranes lined one within another: the innermost are softest and quickest to take impressions; the outer are tougher and more retentive. The former serve you for common occasions, as in ordinary discourse, where you only want just to remember what was said last till you have given a proper answer, and then forget it again instantly. This membrane being extremely pliant, conforms readily to the impressions in the others, which enables you to recollect things recorded there many years ago. Now you have gotten only the innermost pellicle of all here, which answers your purpose well enough, while there is no outer stamp to dress upon it; but when you come to have it squeezed again into your old sensory, your present traces would be quite smoothed out, like a rumpled muslin upon being ironed, and all you know now vanish like an idle tale, if your industrious friend were not to work correspondent channels, fitted exactly to receive them in the outer coats. So much for your two first objections; the third you must remove yourself, by telling me all your thoughts: we shall have time enough to send after him, for he is a little tedious in his motions, and scrupulously exact: I warrant ye now he will be puzzling about in the atmosphere a whole day of vehicular time, before he will find a style to his mind.

25. But I cannot trust to any narrative you will give me by voice, you may overlook or omit something; I must have it in the sentient language.—Lack-a-day! quoth I, you know very well I cannot talk a syllable in that.—I know very well, says he, on the contrary, that you cannot help talking if you would never so fain; the whole art here lies in the hearer, and you may trust me for that. Come, hold your head still, and put out a pair of ears below: I may have occasion to speak to you at intervals. So saying, he thrust out a couple of broad arms, or rather slappers, something like the tails of Turkey sheep, with which he muffled up my head all round, as with the hood of a great coat. I knew my business was only to ruminare on all that had passed in my thoughts from my first arrival, for he would feel the ideas as they rose. In this guise he held me some time, feeling and speaking alternately in a kind of dialogue, wherein himself was the sole talker, after the following manner.—Ay, but how did you feel yourself on first withdrawing from your body?—

What were your first sensations on coming here?—What were your thoughts when you could hear me speak before you had gotten your voice?—Hay! Let's have that over again.—Well, now I have your history perfect enough. But I find you have some wishes you were shy of disclosing. Do not endeavor to conceal anything from me, you know I am your friend; and besides, it would be in vain, for I should ferret you out.—Oh! you want to hear something of your relations: and your wife is uppermost in your thoughts.—I commend you however for thinking of your father and mother, though they came hither when you was a little baby, incapable of knowing them: and your guardian and the others who took care of your education. They are all among us, employed in ways suited to their respective characters and inclinations.—No, you cannot see them; they are all a vast way off, dispersed up and down in different regions, for having but lately attained the art of skating, they are gone to make themselves acquainted with the country.—Well, well, you shall hear more of your deeree presently. We seldom meet with husbands so anxious about their wives, unless now and then a Search that has happened to match with one of the same blood.—Nonpareil! Ay, so they are all, either the best or worst that ever man had.—Yes, yes, I know she was a Search: we all look upon her as such, and bear her a brotherly affection.—We had very little trouble with her, as she brought few terrene concretions, and those are in a great measure cleared away as she was very patient and desirous to have them removed. Having a soft hand and great tenderness of temper, we employ her in picking out the spots from prudes, demireps, and ladies of fashion who have lived in a continual round of genteel diversions, doing neither good nor harm.—Ay, ay, she would come to see you with all her heart, but consider she is but seven years old in this world and has not yet learned to go. But what would you say now if I should carry you to visit her? She plies close to her picking trade with some of the finest aerial needles we can get for her, not above fifty thousand miles off, we may skate there easily upon a couple of rays of Spica Virginis in two hours vehicular time.—Nay, none of your coaxing and cajoling, your Pray Sirs, and Do Sirs: when I offer a thing, I do it readily without needing to be pressed.—He then unmuffled and let me go: I durst not speak before for fear of putting him out of humor, but now thought I might open, yet was forced to moderate my joy by his last rebuke. So believing a short speech was best, Thank ye, thank ye, says I, dear kind patron: she was the most agreeable if not the most valuable gift heaven bestowed upon me below, and

this offer is the most acceptable I could have wished. You have taken pains for my good and instruction before, but this instance shows your benevolence here is tender and indulgent as well as judicious. I then presently stretched out an arm for him to take me by. Hold, hold, a moment, says he, till I give you some instructions for your conduct upon this visit.

26. We gave her an inkling some time ago of your coming to visit her in the shades like another Orpheus. Ever since she has taken it into her head to call herself Euridice, for we have our innocent fancies, allegories, and fables here as well as you mortals. We were willing to humor her, so she passes currently by that name and you must mind to call her by none other.—Oh! anything, quoth I, that will please her best. Euridice! methinks it is a pretty name, and I am sure the real Euridice could not better deserve such a journey after her.—In the next place, says my instructor, she is not a woman here, so you must consider her as an intimate friend, not as a wife. Let us have no kissings nor embracings, no raptures nor transports: remember your own distinction between love and fondness, and what I have told you already that we are here all Isangeloi, therefore your love must be pure, sedate and angelical.—I will try my utmost, says I, to satisfy you, and hope to succeed the better because I always endeavored below to make my love as refined and sentimental as possible. And indeed I found no great difficulty in the task, for she had so many angelic qualities when a woman, that she was fitted to captivate the understanding as well as the heart. But we waste time: two long hours seem a tedious while. He then took hold of my arm and we went on swimmingly, after the rate of forty thousand miles in a minute of Paul's clock. He clasped me fast round the wrist, nevertheless I clung round his too like a drowning man to a bough. I was in high spirits all the way, as you may suppose, more alert and joyful than on the morning of my wedding day, for in the lottery of marriage there is always a hazard, let a man take what care he can. I can give no account of all we met or passed by, for my whole thoughts were taken up with one object, so that I had not a glance to spare for anything else. At length we stopped, and I beheld a vehicle intent on picking out the dross from another with a needle. My friend whispered something to it in the sentient language, when instantly there shot out the dear, well-known face, not that of the blooming bride which enchanted my youthful eyes, but that of the serenely cheerful matron endeared by eighteen years' cohabitation, when we used to take sweet counsel together upon the measures of our conduct, the economy of our affairs, the education of our children; or remark

to one another the growing seeds of sagacity appearing in their little contrivances and prattle as they played around us.

27. My dear, dear Euridice, says I, do I see that face once more which used to be a continual feast to mine eyes! expressive of a most amiable and valuable character within, innocence, sweetness, sincerity, constancy, penetration, judgment, discretion, affability, politeness, easiness, sprightliness: my pleasure at home and my credit abroad. I never knew what a happy life was till you taught it me, and have never felt it completely since your departure. Welcome, thrice welcome, says she, to these happy mansions, my sincerest, tenderest, truest, best beloved friend. How happy is it we can thus meet without reflection of having done anything which might make one another unfit for this place! We lived in harmony and love, contented within ourselves, yet not forgetful of the duties we owed to others, delighted to please each other even in trifles without neglecting our more important concerns, enjoying the present moment, but careful to enjoy it in such manner as might leave no remorse behind.—Thanks to you, my Euridice, says I, that I have no more to reflect upon with remorse. Your sprightly temper gave me spirits, enabling me to improve my faculties, and your innocent gaiety taught me to make some use of them, by rendering me more sociable and active. I hope to come here one day with the less terrene concretion, for having had the benefit of your company. You can scarce have brought any here, you were all innocence and unreserved goodness. And indeed I see by the serene satisfaction in your countenance, that you have nothing to trouble you. Oh! how charmingly different does it look from that I saw last in convulsions and agonies!

Name them not, my Search, says she: the avenues of death were grievous, beset with pains, restlessness, and regrets, at leaving my husband and children: but they quickly end in a quiet sleep, from whence we awake to new life and enjoyment. Everything is new to us, yet nothing appears strange, because we remember nothing of our former scenes. We soon discover that we are in a society, and it is not long before we learn to converse among them. By means of our sentient language, which your friend tells me you do not understand, we quickly receive information of what we have been, what we have done, and what we have gone through: and believe me, my Orphy, (your friend will permit me to call you so), the troubles we have undergone appear as nothing in comparison of the state they lead into. We have here an infinite variety of enjoyments, without anything to disturb us except the dross we bring from below, and though the

clearing it away be painful, we submit gladly for the greater suppleness of our limbs and command of our faculties we have upon getting rid of it. The people of this country are universally obliging and benevolent: everybody is helpful to me, and I have the pleasure of being helpful to others. Though I am yet as a child, unable to stir, they carry me about wherever I desire, so I make visits more entertaining and improving than those merely harmless ones I used to make below: for instead of dress and trifle, the discourse runs upon the characters and occupations of the inhabitants here, the quickest and easiest methods of picking out terrene concretions, the intelligences continually received from earth, the creatures, productions, and histories, of the other planets; and in such an ample field we always find something new, interesting, and instructive. Your conversation has prepared me for a relish of the deeper sciences. I can attend to lectures of philosophy, upon the laws of nature, the courses of the planets, the various particles of air, the commixtures of ethereal fluids, the systems of Providence, and the glorious Attributes of God. O, Search! could you discern these Attributes as fully as they are discerned here, you would always fear but never be afraid of him, you would look upon his commands as advices kindly given for your interest, you would possess a sure and glowing hope which would prove a sheath to every natural evil and an effectual bar against every moral evil. But with all these engagements you may well think I have no temptations to the vapors, no vacant or insipid time; nor had I more than one thing to wish, and am thankful it is now granted me though but for a moment. Heaven send it may be granted me one time or other for a long, long continuance.

Amen, amen, says I, may we meet in such happiness as you have given me the idea of, never to part again. Your remembrance is my continual solace from morning to night: the image of my Riddy goes with me into company, attends me in business; entertains me in my walks, and steals in upon my studies. Heaven made us the principal instruments of one another's happiness upon earth, and I think the prospect or even possibility of our being so again adds to my diligence in the prosecution of those duties that lead to a better state. It was with that view, says she, I suggested the thought. You know I always wished your good most ardently and cordially: the same desire possesses me still, and directs me in employing the few moments we have together. While the thought of Riddy does you any real service, indulge it; but let it not interfere to interrupt you in anything you ought to do. You call me yours and I call you mine, but we were only lent, not giv-

en, to one another, as we now find by sad experience. Therefore your only chance of having the loan returned is by making yourself agreeable to the lender. For know, Orphy, that our works follow us, not indeed in themselves but in their certain consequences. We rise with different talents and capacities according as our little bodies have been formed and fashioned in the mould wherein they have lain enclosed. You cannot know directly what effect your outward actions will have upon the growing fœtus within you, but the same power which gave laws to man, established likewise those of nature, and has made them both so to correspond, that while you fulfil your duty, you will unknowingly furnish yourself with powers for your use and enjoyment hereafter. Therefore serve God by doing service to his creatures: endeavor to make such acquisitions as will be most useful to them, for those will be most useful to your own main purpose; nor suffer any fond indulgence to retard you in completing the remainder of that work you have still to do.

My kind benefactress, says I, you were born to do me solid good as well as to give me delight. Your advice was never wanting if at any time I happened to forget myself. Your example taught me to be more obliging and tender to others. You encouraged and assisted me in anything laudable and becoming a reasonable creature. The happiness conveyed me by your means was one topic of my thanksgivings, and I used to join more heartily in the public prayers as knowing that Riddy was one of the congregation. Shall then the remembrance of my Riddy do me a prejudice when she herself was incapable of doing any?—Your loss was a heavy and grievous stroke upon me, but I strove and struggled rather to thank Heaven for the gracious loan I had had, than to repine at its being withdrawn. I then reflected it was not wholly withdrawn, for I beheld your likeness in your two girls, and began to cast about how I might exert my love for you in my cares and contrivances for the benefit of your children. I still call them yours, for I love them better in that light than while I consider them only as my own. They answer my cares as I could wish, and the poor things do what they can to repay them by their observance and tenderness: but nothing upon earth can fully compensate for the want of you.

28. I hear very good accounts of your girls, says she, for I call them yours for the same reason you call them mine. Somebody or other in the neighborhood is going down continually, and I told you we were very sociable, so scarce a day passes but I hear of you all. It is one of our amusements to communicate all the good news we can pick up of each other's friends and re-

lations : but ill news quickly stagnates, for we have no taste for scandal nor are we solicitous to inquire after things we cannot remedy. Unless when any one recovers from his evil courses, for then we have them all displayed to us in full colors, and you cannot imagine what congratulations there are among us upon such occasions : there is more joy for a while than over ninety and nine just persons who needed no repentance.—I hope, says I, your children will never deviate into those bye-paths which must be trodden before they can give that extraordinary joy : you will be better pleased with the continual calm satisfaction of hearing they persevere in the road you have set them into,—Undoubtedly, says she, for you know we always used ourselves to prefer a lasting complacency of mind, before a sudden transport. But since it has been known you were to come here, nobody would tell me a word of our family, for they said they would not anticipate the pleasure I should receive in hearing the relation from yourself.

But how in the name of goodness, says I, could they know that? for my good patron Locke has told me that my journey was extraordinary, and did not depend upon natural causes, by which they might investigate it.—No matter for that, says she : you do not know what discoveries our people can make by their understanding the sentient language : they can discern your secret thoughts and motives, better than you can yourselves, and know by the state of your imagination what future imaginations it will produce. When you mentioned me in your argument upon the uneasiness of desire in your chapter on Satisfaction, they foresaw you would never be quiet till you had contrived one way or other to have some converse with me. So I know nothing of your history for that two years and a half.

Why, says I, it has run much in the same tenor with that you have already been informed of. Your girls go on in such improvements as I can give or procure for them, and in forming their characters to make themselves useful and agreeable, though in different ways. Serena has the modest brow, the flexible neck, attentive eye, and true countenance of a Search. Sparkler, you know, we used to call little Mamma, and she still preserves your likeness : the same sprightly look, the same lively action, and the same inoffensive archness of tongue. I would instruct them in the foundations of religion and morality, but my notions are so abstracted, that though they may do tolerably for myself, they are unfit for common use. When I act like other people it is seldom upon the same grounds, my principles are so selfish, I dare not own them ; even virtue with me is self-interest, for I endeavor to



practise it, not because I must, nor because I ought, nor because it is good in itself, nor to gain credit or escape censure of others, but because I believe it the surest way to procure my own advantage. So I scarce ever give them any documents, but as I am much with them, attend to their prattle, and endeavor to lead their thoughts gently into such trains as may tend to their improvement. If they let drop any inconsistencies, I take notice of them with a smiling air; if they consider a thing partially, I turn it about for them in various lights, and by short observations, similies, and examples, apposite to the occasion, I strive insensibly to make their reasonings just and connected, their views clear and full, their aims directed rather to the useful than the showy; and not so much to teach as show them how to strike out lights for themselves. As they delight in figure and allegory, I tell them the family arms of the Searches are a microscope and a balance, with a bit of gold in one scale outweighing a gaudy plume of feathers in the other, in a field of natural green, interspersed with common flowers, and a bee extracting honey from any that falls in his way: the motto for the men, *Esse quam videri*, To be than to appear, and for the women, *Be merry and wise*. That the Knowal arms are a concave mirror, placed near the eye, to see itself in, and an inverted telescope to look at everything else, upon a brazen shield, ornamented with butterflies, and trophies of victory: the male motto, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I saw, I conquered, the female, *None so pretty*.

With these little helps, your girls have acquired for themselves as much soundness of judgment and considerateness of thought, as may content a parent. They carry an unaffected openness and gaiety upon their countenance, a watchful observance and discretion in their hearts. They have just sentiments of their Maker, esteeming him as their sole benefactor, as an indulgent but not fond parent, who gives his commands for their benefit, but will not suffer them to be disobeyed with impunity. They are careful to remember his blessings with thanksgiving, persuaded that every evil terminates ultimately in some good; assiduous, not scrupulous in their devotions, strict, not superstitious in their religion. They can sympathize with the distressed, rejoice sincerely with the prosperous, and are glad to assist in any good office within their power. They can conform their minds readily to the circumstances of their situation, pass whole winter months with me alone in a retired country, without vapors of discontent, or hankering after company, and then enter into all the innocent diversions of the town, without being fond of any; can find re-

sources in themselves, without cards, or plays, or foreign aids, or can enjoy the busy world without being enslaved by it.

You delight my heart, says she, with this charming account of my babes : their welfare makes one of my joys in this place, and it is no small comfort to reflect that I have done my poor endeavors towards setting them into the right way that leads hither. God grant they may persevere in it to the last, and escape every inordinate passion and evil habit that might fix a terrene concretion upon them. Those foul remains of our former state, my Search, are exceeding troublesome and a long while before we get entirely rid of them ; in the mean time they prove grievous hindrances to us in all our operations, both of body and mind. But I have still one anxiety for my children : as they are now women grown, they may probably ere long come into other hands ; and what changes that may make in their tenor of life and conduct cannot be foreseen.—This my Riddy, says I, is my greatest difficulty : I cannot help them so well as I would, my knowledge lying more among books than men. Never did I want my Riddy more than at this juncture : you could have assisted me with your counsels : your converse would have given a freer issue to my own thoughts. But I miss you every day at home and abroad, in business and in amusement, in my troubles and my successes. O ! that it were permitted to take you down with me to make a paradise again upon earth ! O ! that I might accompany you here in your improving visits, attend you in your lectures, and learn of you the sciences I used to teach ! The laws of this place lay a severe restraint upon the fondness of love, a love pure and innocent, like that David bare Jonathan, surpassing the love of women. My rigid tutor here has forbid me one civil salute : am I not allowed to take your hand, whose soft touch used to steal a thrilling joy into my heart ?

At this the dear eyes seemed ready to overflow with tears of joy and love. There came out a taper arm and pretty hand, having on one of the fingers the semblance of our wedding ring, that pledge of our plighted troth and seal of our union. I shot forth half a dozen eager arms to take hold of it : and now perhaps had eagerly grasped it so fast that nothing could have parted us without disruption of our vehicles, and perhaps the course of fate had been broken, had not that severe, relentless pedagogue, that hard-hearted old bachelor, Locke, who never knew the tenderness of love, been too nimble for me. For he darted out a great brawny arm and mutton fist, with which he caught up the skin of my vehicle, as one catches up a dog by the nape of his neck, and away we flew with incredible swiftness.

29. As soon as he let me go, I began to lament and expostulate after a woful rate. Prithee, says he, do not pretend to be angry with me, when you were to blame yourself. Did not you promise me to be more discreet? to make your love pure and angelical? instead of that you have burst out into all the flames and raptures of an earthly passion. I told you we employ our passions here as servants, but never let them become our masters, nor slip a moment out of the hand of reason: for the very best of them is not to be trusted. An injudicious love often has the effect of malice. What a wish was there, to carry her back with you! Was that your kindness to wish her grovelling again in the filthy mire of earth, liable to womanish fears, bodily distempers, infirmities of old age, and the hazard of being disabled from ever regaining these blissful seats? Then you do not consider what an injury you were doing her if I had not prevented you: we have almost cleared her of her concretions, the only one remaining was a little too much fondness for you, and this you would have fixed deeper in her again by your indiscretion. Did not you observe her swimming eyes, which showed a womanish weakness stealing upon her?—I stand corrected, good Master, says I, and am convinced you favored my wishes most when you seemed most to thwart them: for I would not do her a prejudice, no, not the least momentary hurt, for all the pleasures in the world. But what must the dear creature think of me for leaving her so abruptly?—Never trouble yourself about that, says he: she saw plainly enough you could not help it, and before this time is sensible I acted kindly: she would presently recover herself, and go again to her needlework. Do you apply yourself to improve the state of your own mind: the news of that will be the greatest pleasure you are now capable of giving her, and the purer you come up, the sooner you will be fit for her company. I perceive you have store of concretions about you, and to them were owing your intemperances: we shall have some work with you when you return, and you must undergo some discipline. Do, my boy, while upon earth, strive to lessen the need of it as much as possible: Take my word for it, the practice of virtue, the moderation of all your desires, and vigilance against evil habits, will save you a great deal of inconvenience, vexation, and self-reproach, by-and-by. But I must leave you a moment, to send the particulars of our last adventure to Gellius. I see nobody within call going down. I shall find somebody or other before I have gone five hundred miles. I will be with you again presently.

30. Being left alone, my thoughts ran again upon the dear object of my wishes. I endeavored to moderate my fondness

with as much care as possible, yet perhaps indulged it a little too freely. While I was in this amusement, I felt myself on a sudden seized all over by something hard; rough, and scorching, a hundred cords seemed to wring me round, a thousand points stuck into my flesh, and I felt rough teeth grinding upon my skin. Ideas of resentment, cruelty, avarice, injustice, lewdness, debauchery, blasphemy, terror, shame, regret; and despair, poured upon my imagination, and pierced me to the very soul. I found myself tempted to all kinds of wickedness, to snatch the bread from the hungry, tear out the bowels of children, pluck out the eyes of my dearest friends, dash out my own brains against a stone, wallow in all the impurities of a brothel, rebel against the throne of heaven, and worship the devil. I struggled, with all my powers of body and mind, to deliver myself from my distresses in both, and call up ideas opposite to those that oppressed me. Upon the first effort I found myself relieved; the cause of my grievances was removed, but though I was free from pain, it left a strange dismay and uneasiness upon my mind. My good friend came up instantly to me. What's the matter? says he, you seem all over agitation and disorder.—God bless me, says I, I never was in such a taking in all my lives. All pain, smart, and burnings without, rage, horror, anxiety, despair, and torment within. Sure these are not fits occasioned by the terrene concretions. Heaven save me from any more returns of them: I would not undergo such another moment for all the pleasures in the universe.—No, no, says he, thank Heaven your concretions are not so bad as that. Oh! now I see it. Look yonder: there is the enemy that has done you all this mischief. I looked the way he pointed, and saw a black bottled spider as big as myself, sprawling and cuffing with his nasty claws against three or four vehicles, who thrust out arms as long again as usual, to push him away: however, they managed him pretty easily, and drove him before them to some tellar rays that pointed directly down to earth. Pray, says I, what hideous monster is that? The very sight of him, though so far off, makes me shudder, and almost renews the pains I suffered from him. That, says he, is one of those wretched vehicles I told you of before; his name, while upon earth, was Cæsar Borgia. I do not know how he came to stroll up here from the regions of darkness, for they very rarely appear among us. Rarely, says I, is too often: I shall be afraid of them as long as I stay here.

My dear good friend, pray never leave me alone again.—Do not be frightened, child, says he; we seldom see them; they are afraid of the rays of light which they know not how to deal with cleverly, and when they do come, they never meddle with us: nor

would he with you if you had followed my precepts. I am confident now that the moment my back was turned, you gave a loose to your passion again, for he would never have dared touch you if he had not observed you under some impotence of mind. Therefore for the future keep your desires in order, your reason sound, your mind pure; and you may defy the devil and all his imps.—But how, says I, could he overspread my imagination with such a dreadful cloud of foul thoughts, which never entered there before?—There, says Locke, you had a specimen of the sentient language: I am sorry you took your first lesson under so bad a master. By applying himself close on all sides of you, he threw in his own sentiments: it was well you exerted yourself in raising up contrary sentiments that made him glad to quit you immediately, for those evil spirits feel an envy against everything better than themselves, which increases their torment.—Heaven defend me, says I, from the venom of these spiders. The dread and remembrance of it hangs still upon me. I have no command of my thoughts. I shall never be myself again.—Come, says he, let us try what a second lesson under a gentler master will do. We will endeavor to cure you in the same way by which you were hurt. Come, flatten your side a little, that we may have as large a contact as possible. He then applied himself close to my side, and though I could discern nothing distinctly for want of skill in the language, felt such a general gleam of piety, sound reason, benevolence, courage, temperance, cheerfulness, quiet, and satisfaction, spread over my imagination, as dissipated all my troubles, and restored me perfectly to myself again. Thank ye, says I, incomparable master, I find you can assist, instruct, reprove, soothe, and everything just as is proper. This is an excellent language when spoken by a good orator: would I could learn to talk like you, or at least to understand your eloquence completely, so as to let none of it fall to the ground.

31. But now I have the spirit of sobriety upon me, with your permission I would fain receive some instructions which might prevent those mistakes that occasioned my failing in it before. I have always been told that love was a virtue, and though this be understood in the first place of a general benevolence to all rational creatures, yet I never knew we were restrained from fixing a larger portion of it upon some particular objects. Husbands love your wives, is one precept of the Gospel, and all the Searches of name have recommended an affection to our relations, friends, and benefactors. I know this is best exerted in doing them service while they are with us: but are we to forget them as soon as they are gone out of our sight? or how are we to distinguish the virtue from the passion of love, so as to retain the one with-

out touching upon the other?—Truly, says he, I am not so well qualified to descant upon that particular branch of love, which I know you are most solicitous to understand, having never had experience of it myself. I will only say this, that true love of any kind forbears everything detrimental to the party beloved, and never urges to things inconsistent with the interests of any other kind. But there is Plato yonder, who having composed amorous sonnets in his younger days, knows more of that subject than me ; and as he has a lively imagination, will talk to you in a manner more suitable to your own turn. I can carry you to him if you will : he is not a vast way off, we may be with him soon, provided we make haste.—I shall be very much obliged to you, says I, for the favor : I long to see that venerable founder of the Academy.—Do not expect, says he, to see a formal old doctor in him ; he lived so long at the court of Syracuse, in intimate familiarity with the king and ministers there, that he is quite a fine gentleman.

32. Pray, says I, is it necessary we should travel so fast as we have done in our journeys hitherto ? As my time here is to be short, I would willingly make the most of it, and not lose the benefit of your conversation upon the way ; but though I tried several times to talk to you, I could not hear myself speak ; for we outstripped the vibrations of ether conveying the sound : I suppose anybody a mile behind might have heard me plainly, for I took notice that the passengers sometimes called to one another as they went along.—You mistake the case, says he, for we never travelled so fast as the rays we went upon, and Newton has told you that the vibrations of ether overtake the light. The truth is, that you did not speak when you fancied yourself talking, for the swiftness of our motion, causing a draught of ether against your sides, hindered the play of your vocal fibres, just as a man riding a race-horse finds his breath stopped by the wind. As we have gotten a stronger tone to our fibres by exercise, we can make ourselves heard notwithstanding ; and so perhaps may you too if we abate a little of our pace, but then you must exert yourself as if you were hallooing to somebody at a distance. He then took me by the hand, and we went on at a less violent rate than before.

33. As we proceeded I began to try my talent at vociferation, wherein I found the more difficulty, for having never been used to speak in public, and perhaps had not succeeded at all, had I not been conversant with some deaf and inattentive people below, who forced me to prepare myself for this exercise, which, though laborious and painful for the time, left no fatigue or faintness the moment I desisted : however, I made shift to be heard just enough for him to comprehend my meaning. After apologizing for the

curiosity natural to the Searches which his goodness hitherto had encouraged me to indulge, I begged to know where lay those regions of darkness wherein he said the unhappy vehicles resided. In the pores and caverns of earth, says he, or the atmospheres surrounding them. For the foggy vapors, abounding there, a little stupify their faculties, and make them less sensible of their torments. When they rise above ground, they keep in the nocturnal hemisphere, and if by great chance they mount up into ether, it is always along the shadowy cone of night, which leaving them exposed to the thick solar effulgence, they are buffeted about, not knowing which way to go, until some of us drive them down again.—Pray, says I, are they made like other vehicles?—Exactly, says he, and have the same natural powers and faculties that we possess, for nature designed us all for the occupations and enjoyments of this delightful country : but they have debilitated themselves by the vast quantity of terrene concretions worked into them. For these gross particles of heterogeneous matter prick their flesh incessantly like so many needles, feel like worms boring into their vitals, obstruct their circulation, thereby raising feverish scorplings, and distort their imagination, laying it open to all unruly passions, and rendering it incapable of a pleasing or a comfortable thought. Imagine only with yourself what a man must suffer who should have thorns buried all over in his body, worms gnawing his entrails, the foulness of a distemper filling his flesh with burning heats, and his head with melancholy, frightful phantoms, and horror.—Terrible, indeed ! says I. But you told me, that our vehicles lie enclosed in our mortal bodies ; how comes it they do not feel inconveniences from their concretions while alive ?—So they do, says he, sometimes in the mental part : but I told you likewise that the vehicle, while enclosed in the body, can exercise its functions only where it communicates with some nerve of the outer machine, the rest is covered and kept motionless by the gross body whereto it adheres. But when the percipient soul (to use your words) comes out naked, and begins to exert all her powers without external impediment, at every motion she makes she finds the sharp concretions standing cruelly in her way. Just as a child in the womb might bear a load of phlegm upon the lungs without inconvenience, but immediately upon birth, when the lungs began to play, it would give great pain and trouble. And as volition never ceases working, they never cease being tormented : so that the boring worm dieth not, and the feverish fire is not quenched. You may remember I told you we abounded in desires, but had no wants : their desires are all wants. They are restless and impetuous, but never satisfied, always eager in action but to no

purpose, perpetually flying from one evil into another as bad. Add to this, that instead of alleviating one another's miseries, they strive to increase them : continually in broils and quarrels, actuated solely by envy, spite, and rancor ; melancholy and distracted with their own thoughts when alone, teased, abused, and plagued in one another's company.—Do you never, says I, try to deliver them from their concretions?—It has been tried, says he, but without effect : for there is no possibility of removing a moral concretion, unless the patient will do something to help himself ; we can only open the fibres with our needles to give it passage, but he must discharge it at the aperture by an effort of his own. But these poor creatures are so perverse, they fight and struggle against us whenever we go to assist them : so we are forced to abandon them to their wretched fate.—Does not the thought of their miserable condition, says I, stir up a compassion in you sometimes that abates your enjoyments?—I told you before, says he, we never suffer any passion, not even love or pity, to intrude upon us without leave : when there is room for any relief to the distressed, we can raise a strong sentiment of compassion to invigorate our endeavors in administering in it, but when we know compassion is wholly unavailing, productive of no good to others, but of uneasiness to ourselves, we can utterly throw it aside as a weakness.—Happy temper, says I. But since I have not attained it, permit me to hope that, as you say these wretches have a continual burning fever upon them, the violence of that will in time unhinge their constitution, and deliver them from this loathsome prison.—That cannot be, says he. I have told you already, that the threads of our composition are so strongly spun, nothing can dissolve them before they wear away of themselves at the appointed time : outward accidents may hurt, inward foulnesses distend, distempers may disorder, but none of them can destroy us.

34. What then, says I, is their misery eternal ? for I remember you said the disruption of a vehicle was never known before all concretions were entirely purged away.—That is a point, says he, which I cannot resolve you with certainty. There are different opinions among us, none founded upon experience of facts : for as we avoid all intercourse with them, we know not whether their numbers lessen or no. I can only say, their continuance in this condition is very long, at least seventeen hundred years, for it was but the other day that Nero was seen here kicking among the solar rays, trying to raise a combustion, by throwing them against one another, and so to set the world on fire. But divines generally hold the affirmative. Some heretical doctors maintain that they will be advanced, as well as ourselves, after a certain



period : for they say, the disruption of our vehicles never happening before an entire clearance of the concretions, is at most only a negative proof of the contrary, and they do not imagine that any material composition is made to last forever. Many of the philosophers suppose they will be reinstated in mortal bodies, wherein the distempered parts being kept quiet and motionless, the old concretions will work out of themselves, and they will return pure if they do not contract new ones by their ill conduct. However the truth be, their present condition is the same to them as if it were eternal, for they have no prospect or notion of any deliverance, so have not the least glimpse of hope, that last refuge of mortals and cordial for every trouble.

35. What principles then, says I, do your disputants build upon, since they have not the foundation of facts?—The Divine Attributes, says he, the only foundation for our reasoning upon matters where experience affords us no lights to direct them.—Pray, says I, if I may be so bold, how do the maintainers of the affirmative reconcile their opinion with the divine goodness and mercy?—The counsels of God, says he, are unsearchable, even to the most intelligent of creatures, and his Attributes incomprehensible. We agree unanimously, that God is equal in his dealings, and righteous in all his ways, that his goodness is infinite, and his mercy over all his works: nevertheless, we are sensible that we are not competent judges to determine precisely what belongs to equity, goodness, and mercy. Yet thus much we assure ourselves of, that the purposes of God never terminate ultimately in evil, neither does he punish in anger, nor unless for some greater good to result therefrom. Perhaps we should grow remiss and thoughtless in these scenes of continual ease and delight, if we had not those dismal spectacles to rouse and alarm us: perhaps their sufferings are some way or other necessary, to secure the happiness of the blessed spirits above. Some young vehicles talk largely of a free-will of indifference, but they are little regarded here; for we know of no merit in ourselves, and acknowledge those virtues and happy dispositions of mind which brought us hither to be the pure bounty of Heaven: for though we worked out our own happiness for ourselves, it was God who gave us the powers to work with, the springs and motives determining us to employ them. According to the opinion most generally prevailing, we regard the state of these wretches as eternal, never to be remedied by natural causes: nevertheless, there is an Almighty Power which can alter the course of nature, and may interpose in their favor, but when or in what manner we do not pretend even to conjecture. Thus as the recovery of fallen man

was a mystery to our predecessors which they desired to look into, so the deliverance of these unhappy victims of divine vengeance remains a mystery with us, which we still desire to look into.

36. I thanked my instructor, and added, that as this was a melancholy subject I should be glad to divert my thoughts, if he pleased, during the remainder of our journey, with looking about me upon the objects occurring in our passage. I saw travellers passing along upon other solar rays near me on the right hand and the left, others upon stellar rays crossing above, below, before, and behind me: and the ethereal fluids running into various commixtures by their perpetual undulations. I beheld the moving scene with more pleasure than a citizen escaped five miles from the hurry of business into a summer-house hanging over some dusty turnpike road. I could retire within myself when I pleased, and enjoy my thoughts secluded from all external objects, which is more than the citizen can do, for when he has not his senses to entertain him he falls asleep. But my curiosity to make new discoveries soon drew me from this merely amusing prospect to observe the rays of light as they whisked by me. I found that by carrying my eye along with some of the corpuscles, I could discern them pretty distinctly. They appeared to me something like the chain or cross bar shot used in sea engagements, only instead of a bar between, the whole consisted of seven balls, flattened on the sides, by which they adhered to one another. I wished to see a refraction but could not, so can only suppose their flatness makes them more apt to rejoin when collected by a Lens after refraction, and unite again into a white ray. I perceived the vibrations of ether overtake them, and when they were in the back part of a wave, their motion was retarded, which put them into that state, called by Newton their fits of easy reflection; as when in the fore-part, they were in fits of easy transmission. But my greatest pleasure was to observe the expertness of my conductor: he did not skate with a stump leg, as I had imagined before, but put out a broad foot with which he could have a good flat tread upon the corpuscles, and though they moved with different velocities according to their fits of reflection or transmission, yet he so humored their motions by the pliancy of his joints as always to take just the force he wanted to direct his step with such exact nicety, that when we came over to the opposite ray, we never fell into a vacant space but always close upon some corpuscle which served us for our next step. My curiosity being satisfied, my mirth began to operate. Methought I made a very ridiculous figure dangling behind him. I fancied myself like

a bone that some unlucky boy has tied to a dog's tail and then turned him into the street. However, my merriment was all to myself, for the passengers, used I suppose to such phenomena, took no more notice of me, than we should on meeting a good woman carrying along a child in her arms.

37. While employed in these amusements, which entirely dispersed all my gloomy thoughts and gave a cheerful turn to my mind, I found we stopped. There lay a vehicle before us wholly collected within his bag, and seeming wrapped in profound meditation. My conductor gave him a gentle tap, when presently there came out the honest, open, lively, but sensible countenance and broad shoulders of the first Academic. Hah! says he, my good English cousin Locke, I am always heartily glad to see you. I shall never forget the honor you have done my Ideas by bringing them into greater repute in the Tin Islands than ever I could do in Athens. But who is this honest looking young spark you have gotten with you? Have I ever seen him before? I beg pardon if I have forgotten his face.—A countryman of mine, says Locke, just arrived among us, and a distant relation, of an under branch of the Searches. He is ambitious it seems of imitating my seriousness and your vivacity, and I have made bold to bring him to request a favor of you.—With all my heart, says Plato, anything in the world I can oblige my cousin in. Pray, young Englishman, what are your commands? You must know, says Locke, he is a disconsolate turtle that has lost his mate, and since he cannot get her out of his head, he wishes to have a lecture from you upon the subject of love, that he may learn to love like a philosopher. The polite founder of the Academy very readily engaged to recollect what he could upon that head, that he had learned from his master Socrates.

38. My master, says he, used to tell us there were two Venuses, distinguished by the names of Thalassia and Urania. The former sprung from the foam produced in the sea by an oily mud, driven into it by torrents. She is completely formed for enchanting the eyes of mortals: her cheeks smooth and blooming, her lips moist and pouting, her aspect sprightly and engaging, her round neck and swelling bosom generally bare, her shape neat and elegant, her limbs delicate and pliant, her vestments loose and flowing, brocaded with cooing doves and sportive Cupids. She glides in easy swimming motions, or trips lightly along with wanton airs, and winning graces. Her eyes are bright and striking, but a little short sighted, so she follows the pleasures nearest at hand, seeing nothing of those at a distance, nor of the pains sometimes close at their elbows. She plays a thousand little artful tricks, dissembles,

casts herself into any form, to gain her ends, but incapable of laying an extensive well-concerted plan. Urania, heaven-born Fair, offspring of almighty Jove, Father of Gods and men, is his best beloved daughter. She carries a dignity in her aspect, blended with mildness and benignity, commanding at once both love and respect. Her motions are graceful and easy, her deportment majestic and uniform, her clothing magnificent but not gaudy, being a rich tissue woven of threads, covered with two celestial metals called Prepon and Kalôn. Her eyes are strong, clear, and piercing, though she follows pleasures too, she discerns the remotest on all quarters, and counts the pains mingled among them: she looks backward upon the past and forward to the future, and extends her influence upon everything around her. Her face and person cannot be particularly described because she comes down always in a veil, so that mortal eye can scarce obtain a glimpse of her; but it is said, if we could fully discern her beauties, we should be so enamored with them as never to think anything beautiful beside. She was present with her father when he made the worlds, and the blessings he poured forth upon them passed through her hands: she still moves him to shower down his mercies from time to time upon mortals, and solicits him for leave to descend herself to rescue them from their miseries and errors. But they cannot approach her unless introduced by some inferior Goddess, of whom the Thalassian Venus is best qualified to perform that office; yet neither do the inferior powers take conduct of them upon their entrance into life, nor until arrived at some maturity in their faculties.

39. For when Psyche first falls from the unknown regions, she lies helpless and grovelling upon the ground; the dust of the earth gathers round her and forms a case, which would wrap her in perpetual sleep, but that there grow little hairs or stumps of feathers in all parts of it: these being brushed against by external objects and appetites continually rolling over her, prick, and stimulate, and awaken her out of her lethargy. She then starts up and plays about within a small enclosure surrounding her, called the garden of Self. Everything is new to her, everything engaging: she admires the wild plants growing there, which quickly shoot up large and vigorous stems, bearing flowers alluring to her sight, and fruit suitable to her taste. If anybody controls or endeavors to guide her motions, she resists, and frets, and breaks from them as soon as possible to run to the gardener Selfish, who indulges her desires, finds her abundance of diversions, and makes her store of pretty playthings. The last of these is a neat, light, and easy car to be drawn by two horses, called Concupiscible and Irascible, which the gardener takes care to feed and pamper con-

tinually with his own hand. With this she courses about the smooth walks of the garden without much damage, only now and then a slight bruise or gentle overturn.

But in a little while the garden gates fly open, and Psyche upon her car launches forth into the wide world. She finds an open champaign before her, and the passengers obliging to give her way. The horses gambol about without rule or guidance, for she knows not how to manage them, but looks back to the gardener upon the foot board behind, who knows as little how to manage as she. He has gotten a basket of his wild fruit, with which he wantonly pelts the people on each side. They find them harsh to their taste, and some are hurt by their hardness. This makes them clamorous, upon which the horses are frightened, grow rampant and quickly overturn the car, dragging poor Psyche along until she is torn to pieces, unless some conductor luckily step in to her rescue. Happy is she if Thalassian Venus chances to pass that way: the brisk Goddess mounts the Concupiscible horse, and with the whip of Desire in her hand keeps them both in tolerable order, making them pull together, and singles out some object whereto she drives them in a line. She sends the gardener back to graft learning, politeness, and accomplishments upon his wild stocks, with orders to bring back the fruits they shall produce, which she deals out among the persons near her that they may make way and assist her progress. It is she first opens the heart of Psyche, teaches her obligingness and to look a little beyond herself. Nevertheless, the Goddess is apt to change from object to object, or if she fixes upon one, drives so eagerly as not to heed the rotes in her way, and sometimes even to hurt the object she pursues: for she aims at pleasure not at good, and her own pleasure rather than that of others whom she most fondly affects. She plies her whip too furiously upon the horse she rides, and urges the other to be mettlesome: so the car hobbles, the clay of satiety clogs the wheels, and Psyche is brought again into imminent danger.

Her only refuge now must be in Urania, who never refuses her assistance to those that implore it sincerely. The celestial Power descends into the car, corrects the errors of the sea-born Goddess, takes the whip from her hands, delivers it up to Psyche, and instructs her how to handle both that and the reins. She sends the gardener Selfish back again to graft the virtues, for they, being exotics in the sublunary climates, will not grow out of the earth, but must be engrafted upon the wild stocks that nature has thrown up spontaneously; and the stronger those stocks are, the more vigorously they flourish. When he has brought her the fruit of

these celestial scions she dismisses him quite, for she will not suffer him to load the car, nor Psyche to look behind upon him any more. She purges her visual ray with euphrasie and rue, and from the well of life three drops distils, and sheds her own benignity upon her. She instructs her to follow good principally, and pleasure only when not interfering with the other. She enlarges her heart, rectifies her judgment, extends her views, and teaches her to distribute the last brought fruits wherever they may be serviceable. She keeps the postilion Goddess constant to the pursuit of one object, and if that be snatched away by fate, she sometimes, as I find was done in your case, discharges her. She presents its picture to Psyche emblazoned with golden rays by her sister Elpis, but will not let her lament nor sigh over it, nor interrupt the distribution of her fruits.

Elpis was the second daughter of Jove : she goes clad in virgin white and has the softest hand of all the Goddesses, for the touch of it soothes the smart of every evil in Pandora's box. She keeps always in the line between her father and the earth, so that whoso turns his face aside from Jove, will never have a glimpse of Elpis. The car then rolls tranquil and steady along until they arrive at the gates of the country, which being beset with terrors and gasty apparitions frightful to Psyche, the Goddess makes her look back upon the road they have travelled and the people eating the fruits they have distributed. She then beckons to the satin-robed Elpis, who lets down a golden anchor : the Goddesses place Psyche thereon, and the elder sister holding her firm while the other pulls the cable, all three mount up into the blessed abodes.

40. When the divine Plato had ended, his voice still chanted in our ears, and left the same effects as the charms of poetry upon the imaginations of the whole circle ; for several vehicles had gathered round us as soon as they perceived him beginning to open. There was one among them whom I could not but take particular notice of : his nose was flat with wide open nostrils, his features large and hard, his whole face the plainest I ever set eyes on ; nevertheless there was such a sensible simplicity, such a good-natured humoroussness, in his countenance that one could not help being prejudiced in his favor. He stared at me, and we surveyed one another for some time. You look at me so wistfully, says the Flat-nose that I fancy Uranian Venus has sent down one of her own Cupids to strike us with a mutual affection. I do not know how you came to be taken with me at first sight, but it is no wonder I am smitten when I see before me the Displayer of the Light of Nature, the hope of the Searches, the ripened fruit of our illustri-

ous branch. For every age improves upon the former, and the sons successively grow wiser than their fathers. The divine Plato here has put finer words into the mouth of Socrates than ever he could utter himself: your father Locke has refined upon the ideas of Plato; and you like another Achilles have proved yourself a better man than your father. I was abashed grievously at this high-flown compliment, and turning to Locke, Pray, says I, is it the fashion in this country to flatter folks out of their senses? I thought you had been all sincerity and plain dealing here. For goodness' sake who is this courtly gentleman? Sure it must be one of Dionysius' lords of the bed chamber, that Plato has brought with him from Sicily. And now, upon a second view, methinks he has some features that show as if he did not dislike to have his miss and his bottle.—You are not the first, says Locke, that have judged so of him before they knew him. But look at him again and recollect whether you have read a description of somebody you think like him. After taking another survey I cried out to Locke, I will be pierced if this is not Socrates himself. Oh! now I am more mortified than ever.—What is the matter with you? says Locke. Can you desire better than to receive such a testimony from a person whom the oracle has pronounced the wisest man in Greece?—No, no, Papa, says I, I am not such a child neither to be caught so. I have heard enough of his irony, and that his words are to be turned topside the other way to understand them. I have not forgotten Elian's story of the horse rolling upon his back. If I had any money in my bag, I would lay a hundred guineas now that he sees me to be an errant sophist: for he used to deal with them just in this manner.—Phoo! says Locke, so he does with all strangers the first time he accosts them: if they take him in earnest, it puts them into prodigious good humor with him; if they see through the veil, it makes them smile, and that has the same effect. You had better humor him in his own way, it will draw on the conversation the easier; from whence it is a great chance but you will pick up something worth carrying away.

41. I endeavored to follow his advice, and plucking up a good courage, turned again to Mr. Flatnose; Pardon me, says I, amiable Socrates, that my eyes were drawn off a moment from contemplating your admirable beauties; but I was willing to consult my patron here how to behave so as to appear most agreeable in your sight: though, without asking, I might have known better manners than to contradict the person beloved: therefore shall readily acknowledge myself the wisest man that ever lived. And I have good reason for what I say, for you were the wisest, before, but the oracle declared you so because you knew no more

than one thing, which was, That you knew nothing : now I go a step beyond you, for I do not know whether I know anything or not.—I rejoice, says Socrates, that we both value ourselves upon the same account : for conformity of sentiments promises a lasting and cordial love that will not fade. Here I jogged Locke, and whispered him, how it would divert our ladies below to hear two such Adonises, talking so sweetly of our reciprocal passion !—Oh ! says Locke, they do not understand the language of Uranian love any better than we old bachelors did of the Thalassian, Socrates went on ; is not love a flame ?—I was always, says I, taught so.—And does not a flame require some fuel to keep it alive ?—To be sure, or else it will go out.—Methinks I should be very sorry to have this flame, that is lighted between us, vanish like a meteor. What fuel shall we find to keep it burning ?—I protest I do not know, says I. If I had my Euridice again with me I could find a thousand ways to express my love and foment hers ; but it is quite a new sort of amour : I do not know how to proceed in it.—Does not love, says he, incline one to please the party beloved ? and does not that encourage the like flame in the other ?—Most of anything that I know of.—Then if you have fallen in love with me, you will do everything to please me ?—Yes, very readily.—If I should ask you to take a skate with me upon a pair of solar rays, you would do it ?—That I cannot, for I have not learnt to go : but I would if I could.—Well, but suppose we were both upon earth again, and I wanted a peach out of your garden : you would give it me ?—Certainly : you should be heartily welcome.—Or a cup of your small beer : you would call for it ?—Instantly.—For no other reason than because I had a fancy for it ?—No : for I should want no other.—Suppose the Athenians had not condemned me to drink the Cicuta, but I had taken a fancy to a draught myself : you would have procured me a bowl without delay ?—No, indeed : that would be no instance of love, I am sure.—What ! not if it pleased my fancy ?—Not if it pleased your fancy would I give you a thing that should destroy you.—Did we not agree just now that love consists in doing everything to please the party beloved ?—We did, but I believe we were mistaken, and ought to have placed it rather in the good than the pleasure of the beloved object.—Well then, says he, as you love me, you will attend always to my good ?—To the best of my skill and ability.—If I was hungry and desired trash, you would refuse it, and give me wholesome food ?—You will never put me to that trial.—But suppose I should, what would you do ?—I should show my best love by giving you the good victuals.—If I were sick, and liked rather to swallow a draught of honey than the medicine proper



for me, what would you do?—Get you to take the potion if I could.—Because you would consult solely my good?—Yes, for that reason.—And if the potion were nauseous, and I desired a little honey to sweeten it, you would refuse it me?—No, that would be mere crossness.—If the physic would do me the same good, whether sweetened or not, would you give me the honey?—Ay, surely.—Why?—To make it less displeasing to your palate.—But did not we agree last, that lovers were always to pursue one another's good, and not their pleasure?—You have drawn me into a dilemma, says I; do so much as extricate me out of it again.—I can extricate nothing, says he; I only practise my mother's trade of midwifery to bring your thoughts to the birth; you must deliver them by your own efforts.—I suppose, said I, if the same thing be good and pleasing too, we may do it without scruple.—So it should seem, says he, for that agrees with both our positions.

42. But, added he, do not lovers use to take pleasure in pleasing one another?—I can remember the time, says I, when the pleasure of pleasing was my sweetest delight.—Then, if you love me, should not you think of something I can do to please you, that I may taste some of that sweetest delight?—You can do nothing to please me better than by improving my knowledge in any way you think proper: you know best how to choose.—How can I improve your knowledge, when I have none myself but of one thing, that I know nothing?—Then teach me to know the same of myself.—Let us consider first, what good it will do you: for you know we have not yet settled whether a lover may please his paramour, unless in something that will do him good at the same time.—Well then, tell me what it is good for: you must certainly know better than any other, because you were the sole possessor of it.—Nay, do not ask me, you know we agreed that you were the wiser man.—Very true, I had forgot that. To be sure, I have a vast deal of wisdom in me, but I protest I do not know how to get a crumb of it out.—Then we must try to assist you in the delivery.—Come, Mrs. Lucina, to your office; for you have raised a great rumbling within me, but I cannot tell whether it be a true labor, or only a wind cholic.—We shall see that presently. Did not you desire me just now to improve your knowledge?—Yes.—And you looked upon the improvement of your knowledge as a good? for the wisest man that ever lived would hardly have desired a thing that was not good for him.—Certainly: for I look upon the attainment of useful knowledge as the greatest good that can befall a rational creature.—And you think yourself a rational creature?—I hope so: for I can walk along without running

against a post, and cut my meat without cutting my fingers.—Then you know how to cut your victuals without hurting yourself?—It should seem so, for I practise it morning, noon, and night.—But tell me, is knowledge improved by learning what we are ignorant of, or what we knew before?—What we were ignorant of.—Suppose Hippias, Prodicus, Protagoras, or some other of those great men, who understood everything, and made themselves the admiration of all Greece, should come down upon earth to read lectures in Gresham college; and my cousin John Locke should come and tell you, Ned Search, if you will go to Gresham college to-day, you may hear an excellent lecture upon the art of cutting one's meat without cutting one's fingers. You would go?—No sure: why should I?—Nay, why should you not? It is an excellent art, and saves a man a great deal of smart and inconvenience.—Very true: but I know that art well enough already: I do not want to be taught it.—But though you have this art, yet if you did not know you had it, should you want to be taught it?—Yes, certainly.—And if there were any other art you were ignorant of, but did not know it, should you want to be taught?—I am afraid not.—Could you learn anything without wanting to be taught it?—Not very well; for if anybody went to teach me I should not attend to them.—And could you improve without learning?—Very indifferently.—Can you improve without first being ignorant of something?—There would be no room for improvement in that case.—Or without knowing you were ignorant of it?—Neither then, for I should fancy myself too wise to learn.—Then is not the knowledge of one's ignorance a necessary step towards improvement?—I see plainly that it is.—Are not all sciences more productive of good fruits the further they extend?—That is a natural consequence.—Then if you could know that you knew nothing, should not you always want to be taught?—I suppose so.—And always be ready for improvement whenever it were to be had?—Well, says I, you have delivered me of a hopeful issue, and I beg you will take care to nurse it up well. To say truth, I have taken some pains in this science of ignorance below, and examined myself as carefully to find out what I did not know as what I did. I have made strange discoveries of my ignorance in points where one would least have suspected it, but am afraid there are more behind, which I have not yet found out: therefore should take it very kindly if you would teach me the science completely.—I cannot teach it, says he: nor can any mortal beside.—Where then did you learn it yourself?—I was divinely inspired.

43. I never knew that before, says I. We were all willing to allow you as much light as human reason can give, but we did not think you pretended to revelations.—Did you never hear that I had a Demon constantly attending me?—Ay, but as we knew you were a joker, most of us thought you in jest. The very orthodox divines insisted positively that you dealt with the Devil, that you died an idolater, having in your last moments directed the offering of a cock to Esculapius, that your virtues were so many shining sins; and demonstrated from thence that the very best of heathens were under the power of Satan. Those who entertained the most favorable opinion of you, could never believe you in earnest, for none of us but would be frighted at the thought of having such an imp at his elbow.—I am surprised, says he, you should be so much afraid of them. Are they not common among you?—So uncommon I do not know anybody that ever saw one.—Strange! It was the current persuasion among the Searches in my time, that Jove sent down his guardian Demon to every man to protect and warn him against mischief. Do you never hear their voices?—Never myself: nor did I ever meet a man in his senses who said he had. I know a madman who sees and hears them too very frequently.—Recollect yourself. Did you never meet with a person when most in his sober senses, who, after having acted very wrong, complained that something upbraided and stung and pricked him sorely?—Here Locke whispered me. Do not you understand him now?—I think I do, says I, but not perfectly. Then turning to Socrates I said, Now you put me in mind of it, I have heard of such things, and our doctors tell us from the pulpit that they happen very frequently.—And do you think, says he, the Demon gives these prickings only to torment the patient, or for his benefit, to make him take better heed for the future to its first admonitions when he is going to do a wrong thing?—For the latter cause.—Then why should you think him an imp of Satan? would Satan do anything to overthrow his own kingdom?—We are told not, upon the best authority.—Should you not rather esteem him a faithful monitor sent by Jove in kindness to mortals?—I see no reason against it. But some I have heard of play him a scurvy trick, for they sear their flesh with a hot iron, which makes it insensible to his prickings.—Did you ever know them get any good by this trick?—Never, for they always run into grievous disorders, or drew themselves into inextricable mischiefs.—But you yourself, when you have been eagerly set upon some fancy, did you never hear a secret whispering that you had better desist?—Many a time.—And in the course of your meditations, when some thought has come strongly upon you

with the glare of a demonstration, have you never perceived the like whisper to beware?—More than once.—What did you do thereupon?—Revise it more carefully.—And what was the consequence?—Either I discovered it to be fallacious or found some better bottom to build it upon.—And when in pursuing the light of nature, you have stooped down to pick up something very shining have you not heard the still voice pronounce the words *Offence or Dangerous*?—Yes, and have suppressed many things upon that admonition, and perhaps should have suppressed more had I as quick an ear to hear the voice as you.

44. But I have some doubt, continued I, whether I know the right voice from all others, because it seems to speak to me in a different manner from what it used to you. I cannot think myself more highly favored by Heaven than you, although you were never christened according—Hush! hush! The Demon whispers *Offence*.—Then I must suppress something. And yet my Demon seems to be more friendly than yours: for that only dissuaded and never impelled you to anything; but sometimes when a laudable action has occurred to my thoughts, and a humor of indolence has withholden me from entering into it, the Demon has instigated and never left me quiet till I bestirred myself.—Should you not have bestirred yourself without him, if that humor of indolence had not stood in the way?—I suppose I should.—Then did he need to do anything more than dissuade you from indulging that humor?—Why no, as you say, I think he did not need. But what then impelled me to the action?—Might it not be some inclination or appetite?—I flatter myself it was a virtue, but virtue cannot be the same with appetite, because its office lies in controlling and restraining them.—Do you remember what the divine Plato told you just now?—Very well: I have not lost a word of it.—Did not he say the virtues grew out of the wild stocks thrown up by nature?—He did.—And may not the grafts partake something of the stocks that nourish them?—So the gardeners agree.—Then may not the virtues grow into appetites?—I do not know. That seems too hasty a conclusion.—Did you never hear of a hunger and thirst after righteousness?—Yes, *ex Cathedra*.—Are not hunger and thirst appetites?—Undoubtedly.—And are not that hunger and thirst virtues?—That nobody can deny.—Did not Plato tell you that Thalassian Venus grafted many scions upon the wild stocks in Psyche's garden?—I remember it very well.—And Urania grafted more?—He said that too.—And you allow that after taking strong hold of the stocks, they become appetites?—We may allow that of the rest, as well as the hunger and thirst you mentioned.—Then Psyche having so many appe-

tites, natural and acquired, need never want a whet to action of every kind.—Why no, it should seem she need not.—Did you never know these last-mentioned scions run luxuriant, and shoot into extravagance?—We have numberless instances of that below in our methodists, devotees and very sentimental super-refined ladies.—But tell me now from your own experience, for you have some of those scions in your own garden.—Some few, I hope, but feeble enough, God knows.—Well, but feeble as they are, did you never observe them sprouting into an extravagance?—Sometimes, to my shame be it spoken.—What do you think put you upon observing it?—The whispers of the Demon.—Since we have agreed there is such continual incitement to action of all kinds by the appetites, what has the Demon left to do unless to dissuade when any of them urge to things improper?—Nothing else that I know of. But now you have convinced me there are several voices within us, how shall I know the voice of appetite from that of the Demon?—Did you never perceive a difference in the voices you hear?—One recommends to good, the other to pleasure.—That is not it: for good and pleasure are sometimes the same, and appetite often urges to good. But do not you perceive the voice is sometimes quick, eager, vehement, and clamorous, at others sedate, soft and gentle; that sometimes it impels to gratification, at others, checks and restrains? And do not you think these the proper marks to distinguish between them?

45. But come, now, answer me once more. Do you remember when the Thalassian Cupids sported around you, before they were disciplined in the school of Hymen?—Ay, as well as if it were yesterday.—In those days, if you chanced to walk in the Park and were told Euridice was there, have you not sometimes run eagerly after some other person at a distance dressed like her?—Those accidents would happen now and then.—And after the Uranian Cupids came to inspire you with a love of mankind, have not you run almost as eagerly after some shining truth that appeared self-evident?—Many a time and oft.—Or to come with the force of demonstration?—Yes.—Or some useful and important discovery?—Ay and that too.—And in those cases did you never hear the whisper?—Several times.—You said that upon such admonitions you revise the thought over again. What follows thereupon?—Generally I find the appearance fallacious or the discovery trifling.—But before the whisper you knew the truth, the demonstration, and the use for certain?—As certainly as any knowal.—And after the revisal you knew that you did not know it?—I did.—Then since you have this way to learn the science

of ignorance, why do you come to me to teach you, and not rather apply to the Heaven-born Teacher sent down on purpose from Jove?—I see, says I, you have a very peculiar turn: you will not give a man a drop of drink if he be ever so dry, but you lead one round through a number of intricate mazes to the fountain where one may quench one's thirst.

But I want your assistance upon occasion of a voice I hear just now.—Which sort was it?—Oh! the eager and clamorous.—What did it say?—That I should make a visit to the Founder.—What says the still voice?—Something, but I cannot tell what.—Cannot you tell whether it says Forbear?—No, that is not the word I am sure: nor can I make out any other.—Shall I try my Demon? They all speak the same language, though they are not equally heard by everybody. Oh! now I have it.—Well, what does yours say?—Mine says listen.—Oh! that is that we should be attentive not to drop a word of anything the Master delivers.—No, that would have come from the other voice. You know the Demon never impels, but only checks.—What does he mean then by Listen?—That you should not pick up everything delivered, but listen carefully to himself in case he should whisper the word Offence.—I'll do as well as I can, but sometimes my ears are a little dinny. Oh! now I hear the loud voice again urging me to go this minute.—What says the other?—He is quite silent.—So is mine: therefore get ye gone, there is no time to lose.—But will not you go with me? I am loath to lose your agreeable company.—The Demon will not let me, but he gives my scholar leave: he has an interest with the Master by means of his disciple Timæus.—Then Plato offered his service in the politest manner imaginable: Locke took me in tow, and after taking an amorous leave with By'e sweet Socrates, and By'e little Searchy, remember me and my Demon when you go down to earth again; we parted to set out for the school of the Samian sage.

46. My conductors informed me as we went along, that Pythagoras generally resides in the intermundane spaces, for the convenience of hearing the music of the several spheres on all sides of him in full concert: but he was now come down upon some particular occasion below the orbit of Mars, so we should not have a great way to go. This was all the discourse they had with me upon the road, for the rest of the way they entertained one another. I could not hear the particulars of their conversation but found it turned upon forms and ideas, which Plato seemed to hold as unproduced and existent from all eternity in the Divine Mind; and that the forms in bodies and ideas in created minds were

copies of those archetypes, similar to impressions made in wax by a stamp. Locke could not admit them to be unproduced, for that, he said, implied two principles, an unsentient nature to whose impressions the Deity must be passive: nor could he conceive that every time a man moulded a round piece of wax into a square, or entertained ideas of theft, adultery, or murder, these alterations were impressions made from archetypes in the divine mind. Their debate was carried on in a friendly manner without the least warmth or acrimony, and at last they agreed those subjects were too deep for them to fathom. They then praised God who had given his several creatures capacities sufficient for their respective uses, if they would but make a good use of them, and placed out of their reach only such points as were merely speculative.

Scarce had they made this reflection before we arrived at the place of our destination. We beheld the venerable Father of Philosophy dictating his precepts to a crowded audience with the authority of a magistrate. He appeared in a human form, like that the painters have drawn for Olympian Jupiter: his locks rising in large curls, his eye-brows thick and dark, his aspect majestic with the solemnity and mysteriousness of one who had been used to govern an ignorant and barbarous people. I looked earnestly for his golden thigh, but his robes, made I suppose of aerial woof, covering him quite down to the feet, I could not so much as see whether he had a golden toe. On Plato appearing, the obsequious crowd gave way, and he whispered Timæus that here was a stranger just arrived extraordinarily from earth, whose stay was very short, who had come upon the recommendation of Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, with an earnest and humble desire to receive some sprinklings of his wisdom to carry down for the benefit of mortals below. As soon as Timæus delivered his message the sage gave a gracious nod, like that wherewith Jupiter shook Olympus, on granting the request of Thetis, and with something like a smile began.

47. Adore the sacred Quaternalion: the Quaternalion containeth under it One, Two and Three; but One, Two, Three, and Four compose Ten, and from Tens are all higher numbers produced. The Quaternalion Four alone is One and uncompounded. One had no father, but One produced numbers, and numbers are all things. One is unchangeable, but numbers generate numbers, they fluctuate and migrate into one another; yet they perish not, neither was there a time when they were not. Whatever creepeth, or walketh, or swimmeth, or flieth, or thinketh, was pro-

duced by the first numbers, and the first numbers subsisted by the power of One.

Hearken unto me for I am ancient : I was Panthoides Euphorbus at the Trojan war, slain by Menelaus fighting in defence of my country ; yet he could not destroy me nor hurt my country, neither remove me from it. I have known all things except One, but One is inscrutable.

Revere the Oath, For the Oath cometh from One, and bindeth all things : it cannot be broken, neither is it good that it should be broken.

Stand firm upon the golden thigh : let that be thy support : nevertheless use also the thigh of flesh when thou goest forth among men.

Purify the ears of thine understanding that thou mayst hear the music of the spheres, for their harmony is melodious to the adepts, but the vulgar hear not their sound.

Worship the immortal Gods according to the rites of thy country : for the same Gods made the wise and the ignorant, and thou thyself, if thou hast a thigh of gold, hast also another of flesh, neither livest thou for thyself, nor by thyself.

48. The gaping crowd listened with a kind of stupid astonishment. Some still held their mouths open, as if not knowing whether the Master had done or not. Timæus, Charondas, Zanolxis and the adepts, seemed all the while thinking on something else. Plato, like a complete courtier, joined with the many in expressions of wonder and admiration. And Locke, having observed something in my countenance that excited him strongly to laughter, was forced to draw in his head a moment for fear of scandalizing the company. But as the vehicles have a great command over their imagination, he very soon thrust it out again, and asked me with a very grave face, Whether I did not find myself prodigiously illumined. Illumined ! says I ; ay, with such a glare as dazzles me quite, for I can see nothing. I am as much mortified now as when Socrates played me off with his irony. Certainly great grand-papa sees I am a degenerate brat, not fit to be trusted with a little common sense, that he puts me off with his Rosycrucian jargon. Why I know no more what he has been talking about than the man in the moon. Oh ! says Locke, this is only the bark : perhaps we may get the pith by and by. He always talks mysteriously till he knows people very well. I fancy they have given him an imperfect account of you : but I will try to get speech with him if I can to set matters right.

He then by the interposition of Plato and Timæus requested a private audience. The Master bared his bosom that Locke



might apply his vehicle, and they had a conference together in the sentient language : after which, the Master, first mumbling a few words to himself, such as Light of Nature ; microscope ! Mundane Soul ! One self-existent ! cried out with a loud voice. Hence ye profane. Let not the uninitiated approach the sacred mysteries. Ye that are pure in heart and clean in hands draw near ; that have kept the five years' silence : that have lifted up your minds above the earth upon the wings of contemplation : that have cleansed your mental eye from the films of superstition and obstructions of self-conceit, so that it can bear to look against the light.

Come, says Locke, now we may expect something a little more intelligible : he always makes this preface before he brings out his esoterics. As soon as this edict was pronounced, I perceived a great bustle above the company : all who were conscious of not being adepts slunk away one after another and our number dwindled strangely. Seeing some of great repute below both for learning and piety march off, and fancying somebody whispered the words Mallebranche, Dacier, Practice of piety, Beveridge, Whole duty of Man, as they passed, I thought it decent to withdraw too ; but it was out of my power, for having not yet learned to go, I was forced to lie wherever my nurse laid me down. Locke observed my perplexity. Prithee, says he, do not be disturbed : this lecture is on purpose for you. I told him you had kept more than a five years' silence, having never spoken till you were above fifty years old ; that you had conversed with bigots and free-thinkers, without being perverted by either, and that you had been initiated in the mysteries. Thank ye, says I : but I wish you could prove your words true. Hush ! quoth he, the oracle begins to break forth.

49. Attend and learn. The Quaternion is the holy Tetragrammaton, the same awful name variously pronounced among sons of men : whether Jeva, Isis, Jove, *Ἐεεε*, Zeus, or Deus ; or in modern times, Tien, Alla, Dios, Idio, Dieu or Lord ; for these are all Tetragrammata. I speak not of Olympian nor Dodonean Jove, nor him the son of Chronos, but of the Uranian, whose offspring Chronos was. Uranian Jove alone is One, unproduced, without father, containing all powers within himself. All things beside are numbers : the Mundane soul is a multitude : the immortal Gods are portions thereof : the bodies thou seest are divisible into numberless atoms : men and animals are the divine particles mingled with lumps of clay ; our vehicles contain a number of threads and fibres.

Jove produced the two first numbers, the Mundane soul and Hyle: he made Hyle inert and stupid, but to the Mundane soul he gave activity and understanding. They both depend on him for their Being and subsistence, nevertheless, there was not a time when they were not: for an effect may be as old as the cause, yea must be as old as the concurrence of all the causes requisite to produce it. Their production cost Jove no time nor trouble, nor did he from everlasting want power to produce them. Love or glory moved him to the work, but Jove is unchangeable, nor has there been a moment in all eternity wherein he was destitute of love or glory. Those two first numbers extend throughout all the immensity of the universe, but Hyle bears no greater proportion therein to Soul than the drops in a cyathus to the waters of the ocean.

Jove from everlasting disposed Hyle into certain characters expressive of his Will, which the Mundane soul reading therein, gathered the portions of Hyle dispersed up and down, into regular systems and worlds, formed thereout organizations of men, animals, insects, and plants, and lodged in each of them a particle of its own substance. Hence it is that men and animals perceive, and see, and feel, and act: for Hyle, however nicely arranged, can neither perceive nor act, but the particle of divine air enclosed therein perceives and acts according to the objects exhibited, and instruments at hand for it to employ.

The Mundane soul is homogeneous throughout, therefore the divine particles drawn from thence have all intrinsically the same nature, and stand differently capacitated according to the finer or grosser contextures of Hyle investing them: for the various degrees of percipience, sense, or rationality, arise from the action of Hyle upon them. If thou doubtest of this, consider what the brightest genius could do confined within the dull organs of an oyster: why then shouldst thou impute the stupidity of the oyster to its natural-incapacity, rather than to the darkness of the habitation wherein it dwells? or how canst thou pronounce what the sentient principle of the oyster might not perceive if it had all the ideas of a man to survey? In plants there are channels of perception, but no instruments of volition, so their activity lies dormant in them: neither do they feel pain upon amputation of their limbs, for pain would be useless as warning them against mischiefs they cannot avoid. And they have different mundane particles in the several parts of their composition, so that there may be one for every offset planted from them.

But thou, O man, who pridest thyself upon thy reason, and expectest to be raised one day to the intelligence of an angel, wilt

not conceive that a creature like thee can be debased to the condition of an insect or a vegetable. Reflect with thyself what thou art when asleep, how little better than a stone, insensible and motionless like that. What wert thou in the cradle? sleeping, feeding, and crying, with less signs of rationality than the brutes thou despisest. What wert thou in the womb growing like a plant from the umbilical root, and receiving a few perceptions but performing nothing. The modern discoveries of animalcules by the microscope show, that before conception thou wert a little frisking worm, of less consequence in nature than the pismire and the mite.

50. The Mundane soul read in the characters inscribed by Jove, that there should be various states of life, various forms of Being, and prepared and sustaineth them accordingly: some with a mixture of evil, and some yielding nothing else. Individuals change, but the species remain constantly the same: and as the systems they inhabit are broken up, others are formed for their reception. The divine particles migrate from the Mundane soul into those states, each taking his turn in rotation that the fate of all may be equal; and he that passes through a more inconvenient state at one migration, takes the better at another. But as the particles in the Mundane soul are infinitely more numerous than those immersed in Hyle, they pass millions of years before it comes to their turn to migrate again, and all that interval they remain happy and immortal. For though the continuance in some of these states be an eternity to the spirits inhabiting them, who know nothing of their Pre-existence, and scarce anything of their Post-existence, yet the Mundane soul, to whom a thousand years appear as one day, looks upon these migrations no more as a suspension of its immortality than a man esteems the suspension of enjoyments by a night's sleep a discontinuance of his life. Thus life is a journey through the vale of mortality, but the deliverance from Hyle a return home and resurrection to immortality again.

Therefore the Mundane soul, having found permission in the characters written by Jove, contrived to shorten the passage through Hyle as much as possible: many children escape from the cradle, and bringing no concretions into the vehicular state, obtain their advancement the sooner: many fœtuses never come to the birth, and multitudes of animalcules never arrive to the stage of a fœtus: these all regain their native seats directly, without passing through any other forms. The migration is not out of one species into another, but each species contains several stages: for the divine particle or Psyche, upon being first discerped from the Mundane soul to immerge into Hyle, receives a fine

integument thereof; wherewith being enveloped she becomes an animalcule. This is her first stage, and many times the integument bursts before she arrives at any other: if it does not, she roams about until she finds a proper nidus wherein she nestles, whereto adhering and uniting as a part of the same composition she becomes an egg, or a fœtus, and the fœtus being in due time excluded becomes an animal. If the nidus being young, the adhesion close and strong, it chances to be dissolved by some disease or accident, it tears open the fine integument too, and sets Psyche at liberty: but if the animal holds out its period of life, the integument gradually loosens, and disengages itself from the gross outer covering, and upon dissolution thereof issues forth entire, but a little altered in its contexture, and distended so as to be incapable of re-entering a nidus of the same or any other species, and remains naked without any covering of the grosser Hyle for an appointed time, which is the last stage of the journey. But in whatever stage the first integument breaks asunder, Psyche becomes reabsorbed into the ocean from whence she sprung. Therefore the most desirable thing for Psyche would be not to have been born at all, and the next desirable to have died as soon as born.

Nor think thou, vain man, that thine is the most favored state, or that thou alone hast an interest in futurity. Knoweth thou not that some animals drag on a life of labor, pain, distress, and misery? which thou canst not say they brought upon themselves by the abuse of their indifference; for this thou claimest as a privilege peculiar to thyself. Does not then the justice, the equity, the goodness of Jove require, that amends should be made them elsewhere? Psyche wishes most to pass through the species of short-lived animals, that her return may be the sooner: therefore the Mundane soul has provided infinitely greater multitudes of them than of the human and longevous. Thus Psyche has many short excursions to one long journey: for she must migrate successively through the several species of insects, animals, and men, savage or civilized, but after immense intervals between each migration.

51. I was Panthoides Euphorbus who fought in the Trojan war: not that sung by Homer, but another in another world innumerable ages before. The spear of the younger Atrides could not destroy nor remove me from my country, but advanced me one step towards it: for my country is the Mundane soul. During my long residence there I contemplated the Universe: I surveyed the systems, their order, and courses: mine eye penetrated into the minute portions of Hyle, their properties, and operations. I comprehended all things, all except the One: but the One is inscrutable;

dwelling in inaccessible light, whither the intelligence of numbers cannot approach. Nevertheless, I beheld clearly the image of his splendor in the characters marked upon Hyle, in the powers and excellencies of the Mundane substance around me.

52. Reverence the Oath, for it is the Oath of Jove. Hast thou not heard how Jove made a covenant with man, that day and night, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, should never fail? This is but one article of the covenant which the One made from everlasting with the first numbers : and he confirmed it with an oath : but having none greater to swear by, he swore by himself. As I live, saith the One, my order of succession shall not fail, neither shall my words pass away. Am I a man that I should change, or the son of man that I should repent? Behold now, the laws of nature which I have established, they shall not be broken : the mazes of fortune I have planned out, they shall not be obstructed : the measures of good and evil which I have set, they shall not be altered. Systems shall be formed and dissolved again, each succeeding the other : various forms of Being provided, the number and length of their stages, with everything befalling in them, duly regulated by the courses of nature and fortune : the Mundane substance assigned its proper migrations after stated intervals.

If I have interspersed a small portion of evil among my works, it is for the greater good to redound therefrom : for as I live, saith the One, I have no pleasure in the sufferings of my Numbers, but that they should enjoy and praise me for their Being. I have contrived my Order in wisdom and loving-kindness, and directed my second causes to operate ultimately for their benefit. This my percipient first number knoweth, and obeyeth my voice gladly. When Psyche lies immersed deepest in Hyle, I afford her such lights through the chinks of sense and appetite as direct her to serve my purposes unknowingly : if I open the windows of reason, then Psyche can discern good and evil, and I leave it in her power to choose between them ; nevertheless, however she shall choose, she cannot defeat my designs, but promotes them when she least intends it, for I compass them secretly by ways she knows not of. I govern all things above and below, Hyle by impulse, the Mundane soul by understanding and motives : I know certainly how every cause will operate, so that nothing falls out contrary to my Will. I have reserved the dispensation of evil to myself, for I alone know how to produce good out of it : let not Psyche presume to interfere with my prerogative.

If any provision of nature terminate ultimately in evil, I will interpose in good time with my almighty power for the deliverance

of Psyche ; but let her beware how she brings evil upon herself or her fellows, for though offences must needs come, wo be to them by whom they come ; for I have marked out a secret path in the courses of nature, by which Nemesis shall overtake them, and overwhelm them with greater evils than they have occasioned ; and the slower the steps of Nemesis are, the larger flood will she gather. Attend, O, Psyche, to the terms of my Oath : where thou understandest them not, I will not be severe to mark what is amiss, I will even bring strength out of thy weakness, wisdom out of thy foolishness, and success out of thy misconduct ; but where thou discernest whither they direct, Reverence and Obey, lest mischief come upon thee.

53. Thus said the One : and it behoves Psyche to observe diligently what nature requires ; especially her own nature, and examine to what uses her several faculties are applicable. The faculty of reason she will find eminently precious and solid above the rest, as gold is above other metals. This then is the golden thigh, whereon only thou mayst stand firmly : let this therefore, be the support of thy meditations, the basis of thy conduct, the pillar whereon thou raisest thy schemes : nevertheless, when thou goest forth into the world, use also thy thigh of flesh, that thou mayst walk with freedom and conform thyself to the motions of others.

When retired from the noisy world thou standest upon thy golden thigh, thou mayst contemplate the regularity of the heavenly systems, their complicated motions, swift and slow, making an admirable harmony, singing forth the praises and magnificence of Jove. Thou mayst then turn thine ears upon earth and observe how the discordant passions, jarring interests, and opposite views of men combine to maintain order in communities, and work agreement out of that which seemed the most unlikely to produce it. Thou mayst attend to the windings of fortune, wherein events appearing the most harsh and grating to your wishes, often terminate in a perfect concord, and unexpectedly bring on a close most contenting to the mind.

54. Worship the immortal Gods according to the rites of thy country : let this be thy general rule, nor admit thou exceptions without urgent cause. Rites are indifferent in themselves, and may be turned as well to good as bad purposes : popular doctrines are for the most part figurative, and may by proper interpretation be accommodated to sound reason. The same Jove made the adept and the ignorant ; he careth equally for all his works ; he gave forms and ceremonies to the vulgar : do not despise what thou thinkest needless to thyself. Yet neither be they wholly

needless even to thee, for if thou hast a thigh of gold thou hast also another of flesh, a vulgar part in thy composition : nor is it given to mortal Psyche to guide all her steps by reason alone. Remember, thou livest not by thyself nor for thyself : if thou hast knowledge keep to thyself that which would hurt another : dispense to every one discreetly what will do him benefit, and in a manner he can understand and relish : delight not to thwart the conceptions of others, but turn them gently the way that will be most advantageous to them : neither regard the lawful only, but also the Expedient.

55. The Master then withdrew himself into his vehicle, gathering his vestments around him ; so that he looked like a portmanteau lying under a heap of clothes. Plato, after making a handsome compliment to Timæus for his good offices, told us we had nothing more to do but return home again. So we set off directly, and as I expressed a desire of conversing with them upon the way, they contrived a method of carrying me, by which I might do it more commodiously : for taking me each under one arm they placed me in the middle on a level with themselves. In this manner we went on, all three making one compact body with two legs only for steerage of the whole : Plato skated upon the right hand ray, and Locke upon the left. I asked Locke whether he intended to send down all he had heard to Gellius. Ay, to be sure, says he. Why not ?—Nay, says I, only because I thought two or three times while the master was speaking that the Demon whispered Offence.—Well then, says he, tell me those passages where you heard the whisper, and we will leave them out. Come, why do not you begin ?—I was going, says I, but he checked me again. I do not know what to do, he puzzles me so with contradictory directions.—It is my opinion, says Locke, that we send all down, but that you reserve them for your private use until you can get some friends to consult their Demons, who perhaps may be more explicit.—Oh ! now, says I, he says Listen.—Very well, says Locke, that is a sign we are to follow our impulse for the present, only holding ourselves upon the watch for future admonitions.

56. I then desired, the Demon not forbidding, to know whether I might not be introduced to some of the Apostles. No, says Locke, that you cannot, for they, having gone through severe trials below, were all advanced long before I came up. Perhaps my partner may tell you something of them.—They did not much care to converse with us, says Plato, for they could not quite get rid of that shyness remaining from the notion they had first entertained below of our being reprobates and unclean, before Peter's

vision of the sheet taught them otherwise. The last who staid was the Cilician of Tarsus, detained by some acrimonious concretions he had contracted before his initiation. He could not help sometimes cursing and calling names : if anybody vexed him he would say, Thou hast done me much wrong, the Lord reward thee according to thy doings ; or at other times, God smite thee, thou whited wall. Upon one of us asking him civilly to explain what was a spiritual body, he replied, Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. I tell thee there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.

He had great knowledge, but no very happy facility in expressing himself ; so though he was fond of disputing among us, we were very little edified, for he talked in a language peculiar to himself ; till we put him in mind of his own rule, *Become all things to all men, if by any means thou mayst gain some* : he then began to conform himself to our ideas and figures, and when we could understand him we learned a great deal from him. He then owned that he had received heavenly gifts in earthen vessels, and though the liquor was not at all impaired thereby in substance or virtue, it might get some twang of the vessel. His education at the feet of Gamaliel led him, and the general taste of his countrymen obliged him, to deal in far-fetched, extravagant figures, which as that taste subsided, lost all resemblance with the things signified, but were understood literally, thereby leading men quite wide of his meaning, involving them in useless subtilties, inextricable difficulties and endless disputes. If he had staid among us till my brother Locke here came up, he would certainly have been a great favorite with him. I am persuaded he would have said nobody understood him so well since his own immediate scholars.

I flatter myself he would not have disapproved the thoughts I delivered when you first did me the honor to consult me. Perhaps he might have enlarged a little further, for besides the two celestial Goddesses I spoke of, he would have added two more, a pair of twins named Eisorosis and Pistis. Eisorosis, he said, remained always above to attend upon the Gods, and Pistis always below to succor mortal Psyche. She was of enormous strength, capable to remove mountains ; and invincible courage, so as to pass through fire and endure tortures without changing countenance. When the car was overturned and Psyche dragged amongst briars, stones and mire, he said no other power could rescue her besides Pistis ; for Urania would not descend unless called by her. While Psyche holds fast upon her, no perils can hurt, no terrors dismay her. She carries an Eisoptron which,



whenever Psyche looks too earnestly upon the ground, she holds under her and gives her by reflection therein a glimpse of the Glories above. He would not have omitted the golden anchor, only differed a little from us in the shape, for he said it was made like a cross, such as was used for the execution of malefactors, and that the three Goddesses mounting Psyche thereon proceeded with her through the Vehicular regions until they came to the gates of Heaven; where Elpis and Pistis, delivering over their charge to Eisorosis, descended again, but Urania entered with her into the blessed abodes. This Pistis was a great favorite of his, and he lamented grievously on hearing accounts from below that mankind had worshipped a counterfeit in her stead.

This Pseudo-pistis was a most furious power, imperious, violent, and cruel, carrying scourges, swords and firebrands, to take vengeance of any that but dared to cast a disrespectful look upon her. She showed frightful images of dungeons, flames and spectres, in her Eisoptron, and while Psyche was terrified in looking at them, she picked her pocket and sometimes stripped the clothes off her back. She practised a thousand frantic tricks and absurdities, till she became a laughing-stock to the scoffers. He said she might easily be distinguished from the genuine, being always accompanied by ambition, tyranny, vanity, avarice, luxury, or some of the infernal train: whereas the true Pistis never appeared far asunder from Urania. And she did everything by dint of arbitrary command, obligation, fear, and terror: whereas the real Pistis employed fear only as an instrument to work the beginning of wisdom, but when Urania took possession of the car, fear was banished quite away.—What then, asked I, do you think he would have said of our modern methodists, who pretend to quote him for their assertion that, provided a man believes himself one of the elect, it is not a farthing matter what his morals are? Perhaps, replied Plato, he would have answered, Thou fool, knowest thou not that faith is manifested by works, as the tree by its fruit? and that health of mind as well as body is preserved sound by constant exercise of outward actions? Socrates used to be much delighted with his description of the Uranian Venus.—I do not doubt but you remember it. Pray, says I to Locke, where is that? In the thirteenth to the Corinthians, says he.

57. The obliging Gentleman-philosopher proceeded to some other of his doctrines, which he explained after his own manner: but the ancient style and philosophy differing a little from the modern, I could not always comprehend him, till Locke explained them further in a manner accommodated to the present Theory. I would gladly relate what was said by them both, for the Cilician

doctrines interpreted by philosophers cannot fail of being very curious and instructive ; but to my great regret I cannot recollect it yet. For Gellius, finding my sensory fill apace and not knowing how much more there might be to come, interlined these discourses, which he, being a heathen and a man of weak judgment, looked upon as matters of no great importance, in very small characters between the former writing : so that the inner membrane I carried with me being not yet fallen into the fine strokes of these little letters, I cannot possibly read them. But perhaps some time or other it may have worked in so that I may discern them plain enough, if not to transcribe, at least to recover the main sense and substance of them.

The next legible writing recounts that Locke and I, having dropped Plato at the Grecian quarter, came back to the place from whence we set out. As we passed along, after thanking my patron for the favors he had procured for me from the ancient sages, I added that if it was not trespassing too much upon his goodness I would beg an introduction to one of the moderns. Whom would you see? says he. There are but few of them within reach : for being new inhabitants here, they are gone to visit the regions round about ; as your young gentlemen below are exhorted to travel for the finishing part of their education. Newton is run after the great comet that appeared in 1685, to try the justness of his calculations upon its trajectory. Huygens has undertaken a longer journey to measure the distance, magnitude, and brightness, of the Dog-star. Theory Burnet set out upon a visit to Jupiter, as being an earth in its antediluvian state. He wants to peep into the great hole Astronomers observe there, in hopes of seeing the great abyss beneath, and remarking how the earth stands in the water and out of the water. He then goes to Saturn to examine whether the ring be not a part of the paradisiacal crust not yet broken in. Whiston is engaged in a wild-goose chase among all the comets, to find which of them will bring on the conflagration, that he may calculate precisely in what year the Millennium begins, wherein he is to be chief Messenger, Arch-bishop, Metropolitan and Primate of all the new earth. And the rest, almost all, are dispersed abroad, one way or other, in quest of some discovery hitting their fancy.—Oh! says I, it was none of those you named : though I should like well enough to have a conversation with them, but we shall not have time for everything. The person I thought of was the famous German professor Stahl.—That is lucky, says Locke, for he being of very heavy phlegmatic temperament, has not learned to go yet, so we shall be sure of finding him at home.

But what can you want with him? Sure you do not design to study Physic at these years.—No, no, says I. I know no more of that science than Socrates' one thing, and if I should dabble in it now, I might lose that single point of knowledge, and chance to quack myself into distempers. But as he has joined natural philosophy with medicine, I was curious to try whether some improvements might not be gotten from him, and have read so much of his True medical Theory as relates to subjects in my way; as likewise his controversial tract, entitled the Idle Business, alias the Shadow-fight: but can make neither head nor tail of them. Yet I am the less mortified because I find other people cannot agree what his opinions were, and therefore some of them must have misunderstood him. Boerhave makes him hold, that the mother's imagination forms the fœtus. Hartley, that the fœtus forms itself, and that all our automatic motions were originally voluntary actions of the child. His antagonist in the Shadow-fight, charges him with believing the soul divisible, for which reason the pieces of an eel cut asunder continue to wriggle because there is a bit of soul left in each of them. And, to my thinking, he allows nothing automatic even in the grown man, but that we place the particles of our daily nutriment every one in its proper station by our own Will: particularly in his section upon the Sphacelus, where he seems to ascribe the spreading of a mortification to the laziness of the mind, which withdraws her activity from the sound parts adjacent, and so lets the putrid humors continually gather ground upon her. Now I love always to go to the fountain head, and should be glad to know from his own mouth which or whether any of us be in the right.

Well, says he, I will carry you to the conference to humor you, but question whether you will be much the wiser for it. Your desire of recurring always to the spring head is commendable, but I cannot promise you much benefit here: for our spring runs ice rather than water, that one had more need bring a hatchet to cut out a slice than a pitcher to draw with. For as Plato told us just now of a better man, he has no happy facility of expressing himself: besides, he is not a very conversible creature, having brought up hither plenty of grumous concretions and fœces of cystic bile, which make him sullen, pœevish, and fractious. You must behave very respectfully, seem to comprehend him whether you do or no, and contrive if you can sometimes to imitate his language without mimicking it: it will please, and perhaps make him more communicative. He has a large fund of honest industry and indefatigable zeal for the good of his fellow-creatures, which will prevail at length over his concretions,

discharging them gradually with the help of our needles; for true hearty charity will cure as well as cover a multitude of sins. The faculty below hold themselves much obliged to him for many useful improvements he has made in the science. So you must learn not to think meanly of a man that has any valuable talent with a right disposition to use it, because he cannot make a handsome bow, nor run ye off an elegant period.—Oh! no, says I, the solid always carried the preference in my estimation before the specious. Yet methinks the example you have just now laid before me, is a further justification of my aiming to get assistance from the polite arts for lifting up my profound speculations nearer the common surface, that more people may be capable and willing to pick them up.

58. But since I presume we have still some length of way to the end of our stage, give me leave to ask who is that antagonist whom he bumps and pummels so furiously in his Shadow-fight, for he never calls him anything but Mr. Author.—That, says Locke, you might have known could be none other than Leibnitz, by his claiming the first thought of a pre-established harmony.—What! says I, that veteran polemic who battled so long with Dr. Clarke? Indeed he shows himself the better disciplined soldier of the two in the Shadow-fight, and handles his arms much cleverer, at least so far as relates to the style.

Pray, has not he an adopted family among you? for two of our countrymen, Hartley and Berkley, visibly derive from him, besides the foreigner Mallebranche.—How so, says Locke, did they maintain his doctrine of pre-established harmony?—I do not say that, replied I, but they broached opinions which might naturally result from it. For he laid down for his foundation that spirits being Monades and matter infinitely divisible, there was no proportion between them, and therefore it was impossible they should in any manner affect or operate upon one another. No doubt he overlooked the horrid consequence that must follow from thence, namely, that neither can God himself operate upon us: for though he be a Monas and we are Monades, yet there can be no proportion between that which fills all immensity and that which lies circumscribed within narrower limits than imagination can define. However, upon this foundation he concluded there must be two courses of Providence established, wholly independent on each other, governed by separate laws: one for the motions of matter, by a necessary chain of causes and effects, the other for the perceptions of spirit by an unalterable succession of ideas: but both so admirably contrived as in every step of their progress, exactly to harmonize and correspond with each other. So

that when upon finding myself cold I go to stir the fire, I can do nothing to make it burn, nor does it contribute anything towards warming me; but a convulsion seizes my arm, which makes it mechanically catch hold on the poker and fall a poking: in the mean while a correspondent series of ideas introduce one another in my mind; for my coldness ushers in the idea of taking the poker at the very instant when the convulsion seizes me; as the coals burn briskly, though I really see nothing of them, I have an idea of a great blaze in mine eyes just when the flames begin to mount; and in consequence of this, but without being anywise affected by their heat, comes the idea of feeling warmth.

From thence Hartley seems to have drawn his notion of the mechanical necessity of all human action: but he follows his original only half way, for though utterly rejecting any operation of spirit upon body, yet he allows body to operate upon spirit, and asserts that our ideas are all brought us by the vibratiuncles of a material ether.

Berkley will have it that spirit neither acts nor is acted upon by body, therefore not unreasonably denies the existence of matter as a thing wholly useless. For what need I have an arm by my side or coals in my grate, if I have no power to do anything with them, nor they of affecting me in any manner; and if they do not bear the least share in exciting those ideas of poking, of seeing a blaze, and of feeling warmth, which follow in succession by laws of their own? Nor is it probable that God, who does nothing in vain, should create a material world to be of no use to his spiritual, for whom he had provided other laws for bringing forth all the good and evil he foreordained should fall upon them.

As those two gentlemen were certainly good and pious men, it is much they did not reflect that their doctrines must be utterly subversive of all religion, morality, and even common prudence. What encouragement or what room is there to aim at attaining a right tenor of conduct and sentiment, or exhort others to the light? since endeavors we can make none, but must wait contentedly for such thoughts, opinions, desires, and designs, as it shall please God to send us, either by the ministry of vibratiuncles or by the pre-established order of succession among ideas.

And the system of the latter does great injury to two of the divine Attributes: for the corn, the fruits, the plants, the variety of provisions for our sustenance, our accommodation and our enjoyment, the wide-extended Ocean, the realm-bounding mountains, the immeasurable expanse of heaven, the numerous host of Suns stationed at immense distances bespangling our night, are striking evidences to us of the power and magnificence

of our Creator : which evidences will be utterly lost, if the Suns, the heavens, the hills, the seas, the animals, the vegetables, have none other existence or reality than in our own deluded imagination.

Then for Wisdom, the very essence of that consists in the apt disposition of causes for producing effects : and is displayed by the admirable contrivance apparent throughout the natural and moral world, wherein jarring elements, an endless variety of differently qualified bodies, incompatible interests and discordant passions, co-operate to maintain regularity in nature, society and good order among mankind, bringing forth unerringly their destined events by a thousand successive gradations, and through a thousand intricately-winding channels. Whereas there is no wisdom in stringing a succession of ideas, for this depends upon arbitrary Will and pleasure. The idea of a plentiful harvest, had God so pleased, might as well have succeeded the idea of a cricket match as the toils and cares of the husbandman. And the ideas of health, activity, and enjoyment, might as naturally have flowed from the idea of sawing a block of marble into slabs as from that wonderful structure of bones, muscles, bowels, vessels, fibres, in the human body discoverable by dissections of anatomy. Thus the Maker of this stupendous universe is debased to the character of a fanciful poet or romancer, occupied solely in leading imagination along an endless variety of trains, which have no truth nor Being elsewhere than in our ideas.

Nevertheless, in dealing among these and such like persons in deep speculation, I have observed one particular in confirmation of my own sentiments, that they all in general (for I will not except Stahl, because I do not believe he ever thought of cutting the soul of an eel in pièces) seem to hold that every perceptive Being must be a true individual ; and that every compound or divisible substance, such as are all the bodies falling under our senses or knowledge, is not one thing but a collection or aggregate of many.

59. I do not know whether my patron attended to my prattle : it is best for my credit to suppose he would not interrupt me for fear I should not have time to say out all my say : for I had but just vented my last shrewd observation, when I found we stood still close by a bag which looked more lumpish and made of coarser stuff than any I had seen. There, says my guide, there is your oracle. Perhaps I may not get you an audience now you are come. He gave it five or six gentle taps and hallooed to it as many times ; but nothing ensued. Pray, says I, had not you better talk to it in the sentient language ? He does not under-

stand that, says he, though we can understand him plain enough : for he has a wonderful propensity in thrusting his own notions upon other people, but as great backwardness in receiving theirs or even entering into their meaning. Suppose, says I, you should give him a good hunch with your foot. That will not do, says he, our vehicles are so light and the resistance of ether so small I should send him a bow-shot from us : and it would be an odd way of asking a favor, to kick a man about like a foot-ball till he grants it. So he thrust out two brawny arms, and gave him a lusty punch on the opposite sides, that the force of one might counteract the other. We then heard a grumbling voice mutter out, Who are ye? What do ye want? Let me alone. Do ye think to foist, or like the Plautine Sosia, fist your notions upon me? Your skirmishing parties, call them cohorts or cow-hearts, shall never drive my statarianly disciplined battalion from its ground. Why your infinitely-infinite monades in infinitely-never single bodies, producing upon a thing non-existent a non-existent effect, cannot get the better even of my light armature, my skipping scampering hus-sars, yea, with Parthian dexterity pugnacious even in flight. Locke whispered me. Now he is dreaming of Leibnitz all this while. And then addressed the shadow-fighting champion in these words. Celeberrimus Doctor, sole master of medical science, we mean no attacks either upon your battalion or light armature : they are too respectable a body. You know my voice, that I am not Mr. Author nor one of his adherents. I have made bold to bring a new adopted son of mine to beg a detachment of your statarian soldiers to escort him into the regions of physiology and pathology.—A commendable attempt! says the bag, yea a laudable, not to say, noble ambition! But what need he plague me? Is not my True Theory to be had? He may learn there everything that is to be learned.—He has had recourse to that, says my patron, but being diffident of his own capacity he is not sure of comprehending everything exactly, and wishes earnestly to be set right from your own mouth. Has your boy any brains, quoth the bag, yea, is he attentive, not to say, docible, nor yet, tractable? As for brains, replied my patron, it does not become the partiality of a parent to pronounce upon them : but I have always found him very desirous of learning while under my tuition. Well, well, quoth the voice, let him propose his difficulties. But, added my conductor, my son has been so constantly used to sensible objects that he cannot hear what anybody says unless he has a face to look at. Do so much as put-out a head to humor him and make his improvement easier.—Pish! Phoo! grumbles the bag. Putredo and Sphacelus take it! What a deal of po-

ther is here to please a young fellow's whims, yea, vagaries, not to say fooleries, nor yet impertinencies! We then beheld a head with a stern hard-featured countenance rise slowly up, like a ghost through the trap-door of a stage. Come, says my guide, be quick. Do not waste the Doctor's precious moments.

60. Venerable Sir, says I, son and heir of Esculapius, that I may not stick in the first threshold, I would be glad to know whether I rightly comprehend the force of those introductory terms which open the door to all the rest: I mean a mixture, a compound, a machine, an engine, or instrument, or organ. Prithee, says the professor, none of your fashionable, yea, vulgar, not to say, gossiping, nor yet finical language. You must learn to use the scientific terms if you would be good for anything, and say mixtion, composition, mechanism, organism, as well in entire systems as in their sundry parts, yea, members, and moreover, the speciallest species of them.—I thank you, learned Master, says I, for your correction, which shall not be thrown away upon me. Now I apprehend those four things are under-species of one another: so that a particular kind of mixtion is a composition, a particular kind of composition is a mechanism, and some mechanisms are organisms. If I throw two pecks of peas into a bushel measure, that is a mixtion; if I pour in two pecks of oats upon them and shake both well together, that is a composition: when a watchmaker has completed a watch so that it can point the hour and minute and make several automatic movements spontaneously, this is a mechanism; when an artist has finished a fiddle to give all the notes in the gamut but not without a hand to play upon it, this is an organism. The same appellation belongs to a rolling stone, a wheelbarrow, a cork screw, a pencil, a knife, which are fitted for peculiar uses of mankind but will do nothing of themselves without somebody to handle them. Thus our poet said, or should have said, of a pair of scissors, he takes the gift with reverence and extends the little organism on fingers' ends.—Good boy! good boy! says the venerable, your child may come to something in time.—But, continued I, my fear is that I have not yet gotten the true characteristic, yea criterion, not to say, diagnostic, nor yet, line of separation dijunging the province of organism from the rest of the mechanism territory, so as to know precisely upon every particular occasion which is which. For though I can easily see that a man's hands and feet and tongue are organisms, because they will not handle nor walk nor speak unless he sets them at work; yet to my apprehension the heart and arteries, bowels and other vessels, seem to fall under the idea of mere mechanism. Whereas you have taught us that the whole



human body, together with all its viscera, yea, chylepoietic digestories, not to say, sanguiferous trunks, nor yet, minutissim glands, and moreover, speciallest species of secretory ducts, and even cellules of the adipose membrane, are so many distinct organisms. —I see, says the professor, your son is a little dull of apprehension: but that, you know, he cannot help. Therefore though we are confident that everything set forth in our Theory radiates, as the saying is, with its own lustre, yet we shall cast a further blaze upon it by one or two familiar examples in condescension to shallow capacities. Mind me, then, child. Suppose you bespeak a clock of artificial and workman-like construction, with everyway-multiform-exquisitely-mechanical circumstances belonging to it. The artificer brings it home, puts it up properly upon the dimidiate platform of your staircase, and sets it exactly by the equation table: now it is an organism. But if you let it go down, and after winding it up again should either through oscitancy or want of sufficient skill, set it at hap-hazard, so as to make it strike four when it ought to strike one; or lengthen the pendulum, so that it loses ten minutes an hour: then it is nothing but a mechanism. Again, suppose in some remote, yea, hitherto perhaps by human industry unreached regions of the terraqueous globe, there should be large tracts of country or islands, which by the spontaneous condition of their soils, their waters, their hills, and their valleys, should be beautifully adorned with woods, and fields, and animals of various kinds; nobody, I think, would contradict that all this proceeds from mere mechanism: and it must appear, I think, with the same evidence that there is nothing in act organical among all these circumstances. Send a colony to one of those lands, who shall build houses, dig cellars, raise provisions for themselves and their domestic animals, plant trees and corn which the ground may nourish and bring up quite to maturity: then it immediately becomes an organism.—I am a little suspicious, says Locke, that my boy does not fully comprehend you yet.—No? cries the venerable in surprise, He must be a blockhead, yea a numskull, not to say a beetle, nor yet, a blunderbuss, if he does not.—Oh, yes! says I. The celeberrimous Doctor has made the thing as clear as the sun. I can easily understand how any tract of land or water may become an organism. I remember when I was a stripling, the vast Pacific Ocean, commonly, yea, vulgarly, not to say, news-paperrically, nor yet, teatabellically, and moreover, among the speciallest species of ale-drinking, burthen-carrying, fish-selling rhetoricians, called, appellated, as the saying is, and annominated, the South-sea, was made an engine, I mean organism, to pick people's pockets and ruin half the nation. The like

had been done but the year before in a neighboring nation with the great river, the river Mississippi. And it is not impossible that a few years hence the three rich Nabobships of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, may be turned to the same laudable purposes.

61. It quickly appeared I had committed murder, his features, which before were hard as oak, became now as hard as rock, and he began to draw in his head with as much speed as his great gravity would permit. But Locke, being a good deal nimbler, clasped him under the chin with two stout ploughman's hands, crying at the same time. Pray, Mynheer, dear Doctor, celeberrimous Doctor, insignite illustrissim Doctor, Hallensian star culminating in the zenith of brightness. Never mind what a child says. I am sure he meant no harm. It was only his vanity made him pretend to understand you when he really did not. I durst not utter a syllable all this while for fear of making matters worse, but kept drawing myself up with the hand I was holden by till my vehicle touched Locke's, expecting he would feel my thoughts. He then let him go, when instantly the head shot in, like a large knife into a new sheath, when by pressing with might and main you have just overcome the stiffness at the entrance. We now had only a shapeless bag before us : but we saw the vocal fibres agitate all over, and heard a vehement eager grunting, such as the hogs make when a strange pig comes into the yard.

So we left Mynheer Celeberrimous to compose himself and make peace with his own shadow as well as he could : and being gotten to some distance, Locke owned I was in the right not to wish the conference might be renewed, for I should never have profited by it. So I believed, quoth I, for he is a bar's length more profound than Pythagoras.—Pythagoras, returned he, had his reasons for being profound ; but this man is profound because he cannot help it. But how came you to be so careless as to disgust him after all the hints I had given you ?—Why, says I, did not I follow your injunctions to a hair ?—Truly, says he, scarce to the thickness of a cable. Instead of appearing to comprehend him, you showed yourself resolved to misapprehend him, nor did you observe the charge I gave you to distinguish between imitation and mimicry. There is one caution very needful for you airy gentlemen to bear in mind. Never hazard giving offence for sake of a joke.—Well, says I, this is the second time I have suffered by my indiscretion : though I have some excuse here, for he so be-blockheaded and be-blunderbust me about as was enough to hurry anybody, and throw them off their guard.

But since the mischief is past remedy I must rest contentedly under it : unless you will be so kind, as to repair the damage by

giving me a system of his sentiments. I am sure you can do it accurately, for you told me he could talk currently to you, though not with you, in the sentient language.—But then, says Locke, you must tell me what part of his system you would have : for the medical would be of no use to you, and the physical, most of it, stands nearly connected with the other. That part, says I, relating to the formation of the fœtus. My patron asked what good it would do me to know that. I told him, perhaps it might furnish me with an argument from analogy in confirmation of a point I have been laboring to maintain, namely, that our conduct upon earth may naturally have an effect upon our condition afterwards. For if it could be made appear by the labors of an eminent physician and careful examiner into the secrets of human nature, that our terrestrial happiness is effected by our behavior in the uterine state, a probable inference might be drawn from thence, that all the several forms of Being we pass through, are by the laws of nature made dependent upon one another, and each of them preparatory to the next. Now my curiosity to consult Mynheer Celeberrimus was first raised by Hartley, from whose hints concerning him I was simple enough to expect he would show me by undeniable arguments, drawn from his medical science, that our health or distemperature of constitution, our vigor or weakness of body, our quickness or dulness of parts, and even our natural aversion or propensity to particular vices, were owing to the prudent or careless management of ourselves before birth. But alas ! how was I disappointed ! when instead of clear demonstrations from experience and discoveries of anatomy, I was presented with a confused Chaos wherein I could discern nothing distinctly, and even suspected the Celeberrimus did not always understand himself. I was in hopes too of finding something concerning the animalcules : for though their existence seems generally believed among my learned cotemporaries, it is not admitted by everybody. Might I be so bold as to ask what is the real truth upon that article ? My patron rebuked me for this last presumption.

Prithee, says he, don't think to palm your notion upon the world below for vehicular truths. I shall not give my sanction to such an attempt, I assure ye. Whatever might tend to the improvement of your religious and moral sentiments I have already told you. All informations that have been sent from above were given with that sole view, and whoever seeks for anything further in them grossly mistakes their meaning. As for matters merely speculative you must be content with such glimmerings as human sagacity can strike out. Your new acquaintance has made some alterations in his system by his converse among us, which render

it a little less perplexed and incoherent: and I believe you had rather I should give it you in this condition than precisely that it stood with him in upon earth. Nevertheless, having store of concretions remaining, as you might perceive just now, he has not quite gotten rid of human prejudices and human errors: so you must still look upon what I shall tell you from him as the opinions of a mortal, not as the knowledge of a vehicle.

62. He had no thought of the animalcules below, but since Leuwenhoek and Boerhave came up, has been made a thorough convert to that doctrine. He says the animalcule gets into the Ovum at the broken end of the Calyx, where it finds a tube growing narrower by degrees, into which it pushes with vehemence, until being straitened on all sides by the closeness of the passage, it can move neither forwards nor backwards, nor even bend its little body; nevertheless, being all nerve and fibre, it exerts itself strenuously in every point of its surface. Those points in the internal surface of the Ovum, which are soft and susceptible of its action, adhere to it and receive its impulse, which continually protruding them forwards, causes them to grow first into an embryo, then into a fœtus, and lastly the full-formed child. But as there are multitudes of fibres capable of extension in different degrees, and they often stick to one another, if the ends of those which have done growing should fasten to the sides of the others, it must necessarily stop their direct progress, and cause them to double into folds. Thus the heart, which at first was a straight canal, becomes doubled into ventricles and auricles. Thus the six bowels affording a passage to the victuals from our stomachs, are one continued tube esteemed six times the length of the man, but folded among one another so as to lie commodiously within the Abdomen. Thus likewise the smaller fibres become convoluted into Plexuses, Ganglions, Glands, and winding ducts.

If this extension was not owing to the action of the animalcule, why should it never take place in the Ovum before being impregnated therewith? for that receives continual nourishment from the Ovary wherein it was produced. Nor does the child wholly leave off this exercise upon birth, as appears by the grunting noise it frequently makes, especially after being fed, which the nurses call thriving, because they find by experience that it contributes to the growth and nourishment of the babe. And even when arrived to years of maturity, we cannot forbear sometimes yawning and stretching, supposed owing to some perspirable matter wanting to be discharged, which this effort helps to push forward and throw off. Thus the fœtus does not want for employ-

ment, being perpetually occupied from its first union with the Ovum in distending its fibres; which it is led to do by an instinct, that is, by sensations sometimes perhaps painful, occasioning maims, distortions, and imperfections, but for the most part pleasurable, assisting in the growth of the viscera, limbs, and members: for good plight of body bespeaks an easy mind, and anxiety is observed to vitiate the juices, and corrode the flesh. Boerhave has remarked that pleasure and pain proceed from the same mechanical causes operating only in a different degree: a nerve moderately stretched yields a pleasing titillation, when almost ready to break it gives anguish, and when quite broken ease ensues. In the former case the mind strives to thrust forward the hither part of the nerve to meet the titillation, and feel it more sensibly; in the latter to draw it back either for closing the passage or attaining ease by a complete rupture. Thus whenever exerting her activity to extend, she is in a state of pleasure: when to contract or withdraw, in the contrary. And this may account for those sudden amputations of an arm or a foot, sometimes happening on frights of the mother: for a violent contraction may snap short the tender fibres just in the place where the uneasiness was felt.

Therefore what Boerhave asserts of the fœtus passing far the greater part of its time in sleep without any ideas, must be understood of such ideas from external objects as engage the notice of men: for ideas may spring from inward feelings, while the limbs and outer parts lie motionless, as in sleep. But as the sensible nerves grow in length and become gradually connected with remoter parts of the distended Ovum, sensation follows their progress, and seems always taken at the very extremity of the nerve conveying it: hence we apprehend ourselves perceiving at our eyes, or our ears, or our fingers' ends, and esteem ourselves present throughout the whole surface of our body; or rather beyond, our imagination renewing that antiquated notion of something going out from the eye quite to the object, so that we account done in our presence whatever is done in our sight. It must not be supposed the fœtus proceeds with skill or forecast, or knows the uses of the limbs and vessels it forms; but is directed to exert its activity from time to time at the proper places, by sensations of present pleasure and pain, excited mechanically by the circulating juices and gross composition surrounding it.

He says further that the animalcules are variously sized and constituted, according to the origin whereout they sprang, and so are the Ova: whence it comes that the child takes after both father and mother jointly: but as the same tree bears differently con-

ditioned fruit, so both animalcules and Ova of the same growth are not all exactly alike; and hence it happens that children of the same parents differ widely in their disposition, make, and features, yet there is another cause which increases the difference, namely, the occurrences befalling the mother during gestation: for the state of her imagination affects the burthen she bears, not immediately by mechanical operation, but by influencing the imagination of the foetus. This he attempts to prove by many instances, as well from his own experience as the testimony of Boerhave, of very extraordinary effects produced by the frights and longings of women. He owns, however, that some persons of great knowledge do not admit the reality of those instances, but thinks their bare denial of the cause without accounting any other way for the facts, which are incontestable, not sufficient to shake the authority of the greater numbers who maintain it.

63. Here I begged leave to put in a word of what I had heard among my cotemporaries relating to this affair of the mother's imagination: for that I knew a man eminent in his profession, perhaps the best anatomist in Europe, who treated this as an idle notion, insisting that the supposed marks are mere sports of nature, like the spots and warts often found upon apples: but when anything of this sort happened, the mother hunted about for some fright or longing she could recollect, and by an after-thought assigned that for the cause. On the other hand, I was told by a man-midwife of very great repute in our Metropolis, that once upon a delivery, wherein nothing appeared amiss to his observation either in the mother or the child, she pressed him earnestly to examine the hands: accordingly when the child was carried into the next room, he took the first opportunity to examine the hands, and found on each of them a supernumerary finger, which adhering only by a bit of skin, he snipped them off with a pair of scissors, and presently healed up the wound with a little salve. It was thought proper in the family that this should be concealed from the mother; so upon her asking him he was forced to tell her he had found the hands such in all respects as might be expected in a healthy vigorous child. She then cried out in a transport of joy that she was extremely glad of it, for that on such a particular day, being in a chariot, a beggar woman had thrust in a pair of hands with six fingers, which had alarmed her greatly, and ever since it had run strongly in her head that the child would be born with the like. Now this could not be an after-thought in the mother to account for a phenomenon she never knew of. If I were ever to see the Celeberrimus again, I would recommend to get some of his neighbors, who go down to earth, to

bring him a report of the cases cited from very good authorities by Dr. Douglass, in his *Criterion of miracles*, wherein are several accounts of astonishing effects produced upon the bodies of persons in years by a strong impulse of imagination. For if that faculty has so great a power over the dry and stiffened fibres of an adult, it may well be presumed to act with much greater force upon the tender filmy flesh of a fœtus. I will give him your hints, says my patron, which I doubt not he will thank you for: and perhaps they may atone with him for your late rudeness. And possibly he may learn something from Gellius by the sketches observed in the tablet of your memory. I am afraid, says I, they will be very imperfect, for it being some years since I read the book, the traces are in great measure worn out. But probably Gellius may be good-natured enough when he hears what we have been talking about, to inspect the sensory of some other person who has the impressions fresher.

But, continued my instructor, with respect to the objections of anatomists, our professor says the point does not lie within the compass of their art to decide: for between the Placenta and Uterus, there lies a Mucus or thick humor, which Boerhave will agree with him is not properly a humor, but a congeries of exceedingly fine vessels, too fine for any instrument of the anatomist to trace out; nevertheless they may suffice to carry on the communication of ideas between the mother and the infant. Yet you must not imagine the very same ideas propagated from one to the other; for when the mother is terrified with threatening words, the embryo cannot be supposed to have the sound of them in its unformed ears, much less to understand their dangerous meaning: nor when she longs for a peach, can it be thought to perceive the fine flavor or beautiful bloom that strike her fancy. But the modifications and motions of matter may excite ideas correspondent to those which occasioned them, yet without their being similar: and of this you may find examples in common life.

When a man writes a treatise, the ideas in his head direct him to the matter and manner of his composition: if he sends it to the press, the compositor cannot place his types without ideas, which he takes step by step from the copy before him: yet are his ideas very different from those of the author, who may be presumed continually attentive to the strength of his reasonings, the aptness of his figures, and propriety of his language, without much regarding the grammar and spelling, which flow spontaneously from his experienced pen; whereas the compositor's mind is wholly occupied with the letters and orthography, he thinks nothing of the argument, nor manner of handling it. Then again the reader pays

little regard to letters and syllables, it is enough if there be no gross misprint or egregious blunder to draw off his notice, he takes in whole sentences and paragraphs at a glance, and directs his attention to observe the main tenor and disposition of the performance. Nevertheless, the ideas he receives perhaps may vary greatly from those in which the author wrote : what struck the one as something sublime, humorous, or elegant, may seem low, insipid, and vulgar to the other ; what one thought demonstration, to the other may appear a rope of sand ; what was dictated to the one by a spirit of rational piety, may raise in the other an idea of profaneness or superstition. Thus the ideas of all three, though far from being similar, correspond and depend upon each other : for had the author had other thoughts, he would have written in another manner, the compositor would have ranged his types otherwise, and another train of ideas would have been suggested to the reader.

He is grown so zealous an advocate for the animalcules, as to insist that they are rational creatures, because their being never found, unless in the cellules producing them, in the Epididymis, the Vas deferens and the Vesicles, although the humor they float in is known to diffuse over the whole human body, indicates a choice and discretion that withholds them from entering places unfit for their accommodation. Besides, it stands to reason that the ethereal body should have a fuller use of all its powers, the thinner and finer the elementary covering is wherein it lies enveloped : as a man has the fuller use of his arms and fingers in kid gloves and a silk waistcoat than if he put on a great horseman's coat, and a pair of heavy gauntlets. And the rationality of man proceeds from there being some hollow cellules in the Ovum, which do not adhere to the animalcule : whereas in the brutes and insects the gross elementary body presses everywhere close upon the little inhabitant within, so that it cannot act in any point except in those alone where the gross covering is yielding and movable by it. Therefore though they distinguish and judge, they have such judgments only as their senses from time to time impress upon them : but man possesses a power of acting upon his own thoughts, and calling up ideas of reflection without aid of external objects. Yet is this power less than in his original state, for those ethereal strings which are drawn out to an immoderate length by the distention of the Ovum in its growth, must hinder the operation of the others : just as a man who should have the fingers of one hand thrust into a low waxen ceiling, which kept them always stretched at arms length, would not have so full a use of the other arm as if both were at liberty.



64. He has battled strenuously with some who denied there could be much scope for action and enjoyment within so narrow a prison as the animalcules were cooped up in: for, says he, all magnitude is relative to the size of the creatures observing it. Upon earth we used to take for the basis of our admeasurements the breadth of a large man's thumb, which we called an inch: twelve thumbs we supposed the length of his foot: something more than five of those feet made his pace in walking fast: a thousand of his paces made a mile: and by miles or thousand paces we computed the largest tracts of country, the circuit of the globe, the distance of the Sun and planets. Thus our highest computations still bore a reference to the parts of our human body. Now imagine animalcules to take their rise in measuring from the width of their tail, which we may suppose the same to them as a foot was to us: let five of those feet, or better, go to a pace, that is, such length as they can throw themselves forward by one wriggle of their tail: then reckon by animalcular miles or thousands of such paces, and you will find more of them in the many winding ducts open to their passage than you would have miles to pay for a post-chaise to carry you about all the roads in England. But you would hardly think a man kept in close imprisonment, who should have the whole kingdom of England to range in.

He will needs have it that the entrance of a particular one among their number into the Calyx, is not matter of chance, but settled by certain rules founded upon solid reasons: nor is it claimed as a privilege, but submitted to as a burden unreluctantly upon a motive of public spirit; because if the race of men were to fail, the race of animalcules must cease too for want of a proper habitation to subsist in. It has been objected against him, that the violent frisking motion with which they are always found to dart to and fro, does not give the appearance of a prudent considerate animal. To this he answers that this is not their natural motion, which is more sedate and regular while in their proper places of abode: but they are never seen with the microscope unless in a dying state upon being driven out of their element. Yet are their agitations neither effects of wantonness nor expressions of pain or uneasiness, for death is terrible to man alone: of all other creatures the inferior know not what it is, and the more intelligent know it is nothing more than a passage from one state of existence into another. Therefore though the wanton waste and destruction of them be a species of murder, they lie under no such terrors as mortal man upon falling into the murderer's hands: they perceive their material integument beginning to

break, and exert all their efforts to rend it asunder the sooner. Have you not observed the little insect producing a gnat dart up and down with sudden jerks and great velocity in the water, till one end being gotten open is thrust up to the surface? when immediately issues forth the winged captive from its imprisonment, in joy, no doubt and transport, soaring aloft to take possession of its new aerial country. So Psyche enclosed in the animalcule, upon finding the walls of her prison crack, struggles hard to hasten the total rupture, that she may get a complete deliverance from her immersion in matter, regain her native heavens, and mingle among the host of her congenial spirits.

65. I have now, added my patron, given you as much of his notions as you can want. You are not to take them all for Gospel; but parables are employed in the Gospel, and even popular opinions not discountenanced when they can be turned to useful purposes. Much more the imaginations of learned and close-thinking men may serve, when rightly applied, to enlarge your mind by inuring your imagination to follow more readily the judgments of reason. They may give you a quicker apprehension of an important truth built upon solid grounds, namely, that happiness is not confined to the enjoyments and accommodations of human life. For the arm of the Almighty is not so short, nor the treasures of his wisdom so scanty, as that he should have but one way to make the existence of his creatures pleasurable. He can give them what measure of gratification he judges proper in the body of a giant, an insect or an animalcule, by intelligence and reason or gross sense and appetite, on earth or under ground, in water, air, or ether, or naked and unembodied in any material composition whatsoever. As he changes their nature, he changes their situation too and the circumstances of it, adapting each to the other: for various natures require various situations, and what would be wretchedness to one is enjoyment to another. You could not subsist in the waters where the great Leviathan takes his pastime: and the pure air that gives you spirits would prove his certain destruction. You would be miserable without society, light, and exercise: but the fœtus lives satisfied and thrives, pent up in a dark and lonesome dungeon. Therefore consult your present nature so far as to provide by what methods you can for its preservation and well-being: but when called to another, where the meats and drinks, the lands and houses, the diversions and pursuits of men, could be of no use to you, yet follow without reluctance: for the same Power, who has furnished you so amply by a thousand wise and wonderful provisions in one state, will supply you as commodiously with the requisites needful for your accommodation and

enjoyment in another. Trust then steadfastly in him, and fear nothing: for wherever you go, you cannot go from under the eye of a beneficent governor and indulgent parent.

My good patron had his particular reasons for summing up with this very grave conclusion: but though he did not disclose them, they became apparent presently. For no sooner had he done than we saw ourselves surrounded with a group of vehicles, who came up with great joy and alacrity to congratulate me, for that they perceived I was just going to be advanced. I could not help being startled, notwithstanding his last seasonable admonition, having brought up some of those apprehensions natural to mortals upon an approaching change. I surveyed my outside, but could see no alteration there: neither did I feel anything unusual within, except some considerable tremors which I knew were owing to my fears. However, in a few minutes my vehicle burst, and I became instantly absorbed into the Mundane soul.

66. As upon a man awaking in the morning out of sleep, the dreams and visions of the night vanish away, his senses which had been kept stupefied throw open their windows, his activity that had lain suspended returns, he resumes the command of his limbs, recovers his ideas and understanding, and goes on with the schemes and occupations he had begun the day before: so upon my absorption I found myself, not translated into another species of creatures, but restored to myself again. I had the perfect command of my limbs, and their motions were familiar to me: I had that knowledge and judgment which is the result of experience. My body was immense yet I could manage it without trouble, my understanding extensive yet without confusion or perplexity: for the material Universe was my body, the several systems my limbs, the subtle fluids my circulating juices, and the face of nature my sensory. In that sensory I discerned all science and wisdom to direct me in the application of my powers which were vigorous and mighty, extending to every member and fibre of my vast composition. I had no external object to look upon, nor external subject to act upon: yet found an inexhaustible variety to employ my large thoughts and unwearied activity within myself. I rolled the bulky planets in their courses, and held them down to their orbits by my strong attraction: I pressed heavy bodies to the earth, squeezed together the particles of metals in firm cohesion, and darted the beams of light through the expanse of innumerable heavens. I beheld the affairs of men, discerned all their springs of action, and knew how to set both them and the courses of events so as to guide the wheels of fortune with unerring certainty.

Nor did I find the least inclination to use my power wantonly or disorderly in any single instance ; for wisdom is ever steady to itself and pursues invariably one grand and well concerted design. Good was my constant motive, and an exact knowledge of everything tending to promote it my perpetual direction. I knew my own immortality, nor did I look upon the short excursions into matter as a discontinuance of it. I was beyond expression happy, the regular motions of my great body giving me a cheerful flow of spirits and more pleasing sensations than the most vigorous youthful health ; my imagination entertained with a multitude of varying, never satiating objects ; my understanding capacious and clear ; my judgment sound and piercing ; my conduct blameless, wise, and satisfactory. Nor could anything fall out to disturb me, for all the parts of my composition lay under my control and inspection : my circulations were not mechanical but voluntary, and if at any time I had a mind to change my position within my vast body, I could fasten to some particle of the circulating juices I had moved, which would transport me whithersoever I wanted, yet without losing sight of the place I came from.

67. Yet with all these mighty powers and privileges I had no temptation to pride or vanity, for I knew that in my own individual I was weak and ignorant, unable to stir a mote in the Sunbeams or produce a single perception from my own fund : but all my knowledge was brought me by communication, and my operations performed by the joint concurrence of innumerable hosts of substances of the same nature with myself surrounding me. For there being a general participation of ideas throughout the whole community, we had all the same apprehension, the same discernment of things, the same aims and purposes : so there was no variation of sentiment nor discordance of desire among us. The thoughts of all were the thoughts of every one, and the actions of the whole the acts of each particular : for each was consenting to whatever was done by the others, and no sooner wished to have a thing done than he saw it instantly performed. As we had but one mind and one Will, everything happened according to that Will ; for pervading and being mingled with the corpuscles of matter throughout the universe, we actuated the vast mass, each contributing his share, which though singly small, yet when united with the rest, sufficed for every work how stupendous soever that was requisite. We were sensible that our strength lay in our unanimity, and in promoting the general good we promoted our own, which made us apply our endeavors with alacrity and delight. We took pleasure in communicating our pleasures,

and transmitting our lights as fast as we received them : by which means we had each of us a full display of nature, and by reflection therein, of the Author of nature.

. For though we could move and range the particles of matter as we pleased, we were sensible that we did not create them, but they owed their existence, their solidity, their mobility and other primary qualities, to a higher Power. We perceived likewise that sensation was the ground-work of our knowledge, that sensation proceeded originally from matter, that if matter should be withdrawn or lose its quality of affecting us with perceptions, or our mutual communication cut off by removing us out of contiguity with one another, we should utterly lose our percipiency and power of action. This convinced us that we ourselves, although a nation of kings governing the universe with absolute sway, were subordinate and dependent. We considered that though our present views and judgments arose from the position wherein we had placed the several bodies of the universe large and minute, yet were we moved so to place them by contemplation of some former position : thus position followed position, but the whole must have had some beginning, which we could not give it, because there must have been some prior order to serve for our motive and direction before we could begin to act. We saw further that our own existence could not be necessary, we being many ; because what was necessary in one place must be so everywhere, and consequently One, not in similitude and communion only, as we were, but numerically and individually One. Therefore though we were conscious of our community having subsisted from all eternity, nevertheless it must have been produced from eternity by a prior Cause, prior in order and efficacy if not in time.

68. Thus the consideration of our own nature, together with the nature and disposition of bodies throughout the universe, led us to the knowledge of God, whose work we were both in body and soul. We found ourselves subjected to laws we did not make, to migrations into matter wherein parts of our substance lay enveloped as in a shell, cut off from all communication with the rest. As we had both a retrospect and prospect of eternity, we regarded the longest of those migrations but as a moment, no more than the smart a man feels on plucking out a hair from his face, therefore submitted to them readily in our several turns, nevertheless we submitted out of necessity, not out of choice. We observed the condition of our substances when immersed in matter, their actions and events befalling them, and discerned uses therein to ourselves unthought of by them. We perceived

a small mixture of evil among their good ; we would gladly have prevented it but could not without greater mischief to ourselves, for it was made necessary to our well-being. We sometimes, upon rare and extraordinary occasions, discovered motions we did not produce, events we did not bring to pass ; which convinced us of an interposition to restrain the growth of evil, and to rescue those immersed substances to whom the courses of nature had rendered it perpetual. These observations displayed to us the divine Attributes, we saw them consistent and aiding each other, with a clearer and fuller view than mortal eye can reach or mortal heart conceive : we beheld Glories ineffable which it is not lawful, or rather not possible to utter ; nevertheless there were greater Glories behind, which no created intelligence can penetrate.

69. The contemplation of these Attributes, which we saw were parts only of the Divine Essence, inspired us with a transcendent admiration, an ardent love and filial reverence, towards our Almighty Father, who was our continual dependence and support, the fountain of our immense powers and unspeakable happiness ; and prompted us to employ our eternity in returns of incessant adoration. But our adoration did not exert itself in hymns or empty praises or verbal thanksgivings : we discerned his Will written in legible characters upon the face of his creation, and applied ourselves industriously to fulfil it. The courses of nature carried on by our agency were our hymns, the government of matter administered by our hands was our praises, and a ready obedience to his commands was our morning and evening sacrifice. We knew that in all our functions we were only his ministers delegated and empowered for that purpose : but it was our joy and our glory to be employed as his ministers in executing his works. For they were not arbitrary commands nor exertions of despotic authority : he wanted not our services for his own use, but gave us our tasks in mercy and loving-kindness to be a blessing to his creatures ; so that in working for him we worked for ourselves, and for one another. We caused our inferior ministers—the heavenly bodies and elements, to pay the same active adoration. By our energy we stationed the golden Suns, and strengthened them to hold their several Vortices in concord. The silver Planets completed the harmony by their various aspects, their change of seasons, and vicissitudes of light and darkness. One day told another, and one night certified another : their sound went forth to the several earths, their voice was heard among the innumerable hosts of heaven. Gravitation and cohesion whispered their share of praise to the attentive ear, the subtile fluids of air

and ether joined in the chorus : and the whole creation was one incessant Hallelujah.

Nor did we forget those of our fellows imprisoned within the walls of matter, but provided for them all the accommodations and enjoyments permitted by our common Master. The dispensations of his Providence were conveyed to them through our means, by the laws of nature which we executed, and disposal of second causes which we put in act to bring forth the destined events. With our plastic virtue we worked upon the multitude of habitable globes rolling round their appointed centres through the fields of ether ; we clothed their surfaces with the green herb, the flowery shrub and tree yielding fruit ; caused them to produce fossils and minerals below, dews and vapors and benign influences above. We wove the little fibres of vegetables in curious textures, sorted them into a thousand various species, and fitted them for a thousand different uses. We interlaced the more curious vessels of animals in many intricate mazes among one another, hollowing them into tubes respectively filled with their peculiar juices, that partly they might perform regular mechanical motions of their own, and partly serve as convenient instruments for the spiritual agents within them. We guided the sensitive tribes by instinct, directing them unerringly to the necessary means of their preservation and increase, and to answer the purposes they were designed for with regard to other creatures. The upper species we governed by wants, and appetites, and passions, together with some glimmerings of reason flashing at uncertain intervals. He had his free choice to conduct him in every action, but we knew how, by the springs of inclination and opinion, to draw his choice upon what particular point we pleased. He acted mostly upon short aims and private views, yet we contrived that in so doing he should work himself out a remote benefit he thought nothing of, and co-operate to the general good. Even his vices and foibles were not useless under our management : ambition, avarice, luxury, vanity, shame, fear, lust, laziness, petulance, fraud, resentment, envy, had their task assigned them : evil became productive of good, and the wicked was made for the day of the Lord : folly and wantonness had their several lines allotted them to fill up in the glorious all-perfect plan given us by infinite Wisdom. The proper station was marked out to every creature, from whence it could not be spared without detriment to the whole : they all answered their destined ends, without knowing what those ends were, or having any desire of attaining them. For as the strings of an instrument perform their parts in the tune yet without any knowledge or perception of the notes they give : so the sublunary

agents bore their several parts in the general harmony, and contributed to carry on that order of succession among events of which they had no thought or conception.

Thus by directions issued from above, and our faithful ministry thereof, it was brought to pass that all things, animate and inanimate, co-operated in displaying the wisdom and goodness of that Power which first ordained their motions. The serpentine rivers and unfathomed oceans, fire and hail, snow and vapors, wind and storm fulfilling the tasks imposed on them, mountains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle, worms and feathered fowls, kings of the earth and all people, princes and all judges of the world, young men and maidens, old men and children, all united in the universal song to the glory and praises of their beneficent Creator.

And upon some extraordinary command received, enow of us were found ready at hand to throw the particles of matter into various forms and appearances for producing any supernatural effect. But whether we act ordinarily or extraordinarily, we do both invariably according to the general plan assigned or occasional decree issued : wherefore let not mortals address their prayers to us, for we have no discretionary power, nor shall any entreaties prevail upon us to depart a tittle from our orders. Neither were entreaties needful to make us fly to their relief whenever found allowable, for we bore them no grudging or envy, we had no vanity nor fondness for superiority and power, nor contempt of them in their degraded state : but sympathize with their distresses and weaknesses, as with congenial spirits, children of the same Father, fallen from their original perfection ; and labored incessantly by all means permitted us, to raise them from their debasement to rank upon a level with ourselves in equal participation of all the powers, privileges, and unbounded enjoyments, wherewith we were blessed. We watched over nations and empires without neglecting the affairs of private persons : for being diffused throughout all corners of the universe, some of us were ready everywhere to attend the minutest offices, and having one understanding and design in coming among us, we knew how to adjust the actions of single men to the interests of communities. We paid due regard to matters of importance, nor did we overlook the merest trifles ; for nothing was trifle to us because our capacities were so large that nothing took off our attention from other duties. Therefore we did not suffer a sparrow to fall to the ground, nor the hairs of a man's head to diminish in number, without the Will of Heaven.



70. With this unceasing attention to the minutest objects, it may be concluded we did not overlook Gellius as he sat close to his task in my human sensory: he could not receive intelligence of what passed with me now from the vehicular people, so it was necessary we should convey it to him ourselves. We wrought upon his imagination by our secret energy, casting his mental organs into modifications exhibiting the ideas to be set down, which we excited successively in their order, not giving him a view of whole sentences together: so that he worked like a man in a trance, or one walking in his sleep, or like the Pythian priestess under inspiration of the oracle: he wrote by impulse things he did not understand, and wondered at the words he wrote. It was now judged expedient that I should return to my vehicle, but before my return we thought proper to send an illusion upon Gellius of events that had not happened: he wrote according to what we dictated, and the tenor of the illusion he wrote down ran as follows.

71. We gathered together certain particles of matter, and disposed them into two forms, the one human and the other angelical; a sufficient number of us undertook the management of the latter, and I was enclosed within the former: so I became a man with human limbs and senses, with the understanding and thoughts of a grown man who had spent his life in study and contemplation. And there stood before me an Angel, his countenance was mild and lively, his raiment white and shining, he had spangled wings growing from his shoulders, his sides, and his legs. And he said, O Man, come along with me: I will teach thee what to think of Glories thou canst not comprehend, and make thee more sensible of the infinite distance between the creatures and the Creator. So saying he took me up and carried me to the utmost bounds of the universe. And he said, Try now if thou canst create a new world beyond this. And I said, Far be it from me to attempt encroaching upon the Divine prerogative: thou knowest I am poor and weak, unable to act without corporeal instruments, and the little power I have is given me. And he said, I know thy weakness, that the power is not thine, nor do I expect that thou shouldst operate: but I am commissioned for thine instruction. Know then, that creative power awaits thy direction for a trial of what thou canst perform by it. Alas! said I, I know not where to begin nor how to proceed.

And he said, Stretch forth thy right arm: thrust it straight from thy side. And I essayed but could not thrust it out: not that I found anything resist me, but when my arm came to the utmost verge of the universe, it seemed as if I had lost the use of it, so

that I could not move it further. And I asked the Angel, Wherefore cannot I move mine arm this way? I can thrust it above or below, before or behind me, but I cannot stretch it out from my side. And he said, Because there is no space to receive it. And I said, Since it hath so pleased the creative Power, and this is for mine instruction, May there be space. And he said, Put forth thine arm again. And I put it forth with ease straight from my side, as I could have done any other way.

And he said, Wave now thy fingers to and fro, moving them in order one after another. Accordingly, I endeavored to do as I was bidden, but could not perceive whether my fingers moved or not, for I had the same feel all along as at the first instant when I stretched out mine arm: wherefore I asked, Why cannot I perceive whether my fingers move or no? And he answered, Because there is no time, neither without time can there be a succession of ideas or motions. Then I said, May Time begin her course. And presently I felt my fingers move to and fro in the manner I had intended to move them.

Then said the Angel, Now will Space continue and Time run on her course forever, until the same Power which gave them birth shall interpose to destroy them. What purposeth thou next? And I said, Is it meet that Time and Space should be useless? Should there not be creatures endowed with perception and activity to solace themselves in the habitation provided for them, and also bodies to serve for instruments of their action and objects of their perception? Proceed then, said the Angel, to furnish and people this new world. But I said, O, Messenger of Heaven, thou knowest there requireth wisdom as well as power to do this great thing: I understand not what number of creatures this space might contain, nor the proportion of matter requisite for their uses, neither how to assort it into elements and marshal the particles thereof in their proper order.

On a sudden I found myself illumined with more than mortal intelligence; though there was yet no light, I could distinguish every corner of the new created space, comprehending the whole at one view. I knew precisely what quantity of matter was requisite, what places to assign the particles, and how to give each the proper motion and direction to exhibit a plan to the percipient creatures directing them to carry on the order of succession once begun. But the vastness of mine intelligence perplexed me: for mine aim was none other than to communicate happiness to the perceptive creatures who should be created, but was utterly at a loss in what manner to execute my intention. I saw the creatures could not be made equal in happiness to their

Creator, yet how far they should fall short of it or what limitations to set them, I had no measure to ascertain : neither could I find a rule to determine whether their happiness was to continue always equal in degree, or to vary and receive interruption at stated intervals. And if this obstacle were removed, still I saw there was an infinite variety of ways by which the same portion of blessing might be conveyed to them : it might be dispensed continually with no trouble or perplexity to the creative power by an immediate operation without the intervention of second causes, in which case they would want only the faculty of perceptivity but have no use for that of activity : or they might be endowed with powers of affecting one another : or if matter were employed, there were a thousand various primary properties with which it might be invested, and a thousand different orders of succession in which it might move, all equally answering the same purpose. But I could find no preference nor make election among them : for to do this was a pure act which I was incapable of exerting, or of forming a choice without some pre-existent motive to incline me. I could not guide myself by the nature of things, for where there were no things in Being there could be no nature of them.

Then said the Angel, Take that scheme of material nature which thou knowest established in the present universe. As I had all knowledge lent me, I comprehended the whole plan of Providence, all the laws of nature and mazes of fortune, the qualities of substances, their relations and mutual dependencies ; and began to attempt a plan similar to that of the old world. So I said, May there be such and so many bodies, so and so placed, with such impulses in particular lines of direction among them, according to the archetypal idea in my mind. And it was so. And I looked forth upon the works that were made, and behold they were not good. For I perceived that the bodies continually colliding, the motion imparted to them would in time be exhausted and the whole reduced to an inactive lump.

Then the Angel said, Why dost not thou provide active creatures to repair the decays of motion from time to time by their energy ? But I answered, though wisdom and knowledge be given me, these are not sufficient for the purpose, for I foresee that if good only be allotted to the creatures, they will want a spur to their activity and become careless : but wisdom instructs me not what proportion of evil to intermingle, nor what quarters to assign it ; yet goodness forbids there should be any more dispersed than absolutely necessary.

I had then revealed to me the exact quantity of evil indispensable, the several forms of Being and stages of life to be passed through, which of them were to be exempt from evil, which wholly overwhelmed with it, and which to contain a mixture of it with good; and that moral evil was to be made the road to natural. Nevertheless, I could not proceed, for though goodness was satisfied by the small quantity of evil sprinkled among the good throughout the whole, and equity was satisfied because the creatures, taking their turn in rotation through the several forms of Being, would receive their exact share both of the good and of the evil, yet wisdom had no sufficient materials to begin upon. For it was not enough, there were stations provided to receive such a number of percipient creatures, but an allotment must be made of each person to his particular station: among the rational creatures there were mechanics, and soldiers, and scholars, but who was to be the mechanic, the soldier, or the scholar? Here was no proceeding in the gross, a distribution and choice of persons for stations was necessary, yet was there no diversity of objects to determine the judgment in making the choice: for there was neither merit nor demerit in nonentities, nor difference of qualities rendering them fitter for one station rather than another. Neither could I begin with the next that came to hand, for there was neither proximity nor distance among Nothings; they were all equally near and equally ready to be produced into Being in this place or that by creative Power. Thus I remained at a full stand, and while I stayed, the half-formed world was wiped away, mine illuminations were taken from me, and I was reduced again to mine ordinary narrow understanding, that of a common man.

Then spake the Angel unto me in a loud and majestic tone which sunk deep into mine ears. Hear, O Man, and remember. This is the lesson thou art to learn from all that has passed in thy sight. Thou couldst not create a world even though thou hadst almighty power and infinite wisdom to assist thee; for power and wisdom do not suffice for the work of creation. Power performs nothing without wisdom to direct it, nor does wisdom direct without goodness to move it: goodness may permit, but will not produce evil, and wisdom is not herself without pre-existent ideas to contemplate. Yet was there nothing prior, nothing external to God, which might exhibit ideas, but they were suggested by his own pure act precedent to themselves and to the wisdom they generated. Thou beholdest the works of nature and readeest therein characters of power, wisdom, and goodness, greater than imagination can fully comprehend: but know, there are other

Attributes whereof thou canst not imagine even a glimpse, yet must acknowledge there are such, because thou seest effects which could not be worked by those whereof thou hast any imagination. The necessity of evil compelleth not the Lord to admit it, for necessity bindeth him not, but his decrees make necessity. He alone can act where no motives are, and choose between things indifferent : he thereby openeth the sources whence wisdom floweth, and beginneth the order of succession which she carrieth on : he establisheth the nature of things to be an unalterable rule for his own proceedings, and determineth what shall be absolutely impossible, setting bounds as it were to his own Omnipotence.

The Angel having said this, took me up in his arms and carried me back to my vehicle : he opened a cleft in my head, which having applied against the rent in the vehicle, he injected me thereinto and closed up the rent ; so that the bag became entire as before disruption.

72. Immediately I thrust out my head, and opening my eyes saw my patron Locke with the rest of the vehicles standing round me in amazement : for though they had suspected I should return because they saw my vehicle did not begin to unravel like a torn stocking, as it seems was usual upon disruptions, yet extraordinary events are apt to surprise even when expected. They were very curious and importunate with me to relate the particulars of all I had seen, and give them an account of the country they hoped in due time to inhabit themselves. Indeed, says I, Gentlemen, I do not know what you mean. I relate particulars ! All I know is, that you told me just now I was going to be advanced, and I thought I felt my vehicle tear asunder, but to be sure it was only fancy, for I find myself sound and whole now. I believe I may have been in a fainting fit for a moment. A moment ! said they, why you have been gone from us a full week of our time, and must have seen a great deal in that space. Why will not you communicate ? had you any injunctions to secrecy ? I vowed and protested upon the honest word of a Search that I had nothing to tell them, and that if I had been gone so long as they talked of, I remembered not a tittle of what had passed in that interval. But they would not believe me, and some said they would get it out, whether I would or no, by the sentient language : so I was in great danger of having a rape committed upon my imagination, if Locke had not interposed. Good friends, says he, you will not get anything of him by violence : I know my cousin better than you do : he has such an abundance of odd thoughts, and jumbles them so together in motley mixtures of serious and trifling, abstruse

and familiar, earnest and jest, that you will not discern anything he knows or thinks of if he has not a mind to let you. But I know he will be sincere and open with me. Come, Ned, make a flat side. I did so, and after a short application of his vehicle thereto he assured them that I had really no information to give them. Besides, says he, consider, he went from hence a naked spirit, without any corporeal organs or tablet of memory to retain the traces of what he might see during his absence. Locke's authority satisfying the company that there was nothing to be learned from me, they dispersed about upon their several occasions and left us alone.

73. When they were gone, I observed to Locke that there seemed to be a variety of brogues among them: some spoke in a kind of guttural pronunciation, others as if they had been singing.—Can it be, says I, that the Americans and Chinese find their way hither?—Can it be, says he, that you are so narrow-minded as to doubt it? Has not the story of Cornelius the centurion convinced you, that whoever fears God in any nation finds favor in his sight? He gives to every man the lights necessary for discovering to him the duties he requires at his hands, but men make their own fortunes by the manner in which they use them. There are even of our line of the Searches to be found among the uneducated and the savage. Those who come with fewer improvements, find no inconvenience in the want of them, for everything lies here in common: we look upon our talents as deposited with us for the public service, and that our neighbors have an equal property in them with ourselves, therefore such as have them do not endeavor to enslave or overreach such as have them not, but employ them to procure their advantages and enjoyments equally with their own.

But it is time you should think of returning to your body again: the day has appeared some time upon your hemisphere, and if you should stay beyond your usual hour of rising, it will put your family in an uproar; they will think you defunct in earnest, and finding your vital motions continue but no signs of sensation, they will send for Doctors and Surgeons to wrap you in blisters and scarify you all over.—But, says I, may not your clocks go too fast? Could not we take a little turn first somewhere or other to see more of the country?—What, says he, then you do not care to leave it? But we do not go by clocks—I see the earth yonder, though you cannot, posting away before us; the verge of night is already gotten beyond the British Islands.—Well, says I, since it must be so, here is my arm: but I go half reluctantly, for I like this place so well I could be glad to live here always; and yet methinks I should want to see my girls again. So he took hold of

my arm.—But, says he, you shall take a sip of Ambrosia first to fortify you for the journey, for we shall find damps and foggy vapors when we come down into the atmosphere.

He led me directly to the ambrosial streams, where having drank my fill, we pushed forward to overtake the terraqueous globe, which we did with as much ease as a wagoner, having stopped at an alehouse door to wet his whistle, runs after his creeping team. We took a little compass to avoid lengthening our way through the atmosphere by passing it aslant: this obliged us to cross a part of the shadowy cone of night. In one place of this dark region I heard a most dismal howling, shrieks and clamors, of all grating kinds. Pray, says I, what makes those hideous noises? It seems as if a thousand people were cutting one another's throats.—Says he, it is a parcel of the unhappy vehicles vexing and plaguing one another.—Oh! says I, for heaven's sake let us keep out of their way. If I should meet with another Borgia among them what would become of me?—So I will, says he, not upon our own account, for I should not scruple pushing through the midst of them for any hurt they could do us, but the sight of our people increases their torment, stirring up their envy, remorse, and despair. So out of compassion to them we went round just enough to escape their observation, and very soon emerged into light. When we came into the zenith of the great Metropolis of commerce, we shot directly downwards like a falling star, Locke making the nucleus and myself the trail.

74. In our passage through the atmosphere I diverted myself with observing the variety of different particles, metallic, stony, vitreous, ligneous, vegetable, aqueous, and sulphureous, dancing in nimble mazes, never touching but thrusting one another away, as the contrary pole of a loadstone does the magnetic needle. The aqueous, upon the action of heat within them being withdrawn, were overcome by the stronger repulsion of the rest, which forced them together into contact and gathered them into drops. In this state they turned the course of the rays falling upon them obliquely and broke the bars into their constituent balls, which proceeding then with different velocities, if they chanced to overtake one another, they adhered by their flat sides and formed complete bars again.

Being now arrived at the top of mine own house, the rays we had skated upon would not attend us further, but it pleased me to see how nimbly we glided through the pores of the tiles and timbers, like a snake along the twigs of a hedge. My conductor stopping, asked me what I saw before me. I see, says I, a prodigious torrent rushing directly upwards in circling eddies with a

tremulous motion.—That, says he, is the flame of a candle your maid has left upon the stairs while she is gone down to fetch some chips for lighting your study fire. Come, shall we go into it? I can show you something very curious in the inside.—You do not say so! cries I. We shall be burnt up in an instant, like a spider thrown into the kitchen fire. He laughed at my simplicity. No, no, says he, we are not afraid of material fire, if we can keep from inward burnings. The distempered vehicles indeed being debilitated in their limbs, cannot manage them properly: so the agitations of fire beat them about incessantly, giving them as violent smart by outward pulsion as they do the human flesh by stretching the parts of it from within. Then laying hold of me he gave a strong jump, which threw us upon the middle of the snuff. But we could not stand still there a moment, for there was such a commotion of the particles moving in all curvatures about us, that we were forced to shift our quarters every instant: but my conductor managed so dexterously, by pulling or pushing me to the right or the left, that he kept me always in the interstices between them, so that none ever struck directly against me, and though I felt them continually brush my sides, I did not receive the least hurt from them. I observed the corpuscles of light did not touch the substance of the tallow or the cotton, but by their attraction detached particles from them; upon which the corpuscles and particles rolled round one another as their centres, until being drawn off by the attraction of other centres, whereto they chanced to approach nearer, they moved in another circle, and so danced in a kind of figures of eight: but those on the outside, being thrown beyond the attraction of any centre, flew off by their tangential motion in a right line and contributed to form the flame. Look ye here, says Locke, what pretty country-dancings, and hayings, your five million of million of corpuscles make! You see a grain of tallow can do as much as a grain of wax: but I suppose you choose the latter as the genteeler and cleanlier of the two.

75. He then carried me down stairs and set me upon the floor. Now, says he, you may use your legs: here is ground to tread upon. I was overjoyed to find my feet again. I scampered to and fro like a wild colt upon a common, shifting my little legs faster than a fly upon a table. I found the boards and nails of the floor, and other bodies I met with were not solid, but rather a net-work consisting of very large meshes: neither were the threads between them any other than a finer net-work composed of smaller meshes resembling the shrouds of a ship: I run up and down the wainscoat by help of these shrouds without difficulty or danger of falling. There happened a chimney sweeper to



pass along the street, whose shrill cries made the strings of the net-works vibrate considerably, but in different directions according to the difference of their position: I found that by means of these vibrations I could jump above twenty times my own height, or throw myself a considerable way from a side of the stiles to some protuberance I could catch hold of in the pannel, like a squirrel vaulting from tree to tree; for after one or two trials I learned to form my fingers into claws, with which I could hang to anything like a cat. Once indeed attempting a swinging leap from the wainscoat to the floor, where the boards, being decayed with too frequent washing, were more porous than ordinary, I did not take my distance exactly, but falling in the middle of one of those wide meshes might have slipped quite through to the chamber below, if there had not chanced to lie a hair across the lowermost mesh of all: this having caught hold of, with a good stout spring I got my feet upon it and presently ran up the side of the pore to my conductor again. I bragged to him how nice this vibration-exercise was for teaching me to walk upon moving ground by taking a certain impulse and direction therefrom, whereby I should learn the sooner to skate upon the solar and stellar rays whenever I returned to ether. He smiled, and, Come, says he, enough of these gambols. Let us proceed to your chamber.

We did not go through the key-hole, as they say spirits usually do, for that would have been out of the way, but through the chink under the door: yet I held up my head as erect and found as good room over it as a goose in going through a barn. I followed my guide to the right hand or the left, up hill or down, as he led me, still skipping from mesh to mesh with higher bounds than needful, while he walked soberly along the strings.

We clomb a high pinnacle that appeared like the Peak of Teneriffe tapering up to the top, where was a spacious flat big enough for five hundred of us to have danced a Lancashire hornpipe. What are we got upon now? says I.—The point of a pin, says he, sticking out of your pillow. But look up over your head and all about ye.—I used to think, quoth I, the world was round: but this is a square world.—It is your bed, says he; the curtains drawn round except one place at the feet.—Good luck! says I, what fools are mankind to terrify themselves with notions of Ghosts throwing open their curtains and staring at them with saucer eyes! A million of us could not stir one of these heavy textures, nor reflect corpuscles of light enow to make the apparition of a flea. But what is that huge mountain over against us, with a monstrous gaping chasm on one side and a great ridge turn-

ed this way, from whence issue black streams of fuliginous vapor?—That, says he, is your head, mouth, and nose.—Surprising! says I; have I lain so many years, like another Enceladus, under that smoking Etna? How could I escape being suffocated with that load of filth upon my lungs?

Hark! says he, I hear the cocks crow in the stable yard, which is a signal for spirits to depart. So we descended the pinnacle, ran along the pillow, and he conducted me through one of the pores in my head, having first made me cast myself into the form of one of Lewenhoeek's animalcules. I had much ado to wriggle along, for it was all sticky and miry, like a Sussex road, with the insensible perspiration which in sleep is more copious. When we arrived at the anterior ventricles he took a hearty leave, wished me a happy return to the vehicular country again, and bid me take my station. I hung back, and with a lamentable groan, Must I, says I, must I lie imprisoned again in that loathsome dungeon?—Prithee! says he, no words. Reverence the Oath, for it is the Oath of Jove. Be ready upon call either to enter the body or quit the body. In matters put within thine own power, use thy judgment and discretion: but when thou seest whither the laws of nature or dispensations of Providence point, revere, resign, and obey. He then beckoned to Gellius, who leaving off writing, I know nothing of what passed afterwards.

76. It was now broad day-light, when Somnus, taking off his poppy garlands from my temples, fled away, but with him fled not the visions of the night; for the faithful Gellius had engraven them in strong characters upon the tablet of my memory. I started up full of the wonders I had seen: I turned eagerly to look for the pin, which I found sticking with the point upwards about six inches from my ear. Is this the summit, says I, where Locke and I found so much room to expatiate? And the sides are all smooth and polished. Where are the shrouds by which we ran up and down so easily? I then threw myself upon my back, and was astonished to see the bed tester so near me, which I beheld just before like the spacious canopy of heaven stretched over me at an immense distance. I tried to get a little nap for composing my spirits, but could not. So I got up, and after breakfast finding my head too confused for application of any kind that morning, I sauntered it away at auctions, coffee-houses, and the like. I could not help every now and then talking to myself, muttering out some mysterious words, such as Euridice, vehicles, Cæsar Borgia, riding upon the rays, and complained of my chocolate for not being so good as Ambrosia; till I perceived people began to look strange upon me and suspected that, as the French

Ambassador said of Monsieur D'Eon, I had a little alienation of the organs. This made me more circumspect and careful to bring myself down to sublunary affairs to save the credit of my intellects; for had I run Opera-mad, or Assembly-mad, or Methodist-mad, or Election-mad, I might have found companions enow to keep me in countenance, but such a peculiar species of insanity as Vehicle-madness must have been pointed at by everybody; so I strove hard against the impulse, and with a little practice came to think and talk again like other folks.

I then proceeded with diligence to reduce into writing the records engraven by Gellius upon my sensory, and I think I have done it very exactly, not omitting the minutest circumstance that could be discerned clearly; so if there be anything in them not consonant to the truth of facts, it is his fault for misleading me. It vexed me that I could not recover his interlineations, for by the imperfect notion I have of them, I imagine they tend to harmonize Reason with Religion, and to show that objects rightly placed either in the light of Nature or of the Gospel, will appear the same in substance and quality, varying only by a difference of colors, suited respectively to the different optics of the man of speculation or the man of business. I thought it very obliging in my kind patron to lead me through a variety of entertaining as well as instructive scenes: no doubt he had the latter principally in view, but interspersed the former to make the others the more palatable to my compatriots, who it must be owned are too squeamish in their taste, and fonder of the toothsome than the wholesome. I hope they will not frustrate his good intentions by doing like the children when one sweetens a pill for them, who suck off the sugar and spit out the medicine.

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## CHAP. XXIV.

### NATURE OF THINGS.

HAVING now dismounted my Pegasus and gotten safe upon firm ground again, without any bruises, or broken bones, or crack in the Pericranium, that my friends can perceive, let us turn him loose upon the common for the use of others who may be disposed to take the like adventurous flight, and let us proceed for the rest of our way in the safer tracks that reason shall beat out upon the solid bottom of experience and observation. But since in the Illusion § 71 of the last chapter, I have happened to mention a

nature of things, which could not subsist before the things themselves whereof it was the nature, and there are many persons who insist that we may know, by experience of our own thoughts, there are things and a nature of them which must have subsisted eternally, uncreated, independent on the Will and power of the Almighty, which he cannot alter nor depart from, but serve for an indispensable rule of his conduct in the creation and government of his worlds : since this doctrine is so zealously maintained, it will be worth while, before we canvass the truth of it, to inquire what is to be understood by that expression, The nature of things. It has been employed by the orthodox, Cudworth, in particular, building largely upon it as upon the sole stable foundation, but seems now to be chiefly in use among the freethinkers, who are very forward to tell you precisely what God can or cannot do : he cannot work a miracle, cannot give a revelation, cannot guide the motions of a free agent, nor make such a one impeccable, nor annex reward to an assent of the mind, nor make all his creatures of equal degree without a continued gradation from his own perfections down to nothing ; for these are contrary to the nature of things. If you ask what things they mean, or what by the nature of them, they will not vouchsafe, or rather cannot give, an explanation, but are angry with you as a captious person for putting the question ; yet still go on to lay a mighty stress upon those words without having any clear or settled idea of their import. It seems extraordinary that persons who are so severe upon others for using expressions they do not understand, should fall into the like absurdity themselves, and pretend to build demonstrations upon principles whereof they have no clearer nor more adequate idea than the vulgar they affect to ridicule have of their mysteries : both lay an implicit dependence upon words without a meaning, and both expect that a constant repetition of positive assertions chimed into their ears by others, should pass for proof and explanation.

2. Since then we can get no light for understanding the language from those in whose mouths it passes most currently, let us try what we can strike out for ourselves : and upon asking what is meant by things, the first obvious answer occurring is, that they must be the substances existing. For the rudiments of our knowledge come all from sensation : when we see or hear or feel, there must be some agent : some substance to operate upon our senses : and from hence we derive our evidence of external objects, as we do that of our own existence from the perceptions impressed upon us by them, together with the alterations produced in them by our activity ; for there must be a substance to perceive as well as an

object to be perceived, and an agent to act as well as a subject to be operated upon.

But our knowledge of substances seems to consist wholly of the differences among them ; our definitions and descriptions contain the particularities of the subject distinguishing it from everything else. For which reason we know nothing of our internal organs, the nerves and fibres of our brain, because whatever discoveries anatomy may have made, we have no experience of any diversity of operation among them, but for aught we can discern, our sensations of every various kind may come conveyed to us through the same channel. For the same reason many remain so ignorant of themselves, and make such difficulty to fix the idea of their own perceptive individual, because it is the same self that receives all their sensations, reflections, and perceptions whatever : therefore the difference of their perceptions does not lead them into the knowledge of themselves, though it does into that of externals affecting them therewith. For we cannot penetrate the essence of substances, we can apprehend them only by their qualities or powers of affecting us, or of producing and receiving alterations among one another, causing them to exhibit other appearances than they did before.

But the same substances possess so many qualities, and vary them so often according to their situations, their mutual affections, relations, compositions, and associations, that it would be inconvenient for use, and indeed impracticable, to call them all to mind : therefore our ideas in common discourse and even in meditation, are for the most part, if not always, partial, containing some only but not all of the qualities or circumstances we may know upon mature consideration belongs to the subject in our thoughts. And there is the less wonder at this because the appearances to our senses are likewise partial : nobody ever saw the whole circumference of a ball, nor all the sides of a cube. When a man stands before us, we see only his face and hands and the fore part of his dress ; and when we would think of him in his absence, the same appearance occurs without the least idea of his back, although we know well enough he must have one. And when we speak of him sate down at table, we would not choose to think of that unseemly part without which there can be no sitting : our idea contains no more than so much of his body as would appear without legs or feet, and in a lower situation than if he stood upright.

But the similarity of one or a few qualities found in many substances, differing widely in other respects, suits our convenience extremely well, enabling us to talk intelligibly of numbers by one name expressive of those qualities wherein they agree : whence

come our ideas of Genera and Species. For as Mr. Locke observes, the name of a species denotes those qualities, wherein a set of individuals agree, selected from those wherein they may differ; and a genus is a further selection out of those qualities, of some wherein a greater number of individuals agree who do not agree in them all. Thus the word Horse expresses such particulars as belong to every horse exclusive of size, shape, or color, wherein they are not all alike; as the word Animal does such of these particulars as belong equally to an eagle, a dolphin, or a frog, separated from those peculiar to the species of horses. Hence likewise we form our judgments, which commonly run upon species and genus or upon adjectives denominating some quality considered apart from the substance. Thus we say a horse is an animal, a crow is black, an elephant bigger than a sheep. But sometimes we turn our adjectives into substantives, and then can make genus and species of them as well as of substances: for red is one sort of color, green another, and Color is the Genus or Kind comprehending those two with all other particular colors under it; as Sound is the genus comprehending all the several Sorts of sound that can be made.

3. Of these partial ideas one species is the abstract, for abstraction signifies the drawing off or selection of one or a few things from others wherewith they were by nature connected. When this selection is made by the senses, we do not call it an abstraction, nor unless it be done by a voluntary act of the mind: and these abstractions are of two sorts, those strictly so called, as when we talk of abstract notions or abstract reasonings, which are such only as the speculative make with labor of thought for their particular use; and others which we are led into without trouble by the common occasions of life. For there are many abstract ideas extremely familiar to the vulgar, such as man, bird, noise, white, large, and so forth, of which they can talk currently yet without any thought of the substances whereto they belong. Wherefore it seems strange that Berkley and some others should deny that we have any abstract ideas, for all partial ideas are in the same case, whether the separation be made by our own act or by the operation of our senses; and it is so far from being true that we are incapable of partial ideas and appearances, that daily experience testifies we have scarce any others: but if my senses can exhibit to me a half man sitting behind a table without legs or lower parts, and my memory can make a further separation by certifying to me a week afterwards that I had seen a man sitting there, yet with so little remembrance of his features that I should not know him again if shown me, surely I can make another separation of a human

figure having eyes, nose, mouth, and so forth, without thinking whether the nose be long or short, what color the eyes are of, or what width the mouth.

And here I have the pleasure of joining in alliance with my lord Bolingbroke, for the spirit of opposition so little possesses me that I am glad to concur in sentiment with anybody where I can : I have once or twice stood up on behalf of Epicurus, and am now as ready to follow his lordship upon the possibility of abstraction and the dependent nature of things, whereon I think he argues closely and soundly ; though for the most part his philosophical essays, as he calls them, seem rather House of Commons harangues, as unfit for the schools of philosophers as their lectures would be for the other place, better calculated, like some modern orations, for amusing and tripping up than for counselling and conducting : yet even here he appears to have proceeded with more zeal for running down poor Cudworth than maintaining the cause of truth. And in the course of his argument he seems to have deserted it by apostatizing into Berkley's notion, that we cannot have the idea of a species unless by some particular individual to stand as a representative of the rest : which notion contradicts the constant experience of facts. For we talk every day of species, as men, cattle, birds, noises, colors : we know what we mean in using these terms, and are understood clearly by one another ; but a man can scarce be said to understand himself who has no ideas of what he says, nor to be understood by another without ideas of his words. The hearer may have different ideas from the speaker, and then misapprehends him, but to understand aright, the very same ideas must pass from the one to the other.

Now the representative individual, to be clearly apprehended, must rise in the imagination with some determinate size, shape, color, posture, in motion or quiescent ; therefore if this idea were necessary for understanding the specific name, no man could certainly understand another in the most common conversation, because he could never be sure the same representative which was in the mind of the other, passed unaltered to himself. Should I send to my bailiff in the country to buy me a couple of milch cows against my going down, I should seem to understand myself fully, I believe he would understand me as fully and execute my orders punctually ; yet I am not conscious that in giving such orders I have any particular cow in my thoughts : but his lordship it seems knows them better than I do myself, and he assures me that I must have a representative individual in view, for else I could have no meaning in the word Cow. Be it so : then this representative must be of some determinate color, for there is no

individual cow without, and I must intreat his lordship to tell me what that color was, for I protest I do not know. Suppose it red as being the most common : but my man must have a representative too, because else he can have no idea of my orders : perhaps he has been that morning among a drove of Welch cattle and takes a black one for his representative. Well then, away he goes to Fair where he sees two fine cows, one brindled and the other white : he judges them excellent beasts, in good milk and well worth the money asked for them : so he buys them both and thinks he has done bravely. Now when I come to see them am I to quarrel with the poor fellow for disobeying my orders, or to call him blockhead for not understanding so plain an expression as, Buy a couple of cows? or if he goes to excuse himself upon being not so learned a man nor so exact in abstract knowledge, should I tell him that the cows being of different colors, it was impossible they could both answer either his idea or mine, because neither of us could know what was meant by the specific term Cow without a representative, which must be of some one determinate color.

4. It is not uncommon for deep thinking persons to draw a confusedness over their thoughts by their refinements which the vulgar escape, and I think it plain that such as we have been arguing against in the last section, have not always a clear and adequate idea of what is meant by that expression, To have the idea of a thing. They seem to understand by it such particulars as will arise to the imagination when we take a single object under contemplation in our leisure hours : now I must own that whenever I contemplate a species there does generally, perhaps always, occur an individual before me, with color, shape, members, clothes, or hide, or fins, or feathers thereto belonging, and I hold it right to indulge this custom : for since our abstracts derive all originally from the concrete, and are liable to fluctuate and fade in our remembrance, there is no likelier method of renewing and fixing them than by sight or contemplation of the concrete as being the fountain from whence they sprung. But this serves only for restoring ideas known to us before, when we go to new form an idea upon a more perfect model, I never could find a single representative answer the purpose, but am forced to employ several.

If I would settle with myself what is justice, I think first perhaps of a man paying money that he has borrowed, which is a just action ; then with Tully, of one selling a house but concealing that there are bugs in it, or of running prohibited goods, or of the gross partiality of a father to some of his children above the



rest ; and thus by turning over a variety of actions in my thoughts, endeavor to fix a complete and precise idea of justice, which when gotten, no one of those actions can stand for a full representative afterwards, because destitute of some circumstances which constitute the essence of justice in others.

So if I met with a person that did not know what a triangle was, I might show him a piece of paper in that form : perhaps the piece is rectangular and he may take that particular into his idea ; I may then cut him several other pieces having various angles, and make him observe that they all agree in that circumstance of their having three straight sides lying between three corners : if I found him imagining that a triangle must be made of paper, I might then produce one of wood or ivory, and remark to him that these too agree with the former in the circumstance before mentioned. Possibly he still thinks a triangle must be something of a size to be turned about commodiously upon a table, when I discover this, it will be expedient to carry him into a three corner field, or point to some star in the zenith and another in the horizon, and tell him that they, together with the spot of ground we stand upon, form an immense triangle.

Thus these contrivances serve gradually to abstract or draw off the ideas constituting triangularity from all others, which any particular substance or space of that form may exhibit : and if I can succeed in making the separation clean and complete, he will then have the specific idea of a triangle containing neither the idea of rectangular, equilateral, isosceles, nor obtuse, neither softness nor hardness, neither solidity nor empty space, yet compatible and connectible with any of them.

We have all of us some of those abstract or general ideas, which we use in our daily transactions with one another ; they answer our occasions, nor could the business of life go on without them : but in the hurry of business or currency of common conversation, it is not to be supposed that we have the particular subjects, whereto our ideas may belong, passing continually in review before us. Or to rise to higher instances, a man used to it may harangue in public for hours together upon the most important matters with great judgment and perspicuity, so as to be readily understood by his audience, many of them perhaps persons of dull capacity and narrow imagination : yet it is not conceivable that he, much less they, should draw along in their thoughts a succession of representative individuals corresponding respectively with all the specific terms employed, in the same rapidity wherewith they were spoken. Whenever his lordship in either house had occasion to mention Prerogative or Liberty of

the subject, had he always pictured upon his fancy some particular exertion of royal authority together with the person of the Queen or her minister making that exertion? or of a private man with a steady determinate countenance expressive of resolution to disobey an illegal command? And if he had not those pictures, must we pronounce that he did not understand himself, nor had any idea of what he talked of?

5. These abstractions furnish us with another set of things which are not substances: for we say justice is not the same thing as bounty; color is one thing and sound another: sporting is a different thing from poaching, or poaching signifies quite a different thing when applied to destroying the game and to dressing of eggs; prudence and tranquillity of mind are desirable things; war, famine, and pestilence, dreadful things; there is such a thing as sincerity, but no such thing as absolute certainty among men. Now it is upon this sort of things only that the dispute turns, whether they are independent, unproduced, and necessarily existent: for with regard to substances, I believe all Theists nowadays agree with the soundest of them in former days, in holding that there is but one deserving those epithets, who therefore was called in Greek, *To On*, or the *Being*, and in Hebrew, *Jehovah*, or the *I AM*; but that all other substances whatever were created, their primary properties assigned them, their positions, affections, assortments, and relations, brought upon them by the provisions of that One or First Cause.

But substances are the only existent things containing in them all other things, which belong to them as modifications, relations, and circumstances, begin and end with them, and are so far from being independent on the Almighty, that they depend upon the manner of existing in those substances which depended upon his Will for their existence. For we have seen that the abstract is drawn from the concrete: it is a selection of one or a few ideas exhibited together with others by the concrete; we may think of it apart, but it cannot exist apart, nor without some substance possessing it. For our idea of a thing is not the thing itself: I may think and reason upon motion, when lying abed in a still night with everything quiescent about me; yet will anybody say there would have been such a thing as motion if there had been no movable substances ever in being? I can fancy the chair's dancing about the room spontaneously; but does that give a reality to such a species of movement? Who will insist there must be a specific existence of Cyclops, Chimeras, and black swans, because artists have had so full an idea as to delineate them exactly in prints and paintings?

But men of abstruse learning are led into mistakes upon this article, because many of their abstractions are not drawn immediately from substances, but from one another; and that by several gradations of new refinements, serving as a channel into others still more subtle. Like a wire-drawer who takes a little bar of silver, forces it through the hole of his engine, and by driving it successively through smaller and smaller holes, brings it to a fineness fit for winding round a thread of silk. Therefore, forgetting the steps by which they arrived at an abstraction, they discern no source to give it birth, but suppose it to have an existence of its own independent on everything else. Thus the rules of justice are apprehended immutable and unproduced, because you cannot draw them directly from any object before you. If you see a man sit musing in a chair, you may discern his complexion, his size, and all the parts of his human figure, but he exhibits no idea of justice in the whole appearance you have to inspect. Nevertheless, let us consider whether the rules of justice do not derive from the contemplation of man, for they relate solely to his dealings with others: if there was no such thing as justice there could be no rules respecting it, if there were no transactions among mankind there could be neither justice nor injustice, and if there were no men there could be no such transactions. Therefore justice and the rules of it cannot be older than man, nor perhaps so old, for while Adam lived alone there was no room for justice. But you say there may have been other creatures before him governed by the rules of justice: probably there might, and in that case justice was older than man, yet it was not existent before, nor necessarily coeval with, the substances capable of exercising it, who might have lived some time apart before being brought into one another's company.

6. Well but I might have an idea of justice though there never had been a race of men to practise it: this I much doubt of, for my ideas are all taken from experience of what I have seen, and if I had never observed a difference in the behavior of men to one another, I should never have known what justice was. Yet this will not satisfy, for you urged that now I have gotten the idea, I should not lose it though all the men besides myself were annihilated; and the like idea might subsist elsewhere, before there were any creatures to practise it, judgments might be passed and propositions formed concerning it: but there can be no idea of Nothing, therefore justice must have a real existence distinct from every just action and the agent performing it. Why, by this logic, I can prove there are Chimeras and black swans, for I have a clear idea of them, can pass judgments and form propositions con-

cerning them, as that the Chimera must be a dangerous creature in any country, and might eat up all the black swans : but I cannot have an idea of a Nothing, therefore the Chimera and the black swan have a reality and existence independent of everything else. So you do not perceive that you have changed the state of the question, you do not indeed change the terms, but you change the signification belonging to them : for whereas justice before was understood of something without us, whereof we might entertain an idea, it now becomes appropriated to the idea itself, which possibly may not be conformable to anything external. Let us then examine whether such idea can subsist independently on any substance.

I have generally employed the word Idea to stand for that state of our internal organs, which is the immediate cause of a perception : in this sense it is nothing more than a particular modification of matter and motion, which cannot subsist unless in a fine texture of material organs capable of taking such modification. But oftentimes Idea denotes the very perception of the mind, and in this construction can have none other reality than that derived from the mind perceiving ; for there cannot be a perception without a percipient. Thus in all lights wherein we can consider justice, it has no claim to independency and separate existence : for whether we conceive it to be something external which we can apprehend, it then depends upon the behavior of creatures among one another exhibiting it to our apprehension ; or whether we understand it of a corporeal idea, it can be no older than the organizations capable of being modified thereinto ; or whether we take it for a mental idea, it must begin and end with the perception of some mind affected therewith.

7. Let us now come to the nature of things, and this very expression might convince us that it cannot be necessarily eternal ; for substances are acknowledged to have been created, and we have seen that things unsubstantial depend upon them for their existence : then the nature of both cannot be older than the things themselves whereof it is the nature. There could not be a human nature before there were men, nor a nature of justice before there were agents capable of mutual dealings which might be regulated by the rules of justice. But so short an answer will hardly satisfy : we will therefore inquire more minutely into the proper import of the nature, which is somewhat difficult to settle because so variable in common use.

For nature is often placed in contradistinction to education, to art, to design, to chance, to miracle : and what is currently ascribed to it upon one occasion, has a different cause assigned upon an-

other. Every country fellow makes the distinction between natural grass and clover, nonsuch, or others that are sown, and between the natural produce of the ground and corn, which is the effect of cultivation: yet if a man takes a farm it is natural for him to plough and sow, and he depends upon the nature of the soil for the growth and goodness of his crops. Then again in discourses upon commerce, we count the corn and other fruits raised by industry among the natural produce of a country, because it is not imported nor manufactured of foreign materials. In distempers some people trust to nature for a cure, others send for a physician in hopes that his skill may throw off a burden she must have sunk under. Yet when corn is gotten from a field where nature would have yielded nothing but weeds, or a dangerous disease conquered by the cares of a physician, nobody reckons these in the class of supernatural events. So the excrescences and monstrous productions found in plants and animals, are sometimes styled preternatural and sometimes the sports of nature. Therefore nature signifies the properties, powers, relations, or affections, of the substances whereto we apply it. It is the nature of oaks to bear acorns, that is, the texture of their parts is such as to render them incapable of yielding peaches, apples, or any other crop than what they do. It is the nature of mustard to bite the tongue: here the term denotes a relation between the seed and the member, for if the latter had no sensibility the other could not bite. It is the nature of justice to stop the motions of self-love, that is, so far as a man has a sentiment of justice he will shape his measures thereby, although contrary to his private interests or his passions. When we speak of the Divine nature we understand thereby such Attributes and methods of proceeding as we conceive belonging to that first of substances.

This may account for the changeable meaning of the word, because it must unavoidably contain a different set of ideas according to the occasion or particular substances whereto it is applicable. For in speaking of natural grass, we regard only the spontaneous powers of the ground, which will yield nothing else: on mentioning the natural produce of a country, we think of the powers, opportunities, and materials, for raising commodities, which the inhabitants have within themselves without foreign aid. When we leave a wound or a disease to nature, we mean thereby the mechanical circulations and motions of our human body: when we talk of supernatural events, we compare them with the powers of all created agents within our knowledge, among which the skill of the physician stands included. Yet whoever believes the reality of those events, will not think it contrary to the nature

of God to work them, and whoever believes them so contrary, will deny the truth of the facts. But sometimes the term Nature does not so much as import one of those unsubstantial things before treated of, as when we say it is the nature of matter to be inert, which is a bare negation of any power to begin motion.

Nature, used alone in the most extensive sense, stands for the whole aggregate of powers we know certainly, or seem to know of among substances: but because substances qualified alike perform different operations according to what others they fall into connection with, and we cannot always investigate the causes bringing them together, this gives rise to the idea of Fortune. So that Nature has no more claim to be deemed an agent than Chance: one expresses those operations of substances which are reducible into a system, the other those which are wholly uncertain, and can be brought under no rule of observation. Therefore we talk of the stated laws of nature, as the courses or mazes of fortune; yet these mazes may sometimes gain an entrance among those stated laws, when we have found out a clue to them: for the eclipses and phases of the planets, which were anciently esteemed fortuitous, are now numbered among the regular phenomena of nature; whereas the weather still continues casual, not that we do not acknowledge it to proceed from natural causes, but because no human sagacity can discover those causes, nor foresee how they will operate.

Upon the whole it appears that nature is something more abstracted than those unsubstantial things treated of in the preceding sections, but being still further removed from its original source, is harder to be traced thereto; nevertheless that it must have had a source derived either immediately, or by their intervention from substances, and consequently cannot be independent, nor have an existence prior to the substances giving it rise. As is implied in those expressions, The birth of Nature, and when Chaos is called the womb of Nature and perhaps her grave: which though understood only of physiology, yet metaphysics and ontology, or the nature of Beings, must depend for its eternal or temporary duration upon that of the Beings which are the objects of this science.

8. Nevertheless it will be asked, shall we deny God to have had a perfect knowledge of the Nature of Things before he created them? I cannot undertake to pronounce peremptorily upon the manner of divine intelligence having none other conception of intelligence than what I can draw from my own manner of thinking; and I will not presume to say that the thoughts of God must be just such as my thoughts. Therefore, if this question

were proposed by an angel I should be dumb, expecting that whatever I could say would appear to him the idle roving of one who would needs be talking upon a subject above his comprehension : but since I am discoursing only with men, whose understandings are narrow like my own, the foundations of whose knowledge are similar to those I have to build upon, I may be allowed to think them not so greatly an overmatch as that I should give up the point without an argument.

Now I observe in the first place that the question implies a time wherein God was alone without any creation, but on a sudden began to resolve upon having an universe peopled with perceptive Beings capable of receiving the blessings he would pour forth upon them : which seems to me inconsistent with the principal tenets of the persons I have to deal with. For if God be good, communicative of happiness by the necessity of his nature, and there were an eternal unproduced nature of things rendering one plan of operation more productive of happiness than all others, this must have prompted, I will not say obliged, him to carry that best plan into execution immediately as soon as he was able, that is, from everlasting, for his omnipotence never had a beginning ; before which there could be no time of solitude wherein he might contemplate the pre-existent nature of not yet existent things.

I remark next that as in the case of justice taken notice of in § 6, we have now shifted the sense of our term ; for this nature antecedent to creation is not a nature of things but the idea of it, and in this ideal state cannot be older than the mind contemplating it. Well, but that need not hinder its being eternal because the mind entertaining the idea undoubtedly was so. But how does it appear undoubtedly that such idea was eternally entertained ? What Attribute or what expedience shall we assign that should require it ? Was it for the Divine solace and amusement while there were no worlds to uphold, no government of Providence to administer ? It is true we can imagine no happiness without some employment either of acting or thinking : but when we presume to talk of the Supreme Being, it becomes us to proceed humbly and reverentially, with a consciousness that our conceptions are all drawn from experience of what has passed among ourselves ; and the same experience may evince that everything passing with us is by no means applicable to him. When at any time I am totally debarred from action, I must let my imagination roam upon some scenes occurring thereto, or else the time will pass insipid and irksome : but what ground have I to think the same of God ; or that his time must pass insipid and irksome without an ideal nature of things perpetually to engage his attention ? So the motive of entertain-

ment affords us no evidence to prove the eternity of such ideas : and the motive of goodness yields as little, for what good could rebound to the creatures, while there were none existent, from contemplation of a nature of things by which their fortunes were to be regulated ?

But you will say it would be blasphemy to imagine the work of creation gone upon in a hurry without mature consideration of all the possibilities wherein it might be effected, and a selection of such method as should appear most proper in wisdom and goodness to be chosen. Here again we judge of the All perfect by ourselves. When I have some important business to take in hand, my thoughts are cloudy and uncertain, at first, I deliberate successively upon the several ways wherein I might conduct myself, I compare them together, and it is lucky if after running them over a while in my reflection I can at last discern clearly which is the most probable to answer my purpose. But shall I measure Omniscience by my own scanty model ? shall I pronounce that it must study a thousand years before it can hit upon a perfect plan, and bring all the parts to harmonize and join in perfect symmetry with one another ? Ought not I rather to believe that when God creates, his acting and his complete knowledge of the manner most expedient to be followed in acting are co-instantaneous ; and that as he creates with a word so he plans with a thought, using length of time or process of operation in neither ?

9. Yet if such contemplative solitude could be demonstrated eternal we could not thence pronounce it independent and unproduced, but owing to the Will and pleasure of God, who chose to employ himself that way rather than in the actual exercise of his creative power : for to suppose the contemplation forced upon him involuntarily, would be still building with our slender scantlings, and judging rashly of his intelligence by our own. We are passive in all our perceptions, they are excited in us by something else, most probably by the modifications of our mental organs. In sensation we know there are external objects operating upon us, and though in reflection we do not certainly know what it is that affects us, yet we may know assuredly there can be no affection without an action, nor action without an agent, nor agent which is not a substance : so that in our most retired meditations there is some substance exhibiting the objective ideas we perceive. Now what substance was there to act upon the Almighty before the worlds were made ? or what agency, what power of exhibiting objective ideas in an unsubstantial nature of things ? Therefore we must conclude that God is purely active in the exercises of his intelligence as well as of his omnipotence, and that his thoughts



are not affections raised by some object passing in review before him ; although this be a manner of thinking far above our conception because beyond all our experience.

Nevertheless to speak as a man, and otherwise we cannot speak, there is no understanding without objects to contemplate, nor any object of knowledge that has not been forever discerned by the Omniscient : what kind of objects then shall we assign to the Divine intelligence ? Must they needs be forms and qualities, genera, species, modes, essences, and abstract natures, possibilities of what will never be done, and hypothetic results from imaginary premises which never were nor ever will be realized ? Here too we are misled by the necessities and weaknesses of our own faculties. We have frequent occasion to contemplate, to compare, to assort, to unite, to distinguish, a number of things, more than we can possibly bring together within the compass of our imagination : therefore we make abstractions, which are partial ideas more commodious for our grasp. For we have seen before that the abstract is drawn from the concrete : it is a shred torn off from the substances, needful enough for convenience of carriage in our shallow vessel. Like the woollen-draper's book of patterns, which I bring home in my pocket when I would consult my *Serena* and my *Sparkler* upon the color of a suit, because I cannot carry the whole pieces : for if we went down to the shop and had the cloths themselves spread before us upon the counter, I should never think of calling for the book of patterns. So if I have any considerable purpose to effect and the sure means of completing it happened by great chance to occur at first view, I never trouble my head with the possibilities of other measures that might be taken, nor stand to make hypotheses of what would ensue had circumstances been different from those I find. Shall we then fancy those shifts necessary for the Author of Nature and comprehended therein, because they are necessary for us imperfect creatures ?

He has a full view of all the men upon earth, of all that ever were or ever shall be, so has no use for the specific idea of man : he knows all the actions of free agents, past, present, and to come, so has no need of an abstract idea of justice to pass a judgment upon them : he discerns distinctly all the substances ever created, their operations and affections, so wants not an unsubstantial nature of things for his guidance in the management of them. Therefore, with submission and reverence be it spoken, there seems a truer regard for his glory in believing that he discerns the abstract solely in the concrete produced or to be produced into Being by his own power, has no specific ideas or abstractions.

of forms and essences detached from their substances, nor ever contemplates an unsubstantial nature of things, nor thinks of possibilities never to be produced into act, nor frames hypothetic propositions of what would happen if such or such measures were to be taken: for all these are expedients rendered necessary by our infirmities, which we can with no color of reason ascribe to him. It is indeed excusable, because unavoidable, upon many occasions to speak of his proceeding in a manner conformable to our own, and even to attribute to him human passions and affections, such as favor, detestation, resentment, jealousy, repentance, fondness for glory, pleasure at our obedience, or solicitude for our welfare; of doing him service, of grieving his holy spirit, of our sincere zealous resolutions and hearty praises casting up a sweet smelling savor before him: but we ought to remember that these expressions are not adequate to the subject nor descriptive of his essence, but indulgencies only granted in condescension to our infirmity which has none but grovelling ideas to apply to the sublimest of objects.

10. Still there may remain a suspicion of something antecedent, not only directive of intelligence but even restrictive of omnipotence: for no Will can make a thing be apprehended otherwise than it appears, nor understand it different from what it is; and there are absolute impossibilities, as that two and two should make five, that the angles of a triangle should not be equal to two right ones, that an agent should at the same time be free and impeccable. And here I may call in aid the noble lord before cited, who declares that these propositions are identical, carrying a show of something profound but really expressive of nothing: for to understand a thing otherwise than it is would be not to understand it, therefore to tell me I cannot do so is the same as saying I cannot be ignorant of it when I do understand it; but in the case of the Supreme Being he directs his own intelligence, for he determines how he shall understand a thing by making it what it is.

Then the necessity urged of two and two making four, carries the face of an operation performed by two and two to produce the new Being Four, together with some superior force restraining them from producing anything else, and indeed Product is the technical term among arithmeticians for the sum found by multiplication: whereas two and two were already the same thing with four before our multiplying them together, and differ only in idea according as we consider them separated or united. If I had two guineas in my pocket and somebody pays me two, I now have four; but the guineas were four while in different hands, and you might have truly said there were four guineas in the room before

the payment : so that to say it is impossible two and two should make five, is the same as saying they cannot be anything else than what they are.

In like manner the essence of a triangle contains two particulars, The having three angles, and the quantity of their widths added together which is equal to two right angles : for you might easily draw lines upon paper making three angles greater or less than two right ones, but then those lines will not enclose a space and consequently be no triangle. The former of these particulars is as obvious as that twice two are four, but the latter is unknown to many persons ; and those who do know it were taught by long process of demonstration, which demonstration was only a new discovery to them of what was really contained in the essence of the subject. Therefore to urge, that it is impossible for any power to make the angles of a triangle unequal to two right ones, amounts to nothing more than that no power can form a triangle which shall be no triangle : for though the word Impossible makes a show of some limitation by antecedent causes confining the power to one particular manner of exertion, yet it is here a delusive sound without a meaning. Who would think it a limitation upon his powers, to have it proved impossible for him to do a thing that shall be quite different from what he does? or lament at lying under control of an uncreated necessity, because he cannot write a letter without writing nor walk across the room without walking? For my part I should esteem it rather a mark of inability and subjection, if when I were tired of sitting still, it were possible that I might walk ever so fast and yet continue all the while in the sedentary posture become irksome to me.

The same answer will do for the impossibility of a free agent being impeccable. Those who battle most strenuously for this tenet are cloudy and fluctuating in their conceptions at first, but if after much squabbling and shifting ground you can dispel the clouds and dust they raise, so as to bring them to some determinate steady sense of their words, you will always find them meaning the same thing by Free agency and Peccability : so their assertion becomes merely identical, Whatever is peccable must be peccable ; or as they affect hypothetic propositions, If God will give a creature peccability he must make him peccable, for it is not in the nature of things to do otherwise. Now to my apprehension free agency and peccability are different : freedom perhaps includes a power of doing wrong, but I understand by peccability a liableness to do wrong, which two I conceive not only distinguishable in idea but separable in fact, and think I find some few instances in myself of their being actually separated. I seem

to have full liberty to burn my wig whenever there is fire or candle near me, yet while I can keep my senses and avoid the frenzy of election or party bumpers, I apprehend myself under no hazard of such an idle freak. And I am so far from believing God unable to deliver me totally from my peccability, without depriving me of my freedom, that I have hope he will actually do it for myself in particular, and for countless multitudes of my fellow creatures, in some future stage of our existence whereto he is now preparing us by his laws of nature and courses of Providence in this sublunary stage.

11. Nevertheless, supposing an unalterable nature of things, this can be no sure ground of our reasonings, because we can never be sure of apprehending it exactly : for such nature must continue always one and the same, but our abstract ideas notoriously fluctuate in our thoughts and vary from those of other people. We have all of us some idea of justice, yet are perpetually doubtful whether particular actions coincide therewith or not : and no man can fix so perfect an idea of that virtue as that he may not afterwards find reason to add or relax therefrom. And among various persons how discordant are their notions of justice, of honor, of public spirit, and all other abstract ideas ?

Notwithstanding all the cares I have bestowed upon metaphysics and abstraction, I find I have not gotten the true idea of perjury ; for if I took a transfer, of five hundred India to vote at an election and give it back again upon the opening, and on going to the ballot should swear the said stock was my own property and my name not used in trust for any other, I should think myself guilty of perjury : or if I had a thousand and lent half of it to a friend upon the like terms, I should think this a subornation of perjury. But there are much wiser people, because better skilled in the only valuable knowledge, the art of getting money, who see there is nothing to reproach oneself for in all this. And I suppose the same wise people would perceive, though I cannot, that there is no harm in swearing a man's life away, provided one could get a swinging sum, or serve a friend, or ruin a party by so doing. I dare not presume to argue the case with them, for they would only laugh at my simplicity or cry me down for my superstition. And here I am not so simple as to be insensible of their wisdom in employing this kind of logic : for a laugh and an outcry have the same effect upon the rational faculties as stopping one's ears has upon that bodily sense ; and I can clearly discern that the wisest way can be taken in the nature of things for defending some opinions, is to stop one's ears against whatever can be said in opposition to them.

12. Again if there were an abstract nature of things having a reality separate from the things themselves, so much of it as does not affect the substances wherewith we have concern would be needless to be known by us. What should we be the better or the wiser for knowing ever so accurately the nature of Chimeras, Cyclops, or flying Dragons, since no such creatures will ever fall in our way? or for understanding the abstract foundations of prudence and good policy among Sylphs and Gnomes, which have no existence elsewhere than in imagination? Neither is it practicable, if it were desirable, for us to frame an idea of such unoperating nature or any single particular belonging to it: for our ideal knowledge all comes from experience, our most refined speculations are nothing more than recollections of what has been deposited in our memory by the operation of substances, being either external objects or the modifications of our mental organs. We may compound, assort, disunite, and recal them in another order or other company than they entered; we may join things which never appeared together; we may think of a cause and its remote effect without that process of operation by which it has always worked it, or annex the idea of a cause to effects it does not bring forth, and this way can make fantastical compositions and romantic events unlike to anything that nature has ever produced: yet still the materials are all picked out from scenes we have actually known exhibited. I have seen women, horses, birds, of various plumage, and fish, and by collecting several parts of these into one assemblage, like flowers tied in a nose-gay, can easily make up that whimsical figure with which Horace begins his art of poetry. We have known admirals hang out signals and by them govern the motions of a fleet: it is but slipping out of mind the captains and crews obeying the signals, and we shall have the signals themselves remaining for the immediate cause of the movements in the ships; by which example we may learn to fancy a fairy raising a magnificent palace by a stroke of her wand. I have seen different animals, can recall one of them to mind and immediately discard it by substituting another in its room; by which power I could easily fancy an old witch turning herself into a tabby cat. And it is observable that conjurors of all sorts use certain mysterious words and gestures, whereby they teach imagination to join causes with effects not belonging to them: so that magic, witchcraft and conjuration may be called the habit of culling causes and effects well known in experience, but connecting them together in a manner nature never did.

Nor is it unlikely that errors in philosophy should spring from the same source. Lucretius builds his theory upon the observa-

tion of motes in a sun-beam, which in general fall perpendicularly, but many of them decline from their line of descent at uncertain times in various and uncertain directions; never reflecting what experience might have informed him, that every little motion of the air will give an impulse to those light bodies: so by this lucky omission he struck out his ingenious contrivance for making a world by chance. Our abstract ideas of species, forms, essences, powers, modes, relations, and natures, are only remembrances of what we have noticed in substances or their operations: but the notice touching upon various points of the same object at different times and in different persons, and imagination being too scanty to contain all the stores of our remembrance, but having her scenes composed of such particulars as occur from time to time spontaneously or can be drawn up by recollection, it is no wonder that our notions are imperfect, unstable, perpetually varying among themselves and from those of one another. Our moral ideas all bear an ultimate reference to satisfaction or happiness, and have for their object such sentiments of the mind as, either by themselves or by the actions they prompt to, make an increase or diminution of happiness. And hence it comes that they are so frequently discordant among mankind and fluctuating in each man: for the efficacy of a particular sentiment, and the consequences of an action, being infinitely various according to situations and circumstances, it is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to fix the essence of justice, of honor, of piety, of holiness, and all others of the moral class, so accurately as that something yet unobserved or slipped out of mind shall not cause an alteration of shape or color therein. Therefore those ideal natures and essences are unfit to be taken for the basis of knowledge or first principles of action: they are good and needful directions for our conduct both in acting and reasoning, the sole means of making past experience profitable, but so far from being eternal, unproduced, and unalterable, that they were the offspring of observation upon substances and operations we have known; and are apt to change, like stale meat, so far as to become unwholesome, if locked up long in the speculations of the closet. They must be frequently brought out into the air of the world, applied to the occurrences passing there, and continual endeavors used by familiar example, comparison, distinction, fresh observation, and supposition of cases likely to happen, so to fix their figures upon the memory as that there may be nothing defective or superfluous, and they may rise uniform and steady every time they make their appearance in the imagination.

13. The doctrine of an uncreated nature of things seems to have gathered strength from a notion of its necessity to direct the choice of the Almighty in his creation : for choice must be founded on the discernment of one thing being preferable to another, which discernment does not make the preference, it only finds a preference subsisting before in the object contemplated. But this necessity will appear none when we reflect that, as already hinted in the above cited § 71 of the last chapter, many things must have passed in the creation for which no direction could be had from an antecedent nature of things. Supposing the characters, endowments and offices, of all perceptive Beings ascertained by such nature, which is more than I can pretend to say that they were, yet how can that nature allot particular persons to the several parts and offices it had made requisite in the universe? What if there must be an Archangel to lead forth the hosts of the Lord to battle, and such a reptile as Ned Search to puzzle his brains with dry speculations that nobody heeds, why was it necessary that Michael must be the Archangel and I the reptile? It is true that in my present condition I am utterly unfit to cope with the arch rebel, for he would pinch me to nothing with a gripe of his iron claw, and this is owing to the infirmity of that nature which God has given me : but what was Michael better than me before either of us were created? both were then nonentities, undistinguishable nothings, capable of neither fitness nor unfitness for any office whatever. Then what antecedent necessity should so constrain omnipotence as that God might not have created me to the powers and intelligence of the Archangel, and made Michael the weak and sinful son of Adam? The plan of universal Providence would still have gone on as it does ; Satan would still have been overthrown and the same chapters still have been scribbled. We may think it requisite there should be successive generations of men from the formation of this earth to its final dissolution, but what was there in the nature of things to make it requisite that I and my cotemporaries should be living just now, and not have been produced into Being among the antediluvians or reserved for some future century? Had their persons, with whom we had then exchanged lots, been born in our time with our natural talents, received our education and consorted with our company, they would have performed their parts just as we have done, and the course of human affairs would have been nothing different.

Yet why was it necessary there must be an endless variety of creatures with continual gradations of power, intelligence, and office among them? was it impossible they could all have been made equal and alike? What can we see in the antecedent na-

ture of things to make it indispensably requisite that there should be Archangels and reptiles, patriarchal simplicity and modern refinements? What higher cause can we assign for these things than the Will and good pleasure of the Creator?

If there be any rule of direction which we cannot separate from our idea of God; it is that of goodness; for we say that God is good by the necessity of his nature: but goodness respects only the happiness bestowed and production of creatures capable of being made happy; it has no concern with the manner of making them happy; so long as the same portion of blessing is distributed, it gives no preference to one particular method of distribution rather than another. What previous fitness of things do we discover, or what in the nature of goodness, that should hinder but that God might have given us the measure of happiness designed, by his own continued act without the intervention of second causes? was he not able, or would it have been laborious and troublesome to have done so? In this case the creatures would have wanted no faculty of activity, for the perceptive alone would have sufficed; a corporeal world to supply them with materials of enjoyment had been needless, as likewise those wonderful courses of Providence producing order therein, nor could there have been room for wisdom to display herself. For the very essence of wisdom lies in the nice adjustment of causes among one another and to their destined effects, so that an infinite variety of them shall, by many intricate channels and discordant operations, bring forth the exact series of events projected. What is done by dint of power, requires no wisdom to perform it. If I have a bowl in my hand and want it to touch the jack at the other end of the green, the shortest way would be to carry it thither, but then there is no skill in doing this: the skill lies in rolling it along the ground so that, by taking a compass over several inequalities of the turf, it shall rest at last just in the spot I would have it. Or if there were blocks in the way, that it could not reach the mark unless by a passage of twenty angles made by touching upon so many bowls, he that could make a sure cast under these circumstances would show a most surprising skill. Why then do we take so much trouble in rolling our bowls when we might carry them easier? The answer is obvious: for our diversion, or perhaps to show our dexterity to some bystander. But shall we say that God put his host of second causes in act, as we go to a game at bowls, for amusement? or was it to show what he could do?

It may indeed be thought an end worthy ascribing to him, to manifest his glory and his wisdom to the creatures, but this is be-



cause he has so constituted some of his creatures as that the contemplation of his glory and admiration of his wisdom becomes a principal channel of their happiness: yet he has provided enjoyments for multitudes of creatures without giving them any capacity of knowing him or his works, and of that species which he has endued with such capacity, there are many to whom the necessary occupations of that station wherein he has placed them, the turbulence of their passions and continual action of sensible objects around them, has rendered it impracticable to exercise their faculties in the extent whereof they are capable. Thus what grounds there are for the display of glory must be looked for in the constitution and nature given to the creatures on calling them forth into Being, not in anything prior to their creation: nor can we devise any previous necessity nor eternal fitness, that should determine him to satisfy the demands of goodness by the long-spun contrivances of wisdom, rather than by the direct operations of power. Since then, if we will needs judge of the Creator by our own ideas, there appears to have been many particulars attending the creation, for which we can form no idea of any direction to be had from a pre-existent abstract nature of things, we must acknowledge that in those particulars he could and did proceed without it, and from thence may conclude that he might do the same in all others belonging to his work.

14. Even goodness, that most important of all the Attributes to us, seems ascribed too hastily by many to such an abstract nature, for they say that God is good by the necessity of his nature: which expression I have used just now after their example, though without a full understanding of the terms, for to my apprehension they imply a necessity casting goodness upon him involuntarily, or making it requisite for him to act upon that principle; but for my part I will not pretend to say how it comes that he is good, nor assign a cause of his being so. Men are good because it is their duty, because it will obtain them his favor, because they think it their truest interest, because they have been led into it by good company, because it is soothing to their reflection, and grateful to their moral sense: but I can ascribe none of those motives, nor any other conceivable by me, to the Almighty.

Goodness, you will urge, is an excellence, and all excellences must centre in him. Let us beware that we do not slide back again into the notion of things abstract and unsubstantial subsisting independently on their substances: for what are we to understand by Excellence? The idea results from comparison, most frequently among us from a comparison of persons; we call a man excellent in his way when he far surpasses others: in this sense we

may say without blasphemy that the excellence of God sprung from his creation, for a sole Being can have no excellence because it has nothing to excel. Or if you will apply the term, you might with equal propriety apply its contrary, for while the sole he was the lowest as well as the most excellent of Beings. Therefore when he had made a multitude of creatures far inferior to himself, then it was he began to be the most excellent.

In the other sense of excellence it rests upon a comparison of things, those being judged the most excellent which are most advantageous, or conduce to the most excellent purposes, that is, such as yield the largest income of happiness. It is true goodness placed in this light must appear the highest excellence, because that alone gives us an interest in omnipotence, omniscience, and infinite wisdom, which without it would become objects of mere speculation, or perhaps of dread and horror. But then it is an excellence relatively to us, and if we think to increase it by our prayers, oblations, and rectitude of conduct, we shall do well, as being the most excellent purpose we can drive at: yet this does not prove it an excellence to him, nor fixed upon him by the necessity of his nature. If a man have talents and a disposition of mind highly beneficial to the public, though productive of nothing but incessant cares and trouble to himself, we think him an excellent person, and he may think it himself an excellent possession, and why? either because of the satisfaction of mind redounding therefrom, or more rationally because it is every man's truest interest to do the most good he can. For in that only nature of things which lies within our knowledge, the motive of every action regards ultimately some benefit of the agent, either real or fancied; and if there be another nature we know nothing of, we can never take upon us to pronounce what it does or does not require: the known nature of agency manifestly does not render an Attribute of goodness necessary, for what joy, what advantage, could accrue to the Almighty from effecting his gracious purpose of making creatures to be happy? or how was it better or more excellent for him to be good than to be evil?

But it will be asked, can I imagine a Deity otherwise than good? I frankly own that I cannot, because I feel so many effects of bounty in myself, and see so many blessings poured daily among the creatures on all sides around me, that I cannot imagine them proceeding from any other than a beneficent, gracious, and indulgent power. Thus I discover the cause by the effects, and rest contented in the discovery without wanting or pretending to look further for a cause of that cause, which I esteem the First, thinking myself happy there is such a one from under whose influence

I can never be removed. Nor is my method different with respect to the other Attributes, and even the Being of a God, for all which I could never yet enter into the force of arguments *a priori*. I see there is a world, and my reason convinces me it could not exist without a Creator, therefore there is one. I know from experience of works I have seen performed, that the world could not be made without power, and can discern nothing that should limit or obstruct that power, therefore the Creator is omnipotent. In this manner I go on investigating the other Attributes by comparison of causes and effects: if at any time I try to throw aside all my experience, together with the observations and theorems stored in mind therefrom, I find nothing but obscurity whereon I can neither judge, nor reason, nor argue.

15. What then! do we represent God as arbitrary, that it is wholly uncertain in what manner he will deal with us, that he follows none other guidance in his proceedings than mere will and pleasure? Far be it from me to draw this conclusion, nor do I think the premises laid down above will bear it. For arbitrary proceeding is acting with no regard to the condition of the subjects acted upon, and such action must always be uncertain; but without an antecedent uncreated nature of things I apprehend God does not want a guidance for his proceedings in the subsequent nature given to his substances on making them; and that he follows invariably those rules which he had prescribed to himself by the creation, which last opinion I gather from his immutability.

Yet neither can I venture to pronounce him immutable by the necessity of his nature, for I can see nothing previous that should make it necessary, but infer it from the steady regularity observable in his laws of visible nature and course of events respecting mankind, and from the absence of all conceivable causes which might work a change in him. Men are changeable either from ignorance, which leaves room for new lights perpetually to cast a new appearance of things upon their judgment; or from imbecility, rendering them liable to be hurried to and fro against their judgment by the spontaneous and uncertain impulse of their passions: and I have observed that in proportion as they can get rid of their ignorance and imbecility, they grow more and more uniform and steady in their sentiments and conduct. Therefore being fully assured those two causes are absent from God, I see no shadow of probability for their effects: nor can entertain a suspicion that he may be good and provident to-day but cruel or regardless of us to-morrow: that at one time he could look forth upon the works which he had made and behold they were very good, con-

formable to his liking ; but at some subsequent season he might look forth again and behold they were stark nought, displeasing and odious in his sight : that he should choose a plan of operation, persevering in it for successive ages until at length he changed his mind, departed from his plan and pursued another diametrically opposite.

Nevertheless, we must take care to settle the proper idea of immutability, which is not inconsistent with a variety of action, provided the whole scheme of action be laid out upon one plan : for we do not pronounce a man changeable and uncertain because he sometimes goes, to bed, and sometimes gets up, sometimes sits down to eat and sometimes rises to labor, or studies and uses exercise, meditates alone, and diverts himself among his friends at different times, if in all those changes of action he still holds on the same tenor of conduct and acts upon the same principles throughout. So the measures of universal government are immutable although the dispensations made by it are various, sometimes building up and sometimes pulling down, sometimes cherishing with salubrious influences, and sometimes destroying with pestilence and famine ; although barbarism and good polity by turns overspread the several countries of the earth ; although at times we are in pleasure or pain, in hope or under dejection, gladdened with success or vexed with disappointment. For these are various parts making up the symmetry of one uniform plan which never varies from itself : so that the universe continues always the same but the members of it fluctuate, perpetually changing condition with one another.

16. It is this fluctuation among the members and individuals of an immutable Whole, that occasions so many mistakes in the doctrine of final causes ; for our unpiercing optics reaching a very little way into the chain of events around us, we frequently take the means for the end and deceive ourselves in their bearings and tendencies ; but if we could discern the final causes as they grow in order from one another, there would be no surer foundation whereon to build our reasonings, nor could there be a safer measure of our conduct than to exert our little powers in co-operating with them. Those final causes are best sought out by a diligent examination into the nature of things, that is, of substances, their qualities, mutual relations, and operations, falling within the compass of our notice : whose natures must of course have continuance in proportion to that of the subject whereof they are predicated. That there is a nature of the British constitution nobody will deny, nor that it requires the attention of every one who would strike out any measures of sound policy among us, for none

that are contrary thereto can succeed : but this nature was so far from being eternal and unchangeable, that fifteen hundred years ago, before there was a British constitution, it had no Being, so could require nothing and direct to nothing : and a little smattering in English history will manifest, that it has received many changes from the Saxon heptarchy to the present flourishing condition of our American colonies. The absorption of six kingdoms by the seventh, the introduction of Papal authority, the Norman conquest, the wars of the Barons, the breaking of their power, the reformation, the growth of commerce and naval strength, the Revolution, the very recent discovery of representation being confined to persons having some interest in elections, have each of them given us a different nature.

Nevertheless there may be natures eternal, if the substances whereon they depend were so ; and unchangeable though the substances fluctuate into different sorts of creatures, provided others perpetually succeed in their places : for the noble ally whom I have called to my assistance in this chapter will concur with me in maintaining a distinction between eternal and independent or uncreated. We do not deny that God might have created Beings from everlasting capable of right and wrong in their dealings among one another, in which case the fundamental rules of justice were eternal and immutable. What though there be evident marks of generation in this earth : possibly the universe never was without a race of men in some dirty habitation or other, and then human nature with all the abstractions belonging to it was eternal. Nor shall I scruple to admit that God has regard to those natures, making his dispensations conformable thereto, so that we may style them his guidance : but then it is in the government only, not the creation of the world, whereof they were the production and consequently could not be the direction. We therefore having nothing better than those natures to make the basis of our reasonings, it would be an unwarrantable presumption in us to pronounce anything confidently concerning creation, the manner or causes of it ; for we never had experience of a creation or anything previous or preparatory to it, so can have no ground whereon to build an hypothesis. It is enough, and a great matter too, for us if we can discern how things are constituted ; for from thence, as from the only source we have access to, may be gathered so much knowledge of the Divine nature as is needful or possible for us to attain.

17. I should not have been so copious or perhaps tedious upon this abstruse subject, but that I apprehend it of great importance to such as push their thoughts beyond the common extent : for it

is of little avail to the vulgar, who seek for nothing further than the Will and good pleasure of God, to account for the constitutions of things, the course of events befalling among them, the rules of duty or obligations to moral conduct; and in this instance are wiser than the speculative. But a trust in God is the grand corner stone of all Religion, and of all our hopes beyond what this present sublunary scene of affairs can afford: therefore it is of the highest moment to every person to take care that this stone lies firm upon solid ground, and while it seems to press close thereon, it do not indeed take its support from some side-props which keep it hollow. We may laudably search into visible nature to find what is the Will of God, for we may learn something of it from his works; but if when so found, our dependence rests upon anything else, whether in heaven above or earth below, in the wilds of abstraction or a divine nature subsisting independently on that Will, we shall find it fail us in time of need, how fair soever it may promise during the enthusiasm of speculative discoveries. For this enthusiasm, like the heat of argument, will often give a color of demonstration to mere plausible appearances, so beguiling the judgment as to make men mistake their own sentiments and perceive not the real ground whereon their persuasions stand. They think themselves actuated by a zeal for the divine glory in maintaining that God is good, and just, and wise, and holy, by the necessity of his nature; which notion is really suggested by a secret mistrust of him. They apprehend their fortunes unsafe in his hands; they feel uneasy at the thought of lying under his absolute dominion: they suspect he may deal arbitrarily, unjustly, and unkindly by them; so they want some barrier against the dangers of unlimited prerogative, which barrier they suppose to be had in the antecedent, uncreated, unalterable nature of things keeping him perpetually in order.

But this is a novel doctrine unknown to the soundest of ancient writers either sacred or profane: Pythagoras taught that things were established, the powers of nature and course of events ascertained, by the oath of Jove: the Scriptures speak of a covenant of God fixing the laws of nature, so that day and night, seed time and harvest, should never fail; and represent even the supernatural interpositions therein recorded as made in consequence of the oath sworn unto David, and the eternal purpose of God before the foundations of the world. Now an oath and a covenant are free and voluntary acts, where there is no higher authority to require the one nor valuable consideration given to make the other expedient: therefore those could be only figurative expressions of the Divine immutability, yet were they thought sufficient secu-

rities without wishing or seeking for anything further to enforce their performance. Wherefore prudence should incline us to inure our minds to place their confidence upon this sole stable bottom, and to satisfy ourselves of its solidity by frequent impartial examination: for whatever better support we may flatter our imagination with in the fondness of refinement, when distress or an approaching dissolution threatens, the fondness will subside, our support be withdrawn, and we shall remain utterly at a loss where to find another.

18. If we are fully assured that God is good and that he will always continue so, what more can we desire for our dependence? what should we be the better if we could know why he must be good? or what addition would it make to our security, unless we entertained a suspicion of the other two? These two points then it behoves us to take for the principal objects of our attention, examining impartially what evidences there are to convince our judgment of their truth; and then by frequent contemplation of such evidences, so to inculcate the result upon our minds that it may grow into an habitual steady persuasion rising spontaneously to the thought in full strength and color whenever needful. Actual goodness is discerned by the preponderancy of enjoyments above the uneasinesses open to our observance, and the means of preservation, support, accommodation, relief, and comfort, amply provided around: but then we must take care to distinguish between goodness and fondness or a compliance with every sudden humor, nor confine our view to ourselves alone or our situation in the present moment, which may happen to contain nothing of enjoyment within its compass. And the continuance of goodness may be learned from the consideration that mutability springs always from defect or weakness; it is owing to something we did not think of before, or some unforeseen desire we cannot resist: still remembering that very different strokes may compose a uniform plan, and a variety of dispensations be consistent with an invariableness of design.

Nor is there a small confirmation of those points to be drawn from the concurrence of all mankind, for an opinion universally received may well be presumed standing upon solid grounds although the steps whereby it grew from thence should be utterly forgotten. But there is nobody to whose ears and understanding the very suggestion of an evil or a changeable Deity would not be shocking: and this alone gives rise to our perplexities upon the origin of evil. For if we could believe a mixture of beneficence and unkindness in the Almighty, nothing would be easier than to account for whatever happens contrary to our liking from the lat-

ter : when distress falls upon us the answer would be ready, it is an unfavorable season wherein he chances to be out of humor with us. But no man will hear such answers : therefore many devices have been framed to solve the difficulty another way, by the mechanical action of matter, the imperfection of created Being, the gradation of stages among the creatures ; some have subjected God to an eternal nature of things rendering it impossible for him to give unmingled happiness, others represent him casting the power out of his own hands by a free will of indifference given to men, which he cannot control without destroying. The three first appear to me secondary, not original, causes of evil ; and for the two last I can find no proof of their being fact. For my part, I can neither see, nor find a use in seeing, any higher origin of things than the Will and pleasure of the Creator in making them ; if there be a higher I am sensible my faculties can never reach it, and so far as I can discover how things are constituted, I may depend upon their being administered conformably thereto, and my own expectations will be ascertained.

Therefore I have recommended in CHAP. XVIII. to consider God under two characters, as Creator and as Governor of the world. In the latter only we may discern the grounds of his proceedings, and reason upon the doctrine of final causes : in the former it is not our business to examine why but what he has done. If I am asked why the world was established in wisdom and goodness, second causes employed, the perceptions of spirit made dependent on the actions of matter, and a sprinkling of evil rendered necessary ; why there was a gradation of creatures, an interruption in the enjoyments allotted them and a peccability in man ; I have none other answer for all such questions than, because it was the Will and good pleasure of the Creator so to order. But on observing the manner wherein things are constituted, I find the perceptive creatures endowed with activity whereby they are to help themselves to the enjoyments put within their power, that the apprehension of evil has as great a share in the exertion of activity as the desire of good, that since, as observed before, our knowledge of objects lies in the discernment of their differences, there would be no sense of good unless by comparison with its contrast ; for it is a common saying that we know not the value of blessings until they are taken from us, and the appellation of a tree of knowledge of good and evil implies that Adam did not understand what good was before he had experience of evil, therefore there must be some actual evil interspersed to raise the apprehension of danger, but a very small proportion will suffice for that purpose. This establishment I regard as the oath or covenant of the Creator, and



by a figurative expression denoting the Divine immutability, may call it an obligation binding upon God in his character of Governor to adhere inviolably thereto.

Thus there is a nature of things which our universal Governor takes for his continual guidance, not independent nor uncreated; antecedent indeed to the measures he takes, but subsequent to the creation, dependent thereon and created therewith. As much of this nature as we can discern, so much we may know concerning his future proceedings: and this is the only evidence human reason can produce for auguring what shall befall us beyond the extent of this present life. Hence likewise we may gather that there is a final cause whereon his views constantly terminate, namely the happiness of the creatures, to be pursued by such methods as their natures and the circumstances attending them render necessary: which seem to require a dispensation of evil, but in no proportion to the good and made for sake of the good, with a provident care that no more should be permitted than requisite, and that every evil be attended with a far greater profit redundant therefrom. These surely are sufficient grounds of contentment, and of such expectations as we are warranted to entertain, provided they be deeply imprinted upon the mind. I only wish I could gain as full an unfading persuasion of them in my imagination as I have a clear conviction upon my understanding: they would overpower many distresses and alleviate all others, so long as I could hold them steady in contemplation.

19. Another benefit which may chance to accrue from the dissertation carried on in the foregoing sections is, that it may help towards introducing a greater sobriety and soundness into our reasonings upon moral essences, and make men readier to receive mutual improvement or find an issue to disputes in their conferences among one another. For when having gotten a strong persuasion of some point which they do not remember ever to have doubted of, nor from what premises or by what process of argumentation they were brought to entertain it, they presently pronounce it an unproduced, eternal, immutable truth, and think their assent the effect of an intuitive knowledge, which will always force assent upon a bare inspection. For though there may be persons who dissent from this truth, this they say proceeds from the films of error overclouding the sight, or the bias of prejudice not suffering the mental eye to look steadily upon its proper point; for essential truths must always be acknowledged as soon as seen and understood. Hence they come by the discernment of many things right in themselves and laudable in themselves, whose merits must never be questioned: because as in law there is no averring against a record, so in metaphysics there is no excepting

against an essential truth intuitively discerned, nor can any circumstance render that wrong which was right in itself.

But since it happens that men's intuitions vary greatly, and they often discern the same truth in very different shapes and colors, when two of these intuitive speculatists meet, there is no room for sober argumentation between them; they can only charge one another with films and bias, blindness and obstinacy, and all must proceed in positiveness, clamor, and actimony. Whereas could they be made sensible that, though there were an uncreated nature of things, we have not eyes to see it, but all our abstractions are only partial appearances drawn off from the substances we have been conversant amongst and their operations, they would then perceive that nothing is right in itself or laudable in itself, but those expressions are applied to such dictates of the moral sense and established rules as ought to be taken for first principles of conduct and sentiment by the generality who cannot trace them to their foundations; nevertheless a foundation they have, and were made laudable and right by their tendency, nearly or remotely, to the interests of mankind. This would open a door to sober inquiry for discovering the nature of moral obligations, from the nature of man and so much of the nature of God, as lies manifested in his works; rectifying one another's misapprehensions or oversights by examination of what conduces most largely to the general or private happiness, and by what several means it operates thereto.

And there are other persons to whom the like considerations might prove serviceable if they would heed them: for our godly and gifted wholesale dealers in lectures mimic the metaphysician without knowing it. Their system, like his, lies altogether in abstract essences and things unsubstantial, such as derivative wickedness, satisfaction to justice, the price paid for the ransom of sin, and the like. With them justification, sanctification, and imputed merit, are something that may be drawn up by faith, as water by a pump: grace is an unsubstantial thing transferable from one substance to another, capable of being contained and conveyed in material elements. Thus, like the conjurer, they join the cause with a very remote effect or with effects not producible by it, and thereby turn religion into a kind of magic and charm. But of those terms some were figurative, of common currency among the Jews, which cannot remain intelligible now unless translated into a language familiar among ourselves: and to find a rational sense in any of them, recourse must be had to the nature of perceptive Beings, the connection between the several members of the creation and several stages of existence to be passed through, the na-

ture of man, the rational and sensitive faculties, the great importance of a well-rectified imagination, the efficacy of forms, ceremonies, visible objects of authority, to give a different cast and tenor to this faculty.

Nor are the generality among us wholly without their abstract essences and unsubstantial Beings : for what else is that nobility of blood supposed to run in the veins from father to son, exerting itself naturally in grandeur of sentiments? or that liberty called the birthright of every Englishman, which he sucks in with his milk, or draws with his first vital air? But nobility of birth is nothing more than the advantages enjoyed from very infancy, of a noble education, noble examples, and the conversation of noble company, together with the respect paid by the world restraining from such meannesses as might endanger the loss of it : for if the young lord be suffered to consort early among huntsmen, gamesters, and jockies, the blood will be found ignoble in his veins. And if we take our notion of liberty from intuitive knowledge, without examination by a reference to public order and public happiness, we shall never be able to distinguish ill nature, envy, petulance, and licentiousness, from that spirit of liberty for which we of these countries so justly value ourselves.

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## CHAP. XXV.

### PROVIDENCE.

In my general introduction I compared the niceties of abstract learning to Achilles' spear, which was sometimes employed to cure the wounds itself had given. It is this service I have attempted to draw from them throughout the preceding chapter, which, as there hinted, was needless for the unhurt, but intended solely for the relief of such as have been stung with a blow of the spear, in hopes of allaying the giddiness and confusion of thought thrown upon them thereby. If my endeavors should prove effectual for dispelling the perplexities concerning the origin of evil, the absolute eternity of uncreated essences and things unsubstantial, I expect none other benefit than that the healed will accompany me as undisturbedly as the unwounded along our future progress in the examination of the phenomena before us, and trying from thence to investigate that nature of things which was the work of God, not his superior, and which is the oath he has sworn and covenant he has established for the perpetual direction

of his conduct in the administration of his immense kingdom the Universe.

We have already seen that the primary properties of substances are few, but that the great variety of phenomena, which nature exhibits to our view, arises from secondary qualities resulting from composition. It is now, and has been ever since the time of Thales, the received opinion among naturalists that all matter is homogeneous, and that the diversities we find amongst it are owing to the various forms and combinations whereinto it is assorted. The face of the earth apparently derives its features from the shape whereinto it is cast, for it is that makes the vallies and mountains, the capes, promontories, and winding shores, the bays, and gulphs, and oceans. It contains the same quantity of earth and water as when in that smooth antediluvian form supposed by theory Burnet, wherein there was neither mountain, valley, sea, nor ocean. And in the smaller productions of nature, it is the form and structure of the seed that fits it for producing such a particular plant, and the structure of the plant that causes it to bring forth such particular leaves, flowers, and fruits, with their several colors, odors, and flavors. Neither do metals, minerals, fossils, and soils, nor the elements themselves, differ any otherwise than by their internal contexture. But the form and texture of compounds depend upon the position of their parts with respect to one another, nor can change without their changing places, or some of them flying off, or new particles acceding to the mass. We see bodies continually vary their forms, being generated, increasing, and decaying, some by quicker and others by slower degrees; where we do not observe them grow or decay, we perceive them altered in quality and appearance: and though there be some solid bodies of which we have no remembrance nor evidence of their ever having been otherwise than they appear, yet is there reason to believe they did not always carry the form they now bear.

2. Therefore every present position of particles in any compound or collection whatever was generated, but before they came into their present order they must have stood in some other position with respect to one another, whether in different parts of the same compound or at a distance therefrom: and it was the situation they lay in then, together with the proximity and action of other bodies upon them, which brought them into the places they now occupy, and generated the form they compose. If the particles forming a blade of corn had lain anywhere else than where they did last year, either in the earth, or the air, or the vapors, they would not have come together into that blade: and if a grain

of sand upon the shore had been in any other part of the ocean than where it was, it would have received a different impulse therefrom, and been thrown upon some other coast. Thus the station which every particle holds in any body, whether animal or vegetable, or earthy, or elementary, or ethereal, and the share it contributes to the form and secondary qualities thereof, depend upon the place wherein it stood before entering thereinto, but not solely; for they depend likewise upon the contiguity, force, and direction, of other particles impelling it into the compound, as also upon the situation of parts in the compound itself turning it different ways, or affording it a place of rest.

But the universe having nothing external, the present station of all the particles therein must result from that they had before, together with the quantity and direction of motions among them, which generate the laws of nature and so much of the courses of fortune as are the product of material causes. So that the order wherein matter now stands arranged depends upon that of the last year, this again upon the preceding, and so on, without our being able to trace it to the beginning. But though we cannot trace out the first position which matter ever had, we have seen reason to conclude that all the particles thereof must, either in time or from eternity, have received their respective stations and motions from the First Cause: and that whatever motion was then impressed thereby, occasioning mutual impulses between them, threw them into that order and those combinations which constitute the compound bodies we see, and give them their form and their qualities. Thus upon any quantity and kind of motion imparted to matter, the changes it will undergo and various assortments it will fall into, follow in a necessary series until some new notion shall be impressed.

3. But though every thinking person will readily acknowledge the changes of quality, form, and position, wherein matter and impulse alone are concerned, to be governed by the laws of necessity, and to take place precisely according to the presence and operation of the causes effecting them: yet the same cannot be admitted with respect to the actions of voluntary agents, which have some influence in working alterations among the bodies around them, and a greater in bringing good or evil upon one another. For they do not act by necessity but by volition, not like matter, barely transmit but produce the motion they give, and can stop or change the course whereinto bodies had been thrown by impulse. Yet though they do not act necessarily, they act exactly in consequence of certain causes: for there are other causes beside motion and impulse, and another law beside that of necessity

to govern the turns of volition. After what has been offered by Mr. Locke and in the sixth chapter of our first volume, there remains no room to imagine a power of indifferency in the mind, or to doubt that she steadily pursues satisfaction in every motion she makes, exerting her activity from time to time in that way which appears to her most eligible, which the judgment represents as most expedient, or the fancy as most agreeable upon the present occasion. Thus our actions follow precisely according to our present apprehension of things, according to the final and ideal causes starting up to our thought; neither can we conceive a created Being excited to voluntary action any other way.

Let us now consider whence those apprehensions must arise, for the mind does not make them for herself, it is not her act that causes a rose to appear red, nor three times four to produce twelve, nor virtue to be more laudable than vice: but she is always passive in perception, and only discerns objects exhibited to her by something else. But we have shown that the perceptive mind is one un compounded substance, therefore that something else which exhibits the ideas, can be none other than the corporeal parts of our composition, the sensitive or mental organs impressing different perceptions according to their different modifications: but the modifications of body can arise only from the position or motion of the particles whereof it consists; and the series of perceptions succeeding in spirit, must depend upon its position in a set of organs apt to take such particular modifications.

If any man makes a difficulty of conceiving how the perceptions and acts of his mind can follow according to the positions of body, let him take up any book to read: one book differs from another only in the position of letters combined in different words and expressions, yet he will find the train of thought springing up in his mind, as he goes along, run on according to those combinations: and if he reads aloud, his action upon the organs of speech will proceed conformably thereto. In this employment it is the satisfaction expectant upon the instruction or entertainment he shall receive, which carries him through the several steps of his reading: and so in all his other proceedings, some desire or satisfaction prompts him to read the modifications in his sensory, and to exert his activity in pursuance of the information they give. But then the action of external objects passing through his mental organs, will be somewhat varied according to the condition those organs have been left in by other prior objects striking upon them. Therefore if he runs over two or three pages in the middle of a book, he will scarce receive the same ideas therefrom as he would had he come to them regularly from the beginning, for the lit-

the fibres of his organs will take a different position according to that they had been put into before. So likewise if two persons read the same discourse, it is odds but they will see the matters contained there in different lights; but this is owing to their degrees of sagacity depending upon their natural constitution, or upon the state their imagination has been formerly cast into by education, or experience, or study, or conversation. For whether in reading or whatever else a man can perform, his action proceeds always according to the notices of external objects, or according to the present scene of ideas in his mind, the desires, the views, the apprehensions, the lights, the directions, suggested by his judgment or his fancy. If we examine to what these are owing, we must ascribe them either to mechanical causes or to some former acts of his own or of other persons: but then those acts in like manner followed from the scene of ideas exhibited to the agent at the time of performing them, and if we trace them backward to the first act that ever was done, we shall find it terminate in the condition of the sensory when exciting the first perceptions.

Thus with respect to our mental organs as well as the productions of nature, every position of their parts giving them their secondary qualities of affecting us with such or such perceptions, follows in consequence of a prior position: not indeed always mechanically, for our own acts and those of other people frequently interfere, but when we consider that those acts were determined by the then state of imagination directing thereto, it will appear that the changes made thereby proceed by as certain rules though not in the same manner, that is, not solely by mechanical impulse, as those worked upon one another by bodies. Hence it is manifest that the talents, endowments and sentiments of percipient Beings depend upon the position of material particles and the place wherein they lie respectively stationed among them: and the operations of spirit as well as body must be referred originally to the power and direction of the First Cause.

4. As for those who hold that the materials of their knowledge lie within the mind itself, I know not how they avoid making it consist of parts, one wherein the ideas composing their knowledge lie dormant and unperceived, until the other fetches them forth by contemplation and recollection; nor what stuff they conceive the ideas to be made of, which remain in the mind for long intervals without her discerning them. But whatever their notions may be upon this article, I suppose they will hardly deny that the knowledge they have was either born with them or acquired since their birth: what was born with them was given by that Power which gave them their Being, and what was acquired they gained

either by their own sagacity and experience or by the instruction and conversation of others. Their sagacity or aptness for making improvement, and the opportunities of their experience, must have been furnished by nature or external causes; and what they learned from others must have been first acquired by them from the same sources, or received from other instructors who gained it in the same manner: for instruction cannot increase the stock of knowledge in the world, but only spread it: and whatever is taught, was originally discovered by the teacher or somebody else. I believe it will be allowed that any two men, having exactly the same turn of mind, would act alike under the same circumstances: the circumstances of the case must be acknowledged to depend upon external causes, and their turn of mind was either natural, and then they must ascribe it to the Author of their nature, or effected by some prior act of their own, which act must likewise have depended upon the turn of mind they then had when they performed it: thus turn will follow turn until you come to that they received at their birth.

He must have a very peculiar way of thinking who can persuade himself he should have gained the same acquisitions, had he been destitute of all those means of improvement that have been afforded him: and though some make extraordinary advances in a particular science or profession under great disadvantages, every one is ready to acknowledge this owing to a happy genius and vigor of mind with which nature had befriended them. But because such persons work out their improvements by their own industry, they take the merit of it to themselves, forgetting that they were prompted to that industry by the ease they found in the first steps of their progress, and assisted therein by the greater acuteness of their faculties. Thus upon either hypothesis we may conclude, that the qualifications of free agents whereon their good conduct depends, spring from the gifts of nature or means of improvement: all which derive either directly or remotely from that origin which gave the first position and motion to matter, producing the order and variety we behold upon the face of nature: and which allotted to spiritual substances their respective stations among the corpuscles of matter.

5. Having satisfied ourselves that the course of things, as well in the natural as moral world, proceeds in a continued series or chain from the operations of the First Cause, which is God omniscient and infinitely wise, there needs very little reflection to convince us that this First Cause knew not only the positions and motions he gave to matter and stations of the spirits he had created, but likewise what changes and productions they would generate



by their mutual action upon one another : and if he knew what would result from his work, we can as little doubt that he framed it with an intention that it should have that result. This choice and adjustment of the proper causes to work their destined effects, we call Providence : for as a man provides for his children by furnishing them with the education, portion, and other means, which may enable them to live a useful and happy life ; as every provident person, who has any great work to do will prepare the materials, engage the workmen and laborers, and give the orders necessary for bringing it to perfection : so whatever God designs to produce by the operation of second causes, he provides sufficient agents, gives them the powers, the impulses, and the motives, requisite exactly to answer his purpose. If he determines to bring plenty or scarcity upon the earth, he disposes the air and the elements in such manner as necessarily to produce either ; if he resolves to build up or pull down kingdoms, he raises up men with peculiar talents, fitted either for improving the arts of war and policy, or for throwing all things into confusion. From hence we may gather that the Providence of God is over all his works, and that in the formation of sentient as well as unsentient natures, he had in view that series of changes and events they would produce, and ordered his whole multitude of second causes so as to execute that plan of Providence he had in his intention. Which plan contained the order of succession we have spoken of in several places before, whereof the systems and courses of nature, the dispensations of good and evil, the fates and fortunes of men and other sentient creatures, are the several parts ; which whether it has run on forever or had a beginning, owed its rise either from everlasting or at some certain time, to the power and action of the Almighty.

6. But though every one who believes God to be the sole First Cause of all things, and not to have formed the world out of uncreated materials capable only of being fabricated in such or such particular manner, will acknowledge, that everything contained in the divine plan falls out according to the divine intention, yet some have doubted whether all events that have happened were comprised within that plan. For as in human affairs if a man lays his measures ever so completely, there will follow other consequences besides those he had in view : when the farmer ploughs his ground he disturbs the vermin and insects, tears up their nests, or destroys them without intending it : so in the plan of Providence there may lie unimportant events which God cared not whether they should happen or no, not belonging to it but necessarily resulting from the parts designed, such as the falling of particular

leaves or floating of straws upon the water; and these will be absolutely casual, as being unforeseen by any created mind and unthought of by the Divine. Thus the Stoics, as we learn from Cicero, held that God took care of great matters but neglected small ones: my Lord Bolingbroke seems to have been of the same opinion: and if we attend to the common discourses of men concerning chance and fortune, we shall be ready to think this the idea generally prevailing amongst them.

Now if we examine why they entertain this idea, we shall find them induced thereto by two considerations: one because they look upon little matters as unworthy the notice of God, and esteem it derogatory from the divine majesty to suppose him attentive to the crawlings of an emmet or tossings of a feather in a tempestuous air; the other because the drawing a plan to contain every the minutest event without exception, they conceive to lie among the absolute impossibilities, and be impracticable even by infinite wisdom and omniscience.

But for my part I can see nothing unworthy notice in itself, the wisest men can attend to the motions of insects or floating of little bodies in the air, when they have nothing else to do; and if at any time they scruple attending to trifles, it is to avoid contracting a habit of being drawn-off by them from matters of greater importance. For our notice lies confined within a narrow compass, we cannot fix our eye upon one object without overlooking others; therefore must accustom ourselves to disregard some objects, as being unworthy to engross that observation we shall want for conducting us in affairs of moment. But there is not the like reason to deem anything unworthy the notice of God, unless we will suppose they must so engross his attention as that he will not have enough left to bestow upon the weightier affairs of his government.

Thus this objection resolves itself into the other, namely the impossibility of all, even the minutest, events being comprised within one plan and calculation: and indeed it must be owned an inconceivable thought that shall contain every little motion produced and to be produced throughout the universe: but so it is if we consider only the rise and fall of kingdoms, the lives and deaths, successes and distresses of mankind, which whoever will allow God to take care of anything, must admit to lie under his direction; for this alone requires a greater extent of design than our imagination can comprehend. But we must remember that the Attributes of God are incomprehensible, his thoughts are not like our thoughts, nor his intelligence like our understanding, dependent upon ideas exhibited by our organs which can take

only a certain number of modifications, and if we endeavor to introduce more we involve ourselves in perplexity and confusion. Whereas God perceives not by organs, but being present everywhere and intelligent everywhere, we may as well apprehend him to discern and direct events throughout the immensity of space as in any single point of it.

7. The theory of universal Providence being thus established, let us proceed to examine whether there is not evidence of it in the phenomena of nature. If God had thought proper to leave anything to chance or necessity, we cannot imagine otherwise than that he would have so altered his plan as that those blind causes should not interfere to disturb or alter it in any part : but in fact we find events so interlaced among one another, that those of the greatest moment often depend upon others we should think the most trifling and unworthy regard. The causes of dearth and fertility depend upon the vapors and little particles floating about in the air ; plague, murrain, and many distempers, derive from the same sources : therefore those little particles must have their commission when and where and in what quantities to flow, or health and sickness, abundance and famine, might overspread the earth without the knowledge or intention of the Almighty. Winds and weather depend upon so many complicated causes, the action of the Sun, attraction of the Moon, situation of the mountains, exhalations from the ground, that no human science can investigate them : yet how often has the scale of victory been turned by a particular wind blowing dust in the faces of one army ? How often has a vanquished fleet been saved by a favorable gale wafting them into places of security ? How then can we say God giveth victory, unless we allow him to take cognizance of everything conducive thereto ? For though he gave better conduct to the general and greater vigor to the soldiers on one side, these advantages might be overbalanced by a certain temperature in the air, causing it to move this way or that.

Perhaps it will be thought enough if the causes, operating to produce this temperature, be set at work in the gross, and that it is no matter whether a few more or less particles be employed, nor what places or girations be assigned to each particle among the whole. For when the farmer sows his corn, he does not mind the exact number of grains he takes up at each time into his hand, nor whether any two of them fall the tenth of an inch further or nearer to one another. But man acts by the gross members of his body, to which he gives an impulse by one operation of his mind ; and when he acts upon several little bodies, the motions they receive depend partly upon their figures, magni-

tudes, and situations, which are too numerous and too various for him to observe. Whereas God acts not by limbs nor by external stroke or pulsion upon the outside of a mass, but by actuating the component parts, whereof such and no more receive such and none other impulse than he impresses upon them: for he pervades and is present with them all, nor can remain ignorant or inobservant of what impulses he gives, or what subsequent motions they must necessarily produce by their mutual action upon one another.

8. If there be any who cannot readily comprehend the force of this argument, let them turn their thoughts to such incidents wherein the structure of particular bodies, and position of their parts, manifestly give the turn to the event. Men have been killed by the fall of boughs from trees or bricks from buildings as they passed under, but had the fibres of the bough, or mortar holding the bricks together, been ever so little stronger or weaker, or the least particles in either placed otherwise, they would have fallen a moment sooner or later and the lives of the passengers been saved. Some have been bitten by adders whom they trod upon as they walked along: others destroyed by swallowing wasps in their liquor: those owe their deaths to the minute causes which brought the wasp or the adder to that particular spot; nor would the general laws of instinct guiding those vermin, suffice to conduct them unerringly to the very place where their operation was wanted. There have been persons who have lost their lives by a gun presented against them in play, without knowing of its being loaded, and perhaps after having tried twenty times in vain to let it off; others have been saved by a pistol flashing in the pan: here the little particles of rust or damps among the powder, must be exactly adjusted to make it take effect at the destined instant and not before. What is it marks out the paths of bullets flying about in an engagement? the strength of the powder, the manner of making up the charge, its being closer or looser rammed; and a hair's breadth difference of position in the muzzle from whence they were discharged, will cause them to miss or to destroy: which little difference may arise from inequalities of ground the soldier stands upon, from the manner of his tread, the stiffness of his clothes, or what he has eaten or drank a little before. Therefore all these minute circumstances cannot be neglected, even if we will suppose God only to determine how many shall fall in battle that day, but not to care whether John or Thomas make one of the number. How many have come to their ends by sudden quarrels owing to an inadvertent word, a slip of the tongue, or an expression mis-

understood? What havoc and devastation do fires make, occasioned by a single act of forgetfulness or heedlessness?

Nor is the condition of men's lives less under the power of slight causes than the issues of them: the behavior and diet of a fantastic woman cannot but influence the constitution and temperament of the child she bears: the giddy carelessness of a nurse may bring on maims, fractures, or diseases, which can never be cured. And how much soever we may fancy the number of such accidents regulated by general laws, yet it can never be ascertained upon whom the mischief shall fall, without attending to the fancies and other trifling causes concurring to each of them. It can scarce be doubted that the tenor of every man's conduct and fortune depends very much upon the situation whereinto he was thrown at his birth, the natural endowments and dispositions wherewith he was born, or that these depend as much upon the persons who gave him birth, as theirs did upon those from whom they sprung: so that he might either not have been born at all, or have run a very different course of life, had his parents, or his parents' parents been otherwise matched. But who can help observing what trivial causes, what turns of humor, whim, and fancy, sometimes bring people together? an accidental meeting, a ball, or an entertainment, may begin the acquaintance, a lucky dress, a handsome compliment, or a lively expression, first engage the notice, or an officious old woman drop a word that shall give the preference. Nor do the consequences of such fortuitous engagements always terminate in the parties or their children, or children's children, but may spread wide among the human species: for they may beget a Genius who shall invent a new art, or improve some useful science, or produce peculiar talents fitted to make a politician or a general, who shall influence the fate of nations. Perhaps the Roman commonwealth might have subsisted longer, or the empire been established in another family, if Cæsar's grandmother had worn a different colored ribbon upon such a certain festival.

Thus we see the scheme of great events can never be so surely laid but that they may be defeated by little accidents, unless these likewise be taken into the plan. And whoever will take pains to contemplate the whole concurrence of causes contributing to govern the weightiest affairs of mankind, will find many inconsiderable ones among them, these again depending upon others as minute, and so growing still more numerous and complicated the further he goes backward, until perhaps at last he be ready to believe with Plato that the whole world is one tissue of causes and effects, wherein, nearly or remotely, everything has an influence upon

everything. From hence we may conclude, not only that the young ravens are fed, and the lilies of the field arrayed in the glory of Solomon, by the Divine provision, but that of two sparrows which are sold for a farthing, not one of them falleth to the ground, not a hair is lost out of the number upon our heads, not an atom stirs throughout the material world, nor a fancy starts up in the imagination of any animal, without the permission or appointment of our Heavenly Father.

9. Having satisfied ourselves, as well from reason as observation of the facts we experience, that the smallest no less than the greatest events lie under the particular direction of Divine Providence, it remains to inquire to what kind of Providence we shall ascribe them: for there are two sorts, a disposing and interposing Providence. For though no Theist can doubt that God upon the creation so disposed his elements and other parts of nature, as that they should bring forth those productions and those changes in the affairs of mankind which he in his wisdom thought proper to ordain, yet there are many very pious persons who conceive that the causes of particular events were not provided in the original plan, but that his Providence continually watches over all his works, that by his secret energy from time to time he alters the motions of corporeal particles, governs the ideas of animals, and turns the thoughts of men, to work out his intended purposes. Now without denying that the case may be so, let us consider whether it necessarily must be so.

The art of man can make a clock that shall strike the hours, point out the minutes, and perform other more curious movements in their proper order, according to the extent of the works: he may set up this clock in his house for the direction of his family, to give them notice when to go about their particular employments; and thus may lay a plan containing the motions of mechanism and actions of free agents. But this plan will be very narrow and imperfect; the clock will want winding up or fall out of repair, his servants will not always obey orders punctually, nor his family be always ready at the appointed hour. For he must frame his work of such materials as he can get; the weather and other external causes will affect it, and the persons he intends to be directed by it, will have schemes and humors of their own which he cannot foresee nor control. But the Universe having nothing external which might interfere with the play of its wheels, being composed of materials prepared by the Divine Artist with such powers and properties as he pleased to assign them, if it contained matter alone we might easily apprehend how it might go on like an immense clock, performing regularly and exactly

all the movements projected. Yet when we reflect on the inertness of matter, and how much motion is consumed continually by the collision and pressure of bodies, it will appear evident that this clock could not go on forever without winding up from time to time. Nevertheless, the experience we have of our own activity in moving our limbs, may persuade us it is not impossible that God may have given his spiritual substance sufficient power to repair the constant decays of motion, and keep the material clock-work regularly wound up. Then again when we reflect that the action of this substance is alike certain with that of body, having found it to depend either upon the disposition given it upon creation, or the ideas exhibited by modifications of matter thrown into them by the operations of other matter, or the acts of free agents determined likewise by the same two causes, we must acknowledge this action equally capable with the impulses of matter of being comprised within the original plan.

And that it might actually be so comprised, the infinitude of the Divine intelligence, to which an infinite multitude of objects cannot appear perplexing or intricate, leaves no room to doubt: neither that all events as well minute as important happening either among body or spirit, may have followed in a continued succession of effects and causes from the operation of the Almighty upon them at the creation. If we go on to inquire when this operation was performed, we can set no limits to the time. Was it ten thousand years ago? God was omnipotent, good, and gracious, to disperse happiness and manifest his glory among his creatures before that period. Was it a million of years? Neither then had the Divine Attributes their beginning, but were unchangeable and eternal: the same power, and the same immutable Will to exert it, having subsisted forever. Therefore there is no absurdity in imagining that the act of God might have been completed an eternity ago, that he has ever since rested from his works, and all things have gone on by second causes in the order of succession established from everlasting.

10. On the other hand, an inactive Deity, doing nothing for many ages past besides contemplating the play of his works, seems repugnant to our idea of perfection, as that includes omnipotence and an absolute command over the creatures; which we cannot well apprehend without an actual operation upon them to govern and direct their motions: for power never exerted does to our thinking scarce deserve the name of power. And though we cannot suppose otherwise than that God is completely happy in himself, nor wants amusements to pass his time agreeably as we do: yet neither is it incongruous with our notions of him to whom nothing is

labor or trouble, that he should not have dispatched his work once for all to solace himself ever after in quiet and repose, but should have reserved himself something still to do wherein he might find continual employment for his almighty power. Nor does this supposition derogate from his infinite wisdom, because it does not represent him as making the world imperfect out of necessity, for want of skill or ability to frame one which should run on forever without correcting, but by choice, because he so enlarged his plan as to take in, not only the motions of matter, and actions of sentient and intelligent creatures, but likewise his own immediate acts; which we may say were contained among the list of second causes, second not to any prior agent which might give them force or direction, but to the first determination of his Will, and to the plan or order of succession he laid down from everlasting. Thus we see the doctrine of an interposing Providence, or none, equally tenable in theory, and therefore remains a question proper to be determined by evidence of facts and contemplation of nature.

11. Now to consider first the nature of intelligent creatures, to whom a just apprehension of their dependence upon their Maker is necessary to preserve them in a happy tenor of mind, and to regulate their conduct with respect to one another: if we should imagine God abstaining from all action ever since his creation of all things, though we might still adore his excellencies and acknowledge his power, we should apprehend his power already executed and ourselves as having no further concern therewith; we should look upon him as having abandoned us to the operation of second causes, and that upon them only we need fix our attention; we might be apt to live as without a God in the world, esteeming it matter of mere speculation whether the course of nature proceeded originally from him or no. For this reason in a former place I have represented God under two characters: the Creator dwells in unaccessible light whereto we cannot draw near, remaining there the distant object of our adoration only; but it is the Governor of the world on whom our hope and dependence rests, to his interposing Providence we look up for succor in our distresses, for a blessing upon our endeavors, for a happy turn to our thoughts, and the course of outward accidents so as that they may operate to our benefit: but without some interposition God would be utterly lost to us in his character of Governor. And though we have reason to believe there are other understandings larger than our own, we cannot conceive any who might not be liable to forget there is a power above them, if they never knew a single instance of its having operated among them. Since then God has so constituted his intelligent creatures as that some interposition of his



power is requisite to manifest itself to their observation, we may presume that he has accommodated their capacities to his own manner of proceeding, and that he does sometimes interpose; for else he would have given them other faculties capable of entertaining a just sense of his Almighty power and dominion without it.

12. In the next place let us cast our eye upon the form of this earth we inhabit, which we find tending nearer and nearer every year to a smooth surface by the higher grounds washing into the sea. I do not pretend to say whether it will ever become a perfect level, nor that there may not be some rocky parts which no weather can dissolve, or gravelly soils which no rains can drive along: but I do say that if the earth had been eternal, all that was capable of being removed must have been gone long before this time, nor could there have been any mud left to foul our rivers, but they must have run pure as a limpid fountain bubbling from the ground. What quantities of soil stop up the channels of the Nile! Had the causes which brought them thither been always at work, why were they not driven down before the Phœnician times, when the seven mouths were all navigable? And now they are there, what powers in nature can we discover or even conjecture, that shall carry them back again to the mountains of Ethiopia from whence they came.

Then to turn our thoughts from the face of this globe to its annual course round the Sun and that of the other planets, Sir Isaac Newton assures us that the ether through which they pass, makes some though a small resistance against their progress: this resistance, small as it is, must by degrees render their orbits more and more eccentric, and consequently contract their shorter diameters. Let us suppose this contraction to be no more than one inch in a year, yet when we consider what an inexhaustible fund of years lies within the compass of eternity, if they had moved forever they must have lost inches enow long ago to reduce them, first to the condition of Comets, and afterwards to throw them into the Sun; from whence we know of no power in nature that could ever get them out again. We may fancy explosions in the Sun which may cast up huge masses from his body as big as our earth, but then if thrown directly upwards they would fall down again as soon as the impulse of the stroke was spent, like a stone tossed up with one's hand: or if thrown obliquely they might then make one giration in a long ellipsis, which would bring them back to the spot from whence they set out. For a rectilinear or elliptical motion can never be brought into a circular without a tangential impulse received at the instant when the body comes into the circle wherein it is to move; but what force or what cause shall

give it this tangential impulse we shall hunt for in vain throughout all the stores of nature. Since then we find that earths and vortices were not eternal, nor yet could be produced by any laws of matter, we must conclude that the divine power interposed, if never else, at least in their formation.

13. Perhaps somebody may urge against me my own hypothesis of the mundane soul, to whom I have ascribed power to assort the corpuscles of matter into any combinations, and thereout to form vortices, earths, plants, insects, brutes, and men, and to render the animal organizations sentient by infusing into them particles of its own substance. But let it be remembered that I have all along disclaimed the use of hypothesis in proof of any doctrine, as believing it too weak a foundation to support a superstructure alone, and proper only for illustration of truths already founded upon some more solid bottom. Nevertheless, if anybody will apply my hypothesis to the present subject, let him take the whole of it entire: for as a complainant in Chancery, who would avail himself of the facts discovered in an answer, must take them all together as set forth and not pick out those only which suit his purpose; so in arguing from an hypothesis, it is unfair to proceed upon a part of it separated from the rest. Now how much soever I have supposed the ministry of the mundane soul employed in the generation of worlds, I have never supposed him to enter upon the task without an express command and particular plan exhibited to him from above. I have assigned the material world for the sensory of the mundane soul, presenting ideas thereto by the various modifications of its parts, as our human sensories present ideas to us by the modifications of our organs: and these modifications are made to change partly by the workings of our corporeal mechanism and partly by our own voluntary operation. For we find thoughts start up in our minds spontaneously, and others we call up ourselves by recollection and study; many of those arising mechanically intrude upon us against our Will, and against our utmost endeavors to keep them out. But the mundane soul being intimately present throughout all the parts of his immense body and having an absolute command over it, will in the ordinary course of his proceedings suffer no modifications to form nor ideas to appear contrary to his liking, nor can any happen unless by his own act or by the mutual impulses of matter consequent upon the motions he gave it. Nevertheless, upon extraordinary occasions when some great work is to be entered upon, he will find modifications in his sensory which he did not produce by his own action, nor were produced by the necessary laws of matter and motion: these then he will ascribe to an immediate operation of the Al-

mighty, as well knowing there are no more than two active powers in nature, God and himself.

If we reflect further upon what has been observed a few pages before concerning the multitude of second causes influencing the affairs of this world, and how intricately they lie involved and complicated among one another, we shall be apt to believe them too much for the mundane soul to manage, whose understanding although prodigiously large is not infinite ; and shall judge it more likely that he should want direction from time to time for conducting them, than that he should not want the like for the formation of a new world and calculation of all events and consequences to result from the combinations and motions he produces therein. These manifestations and directions may be looked upon as revelations of the Will of God, and of the measures which Divine Wisdom judges proper for the executing his purposes : wherein the mundane soul will not be liable to the mistakes too frequently fallen into by mortals, who take their own fancies and the vapors arising mechanically in their brain for divine illuminations ; but he having a perfect knowledge of all his own motions, will be able to judge unerringly what are truly such, and what owing to the act of some other agent. Thus this first of created Beings having manifestations of the divine Will and designs from time to time, cannot want evidence of a governing and interposing Providence : and though we have not the like manifestations, yet the phenomena which we know cannot have proceeded from an eternal chain of natural causes, are an evidence to us that God has interposed since his original creation : and whether we apprehend him to have done this with his own hand, or by his minister particularly instructed for that purpose, either opinion sufficiently attended to, will keep alive in us just sentiments of his being our Governor and the supreme disposer of events.

14. But how rare or how frequent soever we may imagine these interpositions, we always find the agency of second causes employed in bringing forth the destined effect. Not that the method of immediate operation could not have been taken, for whoever acknowledges the power and omnipresence of God, must admit that he might have created his substances perishable, so as to have needed his continual support to uphold them in Being and actuate all their motions, as Bishop Beveridge and Dean Sherlock have supposed : or that he might have given his sentient creatures their portion of happiness without the intervention of matter or space, by exciting in them a succession of perceptions, in the manner Bishop Berkley has imagined : but experience supplies us with no ground to believe he has pursued

either of these methods. We see our pains and our pleasures brought upon us by the impulses of matter or dealings of our fellow-creatures, and in every dispensation there is a chain of natural causes lying between the divine act and event produced thereby. The most zealous favorer of interposition will scarce maintain that, when a man is to be destroyed by a wasp in his beer, the cup was placed in the window, or the casement thrown open, or the wasp driven thither by a supernatural force, or the insect rendered invisible that the person might not discern his danger : but at most will suppose a secret energy influencing the fancies of the careless servant who set down the liquor, or the man who snatches it up, and the senses of the little animal, so as that they should all co-operate towards the destined event. Thus in every act of interposing there is a disposing Providence too, containing a plan of the operations that shall infallibly follow upon the impulses given to the causes set at work.

It is this manner of proceeding by second causes that opens the door to our deliberations and measures of conduct : for we cannot penetrate into the secret purposes of God, nor know when or what immediate acts he will perform, neither can we learn any more of the scheme of his Providence than what may be gathered from observation of the natural causes that are in act. Therefore it behoves us to investigate those causes as far as we have ability and opportunity for so doing, because from them only we can attain any knowledge of the divine economy, which whenever we can discover it will prove an unerring guide to our proceedings. The neglect of this duty, and inobservance of second causes, throws men into all the delusions of superstition and enthusiasm : for while they imagine the divine power exerted upon every particular occasion, they overlook those rules of prudence which God has given for their direction : they deem it unnecessary even to think for themselves, expecting an especial guidance for everything they are to do : which lays them open to the deceit of illuminations, dreams, omens, prodigies, and such like trumpery. On the other hand, a too close attachment to second causes is apt to generate profaneness, making men forget the First, and substitute an undesigning chance or blind fatality in the room of it. But this can never happen provided they bear in mind that, how far soever they may trace the chain, they must rest it in the divine operation at last, which whenever exerted they will find accompanied with a disposing Providence directing it in such manner as to produce the whole series of events to follow thereupon. And the longer the chain, the greater number and intricacy of causes and effects it must contain, and the larger must be

that plan of disposition which gave beginning to it. Therefore the more a man thinks, he will discover natural causes lying still further and further behind one another : he will find his idea of interposing Providence gradually diminish, and that of the disposing proportionably increase.

Therefore let not men condemn one another too hastily of impiety or superstition, for both are relative to the strength of each person's sight : the philosopher may entertain so high an opinion of infinite wisdom, as that upon the formation of a world, it might provide for every event that is to happen during the whole period of its continuance ; therefore he is not impious in asserting that all things since have gone on in the course of natural causes, for his idea of the first plan is so full as to leave no room for anything to be interposed. This the plain man cannot comprehend, the lines of his view being short, therefore he is not superstitious in imagining frequent interpositions, because without them he cannot understand a Providence at all. He may likewise find it impossible to conceive that every motion of matter and turn of volition should be calculated or foreseen, but supposes a watchful Providence continually attentive to the tendency of second causes, interposing every day and every hour of the day to correct the errors of chance, and secretly turning the springs of action the way that wisdom and goodness recommend. And he is excusable herein, if this be the best conception he can form ; for it derogates not from his idea of the divine wisdom and dominion to imagine there should be room left in nature for chance, so long as there is a superintending power who can foresee the irregularities of chance time enough to prevent them.

15. Thus how largely soever we may ascribe to interposition, or how much soever deduct therefrom to add to the disposing Providence, we cannot deny that every natural cause we see is an effect of some prior cause, impulse of impulse and volition of motives and ideas suggested to the mind ; therefore must refer all dispensations ultimately to the act of God : and as we cannot imagine him to act without knowing what he does and what will result therefrom, we must conclude that act to proceed upon a plan and disposition of the causes tending to produce the particular consequences following thereupon. The only difference between the man of common sense and the studious is concerning the time when the disposition was made, which the one thinks a few days or a few minutes, the other many ages ago, the one frequent and occasional, the other rare and universal ; but both acknowledge that nothing ever happens without the permission or appointment of our Almighty and ever-vigilant Governor. Since then there

was a disposition made at some time or other of the causes concurring to produce every event, let us try whether we can gather any probable knowledge of the motives inducing to such disposition: for we cannot conceive a voluntary agent providing for the completion of any work without some design in view, which is the motive urging him thereto. But we cannot behold God as he is, nor apprehend his manner of proceeding any otherwise than by analogy with our own; we being the only intelligent Beings of whom we have any direct knowledge or experience.

Now it has been shown in the former volume that our motives may be distributed into four classes, pleasure, use, honor, and necessity: these then we must ascribe to God, though with some alteration suitable to the difference between his nature and our own. With us pleasure or satisfaction stands at the end of every line in our views, it is that renders it the object of our desire, and urges us to pursue it: we perform all our actions, whether considerate or inadvertent, because we judge or fancy that we shall put ourselves into a better condition, or gain greater complacence of mind, by doing than omitting them. But pleasure in this sense we cannot with any color of reason assign as a motive with God, whose happiness we conceive essential and invariable, so that nothing can be done either to enhance or diminish it; neither did he perform any act whether of creation or government to procure a moment's enjoyment for himself. We can descry no further point in the views of God than the good of his sentient creatures, whom he created capable of happiness, and showers down his blessings upon them, of his mere bounty and goodness, without any obligation engaging or benefit of his own inviting him thereto. But in our ordinary discourses concerning actions whereof we cannot discern the motive, we usually ascribe them to pleasure, and so we say God was pleased to create a world and fill it with good, thus pleasure seems again to stand at the end of the line: but then it does not carry the same signification as when applied to ourselves; it is only a vague term, employed for want of a more adequate, to express that pure bounty which we conceive flowing spontaneously underived from any higher source. Nevertheless, there may be some other Attributes giving birth to goodness, although we cannot conceive it: at least this much we must allow, that there are methods of proceeding taken which require some other inducement to the choice of them.

Nobody can doubt, as we have observed before, that God might have given his creatures their portion of happiness by his own immediate act, without that complicated tissue of second causes and extensive system of Providence through which it is conveyed to

them; and I believe few will imagine him so confined to the present constitution of nature as that he could not have contrived some other equally productive of good and enjoyment. But goodness respects only the happiness imparted, nor casts a preference between the several means by which the same quantity may be conveyed: when a rich man sends money to relieve a person in distress, it is kindness which prompts him to the deed, but this directs not whether to send it in notes, or Portugal pieces, or English coin, whether by the steward, or the butler, or the groom; for if each species be equally convenient, and all the servants equally trusty, kindness is satisfied with any of them alike; therefore he must have some other motive to determine his choice among them. Thus that we receive blessings at the hand of God is owing to his goodness, but that he chooses this or that method of communicating them, must arise from some other cause: for we cannot suppose him to proceed without some reason as well for the manner as the substance of his proceeding, which reason we shall try to penetrate in vain, therefore can refer it only to his good pleasure, the term we use for expressing every principle of action whereof we cannot discern the grounds.

16. Nevertheless, since God has been pleased to pursue this method of transmitting happiness to us through certain mediums, this gives rise to the next class of motives, those of use: for there being many materials and instruments without which we could not attain the portion of goodness designed for us, the provisions made for preparing them to our hand must be deemed as having respect to their usefulness. Not but that the divine views are large and piercing, nor ever terminate upon an intermediate point, but look forward to the particular uses which everything was intended to serve: but our views being short, incapable of stretching always to our ultimate end, but resting upon certain stages seeming to lie in the way towards it (for we bestir ourselves lustily in accumulating useful things, without knowing what we shall do with them, or whether any benefit shall accrue to us therefrom); therefore we are excusable in conceiving of the divine proceedings after a manner suitable to our imagination, that is, by piecemeal. For we cannot follow them to that crop of particular enjoyments they were calculated to produce, but must stop at the materials prepared, which we apprehend serviceable in general to our conveniences and uses. Thus when we consider the multitude of various plants with which God has clothed the earth, we regard the admirable contrivance of their fibres and vessels, and several parts as designed for the uses of the whole, to nourish it, to promote its growth, and cause it to yield fruit; and the curious

structure of the seed as calculated to produce a plant of its own kind. But many seeds perish without producing anything, many vegetables tend to the benefit of no living creature we know of, and where we do behold a man receiving benefit or pleasure from them, we apprehend him applying to his own wants what was provided for the general service. In all these cases we discern a wisdom adapting the means proper to each production, the perfecting whereof is the use of those means; and as we sometimes cannot, and generally do not carry our thoughts further than that end, we must apprehend use to be the motive in disposing such causes as bring forth the productions of nature.

17. God has given some of his creatures a capacity of knowing himself, of contemplating his works and adoring his power, his wisdom, his goodness, and mercy; and he has so ordered his courses of nature and Providence as to display those excellencies evidently to the considerate mind; therefore that disposition whereby things were so ordered, we must believe made with a view to the manifestation of his glory. Thus glory bears a considerable share among the motives influencing the divine operation. Yet we cannot well imagine glory the ultimate end, for this would imply a want of something external to complete the happiness of God, whose satisfaction might be augmented by becoming the object of adoration to his creatures: besides, it may be presumed there would be higher capacities and stronger manifestations among them than we find by experience. But he has so constituted his intelligent Beings that glorifying and entertaining just sentiments of him, contributes more than anything to fill them with satisfaction of mind, to ennoble their views, brighten their prospects, and inspire them with a readiness to promote one another's benefit: therefore is he jealous of his glory as being a principal channel through which he conveys his blessings to them. If we go to examine why he made this a channel of his bounty, why man alone of all the visible creation is capable of partaking in the stream, why he gave us such and no higher capacities, such and not more glaring evidences of his glory than we have, we can resolve this into nothing else besides that general cause which takes in every unknown principle of action, his good pleasure. It has been already shown in the proper place how in our own minds use grows out of pleasure, and honor out of use; for we are led to desire things useful by their tendency to serve our conveniences and pleasures, and to cultivate a principle of honor by experience of its usefulness to carry us through noble and arduous undertakings: but because we cannot carry our views to the last



consequences of our proceedings, therefore we rest them upon use or honor as motives of action distinct from pleasure. In like manner when we contemplate the designs of Providence, good or happiness of the creatures is the furthest point we can imagine: the all-seeing eye of God looks always to this, or perhaps beyond, but our eye, not always able to reach so far, must necessarily terminate sometimes upon use or glory, further than which we cannot discern a connection. And by observing carefully the methods taken to bring forth these purposes, we may gradually improve our sense and knowledge of the economy of Providence.

18. The fourth class of motives, that of necessity, arises from evil, which we cannot suppose either man willingly to undergo, or God to inflict, without a view to some greater good which could not otherwise be obtained: neither is it ever sent from the fountain of goodness unless as a necessary means to accomplish some gracious purpose. But this necessity was not imposed by anything external, or by an independent nature of things absolutely eternal and unalterable, for this would destroy the unity of the First Cause, but by the Will of God upon his original constitution of them at the creation. It were in vain to search for the motives of that Will, for we know very little of him in his character of Creator, nor can pretend to account for his proceedings: not that we may therefore pronounce them unaccountable or arbitrary, but ought rather to believe them grounded on substantial reasons to us inscrutable, as being drawn from Attributes whereof we have not the least knowledge or conception. Yet we may gather from observation of what we see, that he has established certain laws which he has rendered unalterable, having confirmed them as it were with an oath or covenant binding even upon himself in his government of the world. Among these we may reckon the evil sprinkled over his works, which is so interwoven among the good that one cannot be had without the other. It is said that offences must needs come: now nobody can doubt the Divine power could have prevented them, but then the good which was to be worked out of them must have been lost. It is said likewise that God chastises those whom he favors most, and tries them with sufferings and afflictions as gold is tried in the fire: but then that purity which is the result of the trial would not have been attained without it. And though punishment be commonly understood as having respect only to the past, yet when we consider that a righteous and dispassionate man would never punish unless for sake of some benefit redounding to the public greater than the hurt brought upon the offender, we shall scarce imagine otherwise of God with whom is mercy as

well as justice. Therefore whatever evil we find among the dispensations of Providence, we may conclude thrown thereinto upon a motive of necessity, a necessity which God in his character of Creator has imposed upon himself in his character of Governor, by having constituted his sentient creatures in such manner as that happiness cannot be conveyed to them completely unless through the road of pain and uneasiness either in themselves or others. And necessity, considered as a motive, always implies some advantage beyond ; for we never deem it necessary to submit to anything against our liking but for procuring some benefit or preventing some more grievous mischief ; nor can we conceive but that the like view renders necessity a motive with the disposer of all events. Wherefore we may look upon the evils dispersed among mankind, the helplessness of infancy, infirmities of age, the pains, diseases, distresses, afflictions, labors, and those inconveniencies of life which we do not find turning to our account here, as necessary preparations for our better living hereafter, or productive of advantage somehow or other to higher species of Beings.

19. For there being one Creator and one Governor of the universe, it can scarce be doubted that there is one plan of government extending throughout the boundless dominion, and regulating the interests of all the sentient creatures inhabiting therein. In what manner those of the invisible regions stand affected by events befalling here below, it would be a vain attempt for us to particularize ; but that there is a mutual connection of interests between them and the visible, we have found abundant reason in the course of this work to believe. Wherefore those phenomena which Lucretius calls the faults of nature, wherewith, he says, she so largely abounds, instead of proving that the world was not made in wisdom and goodness, may with better reason be looked upon as evidences that our heavenly Father has other children to provide for besides those falling under our cognizance ; and that whatever appears wrong, or needless, or wasteful to us, is necessary for their uses. I know that some good people persuade themselves that the courses of nature and fortune are ordered for the best, even with respect to the interests of man here upon earth, nor could be altered in any single point without endamaging his condition in life some way or other : but it would be very hard to make this appear to an unprejudiced observer who has not more zeal than knowledge, or to convince him that infinite wisdom could not have contrived a better world, wherein our days might have passed more comfortably and happily than we find them do ; nor need we disturb ourselves at the difficulty.

For my part these seeming faults, and the vast profusion of second causes, whereof many serve but little to the uses of man, are so far from being stumbling-blocks to me, that I look upon them as an earnest of our future expectations. We have apparent marks enow of a wisdom displayed in this visible world, to satisfy us that the affairs of men and all nature lie under that guidance: therefore I care not how many instances may be produced wherein the purposes of that wisdom are frustrated or incompletely answered here, because I may reasonably infer from thence that they are fully completed elsewhere. Our continuance here is but for a moment in comparison with the long abode we are to make in the invisible world: therefore there lies our principal concern, and our opinion of its value must be heightened by the cares we observe bestowed upon it by Infinite Wisdom. But since we know that Wisdom does nothing in vain or superfluous, whatever we find superfluous to ourselves, the vast effusion of light, the boundless fields of ether, and many huge masses of matter which scarce afford us a trifling benefit, must be provided for the benefit of those Beings among whom we are to take up our chief residence: of which residence therefore we have reason to think the better, the more errors and superfluities we can find in nature.

20. Nor does animal or rational nature abound less in errors than the material: the foolish Ostrich drops her eggs upon the sand where many of them grow addle and perish; the simple sheep licks up the autumnal dews hanging upon her pasture which gives a rot to her flesh; the heedless fly observes not the cobwebs which entangle her in destruction. Birds, beasts, and insects, overpower, ensnare, and lie in wait to prey upon one another; and it is necessary they should do so to keep their numbers within bounds, for nature produces more of every species that she is able to maintain. Then to turn our thoughts upon imperial man who boasts his being the lord of this sublunary kingdom, observe how he runs himself continually into vexation, disappointment and mischief, by his folly and indiscretion: dangers hang over him which he cannot discern, measures escape him which would conduce most effectually to his purposes; if he consults his reason he finds it dark, doubtful, and erroneous, nor knows he half the tendency of his proceedings in matters most nearly concerning him; for prudence covers her face from him as with a veil, and truth hides herself at the bottom of the well. The honest-hearted labor under sickness, distress, weakness, and ignorance, so that they want ability to the good they desire: the wicked possess riches, power, strength, and sagacity, which they employ wholly in trifles or turn

to the detriment of their fellow-creatures. Now will anybody pretend, or does he think it for the divine glory to assert, that infinite wisdom could not have given his animals a completer instinct to warn them against everything tending to their damage, could not have formed those of the carnivorous kind so as that they might have been nourished by vegetables, nor have adapted his causes of generation to the provisions made for their sustenance, nor have given man a more piercing understanding to penetrate thoroughly into his truest interests, nor have dispensed his talents where they would have been most useful. If then we acknowledge these things ordered by a wise and beneficent Providence, yet that they do not answer the purposes of beneficence in this visible world, we must needs conclude them calculated for some benefit to the invisible : and in this light we may regard them as beneficial to ourselves, we having a concern in provisions beneficial to that community whereof we hope one day to be members. These considerations I think may persuade us that the departed spirits do not reside in empty spaces wholly detached from the material universe, whereof they remain mere spectators only, spending their eternity in hymns expressive of their admiration, or at most praying for us now and then to the throne of glory : but that this mighty fabric we inhabit, together with the transactions, and events among men and animals, serve to some uses of theirs, and furnish them with employment for exerting their activity in obedience to the Will of God. Surely this idea is not unworthy the Majesty of our almighty and omniscient Governor : an idea which binds together heaven and earth, the host of separate spirits, the distant stars, the numberless planets, the elements of nature, the race of men, the brutes, the reptiles, the grains of sand, the particles of air and ether, in one all-comprehensive plan ; wherein nothing stands alone, but all the parts connect with one another and all the springs contribute to the workings of all the rest.

21. We know not indeed how to trace out the connection, nor scarce to conjecture in what particular manner our little transactions, our pleasures and pains, affect the higher classes of Beings, nor yet is it needful that we should : for God knows how to direct the actions of inferior creatures to more distant and important purposes than they are aware of, and gives to every one the senses sufficient to guide it in acting the part he designed it to perform. The bee, when she lays in her honey, thinks nothing of the services it may prove of to man : the silk-worm spins her thread without regard to the fine brocades and tissues that he will weave out of it : the horse pushes on before the plough to secure himself from the lash, nor has any conception of his preparing the ground

to bear oats for himself or wheat for his master : in like manner our reason presents us with short aims and scanty prospects, but God has instructed this guide to mark out the stages leading to remote purposes of his own. Let us then make the best use of reason's candle, for though it cast light only upon a few steps just before us, we may trust his Providence for having laid out the path to what length he thinks proper : and while we pursue our own little interests prudently, we shall without knowing it promote some advantage of other Beings to whose uses he has been pleased to make us instrumental.

22. Our view of Providence must be partial and imperfect at best, wherefore much of the wisdom of God will appear foolishness to man ; and so does wisdom always appear to such as have not capacity to discern the justness of her measures, nor the ends for which they were pursued : but the more attentively we observe the luminous tracts, we shall find them spread further and further into the dark and exceptionable : and they will quickly open before us an ample field for contemplation. For we may discover wheel within wheel, trace an admirable connection between many of them, discern an exact adjustment of them with each other, and perceive one contrived to serve various purposes.

It were needless for me to undertake what has been better executed by others before me, I mean, to particularize the phenomena wherein there appear footsteps of wisdom striking to the eye or easily discernible with a little attention ; such as the apportionment of the elements, the form of this terraqueous globe, the variety of soils and fossils, the distribution of rivers, the curious structure of seeds and plants, their different qualities adapted respectively to the uses and conveniencies of living creatures ; the wonderful machinery of animals containing within a small compass innumerable works severally performing the offices of nutrition, growth, circulation, and instrumentality of action, yet so dexterously laid together that the voluntary motions do not interrupt the mechanical ; the degrees of sense and instinct given to the brute creation, sufficient to direct them in providing nests, in choosing proper food and harboring places, but not sufficient to protect them against the assaults of other creatures who live by their destruction ; the strength, sagacity, and docility which render them serviceable to man, the parts or excrescences of their bodies applicable to his uses, the honey, the wax, the silk, the oak-galls, and other works of their industry, which supply him with materials of commerce and accommodations of life.

As to the two faculties of the mind, enabling her to receive such an infinite variety of perceptions, and to exert her action upon

any of the particles lying within the sphere of her presence exclusive of the rest, these are rather evidences of almighty power than of wisdom, as being primary properties given to her with her existence by an immediate act, and so requiring no disposition of causes to produce them. But when we reflect on the human sensory, the immediate object of all her perceptions and subject of her volition, we must acknowledge an admirable contrivance there. Whether this sensory be the pineal gland, the anterior ventricles, the centre of the ethereal cobweb, or whatever else we may imagine, it is evident from anatomy that the chamber of her residence is extremely small: yet within this little chamber, what multitudes of images hang round! Sensations, reflections, combinations, comparisons, distinctions, judgments, vocabularies of language, forms of expression, figures of speech, remembrance of facts, faces of our acquaintance, fashion of things familiar to us, knowledge of common life, professions, arts, sciences, abstractions, rules of morality, measures of prudence, passions, desires, imaginations, all within this narrow compass, yet all so nicely disposed as not to cover or obscure one another. Besides these, within the same compass are contained the particles serving for instruments of her activity, connected severally with the other parts of the sensory or nerves of the gross body; and all in such orderly disposition as to lie under command, so that she can move any limb, call up any idea, or pursue any train of thinking she pleases, without mistake or disappointment. A little reflection upon these things may show us, that the mental organization is still more wonderful than the wonderful mechanism of our outward composition. And though it may be, as we have formerly remarked, that all those images do not exist together (for we never have more than a few ideas in our view at one instant), but that the same parts of our sensory are thrown into different modifications by the act of the mind, or workings of our animal circulation, and so exhibit successively the several stores of our knowledge as wanted, like a slate which may have written upon it successively all the pages of a large volume: yet when we reflect what multitudes of springs must be requisite to produce these changes of modification, in that orderly manner, and under that command of the mind which we experience, it will rather increase than abate our wonder.

Then if we turn our eyes from the courses of nature to those of fortune and the disposal of events, we may observe how men are cast upon their several professions, schemes of conduct, places of residence and alliances, whereon the color of their future life depends, by various causes; by their natural temperament, by their education, the company they consort with, and

accidents befalling them : how families rise to prosperity, flourish a while and then wither and fall into oblivion : how kingdoms are formed out of a rude rabble, maintained with various successes and broken to pieces : how sects of Religion start up from small beginnings, possess the minds of the multitude, force princes to obey their injunctions, and in process of time become neglected and exploded.

Nor can we well fail to distinguish a Providence respecting mankind in general, conducting them through the stages of infancy, growth, and maturity, similar to those of human life. We find them living in the earliest ages with great simplicity of manners and narrow compass of knowledge : when nations were formed they scarce had intercourse unless with their next neighbors, the accounts brought them of all the rest were fabulous and romantic : by degrees arts and sciences sprung up among them, and new refinements as well in virtue as vice were the produce of every generation : accidental discoveries by private persons, such as the invention of printing, of gunpowder, of optic glasses, of the magnetic needle, have spread their influence over a great part of the globe : the growing extent of commerce tends to associate the nations with one another, to communicate customs, opinions, and improvements, to connect them in interest, and perhaps in time may unite the world into one community.

Thus we see the comprehensive plan of Providence, which by reason of the narrowness of our capacities we are forced to consider by piecemeal, appears to us containing innumerable underplans relative to the interests of particular persons, of the families or societies whereof they are members, and of the whole human race : each provided with a disposition of second causes proper to bring forth the issues intended, and so admirably adjusted together as to coincide instead of interfering with one another. And as we have already shown how much small events may affect the greatest, all this could not be effected surely unless, not only the motions of bodies, but the senses of animals the thoughts and actions of men, were comprehended within the plan.

23. But an objection has been raised of old against the doctrine of all events, as well those depending upon the acts of voluntary agents as upon mechanical causes, being directed either by a disposing or interposing Providence, as leaving no room for liberty of Will, for the justice of reward or punishment, of praise or blame, or for the expedience of consulting upon the measures we are about to take. For why need I deliberate on a Sunday morning whether I shall go to church or to the tavern, if it be contained in the decree of Heaven to which place I shall resort? The

Will of God must be fulfilled do what I can to obstruct it, nor would it become me to obstruct it if I were able: therefore I may be careless of my conduct, as well knowing that he has planned out such a course of my actions as shall conduce to the accomplishment of his purpose. Then if everything that shall happen be comprised within the design of Providence, and the causes provided which will unavoidably bring it to pass, what praise or reward do I deserve for taking the better part, what blame or punishment for the worse, since either was an event settled beforehand which I could not turn aside? Again, if it depend upon my choice whether to drink or pray, and one of them be predetermined, there must be causes in act which will infallibly influence my choice one particular way: therefore I have no liberty of Will, no freedom of choice, nor command of my own determinations, and though the success be left to my option, yet the option itself is not left to me to make, but I am confined to that which the causes aforesaid shall dictate.

Nor do these difficulties lie upon the believers of Providence only, but affect equally the atheists of both sorts, whether Stratonics or Epicureans. The former took Necessity for the First Cause, or rather admitted no First Cause at all, but held that all events proceeded by a necessary consequence from the causes concurring to produce them, which causes were produced in like manner by others preceding, and so on in an unbroken chain from all eternity: now whether we suppose this chain upholden by an intelligent Being or self-sustained, it is all one to our present purpose; for in either case if the acts of voluntary agents follow necessarily upon the impulse of external causes, there will be a constant fatality upon them utterly subversive of liberty, estimation, and prudence. Epicurus indeed denied the reality of fate, insisting that many things happened which were absolutely fortuitous: but then he could not get over the argument drawn by his opposers from the certainty of either the affirmative or negative of every proposition that could be uttered concerning what is to come to pass hereafter, which is applicable to the issues of chance as well as those of necessity. If you are to throw a die, how independent soever the cast may be upon prior causes, yet if you say you shall throw an ace and I say that you will not, one of us is certainly in the right: we know not which indeed, but when the die falls we shall know without danger of a mistake. So if Epicurus in his lifetime had said that on this 14th day of January, 1762, it would rain here in the morning and be fair in the afternoon, now the day is ended we may know that he spoke a certain truth: but truth cannot be turned into falsehood by anything subsequent, therefore it was impossible any oth-



er weather should happen than has, because otherwise that might have been rendered false which we know for certain was once true. Neither could the fact contained in a proposition, which was true two thousand years ago, become casual ever afterwards; for if it was always to come to pass, as we know it was from the event, it could never have been possible that it should not come to pass, but what was always impossible could never lie under the power of any cause or option of any agent to have effected.

24. On the other hand, men could never be persuaded out of their liberty, nor prevailed upon to relinquish their claim to the command of their own actions, a privilege they feel themselves possessed of by every day's and every moment's experience: so this has remained a constant topic of debate, both among orthodox and infidels, ever since men began to pursue abstract reasonings and examine into the nature of action. It seems to have been a point too difficult for human reason to clear up, and Milton represents it as above the reach of the fallen angels though superior to man in sagacity and penetration: for he says many of them sat on a hill apart retired, and reasoned high of knowledge, fate, and Will, fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, and found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost. But though mankind too have continually wandered in these mazes, they have often taken up their quarters for a while in each particular division of them. For it is observable that either side of the question has spread over large territories and among numbers of people, and has become alternately the received opinion of the age. To say nothing of former times, the articles of our Church savour strongly of predestination, which in the next century was exploded, and free-will bore all the sway. The Socinians of those days I think asserted that human actions were unforeseen and contingent even to God himself, and the orthodox attributed his knowledge of them to his being present throughout all futurity rather than to his knowledge of their causes. So his knowledge was not prescience but direct intuition: and lately the other opinion seems to have been creeping in again. Hartley declares expressly for the necessity of action; Berkley ascribes all those objects, appearances, and changes of situation or circumstance, which we conceive the effects of our own conduct, to an immediate operation of the divine power; and Locke had maintained before them, that liberty is as little applicable to the Will as squareness to virtue, or swiftness to sleep. This shows that both have an intrinsic vigor, which, though they may lie overwhelmed for a while by unfavorable accidents, enables them to rise again in their original splendor, from whence it may be presumed that both have some solid

foundation in truth and nature : for as Tully observed long ago, time wipes away the inventions of imagination, but confirms the judgments of nature.

And we may remark that the partizans on either side remain safe while they keep within their own trenches, for the arguments proving that every effect must have adequate causes to produce it, that all causes derive their efficacy originally from the act of God, that he does not act without knowing the issues of his proceedings, are invincible : on the other hand, the common transactions of life, the resolves we daily make, and pursue in our conduct, are evidences that we have a choice and command of our actions to every one who will not distrust his senses and his experience, the only basis of all our other knowledge. Wherefore the litigants do not endeavor so much to invalidate one another's arguments as to overpower them with other arguments they think stronger, and the dispute may be drawn into the following syllogisms. An universal Providence disposing all events without exception, leaves no room for freedom, But there is such a Providence, Therefore no freedom : or on the other side, There is a freedom of Will, Therefore no such Providence. Thus both parties lay down the same Major, without which they would make no scruple to admit the Minor assumed by their antagonists. But the most sober and considerate part of mankind, induced by the strong evidences both of freedom and Providence, have forborne to pronounce them incompatible, the only obstacle against the reception of either : yet look upon their consistency as one of those mysteries which we are forced to admit though we cannot explain. Nevertheless, there have been mysteries in nature which time and industry have unravelled, and as there are some observations we have picked up in the progress of this work which I conceive may loosen some of the knots in this intricate subject, I shall hardly be blamed for making what use I can of them, which I purpose to do in the following chapter.

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## CHAP. XXVI.

### FREEWILL.

BEHOLD us now arrived at the most intricate part of our journey, an impracticable wilderness, puzzled with mazes, and perplexed with errors, where many mighty have fallen, and many sagacious lost their way : for shadows, clouds, and darkness, cover it ; or

what flashes of light break out from time to time, present the image of truth on opposite sides; the winding paths lead round the disappointed traveller to the spot from whence he set out, or involve him in difficulties wherein neither Protestant nor Papist, neither Divine nor Philosopher has yet found an opening, and which the sacred muse of Milton pronounced insuperable, even by the Devil himself.

In this dangerous road we may be allowed, with better reason than the Poets, to call in some superior power to our aid, but what Muse, what Spirit, what God shall we invoke? For here are no private transactions unseen by mortal eye, no dreams of Rhesus broken off by the sleep of death, no secrets of nature lying beyond our reach to be discovered: we need not dive into the bowels of the earth, nor ascend to mix among the dances of the planets, nor dissect the human frame to find all the curious threads of its organization. But our business lies with the common actions of life, familiar to every one's and every day's experience: we want only to know, whether a man may act freely who makes his choice upon motives suggested by external objects, whether he may know beforehand what his neighbor will do, or offer inducements which will infallibly prevail on him to one particular manner of behavior, without infringing upon his liberty. Questions that one would think could scarce admit of a dispute; nor do they with common understandings, until men of uncommon refinements have, by their abstractions, spun them into a sense not naturally belonging to them, and introduced a confusion into their ideas, by an inaccuracy of language. Therefore upon this subject I conceive we shall have more to do with words than with things, nor find so much difficulty in ascertaining the facts to be taken under consideration, as the proper import of the expressions employed in speaking of them.

Come then, thou solemn power, Philology, pioneer of the abstruser Sciences, to prepare the way for their passage: enwrap me in thy close-bodied leathern jacket, that I may creep through the brakes and brambles of equivocation without their catching hold of me; lend me thy needle-pointed pencil, that I may trace out the hair-breadth differences of language; assist me with thy microscope to discern the minute changes of ideas passing to and fro among the same words, as they change their places in different phrases.

If any one will follow me while I travel under thy guidance, let him look for other-guised entertainment than when bestriding Pegasus we bounded along the rapid rays of solar or stellar light,

to visit the Athenian and Samian Sages, to behold the wonders of the vehicular state, and boundless glories of the mundane soul.

For thou, Goddess, consortest not with the Muses nor the Genii, the flights of imagination affright thee: figure and ornament are thine abhorrence, for they blend together in wanton assemblages those ideas which thou art most solicitous to keep asunder: familiar example alone, of all the flowery train, thou admittest to shed his lustre upon the print of thy mincing feet, and render the marks of them more easily discernible to the straining eye. But industry, and scrupulous exactness, are thy constant companions; labor and vigilance, thy delight; thorns and briars, the favorite plants of thy garden. Whoever undertakes to accompany thee there must prepare himself for toil and attention; he must observe the path exactly in which thou leadest him, mark all the outlets on either hand, pass and re-pass the whole length again and again before he ventures into another turning; that he may fix so perfect an idea of it upon his memory, as never to mistake another similar ally for the same.

But say, Goddess, by what avenue shall we enter the wilderness? Does not thy methodical prudence direct, that upon every question we should first know precisely the terms concerning which the question is proposed? Where then can we better begin an inquiry into the Freedom of Action, than by ascertaining the proper import of freedom?

2. Liberty, says Mr. Locke, is a power, and so is Will; therefore they cannot be predicated of one another, for it would be absurd to affirm of a power that it has a power. But with submission to the authority of so great a Master, I conceive Liberty a more complex term than he has made it, and though it includes an idea of power, it contains other ideas beside. And as I apprehend it to be a negative term implying more than a denial of restraint and force; for when we say a man is free, we mean nothing else than that there is no hindrance against his doing or forbearing what he has a mind; therefore it will be expedient to consider how we come by the notion of Restraint or Force.

We find ourselves possessed of several powers of action, we can walk, or speak, or think, or can let them alone: sometimes diseases or other accidents deprive us of our powers, and then we can no longer perform the functions of them; but at other times, though we remain possessed of our powers entire, yet we cannot exert them, by reason of something stronger counteracting them. Thus a man in the stocks has not lost his power of walking, the vigor of his muscles is not abated, nor is he less able to bear the fatigue of a journey on foot than he was before; nevertheless, he

cannot walk at all, because the closeness of the wood resists the motion of his legs, therefore he is under a restraint which hinders him from using the power nature has given him. So if he be pushed along by another, stronger than himself, he must move forward whether he will or no; not that he has lost the natural command of his limbs to put them in motion or keep them at rest, but because he is under a force greater than he can resist.

Thus Restraint is a comparison between some power and an impediment preventing it from performing its proper function, as Force is the like comparison between the power of forbearance, and some external impulse which renders action necessary, but forbearance impracticable; and Liberty denotes the absence of the other two; for when we pronounce a man free, we understand thereby that there is nothing either impelling him to do what he would not, or restraining him from doing what he would. So that all three, Restraint and Force as well as Liberty, include the idea of Power, nor can either of them subsist where there is none; for the bars of a prison are no restraint to a paralytic, nor will you give him liberty by unlocking them, neither can you force a man to fly, or a horse to speak.

We may observe further, that Liberty is so far from being the same thing with Power, that it may be restored by the loss, and lessened by the accession of it. Were an act of parliament made to prohibit me from going out of London for a twelvemonth, I should think it a grievous restraint upon my liberty; but should I be rendered unable to stir abroad by gout or palsy, or some other complaint which I could not hope to get rid of in the time, the restriction would no longer be such to me, and I should remain as much at liberty, as if the statute had never been made. On the other hand, our clothes are made to fit our bodies, so that we can move all our limbs freely, notwithstanding the many ligatures and coverings wherewith we are enveloped; but should it please God to cause a pair of wings to sprout out from our sides, we should find our clothes a troublesome restraint upon us; and we must send for our tailors to cut slits in them for letting out the wings, in order to restore us that liberty we had lost by the superaddition of a new power.

Hence we see that liberty is so far from being inapplicable to power, that it is properly applicable to nothing else; nor is it an absurd question to ask, whether a power be free, for it implies no more than to inquire how such power stands circumstanced with regard to any force or impediment which might compel or obstruct the exertion of it. And when we apply such questions

to the agent, they bear a reference always to some power he possesses, therefore a man may be free and restrained at the same time with respect to different powers of action; for he that is locked fast in a room may be free to think or speak, though he is not to go abroad; but a power to do some particular act cannot be free while constrained, nor the contrary.

Indeed there are degrees of freedom, not incompatible with a partial restraint, but rather implying it, as when we find some impediment obstructing us, though not so great as that we cannot surmount it; for a man with heavy jack-boots on can still walk, though not so freely and alertly as in a neat pair of shoes: such obstacles do not debar us the use of our powers, but render it difficult and laborious, or limit them in compass.

3. Let us now cast back our eye upon the path we have trodden, in order to discover what equivocal outlets there may be to mislead the unwary traveller. We get our idea of power, says Mr. Locke, from the changes we see made in substances by one another: therefore the word Power originally and properly denotes a quality or property in something to cause those changes, and is synonymous with ability, and we have hitherto used it in that sense. But it often carries a larger signification, comprehending other circumstances besides ability; so that according to the various lights wherein we place it, a man may have power when he has it not; that is, he may have it in one sense while he wants it in another.

Suppose a person of full health and vigor bound down in his bed by a multitude of threads wound all over him; another seeing him lie motionless, but not knowing the occasion, fancies him struck with some sudden distemper that has taken away the use of his limbs; he laments his unhappy condition, in being at once deprived of all his powers of action: must not we pronounce this complainant mistaken, for that the man has lost none of his powers, but they all remain entire as ever, though he cannot use them until the strings that tie him down be loosened? If a second person comes into the room who takes the case differently, ascribing the man's inactivity to a fit of laziness with which he upbraids him, shall we not plead in his excuse, that it is no fault of his that he does not rise, for that the bandages hold him down so tight, he has no power to stir either hand or foot?

Thus we see that power may be truly affirmed or denied in the same instance, according to the manner wherein the question is proposed, or thoughts of the person proposing it: and a man may have ability sufficient for performing a work, which yet he is not able

to do, by reason of some obstacle, want of some instrument or material, or other circumstance standing in the way.

We may presume Mr. Locke understood Power in this extensive latitude, when he made it the same with Liberty ; for where he observes that a man on the south side of a prison has power to walk northwards, but not southwards, this were not true, if spoken of natural ability : for the same vigor of limbs which might carry him one way, would suffice to carry him any other : therefore if he want power to walk southwards because the walls of the prison obstruct his passage, the term must be so construed as to include liberty ; and in this sense it would indeed be as absurd to ask, whether a Power be free, as whether Blueness be blue, or Hardness hard.

4. We may remark further, that Knowledge is often confounded with Power ; for ideal causes being requisite to direct us in the choice of proper actions, we can no more proceed without them than we can without ability. If I have a paper in my custody which I have mislaid, upon being urged to produce it instantly, I shall be apt to allege that it is out of my power so to do ; not because I have not the key of the drawer where it lies, nor strength in my fingers to take it out as well as any other paper, but because I know not where to look for it. So if a countryman wants to speak with a person living at the further end of the town, he may say it is out of his power to find the house ; not that he wants pliancy in his joints to carry him through all the turnings leading thither as well as any citizen, but because he should lose his way for want of knowing the right. But this idea does not enter into disputes concerning freedom, for ignorance is esteemed a defect of power rather than an abridgement of liberty.

It has been shown in CHAP. II. of the first Volume that what we generally call an Action, is not one, but a series of many actions ; and when we go about to do a thing, we proceed to the accomplishment of it by several intermediate steps, each whereof requires a particular exertion of power to perform it. Now if there stand an impediment anywhere in the way, we cannot do the thing proposed ; nevertheless we remain still at liberty to take the steps lying on this side the impediment, and at all events can use our endeavors, how ineffectual soever they may prove. Thus if a man be hindered from going to London by floods out in the road, he may yet go up to the edge of the flood without obstacle : if he be locked into a room, he may push against the door ; and if his fingers be bound round with a pack thread, he

may try to expand them, being at full liberty to give his muscles the inflation proper for spreading them open.

It is observable likewise, that restraint is often confounded with impotence, nor can we easily avoid doing so : for restraint being a comparison between our powers and anything that might obstruct their exercise, may cease upon their increase, or may be generated by a diminution of our powers, rendering that an obstacle to our motions which was none before. Thus Sampson, after being shorn of his strength, was brought under confinement by the same cords which were no infringement of his liberty aforesaid, and if they had remained on him until his hair had grown again, he would have been restored to liberty by the return of his strength, without any alteration in the strength of the bandage.

Therefore we pronounce upon the same case, as being a defect of power or of liberty, according to the light wherein we place it : the laws prohibiting the alienation of church lands, are called sometimes disabling, and sometimes restraining statutes ; and we speak indifferently of a man being disabled to go abroad or confined at home by a distemper. But in strictness, the beginning of a fever works no disability, for there is generally then an unusual strength and flow of spirits, so that the patient might do as he did at other times, if it were not for the necessary regard to his health, which is a bar against his stirring out of the house ; whereas a palsy does not properly confine, for air and exercise might be wholesome, and nothing hinders you from going abroad, but you are not able, the use of your limbs being suspended by the distemper.

Mr. Locke says, that active power belongs only to spirit : however this be, we certainly conceive it, and in our common discourses speak of it as residing in things inanimate ; therefore we apply the terms Force and Restraint when we perceive them acting or moving in a manner different to that we should expect from their natural properties, as we do Liberty, when nothing hinders their operations : we talk of a free air, a pendulum swinging, or a river running freely, where there is no obstruction against their motions ; of water being forced upwards by an engine, or a stream confined within its channel, by raising the banks.

Hence it appears, that the force of inertness ascribed by naturalists to matter, and the force of impulse causing its changes of state from motion or rest to the contrary, does not carry precisely the same signification with force in vulgar language ; for it is the impulse of gravitation, together with its own inertness, or perseverance in a motion once received, that makes a torrent rush violently into the sea ; yet every common man apprehends water to run



downwards of itself, nor ever esteems it under a force, unless when he sees it driven upwards by some other power, nor under restraint, unless when something obstructs the course it would naturally take. And though we talk frequently of the force of a torrent, we do not understand thereby any force the water itself lies under, but that we suppose it able to put upon whatever may happen to stand in its way.

Whoever will examine the language of mankind, may find that we apply expressions to bodies which belong properly to our own manner of proceeding; and how well soever we know the contrary, speak of them as voluntary agents, exercising powers of their own; thus it is said the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we say of water, that it will not mingle with oil, that it will yield to the rarefying action of heat, but will force its way through the pores of gold rather than bear condensing by the greatest pressure; terms expressive of a choice, compliance and resolution, similar to those exercised by man.

Nor do the learned abstain from the like catachresis, when they talk of the tendencies and nitencies, the conatus recedendi of bodies, the spontaneous or automatic motions of clock-work, or the laws of matter; and even when they abstract from the secondary properties resulting from composition, they seem to conceive rest as the natural state and choice of body which it exerts its power to preserve itself in; as one may gather from their calling the momentum or quantity of motion in any body a force, which conveys an idea similar to that of a man carried along against his inclination by some impulse he strives in vain to resist.

5. I take notice of these niceties, not so much for any benefit they may be of towards determining the present question, as for a caution to beware of letting such variations of language lead us astray: for the proper and genuine signification of freedom being the absence of all obstruction which might thwart us in the exercise of any power we possess, we are free when upon employing our power it will take effect, but under restraint, when something impedes us in the exercise of our power, so as that although we should exert it, the proper consequence of such exertion would not follow.

Thus a man is at liberty to walk, if upon using his legs they will carry him to the place he purposes; but if there stand any wall or bar in the way, so that with his utmost endeavors he cannot move forwards, then he is not at liberty. And so in all actions we have ability to perform, if they would not ensue upon our efforts, it must be owing to some hindrance which cramps and prevents them from taking effect.

From hence it appears, that Freedom relates to the event of our endeavors, not to the causes of them ; for whether any or no inducement prevails on me to walk, I am equally free, provided nothing hinders me from walking if I stand so inclined. For Liberty does not depend on anything prior to the exercise of my power, but upon what would or would not stand in the way after having exerted it, and therefore is not inconsistent with any antecedent causes or disposition of Providence influencing me to walk ; for how much soever they may impel me to go out of the room, I am not at liberty to do it while the door is locked, and when the door is opened I am set at liberty, how much soever they may withhold me from using it.

But it will be said, all this may be very true, and yet affects not the case under consideration, as it relates only to freedom of action concerning which there is no controversy, not to freedom of Will : for no Arminian will doubt a man's being debarred of his Liberty by shutting him up in a gaol ; nor will the most rigid Calvinist deny, that upon being let loose he is at liberty to go which way he pleases. So the dispute turns, not upon our freedom to do as we will, but upon our freedom to choose out of several actions in our power ; and both seem to agree, that whatever act is contained in the plan of Providence must be performed, nor can we will the contrary if we would.

6. Before we enter upon the discussion of this question, it will be necessary to understand ourselves in the proposing it ; for men seem to me not always very clear in their idea of the term Will, as it stands in either branch of the sentence.

We learn upon Mr. Locke's authority, that we are capable of no more than one determination of the Will at once, and whoever observes the motions of the human mind will find her volitions transient and momentary ; she varies her action perpetually, willing this instant what she rejects the next ; and if she perseveres for a time in one purpose, it is by a train of numerically distinct, though similar and correspondent volitions : therefore to ask, whether we can will this present instant, if we will this present instant, would be an idle and trifling question ; it must indeed be answered in the affirmative, and so must every other of the like sort ; for I can walk if I walk, ride if I ride, or do anything else you can name, if I do it. And such hypothetical affirmations may be true of things which categorically proposed were absolutely impossible : for it is as true, that I can lift the house if I lift it, or jump over the moon if I jump over it, as that I can take up a pin if I take it up : such propositions are merely identical, making a show of something profound, but adding nothing to our information.

Therefore the question, to mean anything, must relate to different Times or different Wills, and the drift of it be to inquire either, whether by willing a thing now I can cause myself to will it by-and-by ; or whether if I happen to will opposite things at the same time, as to buy a costly trinket and to save my money, I can by one Will control the other, or by a third Will choose which of the two shall have the guidance of my conduct.

To the first of these inquiries, one cannot give a direct answer, it being notorious by every day's experience, that we do determine upon what we will do beforehand, and many times do it accordingly, but at other times do it not, and that upon two accounts ; either because we have changed our mind, or because though we continue in the same, we find some desire, or terror, or difficulty, rise upon us too strong for our resolution. But changes of mind create no doubts concerning liberty ; for nobody imagines that our resolving upon a thing lays us under a necessity of performing it, although good reasons should occur to the contrary, or our judgment should alter ; nor will deny, that how strongly soever I have determined to leave London seven years hence, I may remain perfectly free all the while to determine otherwise whenever I think proper.

Which by the way shows Liberty not incongruous with prior causes ; for if I do something because I had resolved upon it beforehand, and this we practise every day of our lives, the volition whereby I perform it must be acknowledged an effect of my former determination, nevertheless will be counted a free act in everybody's estimation, provided nothing hinders but that I might omit it ; therefore if my first determination were contained within the plan of Providence, the performance may make a part of that plan without infringement of my liberty. For even supposing me influenced to resolve by some irresistible grace, or supernatural impulse, though I was not free in making, I am yet free in keeping the resolution, nor does there need any more than to keep off all suggestions which might alter my judgment, or temptations which might overpower it, and I shall execute what was resolved on by virtue of the freedom remaining with me.

But when we change our conduct without changing our mind, and do not prosecute what we have in our intention, by reason of some appetite drawing the contrary way, then disputes and difficulties arise ; because we conceive our Will still exerting itself, but prevented from taking effect by a superior force or impediment counteracting it, which presents the genuine idea of a want of Liberty.

Thus this question, whether by our present Will we may determine what we shall will at some future time, becomes reduced into that other, whether one Will may control or confine another coexistent Will.

7. And no wonder we find perplexities in examining metaphysically a question, the terms whereof have no place in the metaphysical vocabulary; for there is a philosophical, and there is a vulgar language, and if studious men will mingle their abstractions among vulgar ideas, they must unavoidably bewilder themselves in mazes and darkness.

The notion of a diversity of Wills is unknown to him that carefully studies the motions of the human mind, for her acts are instantaneous and transitory; nor can she perform any more than one at the same time: we have various powers of action, and they all lie under the command of the mind to turn them upon one particular object; her giving them that turn is properly volition, and it is as absurd to imagine she should exert opposite volitions together, as that the wind should blow east and west.

We may be restrained in the use of our powers, because their operation passes through several stages; we work upon certain unknown nerves, they inflate the muscles, the muscles pull the tendons, the tendons move the limbs, and if there be an obstruction anywhere, we have not liberty to perform the action intended, how much soever we may endeavor it. But the acts of the mind upon the first corporeal fibre receiving her impulse are immediate, so there is no room for any impediment to interfere in stopping their progress: we may indeed imagine her to lose her power by the fibre becoming incapable, or being removed out of her reach; but we have seen that when power is gone, there is no place either for Liberty or Restraint.

Nor let it be asked, whether the mind be free to determine her own acts; for this implies, that one volition is the consequence of another, and so it may be remotely; but we have shown in a former place, that the mind never acts upon herself, unless by the mediation of motives: for there is no one action of our lives which we do not enter upon through some motive of judgment, or inclination, or present fancy; and even if we had an elective power besides our active, how much soever that might determine the latter, it must itself be determined by some satisfaction apprehended in the choice.

But the suggestion of motives to our thoughts is as much an action, as the moving of our limbs, and if anything obstructs their rising, notwithstanding our endeavors to call them up, we may be free or restrained with respect to that action; but in respect to

our first endeavors, we are no more capable of either, in one case than the other.

Therefore we may agree with Mr. Locke in pronouncing Liberty as little applicable to Volition, taken in the philosophical sense, as Squareness is to Virtue, or Swiftness to Sleep.

8. But if we listen to the common discourses of mankind, we shall find them speaking of several Wills, several agents, in the same person, resisting, counteracting, overpowering and controlling one another: hence the so usual expressions of the spiritual and carnal Wills, of the man and of the beast, of self-will and reason, of denying our Wills, subduing our passions, or being enslaved to them, of acting unwillingly or against our Will, and the like. All which take rise from a metonymy of the cause for the effect; for our actions being constantly determined either by the decisions of our judgment, or solicitations of our desires, we mistake them for the Will itself: nor is it a little confirmation of the Will being actuated by motives, to find them so intimately connected therewith that a common eye cannot distinguish them apart.

When in our sober moods we deliberate and afterwards fix upon our measures of conduct, we look upon such determination as our Will, which we conceive not a transient act, but an abiding power, exerting itself from time to time as opportunities offer, until either the design be completed, or fresh reasons prevail on us to alter it.

But it often happens, that some inordinate passion or inveterate habit comes athwart our way, and puts us by from the prosecution of our design, without making us change it: this we likewise regard as our Will, being sensible that what we do by its instigation is still our own act; and because we find the same desire prompting us at different times, we apprehend this too a permanent power lying in us, ready to be exerted upon the proper objects presenting. Thus we get the idea of two Wills, opposing, impeding, restraining, and mastering one another.

Sometimes there ensues a contest between them, the mind hovering uncertain for a while, until at last she settles on either side: hence comes the idea of a third Will, determining between the other two; and I believe this gave rise to the notion of an elective, besides our active power.

But these struggles are owing to the fluctuations of strength in our motives, and the victory to some one of them catching the idea of Satisfaction away from the rest: for it is well known, that motives as well of reason as passion, do not always appear in equal colors, nor press with equal force, but urge vehemently or feebly by turns, with frequent and sudden variations. And we may per-

ceive the like wavering in our coolest deliberations between two measures of conduct or two diversions ; wherein the mind cannot be suspected of giving a preference, being disposed all along to follow whichever shall be found the best or most entertaining ; but both appear such alternately, until at last the balance of judgment or fancy settles, without intervention of the Will to cast it either way.

9. Nevertheless, men cannot be put out of their accustomed manner of talking and thinking ; therefore in compliance with their conceptions, let us suppose a diversity of Wills, that those Wills exert permanent acts, lasting for hours and days without intermission, and that we may will at one time, what we shall will at another. In this light there is certainly room for applying restraint and freedom to the Will ; for its operations being now conceived passing through a length of time before they take effect, may be obstructed, or turned aside in their passage by something else : so if I do in the afternoon what I had determined in the morning to forbear, my former Will still continuing the same, I am under a force, and the Will I have at present is a different Will from that remaining with me from the morning's determination, and counteracts it.

But it being obvious that we can exert our power only one way at a time, we are apt to entertain a contradictory notion that, while we have a diversity of Wills within us, one of them only is our own, and esteem each of them such in turn according as we chance to be in the humor. Sometimes it is the Will of inclination, and must be so taken in all expressions relating to self-denial, to curbing our Will, or to things we do unwillingly, or against our Will, that is, against our liking : but more commonly we understand the determination of our judgment to be our Will, because there are none of us without this Will ; for I suppose nobody ever refuses to do what his present judgment represents as best, provided it give him no trouble in the performance, nor thwart any inclination, or fancy whatever ; therefore this is a Will always subsisting in us, though not always taking effect.

As to the third Will, that of Election, this takes place only occasionally, when there is a contest between the other two : for as nobody ever chooses to act against his judgment without some inclination drawing him, or uneasiness driving him the other way ; so likewise I imagine nobody ever chooses to abstain from doing what he likes, when he sees no reason in the world why he should forbear. When Reason and Inclination urge the same way, or one alone solicits, the other remaining totally silent, which frequently happens, there is but one object presented to the mind, who in that case has no room to make any choice or election at all.

Therefore the Will of Judgment or Resolution, in common propriety of language, is to be esteemed our Will ; our freedom depending upon the presence or absence of any impediment which might prevent that from directing our motions : and so St. Paul understood it, where he represents the carnal man as omitting to do the things he would, and doing the things he would not, which he justly styles, a wretched bondage. Nor can that glorious liberty of the Sons of God, which we are exhorted to assert, be better expounded than by an exemption from all inordinate desires and temptations, so that we may perform whatever our reason and duty recommend with ease and readiness.

10. But there is a restraint which our judgment lays upon itself, when an action occurs we judge eligible regarded alone, but cannot be done without omitting something else we judge more expedient, we think ourselves not at liberty to do it. Thus if I am asked to do some little good office for a friend, when some business of importance calls me another way, I shall excuse myself by saying, I would gladly oblige him if I were not under a necessity of attending to my business.

It is this opposition of things eligible to the judgment, if considered apart, that gives birth to those we have called Motives of Necessity, to Obligation, to Duty, the command of a Superior, the regard for our Health, our Preservation, the avoidance of Mischief, or Damage ; all which compel us many times to act otherwise than we wish, or than our judgment would choose, if these bars did not stand in the way : but this kind of necessity is a very unstable term, the same case being esteemed such in one light which is not in another.

A man having a seal put forcibly into his hand, and the hand with the same violence pressed down upon wax affixed to a deed, containing a conveyance of his estate, will be counted by everybody under necessity ; but then the sealing is no more his act than it is the act of the seal employed therein, for both act by impulse without anything that can be called freedom.

But what if his hands being left at liberty, he be only locked up in a room, and threatened to be kept there without victuals or drink until he shall seal ? Perhaps he has a wife and children who must be ruined by the loss of his estate, and being a man of resolution, he determines bravely to perish rather than bring them to destruction ; in this forlorn condition, he lolls out at a window, where he sees an intimate friend of his, a lawyer, who advises him to execute, for that no damage can ensue therefrom : he then calls for the deed, sets to his seal, and obtains his enlargement. This the Philosopher will not allow to be an act of necessity, for it was in

his power to have forborne : and he did actually forbear until his friend's admonition having altered his judgment, he chose voluntarily to seal, upon a prudential motive of saving his life without detriment to his family. The Grantees bring ejectment for the land in Westminster-hall, where the whole case appearing upon evidence as above, the judge and jury pronounce the deed void, for that the man was under duress, and his act not voluntary but imposed upon him by force. Thus we find the same act adjudged necessary in legal construction, which was free and voluntary in the philosophical.

Now to change the case a little, imagine the confinement were in a public gaol for a lawful debt, which the party has no means of paying, nor credit to procure bail ; somebody offers to purchase a farm contiguous to his house, and which it would be greatly inconvenient for him to part with, nevertheless he considers his health is infirm, and if he remains in prison it would inevitably prove his death ; so he accepts the offer as the only possible means of extricating himself. If he be afterwards blamed for so imprudent a bargain, he will allege the necessity of his affairs compelling him to it ; and this allegation will be readily admitted as a full excuse. If upon ejectment brought, he offers to refund the money, and refuses to deliver possession, urging the necessity he lay under, I am afraid this plea will not avail him ; for the court will say, his act was free and voluntary, nor was he under any compulsion when he did it, therefore it must stand good.

Let us now vary our circumstances once more, and suppose the man under no confinement or debt at all ; but he has taken a fancy to some girl of the town ; she wants a sum of money to throw away upon an extravagance, and will leave him for some other gallant, unless he will supply her, which he has no means of doing any other way, than by sale of the farm above mentioned : he is so besotted with her allurements that he cannot live without her ; so he executes the conveyance, though sorely against the grain, and against his judgment. He will be apt to plead necessity in excuse for this foolish proceeding ; but no indifferent person will admit it for such : here then is a necessity men deem so themselves, though nobody else will call it by that name.

But Necessity being constantly opposed to Freewill, the changeableness of these terms, according to the lights wherein you regard them, gives rise to as notable disputes among us, as those canvassed of old among the philosophers concerning the proper color of the feathers of a cock-pigeon's neck, which presents a different aspect upon every little motion of the bird.



11. Everybody esteems freedom the basis of morality ; for no man deserves praise or blame for doing what he could not help, omitting what he was not at liberty to perform : we are justified in doing things upon the command of a superior, which were blamable had we done them upon our own accord ; and it is a received maxim, that necessity has no law. Nevertheless the restraints laid upon us by our vices justify us not, and the slave of sin is always thought answerable for the drudgery he goes through in obedience to his tyrant. On the other hand, we may merit commendation, by complying with the necessary obligations of our religion and our duty.

Oftentimes, as has been already remarked, we blend the idea of impotence with want of liberty, or attribute to the one, what proceeds from the other ; and indeed the latter in some measure depends upon the former ; for whatever obstacle stands in our way, were our strength increased so as greatly to surmount it, would become none, but we should be set at liberty from its opposition. A man bound hand and foot with cords, upon having the strength of Sampson given him, would regain his liberty without being untied : and a cobweb wound about our hands makes no abatement in our freedom, though it destroys that of a fly ; not that it does not oppose the same resistance against our fingers as it does against the legs of the fly, but because that resistance is nothing in comparison with our greater strength.

When some fond passion captivates the heart, and forces us upon actions our present judgment disapproves, we are said to labor under an impotence of mind ; and the compliance with such temptations as few or none can resist, is attributed to the weakness of human nature. When honor or duty calls a man to some very painful enterprise, like those of Scævola, Regulus, or the Christian Martyrs, he does not want freedom of action to accomplish it ; for his hands will as readily obey the command of the mind to thrust them into burning coals, as into a bason of water, if he can but bring his mind to give the command. Perhaps some of us might resolve upon such an exploit, but should probably flinch in the attempt ; and we many times do enter confidently upon undertakings where we find our courage fail in the execution : here then is an effort of the Will directing her own volitions, which yet are forcibly turned a contrary way by the terrors of the pain. So then here, if ever, the Will is not free to follow her own choice and election : nevertheless, when trials of this sort have been undergone, we do not reckon them instances of greater freewill, but greater strength of virtue, and extraordinary vigor of mind.

So if a covetous man intends to give money in charity, but when he comes to take his guineas out of the bag, has not the heart to part with them; he has a Will to do a generous deed, and would execute it if not restrained by his fondness for the pelf; yet we do not ordinarily reckon him destitute of Freewill, but that he has not power to give anything away. Thus we esteem the same case a defect of Liberty, or of Power, according as we fix our eye upon the strength of the obstacle, or feebleness of the agent.

12. The Speculative talk much of a free and necessary Agency, terms not in use among the vulgar, nor do they lose anything by the want of them: for if we go to examine what Free Agency is, we shall find it to be no more than the dependency of actions upon volitions; therefore man is a free Agent, because his limbs move according to the directions of his Will, but Matter a necessary Agent, as having no Will, and acting solely by virtue of the motion, or impulse imparted to it.

Not but upon a man's being pushed violently down to the ground his fall is necessary, but then it is properly no act of his; for though we are apt to say he hurt himself by the fall, which implies something done by him, yet, upon mature consideration, we never attribute the hurt to him, but to the person who threw him down: for in this case his motion is similar to that of body, which does not properly act, but only transmits the action of something else that moved it. When a stone strikes against a wall it serves only as a channel of conveyance for the force of the engine from whence it was cast; that again of the springs and wheels whereby it was worked; and so backwards in a series of effects and causes, until you come to some voluntary agent giving the first impulse, whose act it is, whether he intend the consequence or no. If a man shoots another, the wound made by the bullet is his act, and he chargeable with the murder; or if he shot at a crow and happened to kill a man, though he be guilty of no crime, still the slaughter is his act; but an undesigned and accidental one. And if we commonly ascribe powers to body, it is because we cannot trace them back to the causes from whence they originally sprung.

Upon this view of the matter, we see that free Agency has nothing to do with questions concerning Liberty, for the one may remain after the other being taken away. A man shut up in a prison still continues a free agent of such actions as he can perform; if he would gladly go abroad, but sits still in his wicker chair, as knowing the doors are locked, his quiescence is an act of free Agency, not like that of the chair he sits on, for he might

have risen from it if he would. Or if he be shoved along by the shoulders, though he must move, being under a force, yet he is a free agent in the motion of his legs ; for a statue pushed along in like manner, being a necessary agent, would have fallen upon its face.

Thus how much soever we may be abridged or confined in our powers, while there is anything left that we can do, our free agency subsists entire, for this relates only to our manner of doing those actions we perform, that is, by willing them ; and consequently in everything a man does which is properly his act, whether by compulsion or restraint, or free choice, he is in that instance a free agent, or in other words, he is such whenever he is an agent at all.

13. But all this will not satisfy the curious, for they ask further, whether a man have free agency to will such a particular exertion of his power as well as to execute it. Now this is another kind of Agency from that we have been speaking of hitherto ; and for distinction sake we shall beg leave to call it free Volency (for the Speculative will allow one another to coin a word upon occasion) : so the question is not whether man be a free Agent but a free Volent ; for his agency remains the same, provided his actions follow according to his volition, whatever laws this latter be subject to.

Now in order to raise a question upon this head, we must suppose our Volition the effect of some prior or other act of the Will besides the Volition itself under examination : but we have seen in the progress of this work, that the Will is no subject of her own operation, but takes her turns from time to time, according to the present state of the judgment and imagination ; therefore the epithet Free, can neither be affirmed, nor denied, nor any ways applied to Volency ; this not being immediately produced by any exertion of our power. It is true, we do often determine beforehand what we will do, and pursue measures accordingly, which we should have omitted, had it not been for such determination ; and in this sense the Will acts upon herself, but then she does it immediately by fixing such ideas, resolutions, or propensities upon the memory and imagination as will serve her for motives by-and-by ; and it is plain her agency terminates with the impressing such ideas, because if they slip out of our head, or something happens to render the determination inexpedient, though we act contrary to it, yet no doubts arise concerning our free Agency, either in the first determination or subsequent volition.

Besides, some of our actions leave room for no more than one operation of the Will ; a man turning the corner of a street sees

somebody come hastily against him, and suddenly starts back ; here the first act of his will is that whereby he moves his limbs, so there is no prior Agency whereto the term free may be applied.

There are some who hold two consubstisting Wills, an active and an elective, the latter continually directing the former, how truly I shall not examine ; but upon this supposition man is a free Agent, and a free Volent ; for free Agency is the dependency of his actions upon volition, and free volency the dependence of volition upon his choice ; but you cannot go on further to entitle him a free electant too ; for never heard of anybody spinning the thread so fine as to suppose another election determining that which determines the Will : all who hold an elective power making it either dependent upon motives, or self-moving independent on all causes whatever, even on any prior, or other act of the Will ; so the term Free cannot be applicable to it, because we are free only in such things as will ensue upon some previous act of the Will exerted to produce them.

We do indeed often talk in common conversation of a free, and a forced choice ; but this relates to the consequence of our choice not to the manner of making it, and depends not so much upon our being able to choose, as to obtain the thing chosen. We say indeed, a man has not liberty to choose when he knows the thing is not to be had, because he cannot will an impossibility ; for how much soever we may wish or desire, we never actually Will without a present apprehension of something feasible : but this proves volition dependent upon final causes occurring to the imagination, for an unattainable end is no end at all, because it is not a thing wherein our efforts may terminate, nor can the mind raise a volition of it by any power she possesses. Besides that choice, in vulgar acceptation, lies undoubtedly liable to constraint, we meet with numberless instances every day of our being confined in our choice ; which shows that choice in this sense is a different thing from the elective power spoken of just now ; for that the maintainers of it insist upon as a privilege inherent in human nature, which nothing can divest us of, nor any external force, or circumstances of situation control ; but that we have always power to will, how much soever we may be restrained from doing.

14. Thus have I endeavored to point out some of those variations of sense our words are liable to, according to the occasion introducing them, or light wherein they are placed : and it is this fluctuation of language that makes the labyrinth, and throws up the briers and thorns that entangle us in our reasonings upon human

Liberty. For men set out with one question, but scarce have gone a few steps before they slide insensibly into another, from thence into a third, and so on without limitation : no wonder then they cannot come to a satisfactory conclusion upon a subject perpetually changing.

I know of none other use in the discussion above attempted of those several changes, unless to warn men against being beguiled by them, for let them keep their ideas steady, and I believe they will find no difficulties. Therefore I hold it wrong to enter upon a debate concerning free Will in general, that being a variable term, as well in our common discourses, as in our abstract speculations ; for the Will is always free, that is, always doing something or other while we wake, yet at the same time may be confined to one, or a few ways of exerting herself : but let them take into consideration particular acts of the Will, and they will find her sometimes free, sometimes under force or restraint, and sometimes neither of the three applicable to her, according to the different lights wherein they regard the matter, according to what they understand by the term Will, and what they apprehend to be an act of her's.

But with respect to our main point the consistency of human Freedom with Providence, it is not much matter what notions men entertain of Liberty, of Agency, of Will, or Choice ; provided they contemplate each instance singly by itself, and do not blend them together, nor change them, by juggling like a conjuror with cups and balls. For they must discern so much similitude in all cases of Liberty that can be produced, if they will but keep their ideas clear, and under such discipline as not to jostle, or run into one another, that the same consequences will always follow, how variously soever they may understand Liberty in the several cases proposed.

15. Let us consider a man just enlarged out of prison, who we shall say has regained his liberty, because he can stay at home, or go abroad this way, or that, north or south as he pleases. So his freedom consists in the dependence of his motions upon his Will, in his standing so circumstanced as that nothing hinders but that rest, or motion, or any particular motion he shall direct, shall ensue upon his willing ; it does not at all relate to the inducements he may have for willing, whether some prudential motive, or sudden start of fancy, or impulse of passion, or whether he put it to the cast of a die ; in each case he remains at full liberty to do as he will.

Well, but suppose him under the authority of some master who gives him a holiday to divert himself at home, or go abroad wherever he chooses. I shall not dispute, whether the injunctions of a superior be strictly an abridgement of human Liberty, for that

they may be disobeyed by any one who shall disregard the consequences : let us grant for the present, that he could not do the thing whereon his choice shall fall, if any prohibition were given against it, yet there being no such prohibition, leaves him besides his liberty of action, a liberty of choice in what manner he shall use his other liberty. Now this liberty, like the former, consists in the dependence of his actions upon his choice ; for where he has free choice, nobody can doubt he will do as he chooses ; and where he has not, he may be forced to do what he does not choose : but it has no concern with the causes of his choice, whether he spend his holiday prudently, or foolishly, according to his own whims, or the persuasions of an acquaintance.

But suppose he has strong reasons either of religion, or duty, or respect to some Relation who may leave him a good legacy, which urge him to go one way, but his companions, or his own jovial disposition, solicit him another, to the alehouse, and nobody has any authority to interpose ; so he remains still at liberty to choose between them, because he may take either way as his Will and his choice shall direct. No, you say, it is not clear that he has a freedom of choice ; for though I admit he may do as he chooses, yet I doubt his being free to choose ; because his evil habit of tipping may force a choice upon him whether he will or no. Beware, my friend, of the mazes in the labyrinth, for we are now striking into another alley, and starting a different question from that we had under contemplation before.

In common usage, we apply Liberty indifferently to the power or act performed thereby ; for we say the choice is free when nothing hinders, but that we may do whatever it shall pitch upon, and the act free when it follows in consequence of our choice, and not of any compulsion obliging us to perform it. And one of the most dangerous sources of perplexity arises from the want of distinguishing in our inquiries concerning the freedom of a power, whether we regard it as a cause or an effect ; for while we behold it in a double light, as too frequently is done, we shall never see distinctly where to find an issue. According to your present stating the doubt we must consider it as an effect, the proper object of some power the man has to influence his choice, unless the prevalence of habit should give it a contrary bias.

As to cases of restraint they will conduce nothing to our main purpose ; therefore we will consider only such cases wherein you may suppose a freedom of choice in our present sense of the Term, that is, as an effect of some power we possess.

16. Suppose a man deliberating in the morning how he shall lay out his afternoon : there are no bolts nor bars in his way, no

authority of a superior, nor restraint of law, duty, honor, or obligation, intervening in the matters under deliberation; so we know his afternoon's actions will be such as his Will and Choice shall then direct; but neither is there any strong inclination, or passion at work, which might drive him upon one way of employing him preferable to the rest; so he stands indifferent to choose now in what manner he shall dispose of himself in the afternoon, nor has he any choice until he shall determine it by some present act of his Will.

I do not give this as a philosophical representation of the case, but certain it is, we often do conceive ourselves in a situation (how justly it is no matter) to will or choose what we shall will and do by-and-by; for if upon asking a friend to walk with you in the Park, this afternoon, he should gravely reply, Good Sir, I cannot possibly tell you, for the present moment only is in our power; my future actions depend upon my future volitions, and the Will cannot act upon itself, nor is what I shall do five hours hence the subject of my present option: you would think he bantered you, and be apt to cry, pry'thee cannot you choose either to walk, or let it alone, cannot you tell me whether you will or no?

Therefore unless we will talk in a strain contrary to the language and conceptions of all mankind, we must acknowledge that a person in the case before us has a perfect freedom of choice. But wherein does this freedom consist? where, unless in the absence of all impediment, restraint, authority, obligation or force whatsoever against his power of choosing; so that his choice will continue such as he fixes it, and his afternoon's actions follow precisely according to his present determination; nor has it anything to do with the motives or causes inducing him to choose riding rather than walking or staying at home before both.

But we have not done yet; for some there be who insist upon an elective Power consubsting with our power of Volition, and determining it as well in giving the preference to what we are to do hereafter, as in the present exercise of our bodily powers. Be it so, since they will have it so. Then the freedom of this elective Power depends upon the removal of all force or impediment against the Will taking such determination as is elected, but not at all upon the cause of such election. Add further, that when we do what we had elected or determined beforehand, nobody will deny our being free in the volitions exerted at the time of execution: which proves Freedom consistent with precaution, for otherwise either our Election and Predetermination must have no avail nor influence upon our future conduct, or else must put

a force upon the Will, constraining it to act conformably to them until they were completed.

17. Thus how many powers soever we may conceive in the mind directing one another, the proper and genuine idea of Freedom, with respect to each of them, will be the same: for in order to discuss the point of freedom, we must consider some operating power as the cause, and some exertion of the power operated upon as an effect to be produced thereby: if such effect will follow as may be expected from the cause, then are we free in the operating power, and our exertion of the operated is our own free act; but if a different effect will follow, then are we under force or restraint.

If we inquire further whether we be free to use this operating power, this is a new question which must be discussed in like manner with the former, by considering the operating power as an effect, and some other power not thought of before as a cause.

For let the mind have ever so much power to act upon herself, either by predetermination, or coexistent election, such her acting is an action as much as acting upon the limbs, and the freedom of it must be tried by the same rules: for as I have freedom of action so long as there lies no bar or obstacle against using my bodily powers in such manner as my Will shall direct, whatever causes may incline me to employ them one particular way; so have I freedom of Will while nothing hinders, but that such volition shall take place as I predetermine or elect, whatever may give occasion to my so determining or electing. For Liberty bears no connection with anything antecedent to the operation of that power whose liberty we inquire into, but solely with what shall follow after it, and with the removal of all obstruction which might prevent it from taking effect: therefore may well consist with causes prior to such operation, and with the dominion of that Providence whose disposal those causes lie under.

Thus while we can keep a Disputant to any one settled point, one stated case of acting, or willing, we shall manage well enough with him; but men are apt to dodge about the post, alleging, that we may will as we choose, and choose if we will, without understanding themselves in the use of those terms, or settling the distinction between them; but one moment taking them for synonymous, and the next for different acts producing one another. Whereas if we fix the meaning of choice to a predetermination, then in such cases where our determination stands confined to certain limits, or we are compelled to take a course contrary to that we determine, our volitions, and consequently our actions,



depend upon the causes applying such force or restraint : but in cases where we remain perfectly free to prosecute whatever we may determine upon, they depend upon the motives occurring to our judgment, or imagination, in making the determination, or upon our former cares in forming the condition of our mind ; which cares depended upon the like causes, and so on as far as the Will was concerned, until you come to some first determination, or act of the mind to which there was none other act preceding ; which act must depend upon external causes ; and consequently so must all subsequent volitions dependent thereon.

18. As to the co-existent elective power, self-moving and independent on all causes, whether of external objects, motives of judgment and imagination, or prior determinations of our own, if this could once be well established, then farewell to all prudence, deliberation, and dependence upon our own conduct, and that of other people : for what avails it to contrive a plan of my measures ever so wisely, to inculcate salutary maxims upon my mind, to nourish sentiments of honor, or duty, or moral senses for my guidance, if I may afterwards chance to elect the wildest, and most extravagant actions in defiance of all reason, or inclination, or former resolutions to the contrary ? or how can I depend that my best and dearest friend will not murder me, while there is a hazard that he may elect in opposition to all the judgment and discretion in his head, the sentiments and desires in his heart ?

But such terrors as these the most zealous devotees of an elective power do not lie under ; they depend upon men's acting conformably to their characters ; if they know a hardened villain, they make no question of his electing acts of violence, injury, and dishonesty whenever opportunity shall serve, and confide in themselves for making just and wise elections in their future conduct.

What then occasions the difference between man and man ? for there must be some cause of the moral character, some account to be given why we know what use each person will make of his elective power. The difference, say they, lies in the Will itself, which has a peculiar bent, or ply, or I know not what, different from that of another person : the villain has a perverseness of Will, therefore will always choose perversely ; and they themselves a rectitude of Will, so of course they will choose rightly and wisely. But whence got they this I know not what in their Will ? was it innate ? was it the natural constitution of their mind ? Then they ought to bless the Author of their nature, who gave them this happy constitution on creating them. But no, this must

not be the case; for they will lose all merit of their rectitude, unless it was of their own acquiring; therefore they gave this right Ply to their Wills themselves by their former cares, and industry, and right management of their elective power. Be it so; for we are in the humor to admit everything they please to assume; still we must ask, what moved them to such right management? it could not be the Ply of their Will; for if this were acquired, they could not have it before they acquired it, nor could they derive from thence their choice of the right methods taken in the acquisition. What then, did they light upon those methods by mere chance? I do not suspect they will say this; for this would make Virtue nothing more than a lucky hit, which one Simpleton might stumble upon as well as another. If then their choice had a source, there remains none other we can guess besides education, example, company, the temperament of their body, state of their mental organization, objects surrounding them, events touching their notice, and the like; causes antecedent and external to the mind electing, under the direction of that power whom they must acknowledge to govern all things external.

19. Upon the whole, we may conclude Freedom, in whatever light we place it, or to whatever power, whether real or imaginary, apply it, by no means repugnant to the operation of prior causes moving us to the exercise of that power; nor to the dominion of Providence, having all those causes and their causes at disposal: so that the Plan of Providence may well take effect without infringing a tittle upon our Liberty. Events which neither our judgment nor our appetite would incline us to produce, are placed out of our power, and entrusted in the hands of other agents, so come to pass by necessity with respect to us; the returns of summer and winter do not depend upon our option, because we might be apt to choose a perpetual spring: but wherever God thinks proper to employ us in executing any part of his plan, there needs only to give us the powers, the talents, the opportunities, the judgments, the motives requisite, and we shall complete the lines allotted us by the exercise of our freedom.

So far as you can penetrate into a man's sentiments and desires, and have the proper objects at command, you may put him upon any work you shall require: if money be his idol, and you have enough to bribe him, you may make him do whatever you please; if he make his belly his god, you may draw him from Milbank to Radcliffe-highway by an exquisite entertainment; or if good nature be his ruling principle, you may employ him in any kind of office you shall want. Your politicians know how to turn the pas-

sions of men independent on their authority to serve their designs : and the Divine Politician may do this more completely, not only as he knows perfectly the secrets of all hearts, but as he gave them that understanding and those appetites, which determine the color of their actions ; and we need not doubt of his having given them such as will effectually answer the purposes intended by them.

In some few instances where we know the hearts of men, we can effect our purposes with them as surely as we can with any corporeal instruments in our hands : if you want to give a ball, or an entertainment, it is but sending an invitation to persons fond of these diversions, and you will have your company resort to you of their own free choice, nor could you bring them more effectually, if you had the authority of an absolute monarch over them ; so that in this instance you govern their motions either to Hickford's, or the Apollo near Temple Bar, or your own dining-room, without the least impeachment of their liberty. And we have a present example before our eyes of a monarch, who having the love of his subjects, can by their free services resist the combined efforts of the mightiest despotic powers upon earth. Nor can despotism itself do any great matters without aid of Free Will : for rewards, honors, and encouragements, those engines of free agency, contribute more to the valor of armies than any scourges of punishment, or peremptory edicts concluding, For such is our Will.

Since then experience testifies, that man can make so much use of liberty towards accomplishing his designs, why should we scruple to think the same of God in a larger extent ? for he not only has all the objects in his power which touch the springs of action, but fabricated the springs themselves, and set them to receive what touches they shall take.

20. But we judge of the workings of Providence by our own narrow way of proceeding ; we take our measures from time to time as the expedience of them occurs to our thoughts, and then must make what use we can of the materials or instruments before us, be they such as exactly suit our purpose, or not ; and even if we had the making of our instruments, yet not always knowing what we should want to do with them, we shall often find them inconvenient for our service : nor is it unfrequent that the works we performed yesterday stand in the way of those we are to perform to-day, because new schemes and new occasions of employing ourselves occur to us perpetually.

In like manner we vulgarly imagine God acting occasionally, and taking up purposes he had not thought of before until a con-

currence of circumstances rendered them expedient. We apprehend him as having turned the numerous race of men loose into the wide world, endowed them with various powers, talents, appetites, and characters, without knowing precisely, or without caring what they will produce. We allow him indeed to have formed the main lines of a plan; but left large vacancies between to be filled up by chance, whose wild workings lie under his control to divert their course when they would interfere with the strokes of his pencil. For the eye of Providence watches over the motions of human creatures, when he sees them running counter to his designs, he turns them aside, or guides them by his secret influence to co-operate therewith.

Now, considering the vast variety of humors, the discordant aims and interests among mankind, it must be acknowledged that the government of the world, in this view of it, could not be administered without either continual miraculous interpositions in the motions of matter; or compulsions and restraints upon free Agency, giving our volition another turn than it would take from the motives present before us, or causing other motions to arise in our limbs, and thoughts in our minds, than our present volition would naturally produce.

But when we reflect that even the wanton gambols of chance must result from agents and causes originally set a work by the Almighty, when we call to mind his infinite Wisdom and Omniscience which nothing can escape, nothing perplex or overload; it seems more congruous with that boundless attribute to imagine that no single, nor most distant effect of the powers and motions he gave was overlooked, no chasms or empty spaces left in his design: but that upon the formation of the world he laid a full and perfect plan of all the operations that should ensue during the period of its continuance.

And what interpositions there are (for I would leave every one to his own opinion concerning the frequency or rarity of them,) how much soever they may operate secretly to us, were not sudden expedients to answer unforeseen emergencies, but contained in the original plan; which was purposely so framed as to need his interposing hand when, and where, and as often as he predetermined to apply to it. But in those parts wherein he has thought proper to employ us as his instruments for executing them, to control us in the exercise of our powers would be to defeat his own designs, by disturbing the operation of those causes himself had chosen for the accomplishment of them.

Thus he governs all things in heaven and earth by power and wisdom conjointly; matter by necessity and impulse, brutes by

sense and instinct, the blessed spirits above by significations of his Will, which they gladly and freely set themselves to fulfil, man partly by necessary agents affecting him, partly by laws, restrictions, apprehensions of mischief and danger controlling him, and partly by leaving him to his free choice in following such portion of understanding and appetites as himself has allotted him.

21. Nor need we fancy ourselves always in shackles, because every moment under the dominion and conduct of Providence; for it has been shown that Liberty has no concern with causes antecedent to the exercise of our power, but solely with what might stand in our way upon such exercise: if I can do what I will, I have freedom of action, no matter how I came to will this or that particular employment: if I can choose as I will, I have freedom of choice, no matter what induced me to make one choice preferably to all others.

What then, are we mere puppets, actuated by springs and wires, because it was given us both to will and to do? By no means; for when they are given us, we have as full and free liberty to use them both, as if they had fallen upon us by chance, or we had made them for ourselves. If my father left me a good portion, I can do the same with it, and have as free disposal of it, as if I had made the gold myself by transmutation with the Philosopher's stone: and if he brought me by the cares of his education from a lavish temper to prudence and economy, this does not impeach my liberty to squander it all away.

Nor have we reason to disturb ourselves with imaginations of a thralldom from secret influences, and unseen springs, when those that are manifest and seen do not work upon us by constraint; for sometimes we may discern the influence that guides us, and yet find no thralldom in following whither it leads.

How much of our employment depends upon the natural appetites of hunger and thirst? You may pretend indeed that these are acts of necessity, because we must eat, or starve: but follow men to their meals, and you will not see one in a thousand that eats because he must, but because he likes it. Which of us ever sits down to table by compulsion, or feels himself constrained to cut the joint before him, or perceives his tongue moved by strings like a puppet when he calls for a glass of wine?

What shall we say to the mutual propensity between the sexes, another main spring in the hand of God, by which he preserves the race of men upon earth? How many under twigs, what fashions, contrivances, amusements, accomplishments, grow from that stem? but wherein does it check or overshadow human liberty? Do boys and girls meet together by compulsion, or choice? Is

the Miss under a force when she culls among her trinkets with curious toil to tiff herself out in the most engaging manner, or teazes pappas for money to buy a new-fashioned silk? Is the Beau compelled against his Will to practise winning airs before the glass, or employ for whole hours all the thoughts withinside his noddle to bepowder and becurl the outside?

How strongly does parental instinct operate upon us! It is by this channel that God transmits arts and sciences, education, estates, conveniences of life, knowledge, and old experience from generation to generation. In this we see the finger of Providence and feel its potent touches, yet feel no limitation in our liberty therefrom: for what parent does not willingly go about the provisions he makes for his children, or finds himself under any other direction than his own choice and judgment in the application of his cares for their advantage, or perceives himself moved by clock-work to procure any little toy or diversion for them?

22. Our powers of action stand limited to a certain extent of ground, but within the enclosure we may ramble about as we please to take our pasture or our pastime. Sometimes there are restraints hanging over us, which confine us to particular walks; obligations and duties to be fulfilled, authority to be obeyed, wants to be supplied, necessaries of life to be provided, and it behoves us to regard these restrictions, or mischief will ensue; but in many of our hours we have no limitations upon our conduct, and then we may move easily and lightly without the weight of any secret force or impediment encumbering us.

Nor need we fear lest we may defeat the purposes of God, or make any breaches in the plan of his Providence; for he knew what uses we would make of our Liberty, and has provided his plan accordingly. Let the Princes run madly into broils, and the Grecians suffer, the Will of Jove is fulfilled by their madness, and will be, whatever conduct man shall pursue. Therefore we have but our own will to take care of; only let us not consult solely our present Will and Fancy, but pay a due regard to what we may will to-morrow; and in our deliberations and execution of the prudential measures for procuring what we shall will to have another time, we may proceed with the same freedom as if there were no superior power able to control us in the exercise of our faculties.

And the most useful deliberation we can enter upon, is how to enlarge our freedom, for all are ready enough to allow that Happiness consists in liberty to do what we will; nor shall I contradict them, so they do not restrain Will to that of the present moment. We commonly understand by our Will what our

Judgment represents as most eligible, or our Inclination prompts to as most alluring; and whenever these two coincide, our Will is quite free. Therefore so far as we can bring desire to tally with reason, we shall enlarge the bounds of our liberty; and if we could do this completely so as to make a virtue of every necessity, and a pleasure of every obligation, we should never have any restraint hanging over us, but attain a perfect liberty; because willing always what was right and feasible, we should always do what we would.

And this perfect liberty would more apparently, though not more really coincide with the plan of Providence than that pittance of it we now possess; for then we should fulfil the Will of God knowingly, whereas now we fulfil it, but unknowingly, and many times by setting ourselves most strenuously to oppose it.

23. And now we might think the controversy ended, and all difficulties gotten over, the freedom of Will being fully reconciled with the authority and dominion of God: but the busy mind of man, ingenious in finding new perplexities to involve itself in, will not let us rest quiet so; but seeing light open upon one spot, shifts the scene to some other corner, where it may cover itself with clouds and obscurity; and, as if fond of slavery, endeavors to derive a title thereto from another quarter, namely, that of Foreknowledge.

For say the fine Reasoners, if your actions are foreknown, you can do no otherwise than it is known you will do; so your hands are tied down to one particular manner of proceeding, nor are you at liberty to take any other than that you shall pursue.

But why so? what connection is there between another's knowledge, and my behavior? it may possibly direct his own measures, but has no influence at all upon mine. You allow that while my actions remain unknown to everybody I may be free; what then if after my being in possession of this freedom some shrewd Politician should discover what I will do, how does that divest me of it, in what respect alter my condition, or by what channel of communication does his discovery operate upon me.

No, say they, you must mistake the grounds of our objection; we do not assign his knowledge as a cause of anything you do, nor pretend it lays any restraint upon your liberty; we only produce it as an evidence of another restraint hanging over you; for he could not know how you will behave, unless it were certain; therefore his knowledge is a proof that you will certainly do as he knows; but what will certainly come to pass cannot fall out

otherwise ; so you have no liberty left, because you cannot do what will never be done.

But how does this alter the case ? wherein is the difference between Certainty and Knowledge ? Why yes, the difference lies here, that Certainty is the object of Knowledge, though she may not have cast her eye upon it ; therefore is a different thing, as having existed before it ; for his discovery did not make the Certainty, but presupposes it ; for the thing was certain before, though he did not know it.

But what sort of thing is this Certainty to which you ascribe such irresistible force ? let us know what rank of Beings to place it under ? is it a substance ? or if a quality or accident, in what substance does it reside ? for we generally apply it to propositions which are only judgments of the mind. It is no agent, it is no power, nor has any efficacy in its state of pre-existence to knowledge ; for were it ever so certain the house was on fire, this would influence none of my actions until I know it.

24. If certainties have any active virtue, it is to generate one another ; all our rules of logic show that some truths are such in consequences of other truths : if it certainly will rain to-morrow, it is certain there will be clouds in the air ; if it be certain the gun I made trial of will go off, then the flint will certainly strike fire ; and in general the certainty of Events infers the certainty of all causes operating to produce them : therefore whatever acts of my Freewill are certain, I must certainly have the freedom to do them.

We may indeed frame propositions concerning future events, without thinking of the manner how they will come to pass ; but remember your own observation, that knowledge does not make certainty, but finds it ; much less can any form of words make, or the omission of them destroy it : therefore whether you speak and think of them or no, the same propositions may be applied, and the same certainty belong to the operating causes, be they Force or Freewill, as to the events, and the certainty of each reciprocally implies the other.

Suppose you under an engagement to meet a person at any particular place, and have a strong inclination to go somewhere else, nevertheless you have too much honor to break your word ; but perhaps the man will send five minutes hence to release you from the engagement, and then you will go where you like : now if it be certain you shall go there, must it not be equally certain the restraint will be taken off, and you set at perfect liberty to follow your choice ? And if anybody had affirmed both a thousand years ago, he would have spoken truth ; for while the



one remained fortuitous, the other could not be certain : so likewise in all instances of free Agency, the certainty of the action casts a certainty upon the freedom of the Agent : and the certain Foreknowledge of our voluntary proceedings is so far from overthrowing, that it establishes human liberty upon a firmer bottom than it has really belonging to it.

For we may observe further, that this argument unluckily proves too much ; because if whatever shall happen it be absolutely impossible that it should not happen ; then in such instances wherein we have our Freedom, the debarring us the use of it was from all eternity an absolute impossibility, insurmountable even by Omnipotence itself ; so that instead of being dependent in all our motions upon necessary causes, we shall become independent on the first, the supreme Fountain of all power and action.

And for aught I know, the Devil might have employed this sophism when he rebelled, to prove himself his own master ; for feeling himself in possession of freedom, it was always true, that he should be free ; nor could Omnipotence itself prevent his being so : or he might have beguiled himself into his fall, and justified his disobedience, by arguing in the following manner. If any one had said before I was made, that I should be, he would have spoken truth ; therefore it was certain that I should be, therefore an absolute impossibility that I should not be ; so God could not help creating me ; nor do I owe any thanks to the Almighty for my existence.

25. What dependence or countenance does this argument deserve ? which is such a Drawcansir, as to cut down both friend and foe ; or like a swivel-gun, may be pointed upon any quarter, fore and aft, starboard and larboard ; and what is worse, we find it generally in the hands of sloth and depravity, turned against the lawful authority of reason and prudence.

For when men are too lazy to bestir themselves, or too fond of a foolish thing to be put aside from it by their clearest judgment, they then catch hold of this idle pretence, what will be, must be ; therefore why need I take pains, or deliberate at all ? for my actions will have some certain issue, and if certain, it is necessary, and if necessary, the event will work itself out some how or other without my giving myself any trouble to compass it.

But whoever argues in this manner, when they have some favorite passion to gratify ? They then can study and contrive, set all their wits to work, and use all their might to accomplish their designs : whereas if they think consistently, there is the same certainty in matters of inclination, as of prudence and duty ; whatever they wish, must have some certain issue one way or other,

and is either unattainable in spite of their utmost endeavors, or will drop into their mouths without their seeking. And thus they may go on to argue themselves out of all activity whatever, so as neither to take up the victuals from their plate, or move away from the fire when it burns their shins.

26. But these fantastical remoras do not obstruct us in the familiar transactions of life, nor do they ever enter into the head of a common man. If a poor fellow has done me some signal service, and I call to him—Hark ye, Tim; do you see that sack of pease in the barn-floor yonder? there are a couple of guineas in it somewhere; if you can find them they are your own. Now I know well enough he will get the money; for he will take out every pea one by one but he will come at it; but I know as well that he cannot find it without a great deal of pains and rummaging.

Suppose one of your profound Speculatists were by, and should tell him, Why, Tim, you need not put yourself in a hurry to go a rummaging; you may as well sit with your nose over the kitchen fire; for Search knows you will get the money; therefore it is a thing certain, and you must have it whether you do anything or no. This logic would hardly prevail upon Tim to stop his speed for a moment.

Or suppose another subtle refiner sets the matter in a different light: Tim, says he, is a mere machine in this case utterly destitute of liberty; for not only his getting the money, but his rummaging the sack is foreknown; so his action is certain and necessary, nor can he help rummaging any more than the great clock can help striking. Tim being an arch fellow replies, Ay, but Master, for all that I could stay here and never meddle with the sack, if I were fool enough to run the hazard of somebody else getting away the money before me; and if you will give me three and forty shillings to try, I will show you what I can do.

How many times a day do we foreknow our own actions, and those of other people, yet feel ourselves and perceive them free in the performance? Our liberty is so apparent that the Philosopher with his microscope, and the Ploughman with his half an eye, can discern it distinctly through the veil of Certainty and Foreknowledge: it is only the half-reasoner, who hangs between both, and uses a glass full of flaws, that hunts for it in vain, or sees it confusedly.

27. It is the crinkles in this glass making objects appear double, and representing each individual as two distinct things, which produces that distinction urged by some people between human Prescience and divine, as if one might be compatible with human Liberty, though the other were repugnant.

But why so? for it is not the party knowing, but the intrinsic certainty of the fact that lays the restraint: now as man cannot know what is uncertain, so neither if there were anything absolutely fortuitous, could it be foreknown even to God; therefore Knowledge, wherever residing, is alike evidence of Certainty.

Very true, say they, where the knowledge is of the same kind; but ours is only conjectural; whereas that of God is absolute: we all confess the human Understanding fallible at best, nor ever so sure of her hits, but there remains a possibility of her being mistaken; and it is this possibility that opens the door to Liberty.

Here, by the way, I cannot help remarking how ready some folks are to blow hot and cold with the same breath, as either serves the turn: if I happen in company to drop a hint like those suggested in my chapter on Judgment, that Certainty, mathematical Certainty, was not made for man, and that we know no more, if so much, than the appearances exhibited this present moment to our senses, and the ideas actually in our thought; I am exclaimed against for an arrant Sceptic, a Visionary, a Trifler, advancing things I do not believe myself. What! cry they, do not we know certainly that the Judges will set in Westminster-hall this term; that the servant will lay the cloth for dinner; that we ourselves shall go to bed to-night? Yet these very people, like crafty Politicians, now the interests of their argument require it, can take the opposite side, and strike up a coalition with the fallibility of human understanding in its strongest assurances. Perhaps the Judges will not sit, for the hall may be swallowed up by an earthquake; perhaps the Servant will not lay the cloth, for he may be stricken with an apoplexy; perhaps we shall not go to bed, for the house may take fire. Were these casualties, which depend upon external causes, alleged in diminution of Liberty, they might carry some weight; but what efficacy they can have to increase it, I cannot discern with the best use of the microscope.

But waving this, if bare Possibility may give opening enough to set us free, this same Mr. Liberty must be a very slender gentleman, to creep in at such an augur-hole: yet let us consider whether he does get his whole body through, or only thrust in a little finger at most; for we have seen there are degrees of Liberty consistent with a partial Restraint. When I put on my great coat and boots, I can still move my limbs, though not so freely as before: when in town I have not the same liberty as in the country; I must not go out in my cap and slippers; I must not carry a bundle under my arm; if Elizabeth Petrowna, whom I never saw nor cared for, happens to die two thousand miles off, I must not wear a colored coat, for so the great goddess, Fashion, that Diana of

Ephesus, whom all the world worshippeth, ordains : yet she graciously allows me some latitude in my dress and motions ; for I may go armed with a sword I know not how to use, and saunter away the day in coffee-houses, or spend the night in tossing about a pack of cards, without offence to her delicacy.

Now I believe my antagonists and I, how slightly soever we have spoken of human Understanding, shall agree that in some instances our Knowledge grounds upon evidence, which makes it a million to one we are in the right : and since an event may be probable, as well as certain, though we do not know so much, it must then contain an intrinsic probability independent on our knowledge or conjecture. But this probability, being so near of kin to certainty, that the acutest Philosophers could never find a criterion to distinguish them, may be presumed to have the family strength, though not in equal measure ; and if one totally overthrows liberty, the other must fasten a clog upon it proportionable to the degree of the probability ; so that in cases of the highest assurance we should find ourselves reduced to the condition of a person who should have so many weights hung about him, that one millionth part added more, would render him incapable of stirring at all.

28. But if this will not do, and they insist upon Probability being totally different from Certainty in kind and efficacy, and that one has no force at all, though the other be irresistible, let them contemplate an object, wherein they must needs acknowledge both perpetual Freedom and absolute Foreknowledge ; for I hope they will not deny God to be perfectly free in all his proceedings. If there be such a thing in nature as freedom, where can it reside, if not in the supreme Author of all powers to whom there is nothing superior that might control him ? Yet I suppose they will scarce imagine all his measures sudden, and his actions fortuitous, or that he does not know to-day what he will do to-morrow.

But if certainty infers necessity, then either he foresees no better than we do, that is conjecturally, when he will stop the torrents of blood that overwhelm Europe, the distresses, the ruins, the havoc, and desolation, that spread over land and sea, and restore peace to Christendom ; or his hands in the interim remain tied to do it at one precise time, nor is he at liberty to advance the happy event one moment sooner. Nay, we shall not stop here ; for if a proposition had been affirmed from everlasting concerning any work of Providence that has been performed, it would have been true : therefore God from all eternity was necessitated to create and govern his worlds precisely in the manner he has done : and so, according to the devilish fine reasoning

used at the end of § 24, we are not obliged to him, but to the iron-handed goddess, Necessity, for our life, our health, our daily bread, and all the blessings we receive.

Perhaps they will allege the case is different here ; for the acts of God are such only as he had determined upon himself, therefore in performing them he executed his own Will : but let them remember, that they placed the necessity in the intrinsic certainty of the fact, not in the causes operating to produce it ; for if they admit these, then the cause of our free actions being the freedom we have to perform them, will evidence itself, instead of proving our bondage : but, according to them, when a fact is certain, it is necessary, no matter why, or how, it came to be so ; and equally certain, whether proceeding from the agent's own determination, or some external cause : for if what will be, must be, then whatever God foreknows will be done by himself as well as by us, becomes alike certain, nor can even omnipotence prevent it from taking effect. Let them consider further that every pious man esteems it certain, that God will reward the good and punish the evil-doer ; that he will maintain the laws of nature, not throw all things into confusion, nor annihilate the Beings he has created. Thus human prescience extends in some cases to the divine agency. But if certainty inferred necessity, then either God must not be free to dispose of us in what manner he judges proper, or it must remain totally uncertain how he will use his power.

Thus we see the same ill luck attends the argument wherever we turn it ; for if it proves anything, it proves more than it should ; nor can it infringe upon human liberty, without encroaching upon God himself.

Neither let them throw in my teeth what I have reported from Pythagoras concerning the oath of Jove ; for this was only a figurative expression, to denote the unchangeableness of the divine nature : if God has sworn, his oath is sacred, because we know he will keep it, being not liable, like man, to change his sentiments, or design one thing to-day and the contrary to-morrow ; but nobody imagines him under any compulsion or necessity, in case he could be supposed at any time desirous of violating it ; so that when he performs, he acts with the same pure bounty and unlimited freedom as when he promises.

29. When we examine what gave rise to this notable discovery of everything certain being necessary, we shall find it spring from a mere quibble of words. What you will do, say they, you must do ; for you cannot do otherwise so long as you are to do that, because you cannot do both. Who doubts it ? Therefore I allow this to be a matter of necessity, not of prudence : nor

would I recommend it to any man to deliberate, or make trial, how he shall run and sit still at the same time, or ride on horse-back while he goes in a coach : but for all that, what ails him that he might not omit the thing he has resolved upon, or will do, and take a contrary course? How sure soever I am of going to bed, still I may sit up all night, if I please, for neither God nor man hinders me ; but I know I shall not, because I know it is in my option, and know what I choosé to do : so my knowledge stands upon my freedom ; for if I had it not, I might be compelled to do what I do not choose, and my action would be uncertain.

But my knowledge they say is only conjectural. What then? does not God know it too? and does not he know likewise, that he has left the issue to my option? and whether he has given me so much discretion as will withhold me from doing a silly thing merely to show what I can do? So these three points of Knowledge, the Discretion, the Liberty to use it, and the Event, are so far from overthrowing that they sustain and strengthen one another.

The difficulties we make spring from our conceiving too narrowly of the divine prescience ; we consider God as foreknowing an event separately, without knowing or without contemplating the causes giving it birth : in this case indeed the foreknowledge must have a something, an inexplicable fatality attending it, for else it could not be absolute, because there might some unforeseen cause intervene to render it abortive. But the prescience of God is universal as well as absolute ; when he knows what will come to pass, he knows the causes himself has provided for accomplishing it, nor can anybody who considers the matter at all, imagine him ever ignorant or forgetful of either ; nay, he knows the one, because he knows the other ; for if we could suppose him ignorant of the causes, he would not know their issue. Therefore in such instances where freedom is one of those causes, he foreknows that freedom, the motives inclining us to use it, and how those motives will operate ; and consequently by the rule insisted on, it is as necessary we should enjoy that freedom, as in what manner we shall employ it.

30. Nevertheless they go on still to urge, that we cannot do otherwise than we shall do, not only because we cannot do both, but because we cannot omit what we certainly shall do, and take another course : for an event that will certainly happen, cannot fail of coming to pass, nor can the contrary take effect ; but the divine prescience is an irrefragable evidence of this certainty, because if the thing were uncertain, the foreknowledge could not be absolute. Now there is no possibility that God should be mistaken ; therefore none that anything foreknown by him should

not take effect, or the contrary should fall out; then it is not possible for us to omit whatever it is impossible should fail of being done; so our power is gone; or if we have a natural ability either to do or to omit, we have no liberty to use it, being confined to that particular way which is foreknown.

Now if they will please to throw this curious reasoning into the logical form of a syllogism, we may chance to show them it has four terms, and therefore concludes nothing. Whatever God foreknows, it is impossible the contrary should be done; what is impossible to be done, it is out of my power to do; therefore whatever God foreknows, it is out of my power to do to the contrary.

I shall not deny major nor minor; but if the word impossible should carry different senses as it stands in either, the whole chain will become a rope of sand, and the consequence limp lame behind. In order to canvass this point, let us have recourse to our present patroness, Philology, to mark out the several uses wherein we employ that term, together with others relative thereto, such as, must, may, can, necessary, and the like, both in our familiar and serious discourses.

Possible, relates originally and most obviously to Power; for things are possible as far as we have power to perform them, but no further: and if it be asked, Whether it is possible to transmute lead into gold? you will understand by the question, whether it is in the power of man, by chymical process, or any other art or contrivance, to effect it.

But we often apply the term where we have nothing of power in our thoughts. Suppose, in playing at whist, I have only two cards left in my hand, but must win both tricks to save the game; my partner leads a trump, and the king was turned up on my left hand; in this case I shall put down the ace with hopes of succeeding, because it is possible the king may be alone. Now by possible, I do not mean in the power of anybody, or anything to make the king alone, or guarded: if chance ever had any power, she has executed it as soon as the cards were shuffled and cut, nor has she now any further concern in the affair. Therefore here the term denotes only the contingency of what other card lies in the same hand with the king, and is relative; for to him who holds the cards it is not possible they should be any other than what he sees them, though to me who do not see them, guarded or not guarded are equally possible.

On the other hand, whoever considers the pains I have taken on this crabbed subject, will think it impossible I should throw my labors into the fire as soon as I have completed them; not that he thinks anything of my powers, or supposes me to plod on un-

til my arm is so benumbed that I cannot extend it to the grate ; or that I write upon cloth of Asbestos, which will not consume in the flames ; but because he thinks there is no chance I should instantly destroy what I have been so earnest to produce.

Thus Possible sometimes denotes the Power or Liberty we have to do a thing, as Impossible does the want of it, and sometimes only the contingency, or our knowledge or ignorance of an event, without the least reference to the powers producing it. There may be different degrees of possibility in what manner I shall spend my afternoon, according as people know more or less of my character, disposition, or ways of employing my time ; but my power and my liberty must be the same, whatever other folks may think of me, or though there should be a hundred different opinions or degrees of knowledge about me. If I am under engagement to go with another whither he wants me, and somebody asks which way I am bound, I may say, it is possible to the Exchange, or it is possible to St. James's ; but this leaves me no more at liberty than if it were absolutely impossible that one of them should not be the place. Or if I want to speak with a person whom I know not readily where he is, but am so sure of finding him, that I say it is impossible but I must see him ; this does not abridge or any ways alter the liberty I should have to pursue or forbear my inquiries, were it possible my endeavors might prove ineffectual.

It avails nothing to tell us, that our knowledge at best can amount only to the highest probability of conjecture ; for our business now lies with the propriety of language, and natural import of those expressions, wherein we use the words Possible or Impossible. Whatever refined notions we may have in our closets, we leave them behind, and take up common conceptions when we go abroad upon our common transactions : be our clearest knowledge ever so conjectural, we esteem it certain upon these occasions. Which of us in setting out upon a visit, a diversion, or an affair of business, apprehends a possibility of not arriving at the place of his destination : yet at the same time does not apprehend himself at liberty to alter his course in any part of his progress ? but if the impossibility of an event failing, implied necessity in the agent, the idea of such impossibility, however erroneous, yet while entertained, must banish the idea of freedom ; but whether it does so, I appeal to the judgment and hourly experience of all mankind. And if our Antagonists have found a new sense in the word Impossible, unknown to the rest of the world, they will do well to explain their idea in a manner enabling us to understand their peculiar meaning.



To consider the other words of the like import, we say it may rain, or be fair to-morrow; and when we say this, we think nothing of any choice in the clouds, or the air to produce either weather, as the word naturally implies; for what we may do lies in our option to do, or to forbear. And it is one thing when speaking of a prisoner for debt, for whom we have just procured a release, we say, Now he may go home to his family; and quite another, when speaking of a person gone out upon a tour of diversion, we say, He may come home to-day: in one case, May expresses the liberty he has to do as he likes: in the other, it denotes only the chance there is in what manner he will use his liberty; for though I should know the released debtor will not go home, still I shall think he may if he will; but if I know the traveller's intention to stay out longer, I shall not think it possible he may come home to-day.

Nor shall we scruple to use the word Can upon this occasion; for if we judge it not possible that he may come, it is the same thing as believing it certain he cannot come, yet without idea of any imbecility or restraint to prevent him.

So likewise Must and Necessary, considered by themselves, imply a force compelling to one particular action, or an insurmountable bar against all others: if I must attend upon a trial, I am not at liberty to stay away; if my health renders exercise necessary, I must go abroad some how or other, and in that case am necessitated to walk when debarred the use of all conveyances. But suppose a friend has some business with me, which requires no sort of haste, but I know he loves to take the first convenient opportunity for dispatching whatever he has to do: upon being asked when I expect to see him, I may say, perhaps not to-day, nor to-morrow, nor all this week; but I think he must necessarily come before the month is out.

Nor do we scruple applying the same terms to things inanimate, which though really necessary agents we generally conceive and speak of as having powers and liberty. Water compressed in a fire engine must necessarily rush through the spout, being forced to mount upwards against its nature, and because it can find none other vent. But if a careless servant does not mind to thrust the spigot fast into the barrel, the beer must necessarily run all away: in using this expression, we think nothing of the force of gravitation impelling bodies downwards, but only the certainty of the mischief ensuing which we apprehend; for that the liquor being left to its liberty will follow the natural propensity it has to descend, and will exert a power to drive away the loose spigot obstructing its passage.

31. Anybody with a little attention, may recollect a thousand instances wherein the impossibility of an event not coming to pass, implies no more than a denial of all hazard that it may not come to pass; which is neither an affirmation nor denial of power or freedom in the causes bringing it forth to produce the contrary. Therefore in cases where we need not, or lie under no necessity of doing a thing, where we can, and may, and it is easily possible for us to act differently; yet we may be so sure of our measures as that they must necessarily take effect, that they cannot, there is an impossibility they should fail of succeeding, or we should omit to employ them; which latter impossibility is a foundation strong enough to support the highest degree of Foreknowledge, and consequently Foreknowledge may well be absolute without putting a force upon us, or cramping us the least in our liberty.

Thus have I endeavored to rescue mankind from slavery, from the dread of force, restraint and control, hanging continually over them, not like Epicurus by pulling Providence from her throne, and setting up the Anarchy of Chance in her stead; but by showing the consistency of her government with the free use of those powers allotted us, and proving human liberty one of the ministers to execute her purposes.

If the foregoing Observations upon this dark and intricate subject shall render it intelligible to others, and shall have the same weight upon them as they seem to me to deserve: then in those seasons wherein, as I may say, God gives them a holiday to follow their own inclinations, they will move briskly and cheerfully, without thought of any other restraint than, what I hope they will never wish to throw aside, Innocence and Propriety; and when he calls them to his services, if they do but manage to bring their minds into a proper disposition, they will find the performance of them a state of perfect Freedom.

32. Nevertheless, we have not done with our Disputants yet, for if we can defend our Liberty against infringement by universal Providence and absolute Foreknowledge, they change their attack upon another quarter, namely, the justice of Reward and Punishment in the situation of mankind we have represented: for, say they, if the Will of God be fulfilled on earth as well as in heaven, who hath ever resisted his Will? why then doth he punish? As to Reward, they find no fault with that being conferred upon them unmerited, so the only difficulty remains with respect to punishment; and in order to answer their question, let us examine what is the proper and natural foundation of Punishment.

Men are apt enough to inflict it for injuries received, with none other view than to wreak their resentment; and the Righteous,

when having most completely mastered their passions, still feel an abhorrence rise in their breasts against enormous crimes, although no ways affecting themselves, nor capable of hurting them. What then, is this Resentment and this Abhorrence innate? Suppose they were, yet we cannot ascribe our passions and aversions to the Almighty, or imagine him punishing in order to remove a loathsome object from his sight which it gives him pain to behold. But Mr. Locke has long since exploded the doctrine of innate ideas, and if the idea of Injury was acquired, those of Resentment and Abhorrence, being its offspring, must be younger.

In our chapter on the Passions we have traced Anger to its origin, and found it derived from Expedience; for children having often relieved themselves from whatever oppressed them by a violent exertion of their power against the cause of it, contract a habit of violence, and practise it afterwards without view to the consequences; satisfaction being translated from the end to the means.

The abhorrence of villany, as well when proposed to ourselves, as practised by others, is one of the moral senses, which we have shown in the proper place, issue from the same fountain; they may indeed be conveyed to particular persons by education, by precept, by example, and sympathy; but whoever acquired them first, learned them by observation of their necessary tendency to good order and happiness, and by experience of the mischiefs resulting from those practices they would restrain. The frequent view of these good effects casts a value upon the sentiments producing them, and the translation being once completely made, desire fixes upon them, as upon its ultimate object.

We find judgment does the same with respect to truth translated from the Postulata to the Problem demonstrated: the equality between the squares of the two sides and hypotenuse in a rectangular triangle, serves for a basis in mathematical and mechanical operations without our running back perpetually through the whole process whereby Euclid convinced us of its being a truth. In like manner when our moral senses are grown vigorous, we follow their impulse without thinking of any higher principle first recommending them, and many of us without acknowledging any such principle.

Now I would not by any means lessen their influence, I rather wish it were stronger than it is, for we very seldom stand in a situation to discern the expedience of our actions, nor, where it lies anything remote, have we strength of mind enough to pursue it; but these moral senses serve as excellent guides to direct, and spurs to stimulate us towards the attainment of happiness that would otherwise escape us. Nevertheless it must be owned they par-

take of the nature of passion, having the like qualities, the like vehemence and manner of operation, and may be styled virtuous appetites, as being the produce of reason and industry rather than of nature. They are to be ranked among the Scyons which Pluto told us Urania grafted upon the wild stocks in Psyche's garden; and which his master afterwards put us in mind were apt to run luxuriant, unless kept within bounds by a proper tendance.

Therefore it is one thing to consult our rules of action for shaping our conduct thereby, and another to examine the rules themselves for determining in what manner we shall establish, or rectify them. For a military discipline consists in the strict subordination of the soldiers to the officers, and the officers to the general; so the little state of man is never so well-disciplined as when the moral senses have the entire command of our motions, but lie themselves under control of sober consideration and sound judgment. While in the hurry of action, we have not leisure to consult the general, but must push bravely on whither our immediate officers lead us; nor indeed is consultation the business then, but intrepidity, vigor, and alertness. Therefore the virtuous man acts because it is right and just, becoming and laudable, and forbears what appears wrong and base, unworthy and shocking to his thought: he follows the motions of zeal, honor, shame, decency, natural affection, civility, as he feels them rise in his breast; or if doubts arise he tries the moral senses by one another, and adheres to that which carries the strongest lustre, and highest excellency in his imagination, without considering further why he suffers himself to be guided by their influence, or whence it was derived. For the greatest part of mankind know not a why nor a whence, but take up their principles partly from their parents and tutors, partly from custom and general estimation; and those who do investigate them to the fountain, cannot carry their investigations in their head upon common occasions.

But in seasons of deliberation, when admitted into the general's tent, having the instructions and intelligences laid before us, and sitting in council upon the operations of the campaign, it would be absurd to take an officer's own testimonial of his merit, or give him his orders because they are such as he is most fond of executing; we are only to regard the public service, what are each man's abilities, and how he may best conduct himself to promote it. So if we have sufficient lights and opportunity to take our moral senses under examination, in order to moderate what extravagancies they may have run into, or determine the rank among them in the command of our powers; it would be no less preposterous

to try their rectitude by what themselves suggest to be right, or to settle their degrees of authority upon any other foundation than their several tendencies towards the general happiness, wherein we shall always find our own contained.

33. Now in matters of punishment, when we have it in our power, let us regard the heinousness of the offence, together with all circumstances that may aggravate or abate our abhorrence of it as beheld by our moral sense; but when we are to examine the foundation we have for entertaining this abhorrence, we shall find none other than the expedience and necessity of punishment to preserve order, and good faith, and honesty among mankind. Even those who take private revenge, when called upon to justify their conduct, always plead that otherwise they should lie open to perpetual insults; which shows that the only reasonable excuse for resentment is not strictly the injury received, but the prevention of injuries for the future. Therefore reason, as well as authority, enjoins us to forgive our brother not only seven times, but until seventy times seven, unless where animadversion is necessary either for our own quiet and benefit, or that of others.

And there is a species of punishment called chastisement, which has none other object beside the benefit of the party upon whom it is exercised. Parents and schoolmasters may not be displeas'd at unlucky tricks play'd by their lads, as showing a sagacity and sprightliness they delight to behold; yet they will not suffer them to pass with impunity, lest it should generate idleness and other mischiefs: here is no abhorrence striking the moral sense, nor are the boys disliked the worse for their sallies of youth and ingenuity ill applied; so the chastisement is not for miscarriages committed, but for future enormities which might be committed.

It is true the judge passes sentence upon criminals, by stated rules, because he is no more than a minister to speak the sense of the law; but the legislature in establishing the law, regards none other rules than those respecting the public utility; therefore equal punishments are appointed for offences of unequal enormity. For the law hangs for stealing the value of five shillings, but does no more for murder; and some go wholly unpunished, such as ingratitude, intemperance, entailing diseases or poverty upon families by gallantries or extravagance, because they cannot be inquired into without causing confusion and worse inconveniences. On the other hand, when the title to a throne is so disputable that many honest well-disposed persons are drawn by mere error of judgment to take part on the unfortunate side; they are adjudged and executed as rebels, because it is necessary to maintain the authority of government, and tranquillity of the staty.

34. Should it be objected, that this proves the contrary to what

we have laid down, because the law, whose basis is utility, does not govern us in our estimation of Demerit ; for we compassionate instead of detesting the deluded malecontent, while we acknowledge the expedience and necessity of the law which condemns him, and think the abandoned debauchee deserving of punishment which the law cannot provide for him ; therefore we build our judgment upon other grounds than those of utility. I shall answer, that as the law is not the sole measure of justice, so neither is it the sole fountain of utility : for be the polity of a nation ever so well regulated, or ever so wisely administered, the people must still do something for themselves in order to complete their happiness ; and Providence has reserved to his own management the putting a check upon some enormities which the law cannot reach, nor human sagacity discover or prevent.

Therefore that utility which the provisions of the law cannot totally compass, may still remain for the foundation of private animadversion and censure : nor is it a small argument of its being so, that we naturally look upon the greatness of mischief done as an aggravation of guilt in the perpetrator. If an unwholesome potion be given to make a man sick for a week, it is an injury ; if it bring on an incurable disease, it is a more heinous offence ; if death ensue, it is a crying sin of murder.

Well, but you say the mischief must be designed, or there will be no crime at all : the greater degree of mischief is only an evidence of deeper blackness in the design : so that properly speaking, it is not the damage done, but depravity of heart in the doer, which raises your abhorrence and wishes for vengeance ; for when assured of the design, you pronounce the guilt the same, feel the same abhorrence and wish, although its purpose be utterly frustrated, and no damage at all ensue.

Why this is the very thing I have been contending for all along, that the true ground of punishment is not the mischief done, or the crime committed, but the prevention of future enormities, productive of future mischiefs, and this object I think may fairly rank under the class of utility.

We have found in the former part of this work, that the volitions giving birth to our actions depend upon the present motives occurring to our thought, which are either what our judgment represents as most expedient, or our imagination as most alluring and desirable ; and these motives are suggested by the opinions, the sentiments, the inclinations and habits we have contracted : when desire fixes upon practices of pernicious tendency, this is called a Depravity of Mind, or vulgarly, though improperly a Depravity of Will, by a metonyme of cause for effect, because the state of the mind, and desires in the heart, influence the Will,

and of course produce actions conformable thereto; for a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Therefore this depravity of heart being productive of bad effects, whenever the season and opportunity serves to bring them to maturity, becomes justly odious upon account of the poisonous fruits it bears. But as punishment, animadversion, and censure, being grievous to the party suffering them, tends to dissociate desire from the sentiments whereto they are annexed, and work amendment, or in other words, to give men a disgust for the vices rendering them obnoxious thereto: or at least to restrain them from breaking forth into act, and discourage others from entertaining the like; it is this use which renders the punishment merited and just: for I appeal to any considerate person, whether he would punish, or ascribe to a depravity of heart, any action or sentiment whatever, which could never do the least hurt either to the owner, or any person in the world beside.

35. For this reason freedom of action, and so much understanding as may make the party sensible for what the punishment was inflicted, are always esteemed necessary requisites to render him obnoxious thereto; because punishment operating upon the imagination, and through that upon the Will, where either of these two channels are wanting, becomes useless, and consequently unjust. Therefore sly revenges which may be mistaken for accidents, and nobody can know they were the effect of resentment, though sometimes practised by spiteful persons, have never been holden warrantable by the judicious: nor will a righteous man punish where the transgressor had not liberty of choice, nor where the reason of his punishing cannot be understood.

If a brick tumbles down upon you, it would be ridiculous to fall a whipping, or breaking it, because such discipline could contribute nothing towards preventing other bricks afterwards from tumbling upon your own or somebody else's head; but had our treatment with brickbats any influence upon their future motions, we should form rules of justice for our dealings with them as well as with one another. When the puppy dog fouls your parlor, you beat him for it; but then you rub his nose in the filth to make him sensible why he is beaten; and you think this severity justifiable, without discerning any depravity of heart in the beast, only because it secures your rooms against the like disaster for the future: but if he has stolen a woodcock from the larder, and you do not discover the theft till next morning, when your correction can do no good, it would be cruelty to chastise him.

Mischiefs done by mere accident are judged pardonable: but why? because punishment has no influence upon accidents: for

in some cases, where better care may prevent them, we do not scruple to animadvert in order to spur men to greater vigilance: the statute of Anne lays a heavy penalty upon servants setting a house on fire undesignedly; nor did I ever hear that statute complained of as contrary to natural justice.

Why are military punishments severer than all others? Is there greater depravity in disobedience to an officer, than to a civil magistrate, a parent or a master? Not so, but because the service requires a stricter discipline, and a more implicit obedience. Nor can you pretend the soldiers consent upon enlisting, for many of them are inveigled to enlist by drink, or by the bounty-money, without knowing what they undertake, or considering the rules they submit to: besides that you subject the impressed man to the same severities with the volunteer.

Why is the law of fashion so strict upon little matters that a man would make himself more ignominious by wearing his wig the wrong side outwards, than by corresponding with the Pope, or the Pretender? unless because censure, exclamation, and ridicule, being the only penalties you have to enforce it, you must lay them on the more lustily to keep the thoughtless world to decency in matters wherein they have none other restraint upon them.

Thus whatever species of punishment we fix our eye upon, we shall always find it deducible from utility; but the deduction is too long to carry constantly in our heads, nor can every head trace it out; neither do we upon all occasions stand in a situation to discern the consequences of our punishing, or sparing: therefore the judicious, from their observation of those causes, so far as they can investigate them, strike out rules of justice, and distinguish degrees of wickedness, which they hang up in public as marks, or erect as posts of direction, to guide our steps in the journey of life; and inculcate a moral sense or abhorrence of evil, to serve as a guard to protect us against inordinate desires that might tempt us to injustice, and as a measure to apportion our resentment against the heinousness of an offence, or depravity of an offender.

Such of us as are well disciplined look up to these marks continually, and shape their steps accordingly, both with respect to what they shall avoid themselves, and what notice they shall take of the proceedings and sentiments of their fellow-travellers, without thinking of anything further; and much the greater part of us without knowing of anything further to be thought of: when these latter get a smattering of philosophy, you hear them declaim incessantly upon the essential and unalterable rules of right and wrong, independent on God himself, having a nature he did not



give them, and being an obligation upon him that he must not break through.

36. But the all-seeing eye of God stretches wide and far, beholds all nature and all futurity in one unbounded prospect; therefore needs no marks nor rules to direct his measures, nor moral senses to protect against temptations which cannot approach him: for in every application of second causes, he bears his ultimate end constantly in view, and pursues it unerringly and invariably. What this end may be, perhaps it were in vain for us to inquire, but the utmost point beyond which we can conceive nothing further, is the good and happiness of its creatures: this then we must regard as the centre wherein all his dispensations terminate, and by the tendency whereto he regulates his measures of justice.

Now Punishment must be acknowledged an evil to the sufferer while under the lash of it, therefore unless we will suppose the fountain of Goodness sometimes to terminate his views upon evil, we must allow that he never punishes, unless for some greater benefit to redound therefrom, either to the offender, or some other part of the creation. What other benefits may arise therefrom we know not, but we know its tendency to check or cure a depravity of heart where it is, to discourage the contracting of it where it is not, and consequently to prevent the mischievous fruits growing from that evil root.

Therefore as men are constituted, this remedy is necessary to restrain enormities from abounding among them, unless you will suppose a miraculous interposition, which is not the usual method of providence; and it is this necessity which justifies the punishment, and ascertains the measure of it. If we go on to inquire further, why men are so constituted, this will involve us in another question, which never was, and perhaps never will be determined by the sons of Adam, namely, why pain, distress, affliction, and uneasiness of all kinds, were permitted at all in the world; for moral evil were no evil if there were no natural; because how could I do wrong, if no hurt or damage could ensue therefrom to anybody? and is no greater than the mischiefs whereof it may be productive. Therefore it is natural evil which creates the difficulty, and the quantity of this evil is the same from whatever causes arising. "Think ye those eighteen, upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above all other inhabitants of Jerusalem?" We are told, nay: yet the pain, the loss of life, and other damages they sustained, were the same in quantity as if they had brought down the ruin upon their own heads for their misconduct.

Let any man explain to me clearly how the permission of mischievous accidents is consistent with our ideas of infinite good-

ness, and I will undertake to show him by the lights he shall afford me, how the permission of moral evil is likewise consistent. The only solution of this difficulty I apprehend must be taken from the imperfection of our understanding, for we have observed in a former place, that infinite Goodness and infinite Power considered in the abstract, seem incompatible : which shows there is something wrong in our conceptions, and that we are not competent judges of what belongs, and what is repugnant to goodness. But God knows though we do not, and is good and righteous in all his ways ; therefore whatever method he pursues is an evidence of its rectitude beyond all other evidences that can offer to us for the contrary.

37. Justice regards solely the degree of depravity existent, nor has any concern with the manner how it came to exist : a man bribed with a large sum of money is not excused by the guilt of the employer, although perhaps he would never have thought of committing the crime without that temptation ; and if evil communication corrupts good manners, the corruption coming through this channel does not exempt it from censure. The perpetration indeed of villainies, without any instigation or inducement, aggravates their heinousness, because it indicates a greater depravity of heart ; but the degree of depravity once ascertained, always sets the measure to the detestation and demerit of the offender, without inquiring into the source from whence it was derived ; and we shall find it so in whatever case we consider maturely and candidly.

Suppose you and I delegated by Heaven to govern some little district, with absolute power of life and death over the inhabitants, with perfect knowledge of the secrets of their hearts, and were sitting in council together upon the measures of executing our commission, which we were resolved to do with exact justice and integrity. Suppose further, what has been shown not to be the real fact, but in order to make our case the stronger for our present purpose, let us suppose that men had been hitherto utterly destitute of Freewill, but guided in all their motions by an external influence ; and their sentiments and dispositions thrown upon them, without their own act, by the impulse of necessary causes ; but at the moment when we entered upon our office, this influence and impulse were taken off, and they were put into the condition of common men, whom we have conversed with in the world : how should we proceed to manage with them ?

In the first place, it may be presumed we should agree upon a general amnesty for the past, in consideration of the force they had lain under ; and in the next we should contrive measures for their future well-being, and finding them in possession of powers

of action, together with liberty to use them, we should study to turn their Freewill into courses most advantageous to the community. If we saw vices and malignity among them, we might probably feel an abhorrence and detestation thereof, for I do not suppose ourselves divested of the moral senses we had acquired before; but this sentiment would be like that aversion we have to spiders, toads, and adders, who did not make themselves what they are, but received their venom and ugliness from the hand of nature; yet I hope we should be too equitable to punish any man merely because we did not like his looks, unless where those looks manifested a badness of heart, productive of mischief to himself or his neighbors, and then we should apply such punishments, notes of infamy, or censures, as we judged most proper for preventing his ill qualities from breaking forth into act, or spreading the contagion elsewhere; thinking our proceedings justifiable by their expedience, and regulating the measure of our punishments by their several aptness to answer the purpose intended.

38. If then we find that human reason, when acting most conformably to our ideas of prudence and equity, would restrain depravity, from whatever sources arising, by adequate punishments, why should we arraign the justice of God for proceeding in the like manner? For he beholds the works of his hands, and discerns whereof they are made, nor is he unacquainted with the operations and uses of second causes. He has made moral evil the general, and, as some believe, the sole fountain of natural: He has given man freedom to choose between good and evil: He knows that vices will abound among them, which will influence them to use their freedom to pernicious purposes, and has appointed punishment as one of the springs to operate upon the human mind for restraining the growth of wickedness, and preventing its bad effects. Can we then doubt that he will employ all the springs of action in those uses, and upon those occasions, wherein he in his wisdom judges them respectively proper? or what rule of justice does he violate by so doing?

Why he permitted moral evil, is a consideration quite foreign to the present subject, and can only produce that entanglement naturally consequent upon blending discussions of different natures together: for whether we can reconcile that permission with our ideas, or no, still evil being once permitted, becomes a foundation for justice to ward off the bad effects that might ensue from it: for justice cannot stand at variance with goodness, nor can one ever forbid what the other recommends.

As the judge passes sentence upon the house-breaker and the assassin, not in animosity to them, but in regard to the honest

man, that he may sleep quietly in his bed, and go about his lawful occasions without hazard of his life : so God punishes the wicked not in wrath and detestation, but in mercy and loving-kindness, many times to the delinquent himself, but always either to him or his fellow-creatures.

Therefore to the question, Who hath ever resisted his Will ? Why then doth he punish ? It may be answered, To secure the further accomplishment of his Will, and to effect his gracious purposes towards those whom he intended to preserve from the like wickedness or the pernicious consequences springing therefrom : views wherein we cannot find the least tincture of injustice or arbitrary proceeding.

39. But it is not enough to justify the ways of God, unless we endeavor likewise to obviate the perverse consequences men sometimes draw from the Will of God being constantly fulfilled. For, say they, if that will always take place, then we have no Will of our own, being pinned down to one particular manner of proceeding, which it is his Will should be taken.

But if human action were necessary, as indeed it is not, we have seen that would not excuse iniquity from punishment, as being an application of the proper cause for preventing the growth and mischiefs of it : and this persuasion sufficiently inculcated, would necessarily, if the operation of motives be necessary, drive them into a course of thinking and acting productive of happiness ; and if they attain the possession of this treasure, it is not much matter whether they apprehend themselves procuring it by necessary or voluntary agency : therefore they will do well to contemplate the penalties annexed to evil-doing ; for it will do them good one way or other, if not as exhortation to work upon a free agent, at least as a salutary medicine to rectify the disorders in their machine.

But an event being agreeable to the Will of another, does not always hinder it from being the choice of our own Will too : what I do by the command of a superior, while I pay him a cheerful and ready obedience, is done by the Will of both. It is lucky, you say, I stand so disposed, for I must have done the thing had I been ever so desirous of the contrary ; so I am in the condition of a man sitting in a room where the doors are locked upon him without his perceiving it ; he is actually a prisoner, though he does not feel his confinement, because he happens to choose the only thing he has in his power, that is, to stay where he is.

But what if I do a good office for an acquaintance to whom I owe no obligation, nor have other inducement than good nature ? do not I gratify his Will and my own at the same time ? Or

what if an artful politician, who can see through and through me, leads me dexterously to co-operate with his designs: although the issue should fall out beside or contrary to my intention, still the steps I am made to take by his management were the work of my own Will. So when God puts in use the proper causes for producing an event, we need not fear but he will adapt them so wisely as that they shall not fail to accomplish his Will; nevertheless, if among these causes there be the motives fit to work upon a free agent, the act performed is as completely the Will of that agent, as if his ideas had derived from any other source, or been thrown up by the fortuitous declination of Epicurus' atoms.

The fallacy here lies in the same equivocation of language taken notice of in the foregoing pages, to which I refer anybody who thinks it needful to revise what has been already offered: for the Will of God must be fulfilled in none other sense than what was absolutely foreknown, or contained in the plan of Providence, must come to pass; not by compulsion or necessity, but by removal of all hazard to the contrary.

40. Another fond imagination may start up in men's heads from the never-failing completion of the divine Will, as if it justified them in all the follies they have been guilty of; for, say they, whatever we have done must have been agreeable to the Will of God, because having taken effect; for nothing has fallen out that was not so; therefore wherein have we done amiss? for who hath ever resisted his Will? And they put this question by way of defiance, to give any other than one certain answer.

But they deceive themselves by their manner of wording the question; for had it been asked, who hath defeated his Will? we could not have produced an instance, nor yet would it have served their purpose, nor furnished an excuse for their misconduct, that we could not: but who hath resisted his Will? is no such unanswerable question; for the Will may be resisted without success, and then come to pass notwithstanding; or it may be misunderstood, and in that case accomplished by the very endeavor to do something contrary to it.

Suppose you lend money to a friend upon his note; he being at a distance, and fully confiding in your honor, sends you a letter with the value inclosed, only desiring you will burn the note, that your executors may not find it to charge him with the debt; but before you can fulfil his request, somebody else finds the note, who, having a spite against you, throws it into the fire with intention to disable you from recovering the sum contained in it: here he acts in direct opposition to your Will; his design is noth-

ing else than to cross and thwart you ; yet in so doing he does the very thing you will should be done, and would have done yourself, if he had not been beforehand with you. In like manner we may, and too frequently do, resist the Will of God, but by that very resistance accomplish it ; for we act in the dark, scarce ever knowing what is his real Will, or that, its constant aim, the good of his creation, with the greatest part whereof we have no visible connection, nor the least suspicion of what concern their interests have with our proceedings.

We have often heard of a distinction between the secret, and declared Will ; the latter is so much as we can discover by the best use of our understanding, which being fallible, will sometimes discover to us what is not the truth ; yet this is the guide God has given us for our direction, and while we act conformably thereto, although the event by disappointing our endeavors should prove the secret Will to have been otherwise, nevertheless our honest, though mistaken zeal for his service, will stand approved in his sight, and engage his bountiful favor towards us.

Whereas on the other hand, if we perversely run counter to the admonitions of this guide, it will avail us nothing that our being permitted to take our course proves it agreeable to the secret Will ; for God does not punish in anger, nor for having been disappointed of his purpose ; a cause of resentment which can never befall him ; but with the view of a physician who prescribes a smart operation necessary to cure a distemper that would destroy the patient, or infect the neighborhood. And if we regard our vicious dispositions in this light, which is the true one, we must behold them with the same aversion we should a loathsome disease, whether we apprehend it brought upon us by our mismanagement, or inflicted by the hand of heaven ; which aversion once become hearty and strong, may be trusted to take its chance for the effect it will have upon our conduct.

41. For it is not so material to give a right judgment upon what is past and cannot be undone, as to take right measures for the future. Therefore lest any should encourage themselves in indolence, or wrong doing, under pretence that since the Will of God is always punctually fulfilled, whatever shall be done, good or bad, must be conformable to that Will, so they need not scruple to take the courses they like, being sure to accomplish it at all events ; let them consider, that since that Will shall take effect at all events, they may as well accomplish it by doing right, as wrong, being equally sure either way, that what they shall do will be the thing that was to come to pass : if then the Will of God be done in both cases, and they have their choice in what manner

they shall accomplish it, had they not better choose the manner most advantageous to themselves, than one pernicious and destructive to them?

For our business is to pursue our own truest interests; we have nothing to do with the secret Will; that will work itself out without our solicitude to complete it: the end assigned us to work out, is none other than our own happiness, to be pursued carefully and industriously, according to the lights afforded us.

Good and evil lie before us; we have powers of action, with liberty to use them: if our powers at any time be limited, we have still some scope to range in; if our passions, or evil habits abridge our liberty, still we may strive and struggle against them: in all cases there is something or other wherein we may exert our endeavors: let us then apply them where they may turn most to our benefit; but above all beware of reducing ourselves to such a deplorable condition, as that even mercy and loving kindness must lay a heavy weight of punishment upon us in order to effect its gracious purposes.

42. There is still another quarter of the wilderness we have not yet explored, where the giant Fate stalks along with irresistible strides, bearing down the forest like tender blades of corn before him, forcing his passage through ramparts and rocks: the textures of human contrivance are but as the dewy cobwebs of autumn across his way; nor can Freewill find a place for the sole of her foot among the heapy ruins wherewith he bestrews the ground.

But before we enter into an examination of the courses of Fate, let us, according to our usual custom, endeavor to understand what is properly meant by the word. We find it often confounded with Necessity, or the impulsive operation of necessary causes: for the Stratonic and Democritic Atheists understood it, when they ascribed all events to Fate, that is, to the actions of matter depending upon one another in a continued series from all eternity: and Homer's Moira crataia, strong-handed Fate, has been generally translated by the Latin poets, dura Necessitas, inflexible Necessity.

But I conceive these two very different things in common understanding, if we may reckon Necessity as here used a common idea, for I rather take necessary agency to be terms belonging to the speculative vocabulary; but apprehend that operations whereto they may be applicable, cannot upon that account be styled the Work of Fate, in propriety of language. The circulation of sap in vegetables, the contraction and dilatation of their fibres,

the action of the sun, air, and mould, contributing to make them yield their several fruits, are all necessary agencies : yet when a man plants a peach-tree, can you properly say it is therefore fated that he shall gather peaches and not plums or filberts therefrom ? or if he sows oats in his field, does he think anything of a fatality against his reaping wheat or barley ? So neither if we knew a collection of atoms having motions among them which must form a regular world, should we esteem everything fatal that might be produced by them.

But Fate, derived from the Latin, *Fari*, signifying to speak, must denote the word spoken by some intelligent Being, who has power to make his words good ; so that whatever he says shall be done, will infallibly come to pass ; and does not at all relate to the causes or manner whereby it is accomplished, unless those causes be made to act in consequence of the word spoken.

As to the *Parcæ*, supposed in heathen mythology to spin the thread of life, and by their scissors to determine the period of it, I should understand this thread only to express the series of events befalling every man, not the series of causes operating to bring them forth. And the Pagans seem unsettled in their notions concerning the author of Fate ; sometimes it is their Jove who fixes it by his arbitrary decree, as in the ill successes of the Grecian army ; sometimes he is only an executive power, subordinate to the *Parcæ*, compelled by their spinning, to do or permit what he does not like, as in the death of *Sarpedon*.

However, leaving them to their own imaginations, with us who acknowledge one supreme Governor subordinate in nothing nor controllable by any other Power, Fate or Destiny, must be the same with the decree of the Almighty ; nor can we doubt that whatever he has decreed will not fail of coming to pass.

43. But this decree works no effect of itself, being no efficient cause ; for if you order your servant to do a thing, the business is done by the efficacy of his action, not of your's ; a command given to a subordinate, we shall acknowledge compulsive ; therefore if any man knows of a decree issued from the Almighty concerning something he is to do, I shall never advise him to strive against it, nor think himself at liberty to do the contrary.

But it is not this kind of decrees that are supposed to generate Fatality, which arises from those unknown to us, confining our actions to the course suited for bringing forth the destined event : yet even in this case it is not the word spoken and never heard by us, but something consequent upon it that imposes the Fatality. We are told indeed, that God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light ; yet we cannot imagine the Light sprung forth with-



out some exertion of Omnipotence to produce it : for when afterwards he said, *Let us make man after our own image*, nevertheless man was not made until he moulded the dust of the earth into a human body, and breathed thereinto the breath of life : therefore when we say God created all things by his word, we do not understand that they produced themselves out of nonentity, in obedience to the order given, nor that this order was an efficient cause of their existence ; but intend only to express the facility wherewith the divine operations are performed, similar to that of a man in authority, causing what he pleased to be done upon the word of command.

Very true, you say : nobody imagines the sound of words spoken can work anything. But when God pronounces his decree, he accompanies it with some act of power efficacious and irresistible to enforce the execution : or he watches over the tendency of second causes, and turns them by his secret influence to co-operate towards bringing forth the destined event : in both cases he abridges human liberty ; for what is ordained must inevitably come to pass ; nor can all the art or power of man turn it aside ; for the Fatality hanging over us confines our choice to one certain train of objects, or by privately counteracting us, baffles our utmost endeavors, when turned the contrary way.

44. This seems to be the ordinary way of considering this matter, and the concomitant exertion of power makes the difference between a decree and a command, for both are supposed to proceed from the word of God. We are told, he said, *Let there be Light*, and there was light : we are likewise told, that he said, *Thou shalt not murder ; thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not commit adultery ; nevertheless men do still murder, and steal, and commit adultery, notwithstanding the word spoken.* So the word of God operates nothing of itself when delivered as a command, nor unless when delivered as a decree : because in the latter case only, it is accompanied with an exertion of Omnipotence, or a determination to exert it when occasion shall require.

But the idea of a determination, to use power whenever requisite for accomplishing a decree, arises from our narrow conception of the proceedings of God taken from our own manner of proceeding, as observed already in § 20, and the latter part of § 29. For when we resolve upon the compassing of any distant purpose, we can scarce ever lay our measures so surely but that they may fail of the issue intended ; so we are forced to watch over and correct them from time to time as we shall find occasion ; or accidents may intervene which will require our further

endeavors to prevent their defeating our design : or many times we know not what measures are proper until we have seen the tendency of other causes, and conduct of other persons any ways affecting the end we have in view ; and then we must employ such power and skill as we are masters of, in order to bring things into the train we would have them take. From this experience of ourselves, we are led to think the same of the Almighty, whom we conceive as having destined certain particular events, but in general left the powers of nature and free agents to take their own course, until they chance to take a tendency contrary to his designs, and then he controls and turns them by his secret influence, so as to make them co-operate therewith.

Now a little reflection may show how injurious this notion is to the wisdom and power of God, representing him as fixing indeed upon certain purposes, but uncertain in what manner they shall be brought to pass until the tendency his second causes shall happen to take, points out the measures necessary for turning them into their destined course ; and thus giving chance a share in the government of the world, liable indeed to his control, but working of herself whenever he does not interfere, and even furnishing employment for his wisdom and power, by the errors she commits.

45. But when we consider, that all events, as well those esteemed fortuitous as others, must proceed from certain causes, which derived their existence and efficacy mediately or immediately from the first ; and when we contemplate his Omniscience, extending to everything that can be supposed the object of knowledge, we shall find reason to convince us that nothing comes to pass unless in consequence of some act of his ; and that whenever he acts, he knows precisely what he does, together with the remotest and minutest consequences to result from his doings.

For what bounds shall we set to his intelligence ? If our own lies confined within a small compass, it is owing to the scantiness of our organs, those necessary instruments of our perception. We have but two hands, so can touch no more than they will reach to ; we have eyes only before us, so can behold no further than half the circle surrounding us : the tablet of our memory, the chart of our imagination, the line of our reflection, have their appointed measures, so we can recollect, or calculate, or contemplate, no more than the ideas they contain.

But God perceives not by organs, neither meditates by animal spirits, or the little fibres of the brain, nor receives his notices by channels, whose number or contents might be computed, so as

to determine the precise quantity they are capable of conveying. What then is there to set the limitation to his knowledge ; or by what rule or measure can we ascertain the bounds ? Can he comprehend a million of ideas and no more ? Does he clearly discover all events to happen within the ensuing century, and no longer ? Do the concerns of empires so occupy his thoughts, that he has none to spare for the peasant, the laborer, or the beggar ? Are the affairs of men so burthensome to his mind, that he has no room to think of the mouse and the wren, the emmet and the mite, the green myriads of the peopled grass, the many-tribed weeds of the field, or the dancing motes that glitter in the noontide beams ?

Since then we know of no boundaries to circumscribe the divine Omniscience, but that it may extend to everything, without overlooking anything, and discern remotest consequences in their present causes, why should we scruple to admit that he gave being to those causes with a view to their consequences ? and on the formation of a world disposed his substances, material and spiritual, with such properties, powers, situations, motions, and ideas, as should produce the exact series of events he intended to bring forth ?

In this case there is no occasion nor room for controlling or altering the operation of second causes, they being already adjusted to answer all the purposes they were destined to complete. And if there be supernatural interpositions (which I neither affirm nor deny) we cannot suppose them made upon unforeseen emergencies to supply defects in the original contrivance ; but comprised therein, as being judged proper for manifestation of the divine power and government to intelligent creatures, and worked up into one uniform plan, together with the operations of secondary agents.

46. In this view of the economy of Providence, we see that any absolute decree or secret fatality to enforce the execution of a design against the tendency of second causes to turn it aside, must be superfluous, provision being already made in perfect wisdom for every event, which is to take effect, by disposition of the causes proper to give it birth. Nor will any of those causes deviate into another tendency than that they were calculated to take.

Thus it appears, that all things fall out according to the Will and disposition of God, and conformably to the scheme of his Providence, working for the most part, if not always by the ministry of material or voluntary agents : but the methods whereby this ministry is conducted are various. Some parts of the plan are

accomplished by the choice and industry of man, instigated there-to by appetites, judgments, imaginations, desires, obligations, dangers, and other motives; other parts are executed by the stated laws of nature, such as the instinct of brutes, action of the elements, powers of vegetation, qualities of soils, changes of seasons, and vicissitudes of night and day; and others brought about by the courses of fortune dependent upon the situations of substances, and their mutual applications upon one another, to us accidental and uninvestigable.

But what proceeds from the two first of these causes, we do not usually ascribe to the hand of Fate: for nobody looks upon it as a Fatality that last winter is now succeeded by summer; that the days are long, the air warm, the corn and fruits begin to ripen, for all these are natural, nor could anybody expect things should have fallen out otherwise. So neither do we think a parent fated to put his son out to school, for it was his desire to give him a good education, and his choice and judgment directed him to the proper methods for effecting it.

Therefore the last class of causes only remains for the province of Fate, to wit, such whose operations are fortuitous and unaccountable, that is beyond the reach of human foresight and sagacity to discover; nevertheless they must have some certain springs and issues, as well as the motions of nature or actions of men.

47. Thus the same events lie under the disposal of Fate and of Fortune, and both terms take their rise from our manner of conceiving things. Chance is no agent nor power, but the creature only of imagination, deriving its birth from our ignorance; for when we see causes at work, but know not their tendency, we say it is chance what they will produce: therefore that which is chance to one man may be none to another, who has better information or more judgment to discern the train things are taking.

If a die were to be thrown, the cast would be produced by the motions of the thrower's arm, the shape of the box, inequalities of the table, and other imperceptible circumstances, of which we can make no estimate, therefore we deem it to lie under the power of Chance; but were the cast to determine between two malefactors which of them should suffer, we should then think it a matter worthy referring to the Supreme Disposer of all events, for the lot cometh from the Lord; yet still being uncertain what means he will employ, or what effect they will take, we attribute the decision to his Will or Decree, skipping over that undiscernible chain of causes lying between his first appointment of those now in act.

Therefore Fate and Fortune seem for the most part to claim a concurrent jurisdiction, many tracts lying within the province of both : and under this apprehension we express ourselves upon common occasions ; for when we hear of a man falling in battle, we say indifferently, it was his Fate, or his Fortune to be slain ; and of a young person intended to be sent abroad, but uncertain in what business, or what place he may find opportunities for settling, we say, it is doubtful where his lot may fall, where fortune may carry him, or his fate or destiny fix him.

But to which of these powers we shall ascribe the influence, depends upon the objects we take into contemplation : while we regard only the secret springs and unforeseen incidents which may affect an event, we deem it in the hand of Fortune : but when we look on further to that intelligent Being, who is the disposer of all events, we conceive that those springs will work, and incidents fall out, according to his direction and decree.

Nevertheless it is obvious, as we observed before, that a decree will work nothing without an application of power to enforce the execution of it ; and when such application has been made by provision of the proper means for bringing an event to pass, a decree or declaration of the purpose intended becomes needless : for the requisite measures being once taken, will have their effect, whether any word be spoken concerning them or no. Therefore the issues of things proceed, and fortune derives her efficacy from the provision not the decree of the Almighty, from the work of his hand, not the word of his mouth ; and this latter, if any such there were, added nothing to the acts of Omnipotence, but must be delivered for some other purpose than to ensure the completion of his design.

48. Hence it appears, that in using the terms Fate, Decree or Destiny, we speak after the manner of men ; for it being customary with us, whenever we resolve upon some distant work, to declare our intentions to persons under our influence, who may assist in completing it, and to fix a determination in our minds which may render us vigorous, and keep us watchful in the prosecution, we conceive of God as making the like declared or mental determination with regard to every spot he comprises within the plan of his Providence.

Then, again, being sensible this determination cannot operate upon the courses of fortune as a command, yet that something must operate to put them in motion ; and being unable to trace, or even to conceive a chain of causes extending from the first formation of the plan to all those multifarious events, which we cannot help acknowledging must come to pass by the divine appointment ;

we get an obscure idea of an irresistible force a something we cannot explain nor account for its existence, which we call a Fatality, which perpetually hangs over second causes, constraining their motions, or like an adamant wall, confining them within their appointed course, from whence they would have a natural propensity to deviate. Thus Fatality becomes disjoined from the decree, and loses the proper import belonging to it by its derivation, being now no longer a *fatum* or word spoken, but one knows not well what; an emanation from it, like light from the sunbeams, a power without an agent to exert it; for when God has spoken his action ceases, and the Fatality is a consequence of what he has said.

That this is the sense, if a sense it may be called, that men ordinarily affix to the term, appears by the Atheists employing it, who acknowledge no intelligent Being who might *fari*, that is, speak or issue a decree: for being called upon to assign a cause for the laws and establishments of nature, they ascribed them to a blind Fatality, working upon the mass of matter throughout the universe, and driving it into a regular form. But if we regard etymology, a blind fatality is as absurd an expression as that of a dumb decree, or an unintended design. The Epicureans alone discarded Fate upon a most unphilosophical principle, that events may ensue, such as the declination of atoms, without any prior cause whatever to produce them; but all who admitted an eternal First Cause, whether intelligent or un sentient, seem to have entertained a notion of Fatality.

This confused and indeterminate notion opened the door to judicial Astrology, for though the stars were supposed by their positions to affect the lives of men, I never yet heard it attempted to be shown in what manner, or by what mediums they operated: but a conformity being once fancied between the successes of human transactions and aspects of the heavenly bodies, it was a short way to talk of a Fatality, though nobody could tell why, or how, or by what channels the connexion should be effected.

The like may be said of the *Parcæ*, whose singing answers to the decree uttered, and could have none other effect than to amuse themselves and lighten their task; but it was the thread they spun which determined the duration and color of men's lives beyond the power of Jove himself to alter: yet we never hear of their having any communication with sublunary affairs or acting as efficient causes upon anything moving here; nevertheless, upon their spinning, there instantly arose a sympathetic energy in the causes at work upon earth, drawing them to produce an issue conformable to what was spun.

49. We see from the foregoing observations, how the term *Fate* has slidden off its original basis, being departed from its first signification, that of a decree or resolve of the Almighty to a something generated thereby, an undefinable influence, residing neither in body nor soul, nor substance, but an abstract force or activity, hovering as it were in the air, and operating upon the causes of things as they severally begin to act.

Nor yet do men keep always steady to this idea of *Fate* in their common conversation; for we often hear them talk of the *Fate* of a convict criminal lying in the hand of the *Prince* who has power to pardon or to order execution; the lover waits for the decision of his mistress to fix his *Fate*; the poet talks of physicians issuing mandates in arrest of *Fate*, and an unexpected accident or arrival of a timely succor is thought sometimes to change the *Fate* of a battle: whereas if we regard the genuine notion of *Fate*, it was fixed long ago by the decree of Heaven; nor is it in the power of man, nor any natural agent, to determine, or stop, or change, or affect it in any respect.

These variations of language do not disturb us in our ordinary discourses, for the context or occasion introducing them moulds our words into the shape that is proper; but men of thought and abstraction, desirous of affixing constantly the same ideas to their words, find themselves disappointed when they light upon a term of vague and unstable signification: for as we generally think in words, and their sense in the various phrases whereto we join them is determined by custom; we are led insensibly in the progress of our reasonings to understand them differently, from whence great confusion and perplexity must unavoidably ensue.

Therefore the science of language, and exact observation of ideas adhering thereto, would help us greatly in our discoveries of nature; for if men could fix upon terms not liable to variation of sense or misapprehension, their disputes would be shortened, and they might quickly arrive at so much knowledge as is attainable by human understanding. We have found no reason hitherto to disregard the admonitions of our present patroness, *Philology*, they having been helpful to us upon several occasions; and she informs us, the word *Fate* carries a very loose and indeterminate signification.

For this reason I wish it were quite expunged from the philosophical vocabulary, and *Providence* substituted in its room, which I conceive would render our thoughts clearer and less intricate, and give them a freer progress when turned upon the government of the world; for the provisions of heaven in the original disposition of adequate causes may answer all purposes, as well those

accomplished by natural as accidental means, or the motions of free agency.

50. But men find a difficulty in conceiving of absolute dominion, without a coercive authority or compulsion exercised upon the subjects under it; which makes us all so fond of power as a necessary means of bringing our purposes to bear against the opposition of other agents which might attempt to defeat them. Yet in many instances, as has been remarked in § 19, we ourselves can make provision for designs wherein other persons are to concur, and guide their conduct, so far as we know what will move them, and have the proper motives in our hands, without pretending to any authority or compulsive power over them. And if there be always some hazard of a disappointment, it is because we can never see thoroughly the exact state of their desires, nor what external accidents, such as weather, disease, or the like, may disturb the success of our schemes: but were there nothing extraneous to interfere, and had we a perfect knowledge of men's minds, much more, were their inclinations and judgments of our framing, we should need no despotic jurisdiction nor controlling power to guide them into what courses of behavior we pleased.

Now there is nothing external to the work of God. The laws of nature bringing forth her various productions were of his establishment: the workings of chance followed from some determinate causes, though to us unknown; these again from other prior, and so on in a continual channel from the sources first opened by the exertion of his power; for no event, however casual, can happen without something occasioning it to fall out in that manner: the actions of men proceed according to their apprehensions and judgments thrown upon them by their constitution or temperament, by education, by company and occurrences befalling them in life; all which were conveyed by nature or fortune, and therefore must be referred to the origin from whence they derive. For every effect must be produced by the action of some agent, material or spiritual, or the concurrence of several, and must follow according to the manner of that action being exerted; which manner was determined by some impulse or motive impressed from elsewhere; nor can we stop until we arrive at some act of Omnipotence.

Thus the face of things, as well in the moral as natural kingdoms, results from the qualities, positions, and motions God gave to his substances at the formation of a world. It remains only, that we ask ourselves the question, whether he extended his plan to a compass larger than he could comprehend himself, or gave birth to causes which might produce events unthought of by him, or more numerous than he could grasp in his Omniscience? If



we answer in the negative, we must needs acknowledge that provision was made at the beginning for all that train of events, and accomplishment of those purposes we have seen, or shall hereafter see effected.

But experience testifies, that this provision leaves many things in our power, and circumscribes us in many other respects; we lay schemes, and take measures appearing certain to succeed, but find them fail in the issue, and that by accidents we could not have expected, nor can account for their happening; our reason deserts us in time of need; we commit blunders, and give into follies we could not have thought ourselves capable of: tempests, earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and destructive diseases, arise from no natural causes that we can discern; and our experience of those things give us the notion of *Fatality*. Therefore *Fate*, if we will needs employ the term in our speculations, is that part of the divine provision producing events which would not have ensued by the known laws of nature, nor operation of observable causes, nor contrivances of man, but are rather contrary to his endeavors.

51. Seneca, in *Nat. Quæst. Lib. II. cap. 36*, defines *Fate* the necessity of all things and actions, which no force can break through; and he seems herein to have given *Fate* the import belonging to it in common propriety of language: for the courses of *Fate* are always deemed irresistible and unalterable; nor do we apply the term unless to cases wherein the *Will* and power of man has no concern.

Therefore when a person fails in a distemper, we say it was his fate to die, because we suppose his wish and endeavors were bent upon preventing it: but if he escapes, we do not say he was fated to recover, but at most that his fate was not yet come, that is, has not yet operated upon him; for this was the effect of the cares taken to save him.

If we happen to ruin a scheme, we were extremely fond of accomplishing, through some palpable misconduct of our own, we think ourselves under a fatal infatuation, because everybody is conceived willing to employ his best judgment for his own benefit; from whence comes the observation, that whom *Jove* would destroy, he first deprives of their understanding: but if we chance to succeed beyond expectation by a more than ordinary dexterity of management, we think nothing of *Fatality*, because the unusual clearness of judgment and success consequent thereupon, were things agreeable to our wish, and effects of bestirring ourselves in the exercise of our faculties.

So likewise a fatal accident is that which brings on an event we are extremely averse to : whereas a lucky incident is never termed fatal, because tending to further our advancement towards something we desire.

But if Seneca was right in calling Fate a Necessity, which no force can break through, we cannot think him so in the extent he has given to its dominion, comprehending all things and all actions : for this swallows up the whole province of Freewill, to which Fate and Necessity, in every body's understanding, are counted diametrically opposite : for what is fated to happen does not lie in my power to prevent, and what depends upon my pleasure and option, is yet undetermined by any Fatality.

Nor let it be thought we injure him, by taking his expression too strictly ; for he goes on, in cap. 38, to particularize in matters belonging directly to human management. If, says he, it be fated that such a young person shall become eloquent, it is likewise fated that he shall study rhetoric ; if that he shall grow rich, it is fated that he shall trade to foreign parts. In like manner his brother Stoic, Chrysippus, insists, in Tully de Fato, cap. 13, that when a sick man is fated to recover, it is confated that he shall send for a physician ; to which it might be added, and that the doctor shall use his best skill, and the apothecary dispense his recipes properly.

But any common eye may see, that these Fates do not carry such a necessity as the force of man cannot break through : for the scholar, if he pleases, may neglect his studies, the young trader squander away his stock in extravagancies and debaucheries, the sick person persist obstinately in refusing help, the doctor destroy his patient, or the apothecary impose upon both by neglecting to provide good drugs, or mixing up ingredients that will do mischief.

What then ! are not eloquence, riches, and health, the blessings of heaven ? are they not given to those whom God thinks proper, and withholden from whom he pleases ? Or can any, to whom he designs a favor, ever fail of receiving the effects of his bounty ? By no means ; nor does this consequence follow from our rejection of Fatality : for though all things are not fated, yet all things are wisely provided, so as to take the train requisite for completing whatever events were contained within his plan. Thus the orator and merchant were provided by education, example, and other natural means, with a disposition for improving the talents and opportunities put into their hands ; the sick man is provided with sense to know the value of life, and fondness for its preservation ; the medical assistants with compassion to a fellow-

creature in distress, with skill and diligence and a desire to maintain their credit in their professions: and these dispositions will infallibly put them upon taking those measures voluntarily, which they had full power and free liberty to have omitted.

Thus the Will of God is done without employing the compulsive force of Fate, or rigid arm of Necessity. But the difficulties that have always perplexed the speculative upon this subject, spring from their not observing the double sense of the word possible, as it relates to power or to contingency, remarked in the foregoing passages, § 30, 31; for want of which they could not conceive how anything could be left to the power and opinion of man, without inferring a possibility that he might defeat the purposes of God. But having well settled that distinction in our minds, and taking along with us that the behavior of men follows upon their apprehensions and sentiments, which result from the seen and unseen springs employed by God in his administration of the moral world, we may easily comprehend how it may be possible, that is, in the power of man, in many instances to frustrate his designs; nevertheless he may so perfectly know what will be the desires and thoughts of their hearts, that there is no possibility, that is, no danger, they should pursue any other than the particular tenor of conduct most conducive thereto.

52. The essence of Fate lying in its unchangeableness and independence on the turns of Freewill, the powers of different persons being various, and coming or going according as opportunity changes, there is no paradox in asserting, that the same event may be under the arbitrary disposal of one man, which is fated and necessary to another, and may be matter of choice to-day, which was esteemed the work of Fate yesterday, and may be so again to-morrow.

Suppose you and I could give evidence against somebody of a capital offence unknown to anybody else; but there being some favorable circumstances in his case, we went into a room together to consult whether we should make the discovery or no: this we should be apt to call sitting to fix his Fate; and anybody upon seeing us come out, and knowing what we had been about, might properly ask, well, what is his Fate? is he doomed to die? But though our decision be reckoned Fate, with respect to the culprit, as being unalterable and inevitable by him, yet we should not esteem ourselves under a Fatality or Necessity to prosecute, because it would still remain in our power to do it or forbear.

Marriages are commonly said to be made in heaven: yet it is of the very essence of marriage to have the free consent of the parties; for the solemnization follows upon their Will and desire;

but the causes influencing their choice were not of their own procurement, but extraneous and fortuitous to them. A man determined to settle in the world, but unprovided of his object, may think it in the hand of Fate or Fortune what qualified party he shall meet with; but when the acquaintance is made, the liking fixed, and matters agreed on both sides, things proceed thenceforward under the direction of Choice and Freewill: then again, if afterwards she prove a shrew, he may chance to curse his stars for subjecting him to so cruel a Fate.

The fall of Troy was said to be written in the book of Fate before its foundation; yet the parties instrumental thereto, Paris and Helen, the Grecian Princes, the council of Priam refusing restitution, acted by passion, contrivance, design, and deliberation, those springs of free agency: and during the siege, the poor Trojans used their utmost efforts to ward off the stroke of Fate, which nevertheless fell inevitably upon them.

Thus when Fate has begun his course, it opens at intervals to let in Freewill, who having played her part, the stream closes again, and involves all before it in irresistible necessity.

From hence it appears, that in disquisitions upon this subject our business is to inquire not so much into the nature of things, as the import of expressions and state of ideas under contemplation; and we shall often find that the same event, according to the persons concerned in it, to the light wherein we place it, or to our considering the whole or some part only of the chain whereon it hangs, shall be either the work of Fate, the effect of Chance, or the product of human Industry, Forethought, and Option. For Fate and Necessity being always opposed to free Choice, may be applicable to an Event or not, according to whose choice, or what act of the Will you refer it.

If I lie under the power of a superior in what manner to dispose of me, the determination is Fate to me, though matter of choice and deliberation to him. So I may esteem it in the hand of Fate to determine how I shall dispose of myself seven years hence, if I cannot by any present act of mine certainly direct my future resolves; but when the time of action comes, I shall then have it in my power and option which way to turn myself; then again, after I have executed my choice and fixed my situation, if I run back through the whole chain of causes bringing me thereinto, the opportunities enabling, and inducements prevailing on me to take the part I did, which were not of my own procurement, I may be apt to call it the work of Fate.

No wonder then that so variable and slippery a turn should often present us with double lights, bewildering the most cautious

traveller, like an ignis fatuus : wherefore, as I said before, it were better we could do entirely without it ; for Providence seems a much clearer and steadier idea ; nor are there the like difficulties in understanding how this, by the apt disposition of causes suited to each respective purpose, may generate the laws of nature, shape the windings of fortune, and produce the motives giving the turn to human volition.

53. Let us now consider how far our conduct and condition in life may be cramped and controlled by this universal provision. We find ourselves circumscribed in our powers, our knowledge, and the scope allotted us to exercise them. This nobody doubts. The severities of winter succeed the conveniences of summer ; our weight binds us down to the earth, nor can we soar aloft like the swallow. Tempests, diseases, and sinister accidents come upon us inevitably, and many things fall out beyond our skill or power to prevent them : but want of skill and power is not want of liberty. Bars, obstructions, and restraints confine us in the exercise of those powers we have ; but there is a difference between freedom of action and freedom of Will : the latter respects only such things as we have a natural ability to perform, and against which there lies no impediment to prevent the success of our endeavors. But Freewill cannot proceed without inducements to move, and ideas to direct it ; therefore that provision which supplies us with these, is so far from overthrowing, that it is the basis and support of our freedom.

Nor would doubts arise concerning our possession of this privilege, if we did not generally extend it beyond its proper object, which, strictly speaking, is none other than the present action in our power ; but our present endeavors often have a tendency to distant purposes ; and experience teaches us what they have been used to produce ; therefore we esteem the consequences to be effected by them as under our power, and subjects of our option : then, if such remote events fall out otherwise than expected, we ascribe it to a Fatality ; whereas the failure was really owing to particular circumstances we did not attend to, or the interfering of natural causes we did not take into account.

More especially we conceive ourselves masters of our own ideas, and to have the constant use of that judgment and discretion we possess ; therefore if they fail us at any time in some egregious misconduct, we apprehend ourselves as having been under a secret infatuation ; because the proceeding being contrary to our present and former Will and judgment, which we can scarce believe could have varied so greatly in the interval, we conclude

a force must have been put upon our Will to make it act so opposite to its own designs.

But it is well known, that our apprehensions are not always the same, nor does reason always operate with equal vigor ; imagination varies her scenes, discretion falls off her guard, fancies start up, desires intrude, passions beguile, and things present themselves in unusual aspects, owing to the state of our bodily humors, the mechanical play of our organization, prevalency of our habits, and appearance of external objects ; all which are natural causes acting with a regularity undiscernible to ourselves. So there is no occasion for recurring to that unsubstantial Fatality spoken of in § 48 ; for Fate is so much of the order of second causes, as our Will has no share in carrying on, and our Understanding no light to discover.

Thus Fate and Freewill have their distinct provinces, nor ever appear to clash unless when we happen to mistake the boundaries ; but if we esteem events within our power which depend upon other causes, we may find ourselves frustrated, not by a force upon our Will, but by having undertaken more, and carried our expectations further than we were warranted. For the giant Fate, though enormous in strength and stature, never tramples upon Liberty, nor so covers the ground as not to leave some space for human Agency while employed in its proper offices.

54. For we have nothing to do with Events lying within the bosom of Fate, nor are we to take our measures upon anything we may fancy contained there : it may affect the success, but cannot alter the prudence of our conduct, which consists in the conformity of our actions with the best lights of our judgment.

If God has any secret purpose to accomplish, no doubt he has provided causes to work it out ; our business lies only with those causes whose existence and tendency we can discern ; while we make the due use of them, so far as we have power and opportunity, we shall perform our little share in the execution of his plan.

When we have determined upon our point ever so wisely, and projected our scheme ever so prudently, perhaps there may be a decree to a contrary effect which will baffle all our endeavors ; but this can be no guide to us, nor object of our contemplation, until manifesting itself by the completion : in the mean time, if we find things take a wrong turn unexpectedly, we are not from thence to infer there is a Fatality upon them, for we cannot expect to penetrate into the secret workings of Fate, which are purposely concealed from us, but must employ our skill and industry to rectify our measures, while there remains any proba-

bility of success, that is, until we perceive invincible obstacles standing apparently in the way.

Nor have we the less range of action for the secret springs of events taking their certain course by the divine appointment, neither would our liberty be at all enlarged, if they were set in motion by the fortuitous declination of Epicurus' atoms. Experience teaches that our strongest expectations are liable to be frustrated, and our best projected schemes rendered abortive unaccountably; and we should stand equally at a loss how to ward off the disappointment whether it were to come by chance or by Fate, for we can as little conjecture what the wild workings of chance would produce, as the stated provisions of wisdom: in both cases we can only proceed according to what we see, and put in ure those methods which we judge most expedient. Nor would it prove less destructive of care and industry, if we should entertain a notion of luck running against us, than a Fatality.

55. There is one species of Fate respecting the condition of each man in another life dependent on his conduct in this, commonly called Predestination. This, in many people's apprehension, carries with it the idea of a Fatality; for they say the Saint cannot sin, nor the Sinner do right: yet it being obvious there can be neither right nor wrong, unless in things within our power and option, they suppose that though we have power to perform, we have none to choose; so there lies a force upon the Will constraining it to one particular choice.

But experience does not support this doctrine, for the wicked now and then use their power well, and it is too notorious that the righteous often fail of doing the good they might. Did Peter act right when he thrice denied his master? Or did Pilate act wrong in using endeavors to get Jesus released instead of Barabas? and does not this manifest that neither were under a constant Fatality, but left sometimes at least at liberty to depart from their general tenor of conduct?

Then if any pretend that this general tenor, so far as requisite to denominate the party good or bad, is influenced by the fatality of a decree; let them search into the recesses of the human heart, examine the judgments, desires, imaginations harboring there, understand perfectly all the natural causes anywise affecting them, and clearly discern that none of these are adequate to the effect, before they are warranted to assert this. Nor let them build too hastily upon the dictates of authority, which are best explained by experience of facts, and are delivered in a language accommodated to the common conceptions of men, wherein we

often ascribe events to the act of God, which were the result of second causes established by him.

Therefore it may be true that God giveth us both to will and to do, without constraining our Wills by his immediate and irresistible influence ; as it is true, that he giveth us our daily bread, though he sends it not by special messengers, as he did to Elias, but by the provisions he made for the fruits of nature in the structure of plants, fertility of soils, kindly warmth of the sun, seasonable refreshments of dews and showers, and by the provisions he made for exerting human industry, and fixing an attachment to their several professions in the farmer, the miller, the mealman, and the baker.

56. It must be acknowledged that the final state of every man, as well as all other events without exception, depends upon causes flowing from springs originally provided by the Almighty ; and in this light it may be said that none shall be saved whose names were not written in the book of life : but the writing in this book, if we will employ the figure, has no efficacy, nor can limit our freedom, being no more than a declaration or record of the causes in act, and operations of under-causes flowing from them ; which are equally matter of record, whether running in the channel of freewill, or of impulse, force, and necessity.

And the provisions now spoken of encroach least of any upon the province of free agency ; a man may have his bones broken, his fortune ruined, his life destroyed by earthquakes, tempests, plagues or other accidents he cannot possibly guard against nor prevent ; but his interests in futurity cannot be hurt, unless by some action he has power and liberty to forbear. Therefore is he free in whatever he does affecting those interests, notwithstanding the entry recorded, or provision pre-ordained ; for liberty, as we have seen before, depends upon the act ensuing the exertion of our power, not upon anything antecedent, nor upon the motives or causes inciting us to exert it : if we have talents, opportunities, understanding, and discretion, we have the same freedom to use them by what means soever they came to us, whether by a sudden and accidental good fortune, or by a long series of causes pre-appointed for that purpose.

But men are led by their averseness to trouble to extend the idea of their power beyond its proper bounds ; they want to do something to-day whereby to insure an indefeasible title to future happiness, without leaving anything for to-morrow, but to take their pastime in the manner most agreeable to themselves. This is mistaking their province, for they can never do their work so completely but there will always remain something further to do :



yet this does not affect their liberty to take such measures as at present are feasible; for whatever be predestined concerning them to-morrow, they may still do so much for themselves as the actions now in their power amount to.

Therefore it behoves us to stand always upon the watch, to observe every succeeding moment what comes into our power, and to employ it so as may turn most for our benefit: for Predestination rightly understood, operates by our hands, and the course we steer is always that it takes upon every particular occasion, unless when it employs external causes not under our control, and these we have no business with: where indeed we could know the success depends solely upon such causes, our cares and endeavors were superfluous, but in matters depending upon ourselves, our opinion or disbelief of their being predestined in the manner above described by a provision of the proper causes for enabling, moving, and directing us, how to bestir ourselves, makes no alteration in the rule of our conduct. For if a merchant breeds up his son to industry, instructs him in the mysteries of trade, and furnishes him a competent stock, with a certain foreknowledge and determination that he shall make a fortune thereby: nevertheless the same diligence, the same circumspection, and the same methods of proceeding will be requisite as if those advantages had fallen upon him accidentally, and the success been absolutely unknown to everybody.

57. But it is not enough to take off the discouragements against deliberation and activity, unless we quiet the apprehensions arising in men's minds concerning their future proceedings: for some disturb themselves with the dread of a predetermination upon all their motions, which may turn them hereafter into the road of destruction, notwithstanding the best dispositions they find at present in their hearts. But let them consider, that their present actions were as much predestined as any they shall perform hereafter, yet they find themselves at full liberty to shape them in such manner as they judge expedient; therefore they may depend upon having the like freedom at other times.

Well, but they know not what ideas may then start up in their minds urging them to misapply their powers. Is there not the like hazard attending the common affairs of life? for other events, as well as those affecting the moral character, are equally predestined by the provision of causes suited to bring them forth. Yet who that lives in peace and plenty ever affrights himself with the thought that there may be secret springs at work which may deprive him of his health, his limbs, or his substance? While things go on in a good train, and no danger discernible to human circum-

spection threatens, we rest contented with our situation, unmolested by imaginary terrors ; and so we may with respect to our spiritual concerns, for virtue improves itself, and good habits grow stronger by exercise : therefore, though our final state remains in the hand of Providence, and we cannot penetrate the secret councils of heaven, yet the right dispositions we feel at present, are an evidence that provision is made for a happy issue at last, an evidence sufficient to exclude everything more than a possibility of our failing : nor were it expedient that this should be excluded, as being serviceable to keep us vigilant, and guard us against a supineness of temper that might creep upon us insensibly.

Besides, let us examine wherein it would better our condition, if God were to revoke his Predestination, and undo his provision of causes, so far as relates to ourselves : would this enable us by our present cares so to bind our future conduct as that it could never run amiss ? and if not, how would matters be mended with us ? There would still remain a possibility that after having begun well we might faint in the midway, and this event would become absolutely fortuitous : but we should hardly find more comfort in thinking that our Fate depended upon the cast of a die than upon a Predetermination.

So then it might fairly be put to men's choice whether they had rather believe themselves in the hand of Chance, or of a wise and gracious Governor : for the proceedings of wisdom are regular, and though we know not perfectly what belongs to goodness, we may form a judgment thereon satisfactory to any reasonable person ; but the flighty gambols of chance are objects of no science, nor grounds of any dependence whatever.

Nor should we find greater security in the privilege of indifference so much vaunted by some, for this being controllable by no motives, it would avail us little to have a sober understanding and virtuous inclinations moving us to take a salutary course ; for our Freewill of indifference might run counter to them all, nor could we have any assurance what turns it might take : which must throw us again into all the anxieties attendant upon the dominion of chance.

Thus whatever hypothesis we can frame, leaves as much room for apprehensions as that of Predestination above described ; for while we conceive it operating, not by a Fatality, but by an apt disposition of second causes, it gives as large a scope to human freedom and forecast, and industry, as we have reason from experience to think ourselves possessed of, and as good ground of expectation from the success of our measures as we are warranted in any light to entertain.

58. Nevertheless, if the mind appears to have taken a wrong turn, are there not just grounds of apprehension? Most assuredly. But this turn manifests itself most evidently in the prevalence of evil habits, and attachment to present pleasures, without regard to the consequences; therefore those who stand in greatest danger, are least apt to take the alarm, and whoever could raise it in them, would do them an inestimable kindness. On the contrary, such in whom disquietudes abound, have upon that very account the less reason to entertain them; for an earnest concern for the future being the first and principal spring provided for bringing men into the right way, where this appears strongly it is of itself alone an evidence that provision has been made in their favor.

But despondencies of this kind are often owing to the indiscretion of teachers, who insist too strenuously upon higher perfections of virtue than human nature can attain, and are found to prevail most upon women, or persons of small ability, and in their contemplative hours rather than seasons of action. For the consolation of such persons therefore let it be observed, that righteousness does not consist in the quantity of good we do, but in our doing so much, be it little, or be it much, as lies in our power. There are pegs and pins in a building as well as beams and columns, nor can we doubt that God distributes to every man the talents suited to the task he is to perform; therefore if we attend only to family affairs, or making broths for the sick, provided this be all we had ability to do, we have completed our part.

Let it next be remarked, that our imagination does not lie under our absolute command to raise ideas there, in what strength and vividness of color we please: the Poet cannot always fill himself with inspiration, nor the Philosopher with his clear discernment of abstracted truth, nor the religious man with his ardors and transports: therefore the want of a fervent faith and glowing zeal is not so much the mark of reprobation, as of a present indisposition of the organs.

Let it further be remembered, that notwithstanding what may have been inculcated of a constant attention to the duties of religion, our business lies chiefly in action, and the common duties of life: so that when perplexities overcloud us, instead of foreboding melancholy omens from the gloom they cast, we should rather take them as admonitions, that it is not now the season to puzzle our brains with thinking; but to bestir ourselves in some active employment, or pursue some innocent recreation, which may supply us with a flow of spirits for reason to work with to better purpose afterwards.

For if fear and trembling be a duty, a becoming confidence and just repose in the divine Goodness is a duty likewise; nor is fortitude less a virtue than prudence, and the proper province of both is ascertained by their usefulness. Therefore when anxieties arise, it behoves us to consider what purpose they may answer; while they serve to keep us vigilant, and spur on our activity in helping ourselves, we do well to encourage them; but when they tend to no good, nor urge us to anything we should not have done as well without them, we cannot do better than to turn our face from them, and use any expedient at hand to banish them out of our thoughts.

But Predestination, though formerly making much noise in the world, is now grown an unfashionable topic, nor am I sorry that it is so; for though I think it might be so explained as to render it neither formidable nor subversive of diligence, yet I fear such explanation would not take effect with common apprehensions, but they would still annex to it an idea of Fatality; which must unavoidably nourish despondencies in phlegmatic tempers, presumption and fatal security in the sanguine.

59. I have now ruminated every corner of the wilderness, and left no thicket untried that I could think of: it has been my endeavor to open the passages as I went along, and disentangle the boughs where they had matted themselves together, or been interlaced by persons of an unlucky shrewdness in perplexing; so that the traveller may never be driven against the thorns without finding an opening to escape them, nor bewildered in mazes, without feeling a clue to direct him.

Yet I do not pretend so to have cleared the way, as that he may run carelessly along; for the boughs will still overhang, the paths remain dark, rugged, and intricate, and the clue put into his hands be apt to slip away from him: therefore he must not proceed in a hurry, but take every step warily and circumspectly, putting the twigs aside that they may not strike against his eyes, nor intercept his view of the ground as he goes along, and keeping good hold of his several clues while necessary for his guidance.

If I have not done my work completely to the satisfaction of everybody, allowance may be made for the difficulty of the subject; which has foiled so many men of deep thought and learning, that should anything be found here to render it clearer, I should rather look upon it as a lucky hit, than any claim to extraordinary merit. For I have not pretended to manage the same train of argument better than any other people, but have proceeded in a method of my own, which if pursued imperfectly, may still serve as a hint, that others may improve upon to greater advantage. I have, at least to my own content, effected a perfect reconcile-

ment between Freewill and Universal Providence, and if this could be done to the general content, it would be no small service to the serious part of mankind; for neither of these points can easily be given up, nor has it hitherto been found easy to show them consistent with one another.

For our reason affords us so many grounds of assurance, that affairs as well in the moral as natural world, are administered by the power and wisdom of God; and yet so many important events, such as the rise and fall of empires, the lives and deaths, the fortunes and distresses of men, depend upon their behavior among one another, that we cannot but be persuaded he governs the thoughts and actions of mankind with as full and absolute a dominion as he does the courses of nature. On the other hand, daily experience bears witness that our motions lie under our own control, and we can do this thing or that as we please, without any force constraining, or dominion compelling us to the contrary. Then upon comparing these two considerations together, while they appear to clash, we are tempted to distrust either our reason or our experience; and according to which part we take, either are thrown off our discretion and tenor of conduct by the imagination of a secret influence and compulsion hanging over us, or lose our dependence upon Providence, that truest solace of our minds in time of danger and distress, and surest direction of our conduct in seasons of ease and prosperity.

Whereas were the inconsistency taken off, we might then allow both human agency and divine government their full extent, because they might co-operate in the same work without interfering with each other: we should see no discouragement against making observations upon the things about us relative to our conduct, and taking our measures accordingly with freedom, and a decent confidence in their success; and we should depend contentedly upon the guidance of Providence for turning the courses of fortune and actions of persons with whom we have any concern, so as to procure all the good intended to be bestowed upon us.

Nay further, when we consider that things visible and invisible lie under the dominion of one governor, connecting all in one wisely regulated polity, wherein nothing is established in vain, and reflect how much of our time is lost in sleep and infancy, how many pains, diseases, and troubles fall upon us, how many unavailing hours pass over our heads, and how often we are forced to bestir ourselves to very little purposes of our own; there is a probable presumption that all these things turn some how or other to the account of other Beings. So that our little con-

cerns and transactions may be of greater importance than we imagine, and ourselves made unknowingly to work out the advantage of fellow-creatures, whereof we have not the least knowledge, nor even suspicion. Nor need we want hopes from the goodness of God, that we shall one day reap the benefit of those services wherein we have been made, though undesignedly, instrumental.

But how simple and confined, or how extensive and complicated schemes soever we may conceive contained within the divine plan, the stumbling-block of compulsion upon free Agency being removed, we may conclude that every purpose comprised therein has adequate causes provided for its execution, and every cause in act, whether voluntary or necessary agent, contributes its share towards the completion of some purpose.

Therefore the doctrine of universal Providence being, as it seems to me, well established, I may go on without further scruple to raise what superstructure I can upon this foundation.

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## CHAP. XXVII.

### EQUALITY.

**HAIL**, glorious Liberty! thou choicest privilege of imperial man! the prerogative by which he exercises his dominion over this sublunary kingdom! Inspire a spark of thy spirit into thy votary, who has labored through thorns and briars to collect evidence of thy charter from all ruling Providence, empowering thee to act as one of her principal ministers in executing her designs; and has produced the divine mandate to irresistible Fate, commanding him to leave an ample province for thee to range in.

But where better delightest thou to dwell than in this my native land, the happy Britain? whose sons in former times have struggled hard for thee, enduring distresses, toils, and bloody conflicts, that they might transmit thy blessings to us their children. Thou hast snapped short the iron rod of despotic sway, broken through the enormous rule of Many made for One, and taught Power wherein its real strength and true glory consist. Thou hast dragged tongue-tied Superstition at thy chariot wheels, and bound in fetters that dastard slave, implicit Faith, that used to fetter the very thoughts of men. Thou openest the chambers of science, bursting asunder the Ipse dixits that had barred up more than half the avenues. Thou clearest away the films from

our eyes, that we may see for ourselves; and strengthenest our feet, that we may walk without the leading-string. O! let us never part with the valuable inheritance our ancestors have left us. Nor, I trust, shall we ever suffer it to be wrested out of our hands: let us only beware that we be not beguiled by false appearances, nor enticed away from our goddess by a phantom representing her likeness.

For there are counterfeits abroad, pretenders that assume thy robes and gestures. The mimic ape, Licentiousness, imitates thine intrepid air and confident gait. The blatant Beast profanes thy daring language with his unbridled tongue. Conceited pertness teaches the new-loosened school-boy and novel-studied girl thy scorn of tutorage and control. Irreverent Methodism, ill-copier of thine easy carriage before superiors, rushes with saucy familiarity into the council chamber of heaven. And Iron-skinned Freethinking, safe affecter of thy bravery, insults whom thou hast disarmed, ten times slays the slain, and claims to be the sole gatherer up of thy spoils. They range the world with a boisterous rabble tagging at their heels: Clamor, Arrogance, Misrepresentation, Perverseness, Caviil, intemperate Jest, loud-laughing Mockery, and hood-winked Misrule. They spare not things sacred nor profane; but pluck the gray beard of old Experience, tear the prelate's lawn, revile the rulers of the people, nor refrain from the Lord's anointed. The unlucky monkeys toss all about them into confusion, and grin at the wild work they make: they scatter abroad firebrands and arrows, and cry, Are we not in sport? they delight to trip up the unwary, or entangle the feeble in their webby filaments, and then chuckle with joy to see the perplexities they have occasioned.

But thou, genuine Liberty, offspring of all-protecting Jove, and sister of Uranian Venus, who dispenseth his blessings from her horn of plenty; thou lovest order and decency. For thou knowest the world is upholden by order, and the bliss of heaven maintained by free obedience. Therefore thou recommendest regularity and subordination to the sons of men. Thou standest upon law and ordinance as thy basis: rule and authority are thy supporters: sound reason and uniform prudence, the ground thou walkest upon. Discretion and cautious Reserve go before as thy harbingers, and much-enduring Charity departeth not from thy side. The modest virgins warn thee which way to direct thy steps, that thou hurt not the simple; or cover thee with veils, that thou give them not offence. For the weak-sighted cannot sustain thy piercing look, nor the feeble stand against the brush of thy sturdy tread: when thou walkest forth in the fields of

speculation, and stretchest thy ken to the distant sources of useful science.

How shall I follow thee in this adventurous course whereto thou callest me? For the deep-thinking mind will not rest satisfied with practical knowledge, unless we trace the channels to the fountain head. But the sources of truth, as of the Nile, lie far concealed in distant regions: we have cataracts to climb, slippery ground to pass over, and stumbling-blocks to remove, before we can investigate them. Give charge to thine attendant virgins that they assist me, while I strew sand upon the icy paths, and work a safe passage over the dangerous rocks of offence. Yet with all their care they cannot so plain the road as that the common traveller shall pass secure: but the steepy precipice will make him giddy, the sliding surface beguile his trembling steps, and unyielding rubs cause his feet to stumble.

O! for the warning voice of sage Pythagoras, Hence ye profane! That none but the hardy Adept might be admitted to tread the perilous path. But thou, Goddess, in these latter times, ordainest there shall be no concealment of mysteries. The sons of Faustus now are the only priests of thine oracle: they lift up the voice on high, proclaiming everything to everybody: they watch in the streets to gather whoso pleases to accompany us in all our excursions. So we can only caution the too curious traveller to beware for himself: for we are going upon a dangerous expedition, wherein we cannot ensure him against accidents; being to cut a course through unpractised ground from the sources opened before. Wherefore if there be any in this wise generation who knows himself not to be an Adept, he had better let us work for a while by ourselves, and wait for our coming down again to the old rivers lying within his accustomed walks. For the water may run foul and unwholesome through the new-dug channel, until being purified in its passage, he may find it suitable to his taste and digestion. But if the veteran Adept, inured to toils and dangers, to range the fields of contemplation with steady tread and sober boldness, will vouchsafe his company: let him review us with the sources we have explored, and observe which way they first discharge their stream.

2. We have examined the human mind, and found that all her motions depend upon motives, thrown upon her from external objects, or conveyed by the channels of experience, education, and example, or procured by her own cares and industry, whereto she was instigated by former motives. We have surveyed external nature, tracing effects to causes until we arrived at the First Cause, the origin of all activity and efficacy; acting with full in-



telligence of all he does, and preconcerted design of whatever shall fall out in immediate or remote consequence of his operation : from hence it follows that the whole series of events throughout the world takes precisely the course ordained by Providence : which course was heretofore supposed to run under-ground along the passages of a secret fatality, whose rocky banks dammed up the side bubblings of chance and freewill, drawing them forcibly into its own channel. But we have cleared away the matted weeds that overhung the ground, and laid open the veins from whence those bubblings arise : whereby it appears that Chance is the child of Ignorance, for her workings proceed from certain causes yet such only whose existence or tendency we want sagacity to discern ; that freewill needs no compulsive force to keep her steady, for she communicates, by antecedent and external causes giving birth to her motives, with the fountain whence all the other streams derive.

Thus nature, chance, and industry, become only different channels of the same river ; and what virtues, good qualities, and enjoyments men have worked out for themselves, were as much given them as what came without their seeking : so that whatever portion of happiness every man possesses, is such and none other than was allotted him by the divine bounty. We have seen reason likewise to conclude from contemplation of the divine nature, exempt from want or passion or humor or weakness, that God is righteous in all his dealings and equal in all his ways, being no respecter of persons ; that his mercy is over all his works, and that equity is the Attribute whereof we can have the clearest conception, as implying nothing more than an impartial distribution of the divine bounty among all creatures capable of receiving it. Since then none of us have anything besides what we received from the divine bounty, and that bounty flows alike upon all, it follows unavoidably that there must be an exact equality of fortunes among us, and the value of each person's existence, computed throughout the whole extent of his Being, precisely the same.

3. This conclusion doubtless will shock the vanity of mankind, to whom happiness itself is not welcome unless they can engross the monopoly of it to themselves ; and who esteem the advantages and accomplishments they respectively possess as the only blessings worth receiving. The politician, the soldier, the scholar, the philosopher, the rich merchant, the poet, the player, and the fiddler, have a sovereign contempt for each other's endowments in comparison with their own : believing themselves the peculiar favorites of fortune with respect to their mental capacities, and

claiming an intrinsic merit to be found in none besides. But they will all be scandalized to find themselves put upon a level with the greasy ploughman, the illiterate porter, the contemptible ideot, the unenlightened savage, and the scarce human Hottentot. Nevertheless, let them point out wherein we have been mistaken in our premises or faulty in our deductions. Let them show the single thing they have which they did not receive; or if they worked it out for themselves, that the talents and opportunities enabling, the dispositions inclining them, were not given; and themselves furnished by certain causes as well with inclination and spirit to will as with powers to do.

If there be some characters more agreeable in the sight of God and more deserving of his favor than others, still those characters arose either from a happy constitution and temper bestowed by nature, or from education, company, and example, fallen into by good fortune; or if we suppose a particular effusion of divine grace to make the difference, God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham; so that the same Power being the Author of nature, the Guider of fortune and free Dispenser of grace, was the origin of whatever flowed upon us through either of those channels. When in our state of nonentity, we were all equally devoid of merit or demerit, and were called forth from thence to the stations and properties and springs of action he thought proper to allot us: nor can he see anything to engage his favor in one man rather than another, which was not nearly or remotely the effect of his bounty.

Let them next examine their ideas of the divine nature, and from thence, if they can, assign a cause that should make this bounty flow unequally. I know we all are in the hands of God to give us more or less as he pleases; nor have any of us cause to complain at receiving a smaller portion than his neighbors, for we have no demands upon him whatever: but how is it likely he does do so? what attribute is there to require, or even render it probable? if justice requires that the virtuous should fare better than the vicious, yet does justice hinder that the same measure of virtue should be allotted to every one? But our virtues must be of our own acquiring, or they will not deserve the name. Granted. Yet since the Will to make the acquisition derived from above, what rule of justice prohibits the incitements to raise that Will, and opportunities to exercise it, from being distributed to all alike?

Let them further reflect that their talents and accomplishments contribute to the protection, the benefit, or the entertainment of others; their very piety and virtue, to be genuine, must extend

their good effects beyond the possessors, to all who come within their reach : so that the rude rabble they despise, have a share in the favors bestowed upon themselves ; nor is there a man possessing some extraordinary gift which was given for his own sake alone.

They may likewise consider that happiness is the only thing valuable, all other things being so in proportion as they conduce towards that : but happiness consists in the aggregate of pleasures, or rather in the balance of that above the aggregate of pains ; and by pleasure we understand every satisfaction or complacence of mind, as by pain every uneasiness or disturbance. Now it has been observed in a former place that we are very bad arithmeticians in the article of pleasure, nor can keep account of one day's enjoyments, so as to compute the balance of them with the next, with anything like the exactness we could do in our money receipts and disbursements. For we fix our eye upon one favorite object, whose value we estimate by the eagerness of desire we feel rising towards it ; but desire often proves delusive, or where it does not, yet pursues intense pleasures ; whereas it has been shown that those of the gentler kind yield us a larger income upon the whole. That quick sensibility which enhances our joys and enables us to feel what would not touch another, adds pungency likewise to our vexations, and renders us liable to such as would not fall upon persons of duller apprehension. And if a readiness of reflection tends to prolong our enjoyments : so likewise it does to lengthen our grievances. Cares and troubles enter the houses of the great, which the vulgar know nothing of : and comforts take up their abode in the cottage, where the rich man never sees them.

Besides that Pleasure being relative to Taste and Desire, which vary infinitely among mankind, we cannot tell what another feels by what we should feel ourselves in his situation. Many things delight us extremely, that he would not care a rush for : though we should think it dreadful to want them, he may rest fully contented without them. Labor ; scarcity, nastiness, ignorance, subjection, and contempt, that would oppress us sorely, may sit light and easy upon his shoulders. And though an exchange of fortunes would be thought grievous to us, and desirable by him, which seems to imply a concession on both sides of ours having the preference ; yet is this judgment not to be depended on, as being passed upon the entrance into a new state of life, rather than the continuance in an old one. But the common laborer raised to riches, or man of affluence reduced to poverty, would feel himself affected in another manner than one who had never known the contrary : therefore is not a competent judge of his case. For Nature has established this rule tending greatly to-

wards an equality, that our organs lose their power of affecting us by use, both pleasures and pains abating of their vigor upon frequent repetition. Habit and custom bring us to a liking of the way of life we have long continued in, and desire in some measure conforms itself to the objects usually occurring to gratify it. From all which we may justly infer, there is not such an immense difference between the happiness of men as is commonly apprehended.

4. Could we lay aside for a while our remembrance of the good and evil we have seen befalling mankind, we should be apt to conclude that the pleasures and pains, the successes and disappointments of all were in quantity alike. For though it be certain God may uncontrollably and lawfully deal with his creatures as he pleases, yet can we find no reason in any conceptions we can form of him, to believe he will please to deal with them arbitrarily, or partially: from whence it would follow, that the value of human life must be the same in all. But when we resume our observation of what passes in the world, we find our theory contradicted by experience: yet this does not totally overthrow it. For though our ideas of the divine Nature be so imperfect, that it behoves us to correct them from time to time by experience of facts: nevertheless, in matters whereof we can have no experience, they remain in full vigor. Nor can we judge anything concerning those matters otherwise than from the best conception we can form of the character of that Being under whose disposal they lie. As clearly as we may discover upon a full and fair examination, that the conditions of men differ less in value than ordinarily imagined, there will still remain a considerable difference: nor can we help acknowledging that some possess in much larger measure, the good things of the external, the bodily, the mental, and the moral kind, than others. And in one respect the difference is too obvious and glaring to be overlooked. The aggregate of pleasures constituting happiness, is made up of their intenseness and duration jointly, and therefore, under the same circumstances of condition, must depend upon the length of life. From whence it follows undeniably, that children cut off in their cradles, do not receive the same portion as some persons who hold out their full period.

But then the perceptive Spirit, surviving after dissolution of the Body, remains capable of further enjoyments, which may compensate for those lost by its hasty separation. Thus we find by reasoning from experience, that there must be a difference in the future conditions of men because there is in the present: for Equity requires inequalities hereafter to compensate for inequalities here;

and if Dives receive good things now, and Lazarus evil things, the latter must then be comforted, or the other tormented. But Equity requires no greater inequalities than just enough to balance those already passed through : nor have we grounds to expect any greater, unless it should appear by-and-by, in the sequel of these inquiries, that divine Justice requires greater differences in another life than have been made in this. Nevertheless, the Attributes cannot clash with one another, nor can Justice ever run such lengths as to overthrow Equity : therefore the evils inflicted by it cannot be absolutely perpetual ; because evil falling all into one scale, the balance can never come even, unless there be time left for good to pour afterwards into the opposite. Therefore it was, that at the end of § 2, I explained an equality of fortunes by an equal value of each person's existence computed throughout the whole extent of his Being. For though Equity may well consist with partiality and favor in particular stages of Being, and with the various distributions of Justice according to the demerits of individuals ; yet after Favor has had her Course, and Justice been satisfied, it remains that Equity should be satisfied too ; which seems to require there should be a certain period assigned, wherein the accounts of all may rise to the same amount. But how long, or how short this period may be, we cannot pretend to determine : for there lies an Eternity before us, from whereout may be cut an immense length of time to pass before the balance comes even.

5. In what manner this equality shall be effected it may be difficult to conjecture, and impossible to ascertain. If we give a loose to imagination in pursuing the old heathen inventions, as sketched out in the Lecture of Pythagoras in the vision, wherein the doctrine of transmigration is extended, beyond this narrow earth with the men and animals crawling thereon, to all the states of immersion into matter throughout the Universe ; I think a scheme may be stricken out, which will appear specious, if not too closely scrutinized, and contain some particulars well worth our consideration. For one cannot well conceive a more perfect Equality than is therein represented : because though Existence be divided into many various forms of Being, some containing a mixture of evil and others nothing else, yet the spiritual substance, taking its turn in rotation among the several forms, the fates of all will remain alike upon having passed through the whole.

Nor yet is it necessary the whole must be run through in order to level accounts ; although this cannot be accomplished between every migration from the Spiritual Substance, and the return into it again. For if, as holden by all Theists in general, the virtuous

shall enjoy a life of happiness in the intermediate state, and pass from thence directly into the final; there must be at least two journies through matter, to bring the balance even: and this will stretch the balancing period to an immense length; because the interval of abode among the Spiritual Substance must exceed that of the excursion from it, as much as the number of unembodied spirits does that of the embodied. But if natural evil be the consequence of moral, then only those states endowed with imperfect reason, liable to be mastered by passion, and tempted into transgression, will be hazardous states: and those of children dying in the womb, or before arriving at the use of reason, may be reckoned safe states. But Equity seems to require, that after having passed through one hazardous state, the next migrations should be through the safe, in proportion to the number there is of them in nature, which will lengthen the period still further.

6. Nor are these imaginations to be looked upon as matters of mere curiosity, fit only to amuse the speculative in an idle hour; but they may serve to enlarge our conception of our Almighty Governor, to give us a better opinion of his Creation, and render us more regardful of one another, and more attentive in our conduct to the good of our fellow creatures. For what can raise our idea higher of the Glory, the Power, the Greatness, the Magnificence, the Benignity of God, than to imagine his vast Empire, the Universe, fully inhabited, all space, not occupied by matter, being replete with spiritual substance, continually receiving supplies of happiness from his inexhaustible bounty? What can better exemplify his exact Equity, and Impartiality among his children, than to describe him allotting them a like share of abode in all the many mansions throughout their Father's house? What can approach our conception of his goodness nearer to infinitude, or make us better pleased and satisfied with our existence, than that immense disproportion of good to evil dispersed over his boundless dominion?

Many learned men have assigned the corporeal machinery whereto we are vitally united, for the origin, as they call it, of evil, or, as I should rather term it, the sole channel by which that odious stream is cast upon us. I know that so far as we may take experience for our guide, we have reason to believe our perceptions of all kinds, our enjoyments, as well as our pains and troubles, come upon us by the action of matter: but there is great difference between a vital union therewith, and a voluntary or occasional application thereto, in such manner and such times as we choose to make it; between perceptions impressed mechanically or necessarily, and those selected by spiritual substance, to be commu-

nicated for mutual benefit. Our goods, our utensils, and instruments of diversion, answer our convenience and entertainment, while we can take them up, or lay them aside as we please : but did they grow to our hands, we should find them a great hindrance and trouble to us in all our motions. Our clothes serve us to good purpose for protection and ornament, because we can pull them off, and put on others, as we will ; but were they adhering to our skin, we must endure grievous smart and torment to get rid of them when worn ragged. Now if we compare the small quantity of matter existent, with the vast expanse containing it, we must conclude, that for every Spirit imprisoned in some body, or organization, there are many millions of millions lying at large in the voids between. And so great will be the length of our abode in our own country, the spiritual substance, totally exempt from evil, in comparison with our excursion through the vale of mortality.

Nor is it a small confirmation of these suppositions, that our clearest ideas of goodness incline us to believe, that God never terminates his views ultimately upon evil, nor sends it unless for some greater good to be produced thereby. Then if we cast about in our thoughts for the manner how evil may produce good, it must occur that our industry for the most part is employed in the avoidance of mischief, or preservation of what enjoyments, or means of enjoyment, we possess : so that a man without notion of any hurt or damage that could befall him, would have no inducement to bestir himself at all, and thereby lose all the pleasure he feels in the exercise of his activity : and this might probably be the case with all created spirits, however circumstanced. But the bare apprehension of mischief, seen falling upon others, will answer the purpose, yet the mischief must fall somewhere for us to see it : but the sufferings of a few may raise an apprehension of it in multitudes. Therefore gross bodies, and fine corpuscles of matter, are dispersed up and down, at proper distances, throughout the universe, that there may be samples everywhere of actual suffering, or loss of happiness through ignorance and misconduct, among the spirits imprisoned therein, for spurring up the disengaged to activity.

We may remark likewise, upon our own experience, that a small degree of pain and disappointment, like sours and bitters mixed in sauces, gives a zest to our pleasures. So it is in games of chance, where the variations of luck, and opposition of the adversary, furnish the amusement : so it is in sports of the field, where the labors and difficulties of the chase create the diversion : so it is in the common affairs of life, where little displeasures and

disappointments hold us closer to the engagement; and were there a man who should never meet a cross or rub in his desires, perhaps he would pass his time the most insipidly of any creature breathing. What then should hinder but that the pure spirits, by applying externally to the sensories of the embodied and inorganized, may take such sensations of all disagreeable kinds therefrom, and communicate them among one another, as they find requisite to give a smartness and a poignancy to their own enjoyments? Or if they stand so happily circumstanced as to have nothing to do for promoting or securing their own bliss, they may make it their sole contrivance and employment to lessen, as much as possible, the burthens of their immersed brethren, of the same origin and capacities with themselves. As some people, having nothing else to do, find their whole amusement in the tendency and nurture of birds, or other animals, supplying them constantly with such accommodations and pleasures, as they are capable of enjoying equally with themselves. Only with this difference between the two cases, that the former do not their work by occasional or arbitrary operations, but by administering the laws of nature, and courses of fortune ordained by the Almighty.

Now if anybody shall ask the Pythagorean how he knows these things to be as above imagined, the latter will ask in return, how his antagonist knows they cannot be so: and whether if the phenomena falling under our observation leave an equal uncertainty on both sides, he does not think their congruity with our best ideas of the divine attributes a weight inclining the balance in their favor. Nor need he be afraid of indulging such imaginations, which if a mistake, are a pleasing and innocent, or I may rather say, a lucky and beneficial mistake.

7. For wherever fully entertained, they must effectually banish all pride, self-sufficiency, contempt, and claim to superior merit, all malice, rancor, revenge, and hardness of heart: there being no intrinsic and personal, but only a circumstantial and temporary, difference between man and man; who are all drawn from the same spiritual substance, but diversely lodged; and accommodated for the present, and must take their turn in rotation through the several habitations occupied by one another. So that the oppressor and the scorner may actually stand one day in the very place of the persons they injure or despise.

Yet this consideration, taken partially, may be perverted to bad purposes: for the thought of our being intrinsically as good as the nobles and princes above us, will be more apt to engender pride than to mortify it, unless we reflect at the same time, that the black shoe-boy, and the cinder-wench, are as good as ourselves.



Neither does this reflection hinder that we should behave differently to different persons, as they stand circumstanced upon earth : for order and public good require us to respect them according to their several stations, situations, and endowments. The Senator of ancient Rome, or Alderman of the present times, have always owed an obedience to the Consul, or Mayor, for the time being, whom perhaps they might command in the succeeding year. And in all the changes of state officers, the people are to take their directions successively from those whom they find invested with power ; yet perhaps without esteeming them better qualified, or more meritorious, than others whose places they supply. For in reverencing the ministers, we reverence the prince, who lends them his authority, when and how long he judges proper : and in paying the respect and honor severally belonging to power, rank, learning, sagacity, riches, and other favors of Heaven, we respect and honor the supreme Monarch, who giveth and taketh away as he pleases.

Nevertheless, if the value of every one's existence, computed throughout the whole extent of his being, be equal, and the same with our own ; we shall retain an inward esteem for the person of every man equally with ourselves, notwithstanding some adventitious temporary difference there may be between us. Just as if we found a person of our own rank and fortune, but at a distance from his estate, struggling with hardship and distress, for want of convenient remittances ; or if we saw one of equal understanding and sagacity with ourselves, under some distemper that stupefied him for a while : we should still esteem them both upon a par with ourselves. And as esteem naturally begets love, this will go a great way towards bringing us into obedience to that grand precept, both of natural and revealed Religion, to love our neighbor as ourselves. It will give us a fellow-feeling of all the pains, distresses, vexations, and even little disappointments, or cross accidents, we see ; for upon the Hypothesis of a rotation, we shall ourselves stand, some time or other, in the situation wherein we behold another.

Nor can we harbor an inveterate hatred against anybody : for Achilles and Hector, the Pope and Calvin, Charles and Cromwell, our bitterest enemy, if we have one, and ourselves, may chance in some future migration to be intimates, coparceners in interest, father and son, or husband and wife. Or if this should never happen, still during our long abode in the Mundane Soul, we shall become bosom friends, living in perfect uninterrupted harmony, pursuing each others' interests and pleasures alike ardently with our own, and joining in one form of adoration to the Author of

our unspeakable happiness. And though we may be forced many times to bring punishment, vexation, and displeasure, upon others, we shall never do it in anger, nor willingly, nor unconcernedly, but as an unavoidable means for attaining some greater good, or in compliance with the rules of prudence and justice, founded upon expedience. For we shall regard vice as a distemper of the mind, and afford what help and comfort to the patient the circumstances of his case will admit: wishing well to the offender, while we detest the offence, as the symptom of a loathsome and infectious disease.

8. And as we readily think well of those to whom we wish well, we shall not be so forward to censure, and calumniate, and damn one another, as many of us are; but make all fair allowance for errors and miscarriages, and strive to extend the hope of salvation, as far as there can be found any solid ground to support it. Selfishness and insensibility to all around us, seem to be made the characteristics of high perfection in Religion: our fellow-creatures of a different language, or make, or way of thinking, or sentiment on some speculative point, are not thought worth our concern; but so we ourselves, together with a few of the same orthodox stamp, be safe, the devil take all the world beside, as deserving victims of a divine wrath never to be appeased. For my part, I cannot help being shocked to hear with what calmness the most pious people will talk of the innumerable multitudes that are to perish in everlasting flames: and with what glee the Methodists regale upon the thought, that at the day of Judgment, the rich and mighty of this world shall be dragged by devils, for Whitefield and his mob of carmen and basket women to trample under foot.

Nor do the Freethinkers less contract the pale of their Church: for though they affect to ridicule Satan and his brimstone, yet they have a damnation of their own, which they spread as liberally, and as unreluctantly, as the fiery Papist, the rigid Presbyterian, or the enthusiastic Methodist. For they tell you that right reason is the only road to happiness in this world and the next; but when you come to examine what right reason is, you will find it confined to their particular notions, or those of a few choice spirits of their own cast: and all the rest of mankind, being infected more or less with bigotry and superstition, must inevitably fall into misery and unhappiness, from which God himself cannot rescue them. For though he be merciful, incapable of revenge, nor ever angry with anybody, yet he durst not interpose, for fear Dame Necessity, enthroned above him in her eternal and unalterable nature of things, should take it amiss.

But if we claim no more than an equality among our brethren, the children of the same Father, and subjects of the same Kingdom, we shall look upon the states of suffering as sinks and cess-pools of the universe, to drain off the evil therein from all the rest; and the drudgery of wading through them, as a necessary service to be shared in rotation by all alike. This of course will turn our prejudice the contrary way, and set us upon hunting for arguments to contract the number and lessen the misery of them, so far as we can find warrant in calm and impartial reason. And we shall become solicitous to inculcate other incitements to virtue, in order to render the necessity of multiplying terrors among mankind as little as possible. But as Charity covers a multitude of sins and blemishes, so it likewise discovers a world of good qualities and external advantages, that escape the eye of the sordid and narrow minded. Our idea of equality and rotation will make us glad to find enjoyments, valuable possessions, and excuses for misconduct of others, in cases which may one day become our own: and our desire will quicken our sagacity in finding more of them than could be well imagined before setting out. We shall discern pleasures where we could have tasted none ourselves, comforts under burdens that would have galled us extremely, prudence in measures that we should have esteemed foolish, unavoidable mistake in what we should have judged perverseness, and sources of enjoyment we should never have dreamt of.

This must redound to our own benefit, by opening a more delightful prospect of Nature than we could otherwise have obtained: for we shall regard ourselves as citizens of the World, interested in everything passing there, though not immediately concerning us; and shall behold with pleasure the various blessings and salves for every sore, diffused everywhere, whereof we are to be partakers in some form of being or other. We shall esteem everything, even vexation, disappointment, and punishment, as useful, and consider the mischiefs and troubles befalling ourselves or our dearest friends, as the purchase of a portion in those scenes of lasting bliss, which they are a necessary foundation to support. And as the pressure of our grievances increases, we may from thence augurate how great must be those treasures of happiness, which our indulgent and tender Father judges worth our purchasing at so high a price. Nor need we be disturbed at the displeasures we are forced sometimes to bring upon one another, every unavoidable evil being a purchase of something more valuable than the payment. I do not know whether I shall give offence by taking notice, that the brutes often end their lives in misery and torment, and inferring from thence, that since God, who never terminates

his views upon evil, calls upon them too for their payments, he will find methods of securing to them likewise their purchase. This we may look upon as our warrant for those slaughters, and hard services, we put them to for our necessary occasions : but will not justify us in abusing them wantonly. For whatever evil we bring needlessly either upon man or beast, however it may be a purchase for them, will purchase nothing for ourselves, but what we shall vehemently dislike when we enter upon the possession.

9. Nevertheless, I more than suspect that exceptions have occurred to the Reader against this doctrine of rotation ; for, to say the truth, they have occurred to me, and in a formidable aspect : yet the advantages we have found resulting therefrom were the temptation with me to pursue it until I could reach them. And the like purpose may plead my excuse for employing it again hereafter occasionally in the like service : for whatever, whether fable, or hypothesis, gives scope to salutary reflections and opens imagination to the reception of good sentiments, which may find establishment afterwards upon some better foundation, may be allowably applied that way. But notwithstanding that these advantages give the doctrine an inviting look, while holden with their side towards the eye, it will scarce be judged tenable, when turned round for examination on another quarter.

For it supposes a pre-existence, and a future fall, of the blessed spirits into weakness, sin, and misery : both which are contrary to the generally received opinion, That our entrance into human life was the beginning of our existence, and That it is appointed all men once to die, and then to judgment, whereby their fates will be fixed so as never more to change. But the most fatal and invincible objection is this, that it must appear shocking to the thought and what no man can admit the supposition of, that he himself, and the most righteous person ever living, shall, in some future migration, become a reprobate, a thief, a debauchee, a murderer, profane, sacrilegious, atheistical, obnoxious to the utmost severities of divine justice. For though many pious people can think with calmness and indifference on the multitudes of other persons doomed to eternal punishment by an absolute decree, or drawn thereinto by the unlucky circumstances of their birth, education, and company, cast upon them by Providence : yet if you suggest a bare possibility of themselves becoming the objects of vengeance, though at the remotest distance of time, they feel it abhorrent to their thoughts, nor can ever bring it reconcilable with their idea of infinite goodness. So partial are we to ourselves, that what appears agreeable to righteousness, and mercy, and goodness, in the case of another, we see plainly can-

not be so upon supposal of the case being our own ! For these imperfections therefore we must reject this scheme of a rotation, and however it may be innocently entertained for a while as an hypothesis, so long as serving any profitable purpose, we can by no means receive it as an article of faith.

10. Let us then look for some other way wherein to account for an equality : and this we have already found in **CHAP. XIX. § 18.** For the balance may be levelled by an amends made in value to the sufferer, without any other person suffering at all : because an increase of good in one scale will have the like effect with a weight of evil thrown into the other. If Dives receive good things, and Lazarus evil things, the latter must be comforted, or the former tormented. I give this conclusion in the disjunctive, because either branch will answer the purpose : although Dives had not been tormented, yet such ample comforts might have been afforded to Lazarus as would have made his fortune equal upon the whole with that of the other. Nor is it at all impossible that God may have such treasures of mercy in store, that the party receiving them shall see he was not unequally dealt with by the severest degrees of punishment which divine Justice judged fitting to inflict upon him.

Many learned and pious men hold two future states, an intermediate and a final, and though the former be a state of happiness to the virtuous, yet the bliss of the latter will be incomparably greater. Why then may not the balance be evened by the period of suffering being made so much shorter than that of the intermediate happiness, as that the quicker passage obtained thereby into the final, may compensate for the evils undergone ?

Or it may be that the reprobate shall, after a length of time which nobody can limit, be brought to a right mind by the extremity of their torments so as to take an utter detestation against the courses which brought them thereinto, to feel a sincere and ardent love of virtue, stronger than can be attained in this life : whereby they may obtain a higher seat of happiness, during the remainder of the intermediate state, and so, like Lazarus, be comforted to a degree that will bring their fortunes equal upon the whole with those who have not been tormented.

Or as suggested in the **Vision § 35,** the state of punishment may be naturally eternal, as that of fallen man was, and the compensation brought about by a miraculous interposition, or irresistible grace, bringing them to a tenor of mind which may make them become objects of reward, instead of wrath they were before. For we must always bear in mind that virtue is the sole and certain road to happiness, as wickedness is to misery ; therefore if a de-

liverance ever be effected, it must be worked out by a Metanoia, which we translate Repentance; that is, a thorough change of disposition and character: so that there must be an equality of virtues, before there can possibly be an equality of fortunes.

11. It may perhaps be deemed inconsistent with our ideas of goodness to imagine that he who is the fountain of it; and in whom it is inexhaustible, will inflict intolerable torments upon persons who are so far the object of that Attribute, as that he designs them an equal portion of happiness upon the whole with his best and most favored servants. But let us reflect upon what we have already seen in the Chapter upon that article, how imperfect our ideas of Goodness are, and wrong beyond our skill to rectify them, or discover in what particular point their deficiency lies. Were we to follow them implicitly, we must conclude there is neither pain, nor distress, nor disappointment, nor uneasiness of any kind in the world: but this conclusion daily experience forbids, and thereby throws us quite off our reckoning. We acknowledge God infinitely good, and the permission of evil forces us likewise to acknowledge a mixture of it consistent with infinite goodness: but what limitation that Attribute must set to the mixture, or what proportion to good it must require, we have no rule to ascertain. The most we can gather with tolerable assurance is this, that the good must greatly preponderate the evil: but we know the riches of God are inexhaustible, so that he may have enjoyments in store for his creatures, sufficient to compensate either by their intensity, or duration, for the severest sufferings we can imagine.

I know Wollaston lays down, that there are some pains a wise man would not choose to undergo upon any consideration whatsoever; and I am so far from contradicting him, that instead of advising anybody to choose, or even run the hazard of, the pains I have been speaking of, I would exhort him earnestly to use all his wits and diligence to escape them; nor do I believe any man ever did run the hazard deliberately upon the recommendation of such wisdom as our frail nature is capable of, but whenever they are incurred, it is always owing to the prevalence of folly, or corrupt appetite overpowering or perverting the judgment. But may there not likewise be some enjoyments so engaging, that the wise man would not forego them upon any consideration? We see daily how intense pleasures drive men knowingly into grievous mischiefs. For the strongest idea always carries our choice, and it is difficult to raise so lively an imagination of what we have in prospect, as of what we feel. The wise man may bring himself by long practice to do this better than another, yet he is still but a man: and where the impression either of pleasure or pain is very

strong, he will scarce be able to find anything in his stores of reflection to overpower it. So all this amounts to no more, than that the present outweighs the future in our estimation.

But the wisdom of God is greater than that of the wise man, and his views more capacious: to him a thousand years are but as one day: for he sees things in their essences, not by their representative ideas, which the strongest of us can raise no higher than the narrowness of his organs will permit. Therefore we cannot judge what he will choose for his creatures by what the wisest of them would choose for himself: for he may discern the greatest evils he inflicts to be no more, compared with the bliss beyond, than the plucking a hair out of a man's beard, to a year of health, and plenty and pleasure.

Thus much we may rest assured of, that punishment is inflicted by the same God, infinitely good, and gracious, and merciful, who gives rewards to the righteous: therefore there can be nothing in it not consistent with goodness. Neither does he punish in anger, but for the benefit necessarily to result therefrom to the rest of his creation: whence it follows there may be a good redounding to make the punishment appear eligible to infinite wisdom, and if the good of others can render it so, there is less difficulty in comprehending that a compensation to the party himself may weigh with equal force. Besides, the most pious persons, who think themselves most intimately persuaded of God being infinitely good, do not stagger at the doctrine of punishment absolutely eternal inflicted upon far the greater part of mankind, including Children born out of the Christian pale: if then an inveteracy of vengeance, never to be satisfied, nor appeased to all eternity, be compatible with their idea of infinite goodness, surely a temporary suffering to be followed some time or other, though nobody knows when, by a course of virtue, reconciliation, and happiness, is much more so.

12. Yet there is no encouragement to evil doing upon prospect of the solace to follow after an immeasurable length of misery: for though divine wisdom may discern the compensation to be adequate, yet there are sufferings so shocking to human nature, that no man who does not shut his eyes against them, can submit to undergo them willingly upon any account: so there is no ground for the sinner to avail himself of what shall happen after so long an interval. Moralists indeed exhort men continually to regard the future alike with the present, but there is a moderation in all things: one may stretch one's view too far, as well as confine it too near. He that goes along with his eye fixed upon the ground, will be liable to miss his way, or run into danger; so we exhort him to look up, that he may see the windings of the path before

him, and take direction from the bearings of the country : but if he keep gaping at the distant horizon, it will be as bad as to keep poring upon the ground. The proper measure of our regards for the future, is their usefulness : for our speculations and our apprehensions, as well as our actions, ought to bear a reference to use. Therefore moral exhortations urge us to consider the remotest consequences of our conduct, but remain indifferent to events whereon that can have no influence. And if we are enjoined against an unavailing solicitude for the morrow, because sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof ; much more must it be faulty to stretch our eye to a distant good beyond the reach of mortal ken, when it can only tend to make us careless in guarding against intolerable mischiefs running along the line between to a length which cannot be computed. Since then our condition in the next life will depend upon our behavior here, it behoves us to hold that object constantly in view for keeping us circumspect and diligent in our proceedings : but what further returns of life may lie beyond the next, will not be affected by anything done now, so we have nothing to do, nor to think of with respect to them.

Or if the sinner could be assured that he might purchase an adequate compensation by incurring the utmost severity of torments, there could be no prudence in accepting the terms, because he can get nothing by the bargain, nor have any advantage upon the whole over those who reject it : for the compensation must be barely equal to the suffering, or the equality between him and such as do not so purchase it, will be destroyed. For my part I had rather bear a little toothache once a month, than racking pains of the stone once in seven years, though I were assured the quantity of both should be alike : much more had I rather escape such racking pains, than endure them to purchase a pleasure but just equal to their weight.

And I believe he would scarce choose to go through the severe persecutions of the primitive Christians : he had rather content himself without that greater weight of glory they earned thereby. Yet they acted prudently, the purchase being much more valuable than the price demanded, and they being supported under the burden of the payment by their glowing hope in the mercies of God, who was able to recompense them abundantly for their labors. But the sinner will not have this hope to support him, for he will see God only in wrath and vengeance, the amiable parts of his character will be hidden from his eyes ; and when the soul is reduced to that worst of agonies, not to be borne by any mere creature, so as to cry out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? this is a situation that no wise man, or I may say no



man in his senses, having a just apprehension of his danger, but would do his utmost to escape. Therefore we find those who are in these dreadful courses, armed with an insensibility that stupefies them against all alarms. They can familiarize themselves with the thought of devils, as of a diverting story, and make merry with their tortures, as with the tricks of a Harlequin : they have no feeling but for the present, and are wholly regardless of what shall befall them in time to come : agreeably to that ancient saying, Whom Jove would destroy he infatuates.

13. There may still lie another exception against the theory of compensation, which will be thought enough to overthrow all arguments whatever that can be produced in its favor ; for many will count it heterodox, as contradicting that endless duration of punishment so strongly inculcated in our sacred oracles. But there have been persons of eminent piety, and great knowledge in the holy Scriptures, who have given them a milder construction : such as our learned Archbishop Tillotson, and one of the primitive fathers, Origen, who cannot be suspected of too hasty a temper in departing from the literal sense, since he adhered too closely to it in that text which speaks of some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

And there is one passage in Luke 16, which seems to countenance the doctrine of equity by employing it as a principle of reasoning; in the answer made by Abraham to the rich man, which term we commonly turn into a proper name, and call Dives : for Abraham does not allege the former behavior of Dives and Lazarus, but their former fortunes to account for the present difference between them. The commentators in the Synopsis tell us, that "it will add to the torments of the damned, to hear and consider the former means and advantages they have been under for salvation, if they have descended from godly parents, or have been members of the Church of Christ : " therefore Abraham called him, Son, to increase his vexation by putting him in mind of his godly lineage, and communion with the true Church. I do not know upon what authority they assign the office of a devil to the father of the faithful, making him forward to heighten the torments of the damned : his answer seems rather to bespeak a sentiment of mildness and compassion : the appellation of Son or Child, is an expression of fondness : he can give little comfort, it is true, but what he can, he gives him, which tends only to teach him patience by reflecting on the equitableness of his treatment. As if he had said, Be content, my child, you have no hardship done you : remember that Providence cast you into a state of enjoyment in the other world,

and Lazarus into wretchedness ; it is but reason the tables should now be turned, that you should be the unhappy man, and he comforted. And lest he should be mortified at thinking himself utterly abandoned and neglected by the blessed Spirits, the patriarch takes care to let him know this was not the case, and that it was not for want of Will, but of Power, that he did not hasten to endeavor some relief for him : for besides all this there is a great chasm, or vacuity between us and you, neither ground to walk upon, water to swim, nor air to fly along, so there is no possibility of passage from one to the other.

From hence we may gather that the glorified Saints, who do the Will of God as it is done in heaven, not as it is done upon earth, that is, invariably and knowingly, still have a tender regard for their unhappy brethren lying under the divine vengeance. And since they enjoy the beatific vision, we may take their sentiments for true copies of the glorious original they contemplate : from whence may be inferred that God himself bears the like tender regard ; nor can we doubt whether any to whom he bears such regard, shall ever fail of receiving the good effects of it in due time, as soon as the necessary services of the universe, to be worked out by their sufferings, shall be completed.

Observe moreover, that the answer to Dives being framed upon this principle, there was room for him to draw a further consolation from it than was expressed : for the change of conditions between him and Lazarus being put upon the footing of equity, without any notice taken of reward and punishment, if his sufferings were so intense as to cast the balance much lower in his disfavor, than it had ever been raised to his advantage before, he might augurate that the same equity would require there should be an amends kept in store for him, sufficient to bring the balance exactly even between both : for it could hardly consist with equity that, because one had lived in pleasure and the other in wretchedness forty or fifty years, therefore the latter must be comforted and the former tormented to all eternity. Nor would the unnavigable gulph utterly exclude his hopes, for though declared impassable in width, nothing was said to show it immeasurable in length : so he might think it not impossible that, by a long journey round the coast, he might arrive at the end of it, where he should find the region of darkness joining with that of light.

I know very well that texts are best interpreted by construing everything with a reference to the principal design for which they were delivered, but that design in the parable before us, can scarce be thought having anything to do with equality ; it is gen-

erally holden to look no further than the persuading such as possess the good things of this world, to make such prudent application of them as may improve their interests in futurity. Yet nothing is more common than to draw separate inferences from particular expressions, which have no relation to the main tenor of the context: the Synopsis writers have done it copiously upon this very parable. And there is the better reason for building upon occasional hints in the present case, because it is not a subject proper to be entered upon professedly in a Gospel preached to the poor, nor fit to be ranked among those things which are written in such legible characters, as that he who runs may read: therefore no more could be expected than a slender hint, or by-intimation, for this is enough to the considerate who have ears to hear, and more might have been mischievous to the inconsiderate. Besides, those who believe every part of the Gospels dictated by the Holy Ghost, with a view to the instruction of future ages, as well as of the first disciples, may the more easily admit, there might be something in this parable not convenient to be too strongly insisted upon, because of its being omitted by the other three evangelists.

14. And I am so sensible of the inexpedience there may be in descanting upon these topics of equality and compensation among the generality, that I should gladly have suppressed them, if the course of my argument would have permitted me. For I am of a more timid constitution than Tillotson, nor, had I been authorized to speak from the pulpit, should have ventured so far there as he has gone: yet we do not find his discourse has done mischief in the world, or sapped any part in the foundations of Religion. I have remarked before in § 10 of the Vision, that the ancients had an advantage over us moderns; for dealing out their tenets in parcels by lectures to different companies, they could adapt their discourses to their audience, whereas we who have none other way of communicating our thoughts than by the press, are forced to pour out all promiscuously before all comers. So can do no more than I have already done in the introductory section of this Chapter, by cautioning the too curious traveller to take that care of himself, which it is not in my power to take for him, and to leave me during my excursions, waiting until he sees me come down again to the old channels running along within his accustomed purlieus. Or should he despise this warning as believing it useless to himself, still it is my comfort to think that I am not in a situation to prove dangerous anywhere: the thinking, who can judge for themselves, will be led by nobody, so I cannot mislead them; and the populace, whenever misled, are drawn by a great

name and authority, which I neither expect, nor pretend to, nor desire ; so they can never be hurt by an obscure man, who has neither title, nor dignity, nor a seat in the House, nor yet those spiritual gifts which make the possessor powerful in utterance, able to draw followers by thousands, to all the several skirts around this great Metropolis.

But though not bounden to such strict guard upon my steps as the eminent and the popular, neither have I thrown out things wantonly and thoughtlessly, nor unless compelled thereto by the necessity of attaining my principal aim : which was effectually to recommend universal Charity, that sum of natural Religion, and grand cardinal virtue, whereon are declared to hang all the law and the prophets. For without an equality I could find no certain means for coming at the mutual connection of interests between all perceptive creatures throughout the universe, intended for the subject of the next ensuing Chapter : because if there be any doomed to miseries absolutely eternal, there can be no participation of interests between them and other creatures. But such connection seemed to me the only medium discernible by the light of nature wherewith Charity might be established on its surest bottom, Self-interest, by showing that it is rather a measure of highest prudence, than an obligation of duty. And none other ways have occurred to me, by which an equality may be effected, besides those suggested above. So that the valuableness of my principal aim may atone for running some little hazard of giving offence in the manner of pursuing it.

I shall add further that my concern lies only with the point of equality : nor have I a fondness for the theory of compensation any longer than while it appears a necessary avenue to that. If another method can be found by which an equality may be made out, or if it shall be ranked among those mysteries which we must admit though we cannot explain them, it will serve my purpose as well.

But the arguments evincing an equality, as set out in § 2, 3, appear to me irrefragable, and whoever would controvert them, ought to prove either that the virtues we possess are entirely our own, not derived from God by the channel of his grace, nor a dispensation of his ordinary providence in our favor, or else that he is partial, creating some to everlasting bliss, and others to everlasting misery. Therefore until one of those two points be clearly made out, I may look upon the doctrine of equality as sufficiently established, and take it for the foundation of what I have next to offer.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## GENERAL GOOD.

It has been frequently said, that if horses knew their own strength, they would never submit to all the drudgeries and hardships they are made to undergo. But it might with better justice be said, that if men knew the force of that reason and discretion in their power to exert, they would never submit to all those inconveniences, troubles, and vexations, they might relieve themselves from by a proper application of these talents. For there is industry and contrivance enough in quantity throughout the world, to supply all our wants and desires; they fail only through misapplication. We see daily how indefatigable men are in their several pursuits, how vigilant in watching opportunities to gratify a predominant passion, how attentive and sagacious in practising little artifices to compass a favorite purpose. But the misfortune is, that they spend their industry for the most part upon trifles, or in the service of some fond humor suggested accidentally by fancy, or at best for the accomplishment of narrow views, terminating solely upon themselves. Whereas the most beneficial enterprises can only be achieved by the united endeavors of many, concurring in some work that may redound to the advantage of them all. We see this exemplified in the benefits of society, where the operations of war, the conveniences of commerce, and regulations of civil policy, are promoted by the persons concerned acting in partnership and concert. The common transactions of life go on more easily, and conversation becomes more agreeable, for a readiness to assist and oblige.

Nature designed the whole species for one society, as we may judge from the variety of productions serviceable to all, the different materials and opportunities for cultivating the arts and sciences, which she has distributed about among the countries upon earth: so that no one of them furnishes the accommodations of life completely without communication with the rest. But folly, selfishness, and passion, have prevented our growing into a vigorous healthy body; we are a disjointed multitude, each caring only for himself, and thereby losing those innumerable advantages we might work out by our unanimity. Whose place is ill supplied by succedaneums, such as the desire of riches or honor, the lash of necessity or dread of dangers too glaring to escape our dull optics: which prove a feeble cement to join us into those partial societies and temporary engagements conveying the blessings we

do enjoy. Nay, what is worse, our greediness and ill humor often drive us to endeavor the damage and displeasure of one another : which occasions a double waste of industry, by obliging others, who might employ it better, to apply theirs in relieving or defending themselves against our attacks. But unanimity cannot subsist without universal charity and unreserved good will, which nothing can better promote than the persuasion of there being a real connection of interests and mutual dependence of happiness among mankind, and this persuasion our doctrine of equality seems particularly well suited to propagate.

2. It was with a view to bring men better disposed towards one another that I entered upon my task. For how much soever I may have seemed to trifle and play the wanton sometimes, I have all along had grand designs in my eye, being no less than to contribute, so far as in me lay, towards exciting a general concern and mutual benevolence among my fellow-creatures. For I cannot help being persuaded that if this could be completely effected, so as that every man should become a friend and well-wisher to every man, this alone would restore a paradise upon earth ; although earthquakes should still continue to overthrow, tempests to sweep away, blights to destroy, and wild beasts to devour as usual : for I doubt not that the united skill and labors of mankind might remove all intolerable evils, and teach the art of bearing easily all that could not be avoided. Yet I am not so romantic as to think of completing this design, or even making any large stride towards it. But Rome was not built in a day, nor by the hands of a single laborer : yet years and ages are composed of days, and the most stupendous works performed by numbers made up of single laborers.

The world seems growing more humanized, more enlarged in their notions, and readier to take concern in distant joys and sorrows, than they were in former times : and as these advances are made insensibly by particular persons, each contributing a little towards promoting them, it becomes every one to lend a helping hand to so salutary a work, in such way as he finds himself best suited to take. As I have not much intercourse among mankind, nor acquired an expertness in the management of topics prevailing with the Many : it seemed that I could not do better than address myself to the thinking and studious, by collecting a chain of observations which might serve as a hint for them to improve, towards bringing themselves into a conformity of sentiment and openness of temper. For if, instead of entering the lists as adversaries contending for victory, they would consider one another as persons consulting together upon the methods of accomplishing a purpose

they all had at heart : however they might vary for a while, they could not be long without discerning which were the best. And if they would employ their talents sincerely for the public good, in preference to any private views or favorite schemes or pre-contracted prejudices, they must quickly draw the rest of the world after them. For the multitude are ready enough to follow their leaders; nor ever desert them, unless enticed away by opposite leaders.

But to deal with the sagacious and deep-thinking one must go to the bottom of things, for they will not take up with strong assertions nor superficial appearances, how shining soever : but to bring them into one mind one must proceed upon premises they can examine themselves and approve of. Therefore they fail in their transactions among one another by dealing too much in abstractions, ideal differences of right and wrong, of laudable and blamable, and intrinsic value of rules and qualities : which as men's ideas vary infinitely, being modelled according to their several turns of thought, they can never settle to mutual satisfaction. For this reason I have endeavored to dig down to a foundation they will all agree strong enough to bear a superstructure : for I suppose the most righteous and unprejudiced will allow it commendable for a man to do what he can for himself, provided he do no hurt to another thereby, nor thwart any rule of Religion or duty. Therefore self-interest of itself is a proper consideration to put us upon action : and I have taken this for my basis to work upon. It must be owned indeed that all others propose happiness and truest interest, as the ultimate aim to be attained by the several systems : but then they either carry their road through the wilds of abstraction, or take large leaps from stage to stage, by which methods they do not render the continuity visible even to one another. Therefore I have been careful to keep my feet all along upon the solid ground of experience, employing such abstractions and reasonings from time to time as could be drawn thereupon, and attempting to trace the connection, step by step, from self-interest to the virtues : so that whoever thinks fit to follow me may do it without leaping hedges or flying in the air, and judge for himself in what particulars I have been defective. Only I must desire he will distinguish between excursions I make for illustration or for removing obstructions that would stop my passage or for other particular purposes, and the main parts of my road conducting directly towards the journey's end.

I have examined human nature and found that Satisfaction, every man's own satisfaction, is the spring that actuates all his motions. I have investigated the sources of satisfaction, which is con-

veyed for the most part through the channel of desire ; observed that desire may be turned into new courses by good management ; inquired what turns of desire afford the most copious stream ; and shown that the ideas exciting desire, derive, nearly or remotely, from external and prior causes. I have then proceeded to the contemplation of external nature ; and from thence attempted to rise to the Author of nature, together with so much as can be discovered from his works concerning his attributes and character : wherein there appears no weakness nor humor, no spark of arbitrary or inequitable disposition, but unreserved and unningardly goodness. From this height I have returned downwards, to show that all causes in act derive their efficacy and destination from the act of the First, exerted with certain foreknowledge and deliberate design of whatever should follow thereupon. I have likewise scrutinized minutely the motions of freewill, explained the difference between necessity and certainty, and shown the consistence of liberty with pre-appointment ; whereby it appears that human action is among the causes depending in a chain upon the First. From all this I have concluded that all events, whether yielding enjoyment or trouble, effected as well by the choice and activity of man as by chance or nature, were of the divine provision : and this provision being made in perfect equity, that there is an equality of happiness, upon the whole balance of good and evil, allotted to every creature.

Thus far we have travelled already, and our next step shall be, from this equality to deduce a reciprocal connection of interests among the creation : from whence will naturally flow an universal charity and steady attention to the general good. As to the methods whereby this is most effectually promoted, these are copious enough to supply materials for another work, if we should have strength and opportunity to undertake it : it is enough that we furnish ourselves here with a fundamental and ruling principle of action, in lieu of that we had established before. For we set out at first with the position, that a man has nothing else to do than pursue his own interests in such way as his judgment shall represent most feasible and effectual : nor need we still recant our opinion, but having found our own interest indissolubly connected with that of others, we may discard our old aim securely, and take up this, as answering the very purpose driven at by the former ; keeping our eye constantly upon it as a mark to direct us in all our proceedings.

3. For if the accounts of all are to be set even, we can get nothing by obtaining a little advantage at the expense of greater damage to another ; and lose nothing by submitting to some pain



for procuring him a greater pleasure. Because in the former case we depress his balance more than we raise our own, and thereby cut ourselves off from so much of the expectations we were entitled to by the rule of equality as the difference amounts to : in the latter we raise his balance more than we depress our own, and thereby increase our future expectations in like proportion. For so if there be two merchants in partnership, each of them during the course of trade would think himself interested in the balance appearing from time to time upon the other's books : and would judge it prudent to throw any branch of trade into the other's hands, if it would turn to greater profit there than in his own. Nor would it alter his measures, that his partner had a larger balance of cash in hand already ; for while he could supply himself by his own industry, he would choose to do it that way rather than draw out of what lay elsewhere in reserve for his future occasions.

Now it is the rule of equality, entitling each adventurer to a share in the whole profits of the business, that constitutes a partnership ; whether imposed by the authority of a superior, or settled by mutual compact. For if a merchant sends his sons with a competent stock to trade in different parts of the globe, upon condition that when they return home, the gains of all shall be divided equally among them ; this is a partnership as much as if they had entered into it by voluntary agreement : and the King's frigates ordered out upon a joint cruize, are as much partners as a company of privateers.

Therefore the universe may be justly regarded as an innumerable host of partners dealing together in the traffic of happiness : and it is our business to apply all our contrivance and industry towards improving the common stock, and adding to the quantity of enjoyments in nature wherever we can. It is no matter whether we do this in the hands of another or of ourselves, we shall advance our own benefit either way alike ; because our share or interest must always rise and fall proportionably with that of the public. But there are disbursements to be made in all traffic : labor, trouble, danger, disappointment, self-denial, pain, and punishment, are the disbursements necessary in the commerce of nature ; and the prudent merchant will grudge no expense likely to yield a larger return. Only he will manage parsimoniously, driving his bargains hard, that the cost may not run higher than the occasion absolutely requires : nor yet will he scruple to advance any sums because the returns may fall into other hands, for the common stock will be the object he has constantly at heart, as knowing himself so much the richer man as that can be made to increase.

4. Thus the general good becomes the root whereout all our schemes and contrivances, all our rules of conduct and sentiments of honor are to branch : and the centre whereto all our particular lines of direction are to point. But this general good, although much in men's mouths, seems but little understood, being supposed always to imply something redounding to the benefit of the whole community : whereas we are too inconsiderable to do any good whereof the universe may partake. Nevertheless, let it be remembered that the whole is made up of individuals ; so that every pleasure we do our neighbor, is an addition to the quantity of happiness in nature. Just as a merchant, sending goods to one partner, which may be disposed of to great advantage, thereby enlarges the common stock, although the rest of the company should know nothing of the matter. Therefore, whatever good we do to any particular creature, we do to the universe : agreeably to that expression of him who represented a community as their head. What ye have done unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done unto me.

But though universal good be promoted by the good of any single person, yet it is more promoted by what redounds to the benefit of numbers ; which therefore deserves the preference whenever opportunity serves, or the two come into competition : and this is so evident, that nobody can doubt of it. Hence the mighty bustle commonly made with public spirit, which as bandied about in the world, is become an empty sound, with nothing of spirit in it ; or used as a pretence to varnish over selfish designs ; or employed as an artifice to bring others into a disinterested zeal, which those who recommend it laugh at in their sleeve as a weakness. But if such as have abilities would set themselves in earnest to trace the relation between self-interest and general through the channels of nature and Providence, in the manner I have attempted, they might perhaps clear the passage more demonstratively : and by their greater sagacity and skill in casting light upon objects, might render the connection visible to common apprehensions, so as to make them intimately persuaded of its reality, and embrace it as a practical principle of action. Nevertheless, to take off from their trouble as much as I can, since men are remarkably ingenious at starting objections against the best evidenced truths they do not like, I shall endeavor to obviate such as I apprehend may arise against this rule now laid down as the most prudential.

5. It may be alleged that the quantity of good and evil in nature is such and none other than God in his wisdom and bounty has thought proper to make it : and consequently the portion of

each individual must be such precisely as falls to his share, according to the number of creatures existent, beyond the power of anything to alter it. Therefore it matters not what good or hurt they bring upon their neighbor, because they cannot diminish the portion of either allotted to him, they can only anticipate the times of his receiving it: for if they do the former, he has so much less to expect; if the latter, so much less to fear, in the remainder of his period.

Now this allegation might have some color of reason, if we knew the precise portion assigned to each creature, or if it were to be ascertained by an unalterable fatality: but we know not the one, and know the other, from our experience, not to be the case. So that whenever we do good, we see the immediate benefit of it; but we cannot see, nor rationally conclude, that some remote loss or damage shall ensue from it. And with respect to the portion, the whole measure of that is secured no otherwise than the several articles composing it, and the times of their being given: that is, not by a fatality, but by a provision of adequate causes. Let men but turn the tables, and they will see the hollowness of their excuse: for if another goes to hurt them, or debar them from taking the pleasures in their power, they will not bear to be told, it is only an anticipation or retardment of what they must receive some time or other. And in gratifications of desire or self-interest, they will not hear of a fatality; whereas in reality these matters are as much under appointment by the provision of causes as anything else whatever. Therefore let them only raise their desire to its proper object, to wit, the advancement of good wherever feasible, and their objection will vanish of itself. I have endeavored to make appear in the last Chapter but one, that the secret Will of God can be no guide to our conduct which we are to form upon the declared Will, evidenced to us by our reason judging upon the consequences of measures, or by rules built upon our former experience or upon the authority of those who know the tendency of actions better than ourselves: therefore we have nothing to do with appointments any further than as manifested to our apprehension. For the decree or determination of God is nothing else than the provision of causes adapted to each particular event; and the operation of those causes is requisite to execute the decree; but in matters within our power, our own deliberation and industry are among those causes; wherefore we must think and strive for ourselves notwithstanding the decree.

This is apparent in common affairs of life: for who that lives in plenty does not see that he has his daily bread appointed him by having the means in his hands of procuring it, for which he ought

to be thankful? yet does not see at the same time that this appointment by no means supersedes his cares in sending to market and ordering his family? Thus, although the portion of happiness be of divine appointment, yet the application of our cares and industry, for conveying the parts of it administered by our own agency, is requisite and advisable. In these instances the Will of God is done by our Will: but that Will orders all things for the best. Yet though whatever we shall do must therefore be agreeable to his Will, and best to be done, because done: still this does not take away the use of judgment and deliberation to direct our choice between the several measures of conduct. If a man having it in his power to do something whereby he should get a thousand pounds seven years hence, should be told that whether he did it or let it alone, either way would be the best he could take: I make no doubt he would prefer that which afforded him a visible gain, rather than depend upon the unknown profit to arise from his rejecting it. So if, however we conduct ourselves, we shall unerringly pursue that unknown Best appointed by divine provision, it behoves us to take the way apparently best to our own judgment.

But men never employ these sophisms unless in justification of their gratifying some present fancy; whereas if they had any weight, they must avail against inclination as well as judgment, the omission of either being alike the best thing could have been done, whenever done: so that all choice and preference of any kind whatever will be taken away, and a total stagnation of activity ensue. But if between things equal in themselves, liking and fancy may cast the balance, surely the weights of reason and prudence are greater. Yet we cannot allow them intrinsically equal, for our fortunes in futurity, as well as present time, are in great measure of our own making: therefore if we hurt them by misconduct, what remains will be the quantity thought best to be allotted us by Divine Wisdom; and if we improve them, the quantity so increased will likewise be that thought best by the same wisdom. Thus the Best we may attain by the road of virtue and discretion will be (if I may so speak) a better Best, than any we can arrive at through the paths of folly and indulgence.

6. Another handle may be taken for cavilling, from our having laid down that every evil is to be considered as the payment for a purchase of something more valuable: from whence it may be inferred that by plaguing and hurting another, we do him no injury, for we only compel him thereby to make an advantageous purchase. Or if the value of the estate and the price be settled by divine appointment, we only call upon him for a part of his

payment, which it is all one whether he makes to-day or to-morrow, since he must have made it some time or other. But this may be answered in the same manner with the former; for we know not either the certain value of the estate or the price, nor whether one shall be enhanced in proportion to the other: therefore by doing hurt we visibly increase the payment, without knowing whether we shall increase the purchase.

Besides, by this rule it would be incumbent upon every man to make himself as miserable as possible, because by so doing he would purchase a larger fund of happiness: but I believe no man in his sober senses and dispassionate moods, ever run himself wilfully into miseries upon this account; nor unless called thereto by some rule of duty, which was a particular assurance that the sufferings he submitted to were worth his while to undergo. We know not what proportion of evil is necessary for the services of the universe, therefore ought to use all means in our power for lessening it, being well assured that we cannot reduce it lower than the sum imposed for the necessary services. The public taxes are a payment for the protection afforded by the state: yet he that should compel his neighbor to pay a shilling in the pound more than the law demands, or than he knows the exigencies of the state require, would be deemed to do an injury. So he who puts another to a pain or trouble from whence he sees not the benefit resulting, does him a wrong; by exacting a payment he cannot be assured would ever have been demanded.

7. But the most plausible exception lying against the expedience of laboring for the general good, arises from our inability to contribute so much towards it as to make our share worth the consideration. For it may be urged, if you had it in your power to do something that would make a thousand people happy for fifty years together: though this would seem a vast addition to the common stock of enjoyment, yet when you reflect what prodigious multitudes it is to be divided amongst, your own part will scarce amount to the value of once smelling at a rose. So there is no inducement to bestir yourself, because with your utmost endeavors you cannot make an addition to your own fortune sufficient to be perceived.

But let us consider, that if this doctrine were to prevail, most of the blessings of nature, the benefits of society and conveniences of life, would be lost: the most valuable of which are procured by the operation of feeble, inconsiderable agents. The planets are holden in their orbits by the attraction of minute particles, undiscernible with a microscope, composing the body of the sun: the earth is clothed with pasture by little seeds, each whereof

cannot throw up herbage enough to make a bite for a sheep : if we admit a Mundane Soul, the worlds are formed and the courses of nature kept in order, by spirits which singly could not heave a mote in the Sun beams. What is a single soldier in those armies that have kept the mightiest potentates in awe? If he lag behind you do not stop for him, or if he be slain you do not miss him. What is a private person's quota to those immense supplies supporting our armaments in all quarters of the globe? If he has not wherewithal to pay, the operations go on as before, and none but the collector or his nearest neighbors know anything of his failure. Yet a wise man, finding himself to have courage and ability for the service, would not desert in time of battle although there were no courts martial to overawe him : nor withhold his proportion of the taxes although his goods were liable to no distress. For he would regard what he contributes by his person or his pocket as entitling him to a share of the advantages procured by all the others he joins with : an object well worth his contemplation. Nor let it be made a discouragement that some unreasonable creatures refuse their helping hand : for there are enow concurring some way or other in the public service to render the benefits worked out by them a sufficient inducement to become one of their number.

8. But we need not undervalue our particular services because they yield but little profit : for though the performance of them cannot do much good, yet it may prevent great mischiefs which might have ensued upon the omission. The negligence of a single sentinel may give the enemy an opportunity of surprising a whole camp, and a little carelessness in placing a candle may produce a fire that shall burn down a whole town. Therefore we can never be too vigilant, because we can never know what waste of destruction may ensue upon the want of it. What though our persons be single and our efforts small, nobody can say what multitudes they may not affect, nor what tides of industry they may not excite. It is notorious of how spreading a nature both the virtues and the vices are : for example and sympathy diffuse the stream to all quarters from a single fountain : and a man may sometimes find that in his power wherein all mankind shall have concern in the consequences. Noah built his ark to save his little family consisting of eight persons : but in so doing he saved all the generations of men that have since overspread the earth. The founders of Religions and sects in philosophy, inventors of arts and sciences, though imparting their thoughts to a few, have thereby opened channels which overflowed whole nations and countries. And as we know not how far the people of the intermediate state stand affected by what passes here, nor what effect

their transactions have upon the spiritual substance ; it is not impossible nor improbable, that a single person may do that which shall be felt by the whole universe.

It may be said this might happen perhaps to extraordinary persons once in an age, but a private man never stands in a situation to work consequences that can possibly extend beyond the narrow circle of his acquaintance. But I would ask him how he knows that? For we have shown in our Chapter of Providence, that the affairs of the world are all complicated and interwoven among one another into one tissue : that the greatest events depend upon the minutest, and the constitution of the Roman empire, together with that of the kingdoms branched out from thence, might be determined by some such inconsiderable circumstance as the wearing a particular colored riband upon a certain festival. So that there is no such thing as trifle in nature, every little incident and sudden fancy being provided for by perfect wisdom with a regard to the whole. For how narrow soever the views of creatures may be, God beholds the universe, and directs every little stroke in his all-comprehensive plan, so as to contribute its share towards the general good. Or if there be such things as trifles, they are so intermingled among the imperceptible springs of important events, that the most prying eye cannot distinguish them apart.

Therefore we ought always to stand upon our guard, and shape our minute motions by such discretion and regard to rectitude as is proper upon the occasion, for the chance of effecting what unseen good or escaping what unthought of evil may possibly depend upon them. For the chain of causes and effects runs to such immeasurable lengths and divides into so many unperceivable threads, that no man can be sure his manner of stirring the fire or buttoning his coat shall not be attended with consequences greater than he is aware of. But it would be in vain to take his measures upon consequences that human sagacity cannot investigate : therefore he has nothing to do with them, nor with anything else besides the rules of prudence, charity, propriety, and innocence, so far as in the present circumstances of the case he can discern them. For since the wisest men have always maintained that moral good is the ready road to natural, while he follows the best lights of his judgment, he may trust Providence for leading him unknowingly into all those secret advantages possible in his situation to be attained. For though God no doubt has appointed each of us his certain portion, yet he deals out to us, perhaps the whole or at least a great part of it, by our own or one another's hands. For we have seen more than once before, that things certain may neverthe-

less depend upon human contrivance and industry. Therefore it behoves us to use the proper degree of circumspection as well in matters of trifle as of moment : because according to our conduct in either, our portion will be better or worse ; and that in a measure greater than we think of, and large enough to deserve our notice and overpay the trouble of the acquisition.

9. Yet even supposing this was not the case, but that it were impossible for us, either directly or in consequence, to add so largely to the general fund as may raise the least perceivable difference in each private share ; still there would not want encouragement to bestir ourselves : for it is not necessary that every particular profit must be divided among the whole company, because the members may have equal shares, though assigned them out of different funds. Were there a million of traders dispersed up and down in different quarters, and destined to make the same fortunes, they might be divided into distinct partnerships of ten in a company, who might traffic and settle their balances from time to time among themselves, without intercourse among the other decads. Equality might still be preserved, provided there was an able superintendent of the whole, who should take care there were the like opportunities of trade among the several decads, or that particular persons were removed in due order from a less to a more gainful fellowship. And, in fact, we find the creation, so far as our experience reaches, divided into distinct species and limited societies, the effects of whose actions extend no further than to a certain number of those with whom they have intercourse. Nor can we presume otherwise of those unseen consequences depending upon the secret concatenation of causes, which however they may in part extend to innumerable multitudes, are likely to affect some particular class of beings principally, with whom we stand nearest concerned. And upon removal into a new fellowship, the rule of equality will require that the place assigned us should be such as may secure to us the balance due upon our former account. For though these changes be brought about by natural courses, yet God, being the author and disposer of nature, establishes all her provisions in equity ; as well those respecting the changes from one state into another, as those regulating accounts in the same. So that by our diligence in the branch of trade before us, we determine what interest we shall have in the branches to be allotted us hereafter. Thus, in every stage of being, the main of what profits we can make, will accrue to the benefit of such a competent number as that our proportion shall remain weighty enough to be felt in our hands.



Or even if we suppose all the gains accruing thrown into the general fund upon account of the whole partnership, there is no necessity they should be drawn out again by little fractions from each, so minute as to reduce them below our notice. Could a man raise a profit of a thousand pounds, to receive it again by a farthing a year, he might despise the addition of a farthing to his annual income; but if it came by fifties or hundreds of pounds at a time, he would find the convenience of them for his occasions. So the share of happiness we earn by some effort of our industry, being dealt out to us in serviceable portions, will answer our future wants some time or other, without detriment to our fellow-creatures receiving theirs in like manner. This would evidently be the case upon admitting an universal rotation: for then every person falling in some part of his course into the place of every other, must receive the very same good, both in kind and quantity, as he does to his neighbor; and if he can do that which redounds to many, he will reap the benefit of it so many times as there are persons to whom he has done service. But should there be no such exact retaliation in kind, yet equity requiring that the good befalling one should likewise befall another, there must be a compensation equal in value. Therefore, though we do not receive just the same sized notes, or the same species of coin we carried in; we shall be sure of receiving the full amount in good negotiable cash.

So that since the allegory of books has been employed by the best authorities, we may consider the provisions of Heaven as an universal bank, wherein accounts are regularly kept, and every man debited or credited for the least farthing he takes out or brings in. All the good we procure to another, the labor and self-denial we go through prudently, and evil we suffer unavoidably, are written down as articles in our favor; all the evil we do, the fond indulgences we give into, or good we receive, entered per contra as so much drawn out of our cash. Perhaps something may be taken out for the public services, but then we have the benefit of this in the public conveniences and protection whereof we partake; but the remainder lies placed to each private account for answering our calls or supplying our occasions.

And this is a better bank than that of England to keep our current cash; I shall not say, for its greater security, because the monied men of this and foreign nations think the other secure enough; but the Bank of England give no interest upon their notes, whereas the Bank of the Universe improve what we have lying there to immense advantage, far beyond what could be made in script by any Jew or clerk in the secretary office let into secrets;

and the application to our several occasions lies under wiser management than our own. If I have an account with the Bank of England, and should take it into my head, because other folks are fond of the like, to throw away a large sum in punch and ale for gaining me the huzzas of a drunken mob, and procuring me an opportunity of serving my country which I want abilities to use; or to buy a horse of noble lineage descended from Turkish or Barbarian ancestors to run at Newmarket: upon applying to the cashier in Threadneedle-street for a thousand pounds, he will instantly order payment without asking questions: though I may want the money grievously next year to make up a portion for my Serena or my Sparkler. Or should I chance on some distant journey to be reduced low in pocket, if I have no checked paper along with me, I cannot draw for a single six-pence to buy me a little bread and cheese.

But the directors of the bank above have constant intelligence from all parts of the universe, and their runners traversing to and fro among their customers: so that whatever I have belonging to me there, if I call for a sum to squander away upon some vice or folly, though I beg and pray never so hard, the cashier will not issue me a farthing, because he knows it had better be kept in reserve for more necessary occasions. But if I chance to fall into distress in any disconsolate spot of nature, where a supply would do me real service, though I should not see the danger of my situation, nor have sent advice with the needful per post, I shall have the runner angel privately slip the proper sum into my hand at a time when I least expect it. So we have no need to trouble ourselves about the improvement of our money there, or the laying it out for our particular uses: it is our business to use all our judgment and industry and vigilance for throwing as much as we can continually into bank. Yet this does not hinder us from taking present enjoyments from time to time, where innocent and lying properly within our reach: for though this be a lessening of our future demands, yet the future were of no avail if it were never to be present; nor is money good for anything but to be spent, provided it be spent prudently, and no more given for things than they are worth.

10. Nor have we concern only with the articles of our own account, but with those likewise of other persons: from whence we may receive a pleasure not to be found in the ordinary course of worldly commerce. If on attending at the earthly accountant office, the eye, while the clerks turn over the leaves of their books, happens to catch upon somebody else's balance, which appear ten

times larger than our own, one may be mortified to find oneself so inconsiderable in point of riches, compared with him.

But in the accounts of Providence, a like discovery could prove no such mortification : for we dealing all in partnership, the profits whereof are to be made equal to each in some shape or other in some part of our period, whatever virtues, talents, or successes we see elsewhere, adding more largely to the common stock than we can do ourselves, must become matter of rejoicing rather than vexation. Because the rule of equality insures to us that we shall either immediately partake of the fruits gathered therefrom, or at some future time be instated in a branch of trade we see to be more profitable than that now under our management.

And this consideration, duly attended to, must put an end to that humor of depreciating the characters, the abilities, and the enjoyments of other creatures, so generally prevailing among mankind. For as the more good, so the less evil we can find in others, the better it is for ourselves. For my part, I am so far from any temptation to believe myself the happiest of my species, that I would thank anybody who should prove me the most miserable creature in the universe : I do not mean, who should bring mischief upon me, or discover misfortunes in store which I do not know of, for this would be madness to desire : but should show the condition I now stand in, such as it is, inferior to that of every other being : so that the common laborer, the galley-slave, the negro, the flea, the mite, and every departed soul, possessed greater enjoyments than those within my reach. Such a discovery would afford me a most ravishing prospect of nature, and without hurting me in present, give me more hopeful expectations for the future : for since I am not always to continue in the same state, I could make no change unless for the better.

But I am too sensible of the blessings vouchsafed me, to be persuaded into this imagination : on the contrary, when I behold miseries anywhere appearing far greater than anything I ever underwent, which yet I have found troublesome enough ; it raises, besides a fellow feeling for the sufferer, a melancholy reflection to think that the lot of existence is subjected to so severe a condition. However, my partiality to wish it easier, makes me ready to embrace every evidence that offers for believing it so : and it is with pleasure I find alleviations, from custom, difference of apprehension or insensibility, for every natural evil ; and extenuations from ignorance, inadvertency, and surprise, for every moral. Or if this cannot be done, find benefits resulting therefrom ; enjoyments and advantages compensating them.

Thus the doctrine of equality tends directly to nourish benevolence, mutual esteem, good wishes, and favorable judgments, between fellow-creatures ; and how much soever it may appear at first sight to encourage indolence, by making men trust to the diligence of their partners, yet when fairly examined, it proves as strong a recommendation and solid ground of care and industry in particular persons, as any principle whatever. Therefore, those who should not admit it, might yet allow it excuse, for sake of the desirable ends aimed at by proposing it to their consideration.

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## CHAP. XXIX.

### DIVINE JUSTICE.

THE attentive reader will please to remember, that at the close of my chapters upon the Attributes, I took notice of some others usually placed upon the list, which I there called secondary Attributes, as not arising from contemplation of the Divine nature regarded apart : whereof this of justice was one, which I could not take fully into consideration until I had collected further materials necessary for the purpose. He will now see why I postponed this article, to wit, that I might first go through what observations I had to make upon the manner of God's governing his creatures, whereof the proper distribution of rewards and punishments is one of the engines employed.

We have no means of forming any conception of the moral attributes, unless by analogy with something we have observed among ourselves : and it has been found at several times in the course of these inquiries, that a wise man would never punish for punishing sake ; nor unless driven into it by the necessity of attaining some greater good which could not be procured without it. For true wisdom always includes goodness, and goodness will never put a man upon any measure that is not beneficial : it may urge him sometimes to hurt another for preventing greater mischief, or reaping good fruits that will overpay the hurt ; as in cases of medicine or surgery, or forcing a child into the discipline of a school, or drudgeries of an apprenticeship ; but wherever it takes the road of severity, there is always some benefit lying in prospect beyond.

Now, we have shown in the proper place, that the motive of action is that end occurring to view at the time of acting : the intermediate steps have no weight in the scale, being only ideal

causes directing us how to proceed. Therefore, whenever the suffering of an offender is the real motive or sole object in contemplation, it proceeds from passion, ill-nature, or weakness. Not but that the best men often punish without looking to the good fruits resulting therefrom; but then they do it in compliance with their rules of justice, which are to them an evidence of good they cannot discern. For human reason is so short sighted as seldom to see to the end of her road, therefore we should lose our way perpetually; if we had not rules to direct us, and though our rules branch and receive evidence from one another, yet it is the expedience of following rules that gives them their sanction, and begets the general idea of rectitude. For what else is right, unless that which had better be done than let alone? and what can we understand by better, unless more beneficial and more productive of good?

But when we turn our thoughts upon the Divine nature, we shall find nothing of passion or malice, or weakness there: nor are the views of God so narrow as to want those helps to direct him in the course of his proceeding, which are necessary to weak-sighted mortals. For he sees the whole immensity of space and shoreless ocean of eternity in one unbounded prospect: he discerns distinctly the fullest length of chain and most complicated tissue of causes requisite to complete his every purpose: nor follows other rule in taking measures for conferring what blessings he judges proper for his creatures, than his own gracious bounty and the constitution of universal nature he established from everlasting. Therefore we have no reason to believe he ever terminates his views upon evil, or has nothing further in his thought, when he takes vengeance, than the sufferings of the sinner.

2. Were there an immediate and necessary connection between offence and punishment, there could be no place for mercy; much less could the exercise of it deserve commendation, but must rather be deemed an erroneous and unnatural proceeding. Yet we find, that in the judgment of the wisest, an aptness to show mercy, and to forgive or forget injuries, is always regarded as one of the brightest jewels in a man's character: which shows there is some medium making the connection, which when wanting in the circumstances of the case, mercy may laudably interpose. And this medium can be none other than the necessity or expedience of punishing; in order to prevent the mischief expectant upon future enormities. Therefore it is that repentance sheathes the sword of justice, which it could not do if demerit was essential to transgression; because nothing subsequent can alter the quality or essence of a deed already perpetrated: but the

thorough amendment of the party preventing his ever offending again, renders punishment needless, by answering the purpose intended thereby, and so removing the medium of necessity, destroys the connection. Therefore when punishment is necessary for example to others, repentance will not be accepted : because there the medium consisting of many strings, though one be cut asunder, the rest remain entire, to shut out the entrance of mercy.

Nor can we conceive the matter beholden otherwise by the all-seeing eye of God, with whom is mercy as well as judgment : but if in his original constitution of nature, he had established an immediate and essential connection between offence and punishment, we cannot suppose he would ever have broken through his own constitutions. Yet Mercy has always been counted his favorite Attribute : and when in condescension to our weakness, he has been represented by figures taken from human sentiments, we find him described as being uneasy and anxious to have the sinner escape. As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he should turn from his evil ways and live. But neither God nor man can be supposed to submit to a thing they have no pleasure in, unless for some greater benefit to redound therefrom : and in such case act upon a motive of necessity.

But necessity, when operating as a motive, always weighs by the idea of advantage, which the thing we do is necessary to attain, and which renders it more beneficial to be done than omitted. Therefore since God is no respecter of persons, nor consequently entertains a personal hatred or grudging against any one, but his mercy is over all his works and he would not that any should perish : we may rationally conclude, that whenever he executes vengeance, he does it not in wrath, but in wisdom, as a means to work out some good that shall overbalance the sufferings of the delinquent. For his mercy never sleeps, but would always interpose whenever justice goes to lift the thunder, unless goodness and wisdom did sometimes withhold her, by showing the greater profit redounding from punishment. Which profit equity enters in her books of account, apportioning to the sinner his share of whatever is earned by his sufferings. For God orders all things for the best, whereby must be meant, not the best for himself, because he wants nothing from us, nor can his riches or happiness receive addition by anything passing among us, but the best for his creatures : whose interests we have already seen are so involved together, that whatever promotes the general good of the Universe or of any community comprehended therein, must promote that of every particular.

3. Thus punishment follows the rule directing all other evil, which our idea of infinite goodness may convince us always terminates in some event more desirable than the escaping it. It will not be amiss in the next place to trace the origin of vengeance, which we shall not find arising immediately from the divine nature, as goodness and equity do, but from the constitution of the creatures, rendering it a necessary spring in the hand of Providence for working out its gracious purposes and securing the accomplishment of its plan. We know by experience that God has been pleased to intermingle a portion of evil among his works, and this may be distinguished into three kinds : first, labor, self-denial, and inconvenience, we are instructed to submit to voluntarily for the good fruits to be gathered from them, or by rules established by others upon the knowledge of their expedience ; next, diseases, sinister accidents and infirmities of old age, brought upon us by the courses of nature or fortune ; and thirdly, punishment inflicted by the act of some superior power, to drive us into a tenor of conduct we should not have pursued without.

I know some have holden all the trouble, laboriousness and disasters of life, to be conditions annexed to human nature, in consequence of offences committed in a former state : but if so, they fall within our definition of punishment above given, for though they cannot have the proper effect here, they may make us examples to some other Beings, or to ourselves in some future state, wherein we may have faculties given to discern the causes of them. Yet we cannot regard them as such now, because we cannot know for what misbehavior they are inflicted ; and therefore they can be no warning to us what practices to avoid. I know likewise that man too often punishes the fellow-creatures in his power, for disobedience of his commands given without any regard to their benefit, but solely for his own advantage or humor. As when the lordly West-Indian tortures his poor Negroes for not doing more than they could do in cultivating his plantations : whose produce he never means to share among his slaves, but sends it all to market to raise wealth for supplying his own wanton and wasteful luxury. But God, as we observed before, has no advantage of his own, nor humor to consult : so can give his commands for none other end than the advantage and happiness of his creatures, nor punish upon other motive than to enforce obedience to those commands, and thereby secure the benefits consequent thereupon.

4. Therefore the divine commands may be regarded as the advices of an indulgent, tender parent or unerring monitor, instead of the injunctions of an Almighty Governor : and must operate

as strongly in one light as the other upon a prudent man, having an earnest attachment to his own interests. If I had never heard of the Decalogue, nor had other rule to go by beside that left with the Reader at the end of my first Volume, of taking care of myself whenever reduced to a condition wherein I could not be the better for any good befalling others; yet suppose an Angel were sent from Heaven to stand before me, with authentic and undoubted credentials of his mission, and delivered his message in the following tenor.

Thus saith the Lord Almighty, the Creator and Governor of all things visible and invisible. Behold I have given thee powers of action, to do this or that as thou pleasest: I have given thee freedom of Will, to choose between the things before thee: and I have given thee desire, to quicken thee up to activity, that thou lose not the use of thy powers. What hast thou now to do, but to fulfil thy heart's desire in any way whereto thou canst turn thy hand? For I have bound thee by no law, nor hung any restriction over thee, which might withhold thee from doing the thing that is in my mind. Because I am mild and gracious, and my mercy endureth forever: neither is there wrath or vengeance before me. Am I a man, that I should suffer passion? or the son of man, that I should resent or be angry? Can injury approach me, that I should be vexed: or damage be done that I should retaliate? Therefore fear not my terrors, for there are none with me: nor my judgments, for I do not execute them. For I delight to do good, and not evil. My beloved office which I have chosen for myself is to guide, not to rule; to admonish, not to punish.

I behold the present, and future: the issues of events are before me: and I alone know unerringly what is good. Have not I the Lord created the heavens and the earth? Are they not interwoven together in one universal tissue, connecting all natures, visible and invisible, by one indissoluble chain of causes and effects? But have I done more work than mine eye can survey? are there any limits to my intelligence: or any line in my plan so minute as to escape me? Do not I then know the means of gratifying the desire of happiness implanted in my creatures, and all the turnings in the road of expedience: or want I loving kindness and bowels of compassion, to lead them thereinto by proper directions, according to their several natures? To man I have given reason and forecast, to discern the things at a distance, and guide him into the way that leadeth to his peace. And if I have not bestowed these in sufficient measure to answer all his occasions, I will vouchsafe him other lights to supply the deficiency, that nothing needful be withholden from him. For this cause have I sent my messenger to



declare unto thee what thou wast not able to discern by thine own sagacity. Harken unto his admonition, for I have put into his mouth the words of wisdom and truth.

Know then, that if thou shalt worship Chance, or Necessity, an uncreated Nature, or any other God besides me.

If thou shalt rest thy dependence upon anything in the visible heavens above, or on the earth beneath, or that cometh forth from the bowels of the earth.

If thou shalt cast aside thy reverence of my Majesty, or swear by my name to the thing that is not, or use it lightly until it become an empty sound in thy mouth.

If thou shalt lay out thy whole time upon thy worldly concerns, thy pleasures and thy fancies: or, trusting to the strength of thy reason, shalt neglect those expedients necessary for preserving alive the remembrance of me in thine imagination.

If thou shalt withhold due honor from thy superiors whom I have set over thee, whether of thy house or of thy people, to preserve order and economy therein.

If thou shalt destroy or hurt thy brother without lawful warrant.

If thou shalt indulge the lusts of thy flesh, which thou sharest in common with the beasts.

If thou shalt purloin thy neighbor's goods, or overreach him when ye commune together in your dealings.

If thou shalt charge him falsely with that for which the judge will give sentence, or asperse his character in the streets, or calumniate him in secret.

If thou shalt harbor a desire of getting away from him his possessions, or his reputation, or the thing wherein he delighteth, or whatsoever is valuable unto him.

Know that in so doing thou actest foolishly, for by all these things thou wilt lose far greater enjoyment than thou canst gain for the present, and bring down intolerable mischiefs upon thy head: which shall afflict thee sorely, and make thy heart sicken with desire to be delivered from them, but in vain; for thy desire shall nowhere find gratification. Because the order of nature is so established, and the chains of connection between thy present and thy future state so carried on, that the issue will surely fall out as I have forewarned thee.

See, now, I have set good and evil before thee this day: choose therefore whether of the twain liketh thee best. Nor murmur against me as a hard master: for I set thee no task, lay thee under no commands, nor turn thee from the path thou wouldst go by my threatenings: but leave thee to thine own judg-

ment and prudence, to conduct thee into the course they shall represent to thee the most desirable.

Now upon supposition of such a declaration coming from the fountain of knowledge and truth, I appeal to any man of common sense and the least forethought of anything beyond the present moment, whether it would not be as incumbent upon me to follow the admonition, as if I had seen a visible appearance descending upon mount Sinai, surrounded with thunders and lightnings and ineffable glories, engraving the same with a finger upon two tables of stone, and subjoining a denunciation underneath, The soul that keepeth not all the words of this writing shall surely be cut off. So there needs no more than to enlighten our understandings, that we might discern the natural consequences of our actions, to make the paths of righteousness eligible : for we should see her so closely embraced by prudence and interest, that we could not know which was which : nor would any other road be the right, were there no future judgment, than that we are driven into by the terrors of it.

5. Nevertheless I should be very averse against persuading mankind, if I could do it, into a belief that such a message had ever been really delivered : and very sorry to have such a delusion gain credit upon myself. For though it would make no alteration in what is right, nor render other measures expedient to be pursued than are so already : yet I fear it would make a fatal alteration in our conduct. For how much soever we may fancy ourselves guided by reason and prudence, it is too notorious by every day's experience, that they have not strength enough to influence our actions. Mr. Locke, although misled at first by the notion prevailing among learned men, yet discovered upon second thoughts, and proved demonstrably by many instances drawn from common life, that good, the greater good, acknowledged and apprehended to be such, does not determine the Will : which constantly follows satisfaction upon whatever object appearing in the thought. For while the mind can satisfy herself completely with a present pleasure, she never stirs a step towards the attainment of distant good ; nor unless she apprehends a present uneasiness would accompany the missing her opportunity. But it is the resting of satisfaction upon an object, that makes it our desire, or raises an appetite towards it, and renders it an aim of our pursuit.

Therefore our desires and appetites are the officers having the leading of our powers, nor can reason do anything unless by their ministry : her office being only to put such of them into command as will do their duty well. The virtues have no avail upon us while remaining in theory, nor become practical until grown into

appetites : so derive their very name and essence from being incorporated into that family. Therefore the bare knowledge of what makes for our happiness would help us but little forward towards it, unless there was a desire which should afford us an immediate satisfaction or uneasiness, according as we found ourselves in the way. But the general idea of good is of too thin and abstracted a nature to catch hold on desire, without a view of some particular good, similar to those we have experienced, and a clear exposition of the manner or chain of consequences, whereby our conduct should produce it. For though the love of rectitude for itself has been cried up as capable of everything, and perhaps justly supposing the attainment of it were feasible, it has never yet been found among the sons of men. But should the particular benefits resulting from our good works be manifested, and the manner of their growing from thence ever so clearly explained, still we might find them so remote as that the prospect would be too hazy to excite our desire. For were it to accrue by rotation, casting every man at some time or other into the places of those to whom he does service, he might not think it worth his while to concern himself with what shall happen millions of millions of years hence. Or which is more probable, we might find them dependent upon the joint endeavors of such innumerable multitudes that our own would appear not to deserve the pains of applying them. For if the principal branches of the general good be worked out by the concurrence of all the creatures, contributing thereto in their several stations, we might think our share of the contribution could never be missed, and our own loss upon withholding it too small to be perceived.

6. Since then we are so constituted as that good, not clearly apprehended, or lying at a distance very remote from us, or requiring vast numbers to concur in procuring it, does not influence us to action : there needs something more prevalent to be annexed for giving it activity and vigor. And this we cannot doubt but God has provided in his constitutions of nature : for he established them in wisdom, and adapts his causes respectively to the subjects whereon they are to operate. To matter he has given the capacity of impulse and necessary agency, directed by such well-policed laws, as that every atom performs its office in carrying on the stupendous courses of nature, and preparing for events to fall out many ages to come : to brutes he has given appetites and instinct, guiding them to do all the little services required at their hands : to man he has given freedom of Will, determined by motives urging him to the choice of such actions within his narrow sphere of power, as conduce most effectually to the general good of the

creation. But since he has not afforded him understanding large enough to discern this good, and the way by which he contributes towards it; nor sensibility to be touched with objects removed to a great distance; nor penetration to see the value of small powers in conjunction with those of other agents: he has supplied the deficiency by providing other incitements to turn his steps into the way that full intelligence and unslackening prudence would have led. Whereof this of punishment is one, which drives him into measures whose good fruits he does not know, creates an expedience nearer to his view, and holds up an object strong enough to engage his desire.

Nor do we want experience enough to teach us the use of this engine in our dealings with one another: I do not mean only by that lash of punishment which the law holds over villains for the peace and security of honest men, but in those few instances wherein we imitate our heavenly Father, by exercising our government for the benefit of those under our power. We bring children, by threatening them with the rod, into those little arts of managing their limbs and into the rudiments of learning, whose necessary uses they are not sensible of. We keep young lads, by restrictions and penalties, from idleness, excesses and indulgencies, whose pernicious consequences, though not ignorant of, they are not touched with. And when an army or a naval armament is sent out upon some enterprize, the whole plunder whereof is to be divided among them: yet there are courts martial binding each man to his duty, which otherwise he would think might be spared, for that the work would go on as well without him.

7. Hence we see the origin of vengeance, when found in the breast of any wise and beneficent Governor: namely, from the imperfection of understanding, which cannot discover the consequences of every course of behavior; and from the weakness of reason, which has not colors lively enough to paint a strong representation of distant objects upon imagination, nor force enough to urge desire to the prosecution of advantages she does discern. Thus divine justice springs, not from the nature of God, but of his creatures; and is a branch of wisdom discerning and providing the proper springs for actuating them in their motions. Therefore we may rest assured that God will take vengeance whenever necessary, and will not take it in greater measure than necessary for the purpose intended thereby.

Hence likewise we may learn the proper idea of punishment, which is that species of evil annexed by the act of a superior to some kind of behavior, as a motive to deter from behaving in the like manner for the future. And herein it differs from labor and

mere misfortune, which though often attendant upon our actions, are not, or ought not to be, a discouragement to our repetition of them. For though ill success may justly induce us to alter our conduct, it operates as an information to our judgment, not as an adventitious help to assist where it was too weak. Nevertheless this does not hinder, but that the punishment may follow by natural consequence: it will still retain its essence because the work of nature is the work of God: only then we must conceive that God, in so constituting nature as to bring it on, had a view to that particular consequence, without which he would not have comprised it in his original plan.

8. But we may observe, it is not so much actual suffering, as the terror of it, that operates upon freewill, wherefore it is not necessary that punishment should be universal or perpetual: because a severity gone through may dwell upon the remembrance of the sufferer, and spread a terror among multitudes, so as to answer the effect wanted upon their minds.

In this light of punishment it appears, that the party undergoing it does a signal service to his fellow-creatures, by exhibiting to them an example of the utmost importance, and necessary to preserve them in happiness: for which service, I see nothing in our ideas of our gracious Governor, that should hinder his making him amends; I do not say reward him, for this would be against reason, because he underwent it not willingly nor for the public good; but repay him the cost he has been put to compulsorily. If punishment be necessary, offences must needs come, to make that punishment just: and though wo be to them by whom they come, yet this wo may be taken into account as an article in the portion of evil thought proper to be allotted them in the length of their period.

We are told it was expedient for manifestation of the divine glory to the Israelites, and through them to the other nations upon earth, that Pharaoh and his host should be overwhelmed in the Red Sea: for which cause God hardened the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants that they should pursue. Shall then the righteous judge of all the earth exact so rigorous a service without any wages to compensate for the severity of it? Let any man make the case his own, and then answer me, what he would not be ready to hope from the fountain of goodness and righteousness. Nor let him fancy the case could not have been his own: for who caused him to be born lately, instead of three thousand years ago? or cast his lot in England, rather than Egypt? If his father begat a child, had his father the option of what particular Spirit should inhabit the body of his child? Neither let him harbor such an overweening conceit of his own ungiven strength, as

to imagine that he should not have acted just as Pharaoh did, if God had hardened his heart in like manner. And it is all one whether he apprehends this hardening effected by a supernatural act or by nature, education, and the popish artifices of the magicians : for there is nothing in nature or her productions or the occurrences passing among them, unless by divine appointment or permission.

But if what has been here argued in favor of hardened sinners shall seem to him an encouragement to list himself in the number, let him reflect upon the considerations on that head in the last Chapter : where he will find, that although my notion of the compensation should be right, (which I will not ensure him, as never pretending to infallibility) yet does it give no encouragement to run himself upon intolerable sufferings ; because at best he will have no more than a bare compensation, nor gain the least title of advantage in the bargain over us, who think it deserving our most strenuous and uninterrupted endeavors to escape them.

9. This idea of punishment being a beneficial provision, established for preserving order and good rule in the world, may explain the justice of punishing children for the faults of their parents. For justice being an offspring of wisdom, will always shape her course wherever necessity and expedience lead. But when the parents are dead and gone, their personal punishment, being unseen here, can have no effect upon mankind : therefore if an example be necessary, it must be made upon their descendants. Or if they were known to suffer in their own persons, still the terror is greater, when the mischief spreads to their whole family and dependants. Accordingly the civil laws often confer good and evil upon the children for their father's sake : and nature entails diseases, poverty, and impotence, upon the descendants of debauched and vicious ancestors. Nor will it avail to allege, that this comes to pass by natural consequence, for nature is the work of God : and if in making this provision we will allow him to have had in view the good we see resulting from it, this will bring it under our definition of punishment.

But those who raise this objection conceive of God as punishing in anger : and then indeed it would be an unbecoming thought, to imagine him angry with the innocent for offences committed by the guilty. Therefore one would think our experience, that sometimes he does involve the innocent in his punishments, might convince them that neither anger, nor any intrinsic essence of guilt, is his motive in punishing. Another basis they build their objection upon is, the injury done to the innocent : but this basis stands

upon none other ground than their apprehending him to act occasionally, and that he never thought of punishing the children until roused to vengeance by the wickedness of the father. But surely those who pretend to a larger compass of reason than other people, might comprehend that God, at the formation of a world, may have his whole plan lying distinctly before him, and determine every good or evil event to befall his creatures.

Now whether they hold a pre-existent state, in which case there will be none other evil than that of punishment, they may take for granted that the child deserved what it suffers, by some former misbehavior. Or whether they believe every birth an original creation, in which case there will be prudential evils, such as hard labor, self-denial, poverty, and disaster, sent for some good ends to be produced by them; they may trust the divine wisdom, which often works out many ends by one and the same means, to contrive that the same evil shall prove both prudential and punitive. In either case there is no injury done the child, whose concern lies only with the quantity of evil he undergoes: it is no matter of what species it is, or by what channel derived, so long as it is no greater in measure than was judged proper to be allotted him upon his own account. The Jews, crushed under the tower of Siloam, felt the same pain and sustained the same damage, as if they had been sinners above all other Jews: or as if an Angel had overthrown it upon their heads, declaring he came down to take vengeance for the idolatries of their ancestors. So a child, allotted a certain portion of pain or distress, or infirmities, receives no injury, whether they be brought upon him by nature, by accident, or the wicked courses of his father: nor is he hurt by their serving for an example, to deter other parents from bringing the like misery upon their children.

10. But since offences must needs come, this suggests a reason for the unequal distribution of justice here on earth, for the slowness of vengeance, and why some notorious villains pass their whole lives in a course of uninterrupted success and security. For were punishment to follow close upon the heels of transgression, and the difference between good and bad made obvious to every eye, it must totally put a stop to offence: duty would become instinct, and rectitude the object of sense. So we should have no use for habits of virtue or exercises of reason: which seem growing powers within us, destined for greater services than we can perform with them in these gloomy tabernacles and clumsy bodies we inhabit. And though offences must needs come, there are other uses of their coming besides that of making punishment just:

for God produces good out of evil, which good must then be lost, unless the evil productive of it were permitted.

It is true, as we have observed before, that God often causes one provision to answer several purposes, and so may make moral evil, as well as natural, at the same time both prudential and punitive: but it is not apparent from experience that he always does so. And indeed if offence were not necessary, it would not have been permitted, and consequently there would have been no necessity for punishment; whose use being only to restrain offence within due bounds, could have been none had there been nothing to restrain. Hence it follows there is a difference made between offences which though all equally obnoxious to justice, do not all draw after them their respective adequate punishment. For when wisdom has adjudged the proper bounds to be set to offence, mercy withholds the arm of justice from taking vengeance where it is not necessary. But what else can we conceive to make the difference between pardonable and punishable offences better than repentance? For this, if it does not take away, yet certainly lessens the necessity of punishment by rendering it needless with respect to the party himself: because his amendment works the same effect upon his future conduct as was intended by punishing him. But if the first offence were constantly forgiven, it would be looked upon as a general license to offend once: or if repentance were admitted at any time to wipe off old scores, it would encourage mankind, as we find the notion of it does many of them, to sin on without scruple, presuming upon the sponge of a distant repentance. For we see that neither God nor man will accept of repentance in all cases indiscriminately: let the debauchee or the lecher repent never so sincerely, he shall not presently deliver himself from the diseases which God, by his laws of nature, has annexed as a punishment to his vices. And I think it cannot do either hurt to Religion, or violence to reason, if we were to suppose that repentance, however it may abate, does never wholly take off, the punishment due to sins already committed: so that the principal, and that no contemptible benefit accruing from it, is to prevent the heaping up further stores of vengeance by future offences.

If this be so, we have no reason to be grieved at anything we suffer here for our misbehavior: because then we have paid our penalty, which would have been exacted from us some time or other. This opinion, while it leaves the expedience even of a death-bed repentance, shows it less valuable than an earlier, or than a life spent in piety and virtue: so that without cutting off all hopes from any, it removes the common excuse for delay



under pretence that the business may be done as well at another time; for though it might be done another time, if you were sure of having another time to do it in, yet it can never be done so well nor to so good effect as now. Therefore it seems not improbable, that no man carries with him out of the world so great a load of sins as to merit intolerable sufferings: nevertheless the difference is very material between man and man. For the wicked, besides the long list of debts already contracted carries with him an inveteracy of evil habits, that will prompt him to contract more: so that he can never clear his score, because new articles will multiply as fast as he pays off the old ones. And this is agreeable to the general belief, that the reprobate shall abound in moral evil as much as in natural. On the other hand, the righteous and truly penitent, carrying with them a disposition to act rightly, wherein they may persevere after being delivered from the temptations of the body, will have nothing wanting to complete their happiness, but to fetch up their old arrears.

11. The same origin we have assigned for vengeance, gives birth to the other branch of justice respecting rewards. But it is not every good, nor the thousandth part of that abounding throughout the universe, proceeds from justice: for we must distinguish between reward and bounty. That ample portion of happiness allotted the creatures in some part or other of their Being, we can ascribe to nothing else than pure unmerited bounty: and is itself the ultimate end, or at least the ultimate we can conceive, causing that bounty to flow; being not given as a means of effecting anything subsequent, nor in consideration of any former behavior. Nevertheless, it is not poured upon us by an immediate act of omnipotence, but powers are given us to work it out for ourselves and one another by our own activity duly exerted in our several stations. And this alone might suffice to make us bestir ourselves effectually, if we had largeness of understanding to discern, and strength of mind to pursue it before present gratification. But since we have not always a knowledge of the good effects of our measures, nor feel them weigh with us when removed too far, nor can distinguish the avail of our industry in conjunction with many fellow laborers: it becomes necessary that some part of the blessings assigned us should be brought nearer to our view, and annexed to certain actions in such measure as may touch our desire, in order to serve as incitements to pursue the courses of behavior most beneficial to our interests. And these encouragements are what we may properly understand by rewards: which are the provisions of wisdom rather than the largesses of bounty,

and given not so much for their own sakes as for something they are calculated to produce.

Thus justice in both her branches springs from the narrowness and weakness of our faculties: for though expedience be the foundation of merit, nevertheless, as we have said in our Chapter upon honor, which is one species of reward, so every other species in general belongs to things, not always where they are useful, but where it may be usefully conferred upon them. For where we have prudence enough to discern the usefulness of measures and to pursue them, there needs no encouragement of reward: whose use is only to supply the deficiencies of prudence, and conduct us along a road of expedience we wanted light or vigor to travel through.

Nor can we fail to see this idea confirmed if we look into the common transactions of life; while a man can attend properly to the management of his family, his estate, or his business, upon contemplation of the expedience, or by a habit he has acquired, he wants nothing more for his benefit: but if he finds himself grow remiss and indolent, what can he do better than consider what the world will say of him, or he shall think of himself, according as he amends or persists in his negligence? thus giving a spring to his industry by the terror of shame and compunction, or the prospect of general or self approbation. We invite children to their task by rewards, which when they have gotten a liking, or seen the expedience of their learning, we lay aside, or turn to some other beneficial acquisition, whereto they have no propensity. Privileges and immunities are granted to persons of a particular profession wanted in some country: but after the success of these first adventurers is become notorious, those encouragements are no longer needful. Public honors and emoluments may be regarded as engines of state, serviceable to actuate men's endeavors in promoting the public service. Nor might it be amiss if those in power would consider them in this light, as matters of reward, not of favor, under the disposal of justice, not of ambition or personal liking, and to be bestowed accordingly where most conducive to the general good. Nor would it save them a little trouble, if they could infuse the like notion into such as teaze them perpetually at their levees: so as not to think themselves entitled to ask for honor or preferment, unless when the conferring it would prove an example encouraging to some useful conduct.

12. It is remarkable, that generosity gains greater applause than frugality, although equally a virtue, insomuch that noble and generous are become synonymous terms: the reason of which is, because applause is necessary to the one, to overcome that greediness

of temper inclining men to engross everything to themselves ; whereas the expedience and convenience visible to every considerate person are sufficient inducements to the other. Hence we may learn that virtue is not laudable in herself, her value arising from the good fruits she bears ; but approbation, whether of others or our own, is annexed to stimulate us in the pursuit of her. And this approbation resting sometimes upon a phantom assuming her likeness, nothing can better cure the delusion, than to examine what fruits we may expect to gather from the conduct we follow. Therefore it is mischievous to fix our eye too strongly upon the beauties of virtue, or more than necessary to keep up our spirit in running her courses vigorously : because it will be rather apt to engender pride and vanity, than to promote her interests.

Hence we may account for the peculiarities of the Stoics, who placing the goodness of virtue solely in her intrinsic laudableness, became the most presumptuous and arrogant of mortals, and entertained the most whimsical notions of virtue that ever were invented. But the expression so current among them of virtue being her own reward, which relates to the self-approbation she constantly draws after her, might show that approbation is not the thing which first makes her recommendable ; for reward, in the nature of it, is something annexed arbitrarily to gain our estimation to a procedure which had a value before, grounded upon some other bottom.

Nor can I find the Stoics less romantic upon the article of happiness than the Epicureans ; which latter placed it wholly in sensitive pleasure, and insisted that the wise man might make any sensation pleasant merely by willing it : so that when roasting in Phalaris's bull, he had nothing else to do than cry out, How delightful is this warmth to my senses ! and the pain would instantly vanish. But the Stoic utterly despises pleasure and pain, as having no existence, unless in the opinion of fools and madmen ; and places his happiness in the amiableness of rectitude. What then has he to do, when thrust into the burning bull ? only to cry in like manner, How delightfully lovely is rectitude ! whose charms I now possess ; for I certainly act right in staying here, because I cannot get out.

13. Now if we turn to the administration of affairs in this world by the government of Providence, we shall find there are rewards annexed to several courses of proceeding. Health is the natural reward of temperance, plenty of industry, content of humility, hope of piety. Men often find profits when they least expected it, arising visibly from their having acted right : and whoso casteth his bread upon the waters shall sometimes find it again after many days.

It cannot be denied that these things prove an encouragement to well doing: and it can as little be denied that the provisions of heaven are made with a view to those effects we see them produce. And perhaps most of the good things we enjoy may be intended to work the effect of rewards, by leading into practices and dispositions of mind, whose uses extend to distant regions and times, whither we cannot trace them; and so given primarily for our future benefit, rather than our present enjoyment. Yet we may esteem the latter consideration likewise to have a share in the provision: for it is not incongruous for bounty to join in the same work with justice. Or if the latter must take her course, since there are two roads by which she may pass; to turn her upon the flowery turf of reward, rather than the rocky-pointed causeway of punishment.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the distribution of reward, as well as punishment, is very unequal in this world: and that of equal good deeds, as well as equal offences, some meet with their desert, while others pass unnoticed. But this need not prove a stumbling-block: for justice having always a respect to future expedience, will neither reward nor punish, unless where necessary for example sake. If she were to do otherwise she would overthrow her own purpose. For did the adequate reward constantly attend every good deed, virtue must lose her essence and become self-interest: because the eye fixing always upon the profit, satisfaction and desire could not be translated to the conduct obtaining it. Man indeed must follow his rules of justice implicitly or else he would lose his way, because he seldom stands in a situation to discern the reasons of them: but whenever he can proceed upon discretion, he apportions his rewards according to the services he expects resulting from them, not according to the intrinsic goodness of the deed; as we have seen already in the instances produced a little while ago.

14. Divines have always made the unequal distribution of rewards and punishments a proof of a future life, that there may be room for justice to settle the accounts she leaves unfinished here. Now it must needs be owned that the view of justice we have exhibited deprives them the benefit of that argument in the manner they handle it. For justice respecting only example, when she has made her distribution sufficient to restrain offence within proper bounds, and nourish virtue to the proper degree of maturity, has executed her task; nor has anything further to do with the balancing of accounts. Yet they need not be angry with me too hastily, for when we come to confer notes together, provided we do it in the amicable calmness of Christian charity,

the difference will be found merely nominal, not real. For the distinction I make between the Attributes of Equity and Justice, I believe is a new one; the latter being currently understood as a general term, comprehending them both. So that I may hope to satisfy my complainants, only by changing my style without changing my sentiments: for I have employed a whole Chapter to show that justice, taken in this comprehensive latitude, requires a balancing of accounts in some future form of Being; and that with greater exactness and more universal equality, than I fear some of them will forgive me for.

But if they would examine distributive justice apart, it would puzzle them to make out any demand upon that; for though God will not punish unless for offence, yet nobody can deny him a right to pardon where there has been offence: therefore if I suffer no more than my deserts, I have no injury done me, although the like should be remitted to another, nor would it do me any service to have him receive them in another life. As to reward, the most orthodox can hardly lay claim to that upon the score of justice, for when we have done our best, we are still unprofitable servants: therefore it is of pure unmerited bounty that God gives any reward at all, and if he withhold it from me, shall my eye be evil because he is good and gracious to another? or what damage does his being so gracious do me, for which I should be entitled to receive amends in another life?

Nevertheless the unequal distribution of good and evil upon earth has been constantly thought evidence of a future account, by all religious and considerate persons; which shows plainly that the persuasion of a divine equity is more generally entertained and more strongly rivetted in men's minds than they themselves are aware of: or than they care to own, when they would set up a title to peculiar privileges, or justify their contempt of inferior creatures, or their detestation of heretics and of their delinquent brethren. And this general consent I may take as no small confirmation of what has been delivered in former Chapters: for I am never so well satisfied with my own thoughts as when I find them coincide with those of other people.

Thus our future expectations rest upon the goodness and equity, not the justice of God: his goodness affording the prospect of much greater proportion of good than evil in the universe, and his equity insuring us our particular share of it. Nor does this lessen their strength, for so our hopes be well grounded, it is no matter whether they stand upon one Attribute or another: or rather they will stand firmer and securer when placed upon their proper

solid foundation, than upon one that with fair examination may be found hollow and unstable.

15. But though distributive justice alone cannot ensure us any future fruits of our well or evil doing here, yet it may lead into a train of consequences that may bring us to the expectation of them. For since provision has been made for deterring from vice and inviting to virtue, we cannot doubt but there are some important uses for which so much care has been taken : and since we find the dispositions of mind generated by these provisions often tend little or nothing to the advantage of mankind or improving the accommodations of life, we can as little doubt they yield more plentiful fruits elsewhere. Then reflecting on our own individuality and unperishable nature, together with our two primary properties of perceptivity and activity, whereby we shall remain forever capable of good and evil ; and contemplating the divine wisdom which does nothing in vain : we cannot suppose our existence and faculties given us for no purpose, but that we shall have an interest in the provisions made for future uses. But what likelier uses can we imagine of the dispositions contracted in our present course, than to fit ourselves for that we are to run hereafter ? And how can we imagine ourselves fitted for any particular course, after being totally disunited from all corporeal mixture ?

But men deceive themselves, as we have observed formerly, in their distinctions between body and mind, for want of making their separation clean, but taking some part of the former into their idea of the latter : and so place the talents, the genius, the habits, and stores of knowledge, in the mind itself. Whereas we have found upon a careful examination in the course of these inquiries, that our perceptions are according to the state of our judgment or fancy, being nothing else than the discernment of objects, expeditious or pleasing or striking to our notice. But the mind or purely spiritual part, being an individual, has no parts, one whereof might discern the other, yet the object discerned must be distinct from that which discerns : so that what she discerns can be neither herself nor a part of her, nor anything contained in her, but something corporeal presenting different objects according as diversely moved or modified. Thus we have no ground in experience, nor any reasoning we can draw from thence, to conclude that the mind can receive any habit or quality or alteration from what passes with us in life : nor that there is any essential and intrinsic difference between one mind and another. Therefore if there be a difference between departed souls, it must arise from some remains of their material organization carried with them.

Far be it from me to deny, that it lies in the power of God to confer good or evil by his own immediate act : but far be it from any other to deny, that it lies also in his power to do it by certain stated laws of nature ; for nature with her whole host of second causes, take direction in their every movement from his word. Nor can we plead authority to determine the point ; for that only tells us he will deal differently with the good and with the wicked, but tells not the manner otherwise than by figurative descriptions, to make sensible to our imagination so much as it imports us to know concerning the event : which whether produced directly by the hand of God, or brought to pass by the ministry of second causes, is equally his dealing. So the former manner is mere hypothesis, supported by no positive proof, but the latter stands confirmed by experience of his usual manner of dealing here below : where we see all events brought about by the operation of nature, or chance, or free agents. And for the supernatural works recorded, they appear to have been performed for manifestation of his power to dull and stiff-necked mortals : nor can we suppose them employed out of necessity, for want of other means in his hand to have accomplished his purposes.

16. Thus if we examine all our stores of experience, we shall find no evidence of a variation of power or quality or character among minds : nor that any one of them is not capable of perceptions received, and using corporeal instruments employed, by any other ; nor yet that their union with body must be necessary and perpetual. For though we know of no perceptions unless received by impression from matter, yet matter may serve their uses by occasional application without a vital conjunction. From whence it appears there is no ground in natural reason to imagine, that if ever they get wholly disengaged from all corporeal mixtures, there shall be any difference of condition among them, either in respect of their endowments, or their enjoyments, or their offices : unless as they may employ themselves to assist occasionally in particular services for carrying on the general good.

There is no doubt but God can make a difference to what degree he pleases : but what evidence is there that he will ? or what can we conceive that should incline him to do so ? Not bounty, for that extends to all alike, being no respecter of persons. Nor resentment, for he harbors none. Nor damage sustained, for he can receive none, neither hath any defeated his Will. Nor yet justice, for that respects not the past as its ultimate point of view, but aims in all her measures at working alterations of habit and disposition ; which have no place in naked spirit, being seated in

that part of our material composition vulgarly made a part of the mind. Or if there be a communication of perceptions and mutual intercourse between spirits, what should induce them to behave variously to one another? What resentment or favor can there be, where there is no passion? What dislike or partiality among brethren, where there is no diversity of character? all children of the same father, between whom there is no claim of primogeniture, nor division of separate portions, but all tenants in common of the same inexhaustible estate.

Now if anybody shall still insist that there is an essential and characteristic difference between mind and mind, because there may be so for anything that we can demonstrate to the contrary: or that God deals arbitrarily with his creatures, having his elect and his reprobates, because he has full power and authority to deal with them as he pleases: or that a communication between spirits cannot subsist, because we cannot try the experiment to ascertain it: or that there cannot be sense, intelligence, activity, and enjoyment, in a body too minute to touch our senses, because we cannot produce an instance of any such thing: I shall beg leave to put him in mind, that it is he who builds upon hypothesis and negative proofs, not I. For I endeavor to take experience for my guide, while I can have her assistance; and with respect to things invisible, where she fails me, or teaches that they must be different from the scenes she exhibits, I try to build my conceptions upon the best ideas I can form of the divine Attributes, and the proceedings of Providence lying within my observation, as the surest and only stable ground I have to rest them upon in these matters.

17. From all that has been observed it seems a natural conclusion, that the difference of condition between particular persons shall subsist no longer than while enclosed in some material composition: and that we shall not get quite clear of all corporeal integuments upon dissolution of this gross body: because provision is made in this life for uses that could not take place without them. How many various stages we have to pass through, or how long our continuance among matter is to last, we have no ground even of conjecture to ascertain. But since all these things lie under the disposal of wisdom, and goodness, and equity, we may rest assured that, wherever our lot be cast, it will be such as shall conduce most to the general good, wherein we shall share our due proportion: that whatever pain or trouble or inconvenience shall befall us, will be no more than the exigencies of public service require: and that all the comfort and enjoyment shall be afforded and tenderness shown us, that the nature



of our occupation will admit. Nor can we suppose otherwise than that, how fine composition soever our future bodies may consist of, we shall still be no more than sensitivo-rational animals: and while enclosed within any corporeal integument, although our faculties may be larger and our sight more piercing than now, still we shall want that full discernment of the general interest, and ardency of desire towards it, sufficient to actuate us in all parts of our conduct; therefore shall need nearer and more striking incitements to keep us in the pursuit of it.

. Hence it may be presumed the province of justice extends throughout all the stages of animal life: but though we can find no use for her proceeding to settle accounts of former behavior unless we knew the transactions of this life were remembered exactly in the next, yet the provisions of nature seem to indicate, that the same event shall follow as if there were an impartial and rigorous reckoning. For the habits and acquisitions we get here, being preparatives to fit us for our several functions hereafter; though we leave the habits and acquisitions themselves behind, and enter into our new Being a blank paper, yet they must have worked such an alteration in our texture and constitution, as shall give us an aptness to renew the old courses by which we first acquired them. So that the wicked will carry with him an obduracy of temper, productive of actions obnoxious to severer punishments than any executed upon him here: and the righteous a pliancy of nature obedient to the command of reason, which will lead him to merit more glorious rewards than he ever earned here. And the degree of either will correspond exactly to the course of life they have respectively followed in their present state. Nor do I see anything that should hinder, but that the obduracy may have grown so strong in some, as to render them incapable of being touched unless by the extremity of suffering: so that they will continue always objects of vengeance, and always serve as an example and warning to the rest of their compatriots.

18. Nor do there want reasons to persuade us that the pleasures and pains of the next world will be much intenser than any we have experienced in this, if we carefully examine what experience affords us concerning the process whereby they are brought upon us here. When a man receives a blow with a stick across his shoulders, the stick strikes only upon his clothes, they propagate the blow to the skin, the skin to his nerves, and the nerves to his sensory: which last alone gives him perception of the smart, all the rest being no more than channels conveying a mechanical impulse to one another. Had he had no clothes on, the stick would have hurt him more upon his naked back, and

had his skin been stripped off by a blister, he must have felt severer smart from a blow upon the raw flesh : nor is it an unreasonable consequence, that if the like stroke could be made upon any nearer channel, it would create a more pungent anguish. For we receive all our perceptions from the action of the sensory or mental organization : whatever stages the impulse of objects passes through, there is no perception until it puts this in play. From whence it may be presumed that whenever this shall be laid bare to the stroke of things external, it must take a far stronger impulse therefrom, than while enwrapped within the load of clothes composing this mortal body. And with respect to our acuteness of discernment, we stand much in the situation of a man at the further end of a long range of rooms, divided from each other by sash doors : who seeing nothing of objects without doors unless through a dozen glasses, cannot expect to have so distinct or clear a view of them as when presented to his naked eye.

Nor is it an objection that ideas of reflection, operating immediately upon the mental organs, and wherein they alone are supposed to be concerned, are less strong and vivid than those of sensation : for when I think of a person just gone out of the room, I cannot paint so lively a picture of his features upon my fancy, as while he stood before me. But this is not always the case : for sometimes a grievous smart, or violent terror, will occur afterwards to the mind more powerfully than it did upon the sensation. Besides that we find our sensitive pleasures and pains increased by the concomitant reflection attending them : insomuch that some have denied pain to be an evil, unless made so by opinion, which is the work of reflection ; nor can it be denied that many pains do not touch us, so long as we can keep our reflection intent on something else.

But though ideas of sensation, when recalled to the thought, were constantly, without exception, fainter than upon their first entrance by the senses, yet these are only copies of impressions made by external objects, and it is no wonder the copy should fall short of the original. Therefore let us make the comparison with ideas of reflection, strictly so called, being not materials imparted from without ; but new productions worked from them in the mind, such as our judgments, passions and persuasions : and we shall sometimes find them rising to so high a pitch as to overpower the action of our senses. A strong fit of desperation, or resentment, or love, or jealousy will make men despise pains and labors, and the most terrifying objects standing in their way : and a violent affliction stupefies the mind against pains and pleasures and the notice

of everything around her. Since then our mental organization can affect us so vehemently without aid of the senses, and when laid open to external objects, without grosser covering to intervene, is likely to receive more vigorous impulses: we may expect a much quicker sensibility and stronger perceptions, when receiving them by that alone, without other channel beyond. Wherefore it is of greater importance to make good provision for the health and constitution of our future bodies, than of our present.

19. How intense the sufferings of another life may be, there is nobody can pretend to guess: for experience furnishes no rule to measure them by, nor can we gather anything concerning things unseen unless from the Attributes. But our idea of goodness, which alone can set bounds to the necessity of justice, is so imperfect that it fails us upon this occasion. We know that God is good and will do nothing inconsistent with goodness: but what is or is not inconsistent therewith, we have no certain measure to ascertain. For the permission of evil forcing us to acknowledge some mixture of it compatible with this Attribute, we know not where to stop in our estimation of the quantity. Reason indeed may convince us that every evil is inflicted as a necessary means to bring forth some greater good, yet this leaves us still in the dark: for we know neither the precise quantity of good, nor proportion of one to the other, so can find no rule of admeasurement to compute either the sum or the degree of evil necessary to answer the services of the universe. The enjoyments of this world exceed the troubles and vexations to so visible a degree, that the most miserable wretches upon earth still set a value upon life: nor does death cease to be the king of terrors, even to such as have no apprehension of anything to come after. And those few who destroy themselves, do it rather to escape from some present pressing uneasiness, than upon a fair computation of the good and evil they might expect. Nor could Epicurus, who was no favorer of Providence, avoid setting down among his list of observations, That pain, if long, was light: if grievous, short.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged there are evils in life, shocking to human nature in the contemplation, horrid to think, how horrible to feel! racking pains of rheumatism and stone, and all that long catalogue of diseases described in Milton's lazar house; terrors and lingering destructions under the ruins of earthquakes; painful perishings by fire; tearings of ravenous beasts; stings of venomous serpents; miserable exits upon the bite of a mad dog; fractures, dislocations or inward bruises, by wars or accidents. What barbarities do not savage nations exercise upon their enemies! What tortures and piecemeal executions have

not been practised by tyrants and persecutors ! Or what can the wit of man invent more devilish than the ingenious cruelties of a popish inquisition !

Nor are there less terrible roads in the journey through life than in the passage out of it. The distresses of extreme poverty, hunger, nakedness, cold and scorching heat, the mischiefs of vice and debauchery ; the fatal errors of folly and inconsiderateness ; the sufferings of bodily infirmity and constitutional disease ; the vexations of injury, oppression, and ingratitude ; the desolations of war and invasion ; the pressure of afflictions, losses, and ruin ; the miseries of shipwreck and comfortless lengths of time passed on desolate shores, or in an open boat, without covering, or provisions, or respite from labor ; the wretchedness of slavery, where the unhappy negro, perhaps a king in his own country, is thrown into a stinking hold, kept upon rotten pease besmeared over with tallow grease, and then delivered up to the inhuman Spaniard, who works him beyond his strength, and every now and then fells him to the ground with a hatchet, to show his power by way of entertainment to his visitors.

With such as do not think the negro worth their concern because his skin is black, he cannot talk English, and was never christened, it would avail little to put them in mind of the miseries among the brute creation : whom nature has not only subjected to the hard services, severe usage and wanton cruelties of man, but has likewise instructed them to worry, destroy and torment one another. The cat plays with the mouse, cheats him continually with pretences of letting him escape, pats him when fainting to make him exert himself, a long while before she devours him. The water-snake pursues the shrieking frog through all his turnings, till she gets his head into her mouth, then swallows him by slow degrees into her stomach, where he lies digesting for some days before he dies. The spider has a long struggle to entangle the fly, till at last he wraps her up close in his web, and sits at leisure sucking out her vitals. The beetle, whose characteristic is stupidity and unwieldiness of limbs, beats himself down against a tree, or overturns himself in crawling, and lies sprawling upon his back ; until the little tit-mouse comes, pecks a hole in his side, scoops out his entrails, and leaves the hollow carcass to crawl about alive.

But to return to those of our own species with whom we daily converse and for whom we have a consideration : they have their private troubles and anxieties, more than they discover to us, for nobody knows where the shoe pinches so well as he that wears it. When men appear together in a company, they put on a cheer-

fulness upon their countenance, but who knows what grinding disquietudes they have at home? Unnatural parents, faithless wives, disobedient children, ungrateful friends, deceitful patrons, approach of ruin in their fortunes, disappointment of schemes they had set their hearts upon, resentment of cutting affronts, animosities against persons they cannot hurt, slights of the world upon their supposed merit. Add to this the terrors of complexional fear and superstition: apprehensions of fires or robbers, dread of the small-pox or infectious airs, frights of apparitions, prognostics and dreams, doubts about predestination, desperations of a future state, aridities and despondencies of Methodism, misgivings of Free-thinking. We may laugh at these grievances as fantastical, but how fantastical soever in their causes, they are real in their effects; nor are the pains of disorders in the mind less pungent than of those in the body, or of afflictions and disasters coming from external causes: and perhaps if we could look into the hearts of mankind, we should see them suffer more from imaginary evils than from real.

Thus we see by experience how great a weight and variety of evils are consistent with infinite goodness: and may gather from thence how strong must be that necessity which could introduce them into a plan contrived in mercy and loving kindness. Yet as we know not the grounds of this necessity, we cannot tell how much stronger it may prevail in other stages of our existence: nor to what acuter sensations, more grievous distempers of mind, and more tormenting delusions, our naked organizations may be liable. So that although we should not think an elementary fire, or a corporeal worm, reconcilable with our philosophical notions, there may well be punishments, if not similar in kind, yet equal in degree, to the scorplings of unextinguishable flames and gnawings of the never dying worm. Therefore notwithstanding God be good and gracious, there are terrors of the Lord alarming enough, if justly apprehended, to excite our contrivance and industry in providing for the health and good condition of our future bodies: that when reduced to them, we may not want activity and disposition to steer safe from the purlieu of vengeance, and keep under protection of the wide spreading wings of mercy.

But there is an art and discretion to be used in the application of those terrors: for if we dwell upon them only in our retirements, they will generate nothing but a dismal and unavailing affright. Therefore it behoves us to inculcate them then upon our minds in such colors and figures, as may rise readily again in seasons of action and attacks of temptation, and may then be most affecting to our imagination upon a single glance. For I have all along maintained, that use and expedience is the point

to be driven at, as well in the conducting of our thoughts as of our outward behavior.

20. Neither can anybody tell precisely of what kind the enjoyments of another life shall consist : but those who go about to paint them by figurative representations seem not always to have chosen such as are proper to strike upon the imagination. They tell us the righteous shall live exempt from all pain, labor, hardship, oppression, infirmity, or disappointment, and all tears shall be wiped from their eyes. So far it is well : but this is only a negative happiness, such as may be found in annihilation : but what actual enjoyment are they to have ? Why, they shall sing psalms all day long and every day. This may be vast pleasure, for aught I know, to a mind rightly tuned, but as our minds are strung at present, I believe there is scarce anybody who would not be tired of singing psalms before half the day was out, or after having sung out the whole week would have much stomach to sing again on Sunday.

But then they shall sit in white robes, with crowns on their heads, and all be kings. This may weigh much with such as are fond of fine clothes, and would be prodigiously delighted to hear themselves called, Your Majesty : but if we are all to be kings, where are our subjects ? Oh ! the toils of government would be troublesome : but we shall be called to the bench to sit as assessors in judging the wicked, and triumph over all our enemies. This may have charms with the Methodists and others of an ill-natured religion : but for my part I should esteem the condemnation of malefactors a burden rather than an amusement ; I never sign a mittimus to the house of correction, but had much rather it were done by somebody else ; and if I had any enemies I think I should not wish to insult and triumph over them, or if I did take vengeance upon them, should do it as a matter of necessity not of gratification. Besides, all this will furnish employment only for the day of judgment : when that day is ended, there will be nothing further to do.

Well, but their enjoyment of the beatific vision will not cease. I can imagine there may be an extreme delight in the full and clear display of the divine Attributes, particularly that of goodness : for I have experienced a proportionable degree of satisfaction in the contemplation, so far as I have been able to comprehend them. But this is only in my retirements, when I can bring my thoughts to a proper pitch by long and careful meditation : when I go abroad into the world upon my common transactions, I do not find this idea attend me in full vigor and complexion ; and believe those who want incitements most will

be scarce feebly touched with the hope of seeing God as he is. Besides, as I have powers of action as well as of reflection, I cannot readily conceive that in a state of bliss, one of them should remain useless, nor how enjoyment can be complete which rests in speculation alone. In short, all propounded to us in the common harangues upon this subject, seems to be no more than an Epicurean heaven, a monastic happiness, an undisturbed pious idleness.

But give me for my incitements, a life of activity and business ; a constant succession of purposes worthy a reasonable creature's pursuit ; unwearied vigor of mind ; instruments obedient to command ; exemption from passion, which might lead me astray ; unsatiating desires of the noble and generous kind ; clearness of judgment to secure me against mistake or disappointment ; company of persons ready to assist me with their lights and their helping hand, so that we may join together with perfect harmony in that best of services, the exercise of universal charity, in administering the laws of God and executing his commands. And if I have therewith a largeness of understanding, these occupations need not hinder but that, while busied in them, I may feast upon the contemplation of whatever glorious objects shall be afforded me, either in the works of nature or the Author and contriver of them.

Some Religions propound rewards alluring enough to human sense : a Mahometan paradise may suit very well with Asiatic luxury : but then such incitements are worse than none, as being mischievous to practice. For as one is naturally inclined to inure oneself to the way of living one expects to follow, they are better calculated to lead into the road of destruction than of happiness. Nor are our modern enthusiasts less blameable in flattering their mob with the privilege of insulting and ill using their betters : for of the two, a man is not drawn so far aside from the spirit of piety by the thought of possessing a Seraglio of beautiful wenches, as of having a Lord or a Bishop bound hand and foot for him to kick and cuff about as he pleases.

Therefore in the figures employed to describe the things unseen, care should be taken to admit nothing gross or sensual, vindictive or spiteful : but the business is to employ such as may be possible, innocent, and inviting. This is what I have attempted in the three Chapters of the Vehicular and Mundane states and of the Vision : endeavoring to exhibit a scene of things possible, so as nobody can certainly disprove them ; innocent, so as to contain nothing offensive to good manners or charity ; and inviting, so as to present striking images that may dwell upon the imagi-

nation. And I have so far succeeded, that upon reading them to a very sensible man, his remark at the end was, Well, I wish all this may be true. Now this was what I intended, and if my Readers shall be ready to say too, Well I wish all this may be true, my purpose is answered. I do not desire them to believe it true, they may use their judgment or pleasure upon this point; but meant only to present them with an encouraging prospect they can hold in their eye: and they may find solid and substantial reasons elsewhere to convince them, that if they take the due method for attaining it, they shall enter upon a scene of things which will be as well or better for them than if all this were true.

21. As to the punishments commonly described, they are alarming enough to human nature: perpetual burnings, inconsolable remorse, continual tormentings by devils, incessant quarrels and mutual outrages amongst the damned. To which are added, for taking stronger hold upon the imagination, the ideas of darkness, howlings, scourges, pincers, claws, horns, and cloven feet. But these things operate strongest upon the phlegmatic, the weakly and the low spirited, who want encouragements rather than terrors: which are more apt to dismay and stupefy than rouse them up to activity, and therefore are most plentifully laid on by Popish priests and leaders among sectaries, who have their private ends to serve by the dismay.

Nor is it always safe to follow the best authorities too closely, for a man may do very wrong by imitating another who has done very right: wherefore human nature, manners, and sentiments must be considered, and regard had to particular times and countries, congregations and persons. The Jews, and primitive Christians derived from them or incorporated among them, seem to have been a serious solemn generation, accustomed to a pinguid, turgid style, as Tully calls the Asiatic rhetoric, abounding in extravagant metaphors, far-fetched illusions, hard-featured images, mysterious and enigmatical allegories, requiring painful attention to understand or misunderstand them. Their tempers were soured by oppression and public contempt; for it is not in human nature to preserve an easiness and benignity of mind under continual opposition and indignities: therefore they could see no reward inviting which had not a mixture of retaliation and triumph, nor was the bliss of heaven complete without the satisfaction of beholding their persecutors swallowed up in the devouring flames of hell. And being inured to look for something of latent importance in words and syllables, might be trusted with any figures, without hazard of turning them into ridicule, for which they had no inclination nor promptitude.



But we moderns living in ease and plenty, for the most part better fed than taught, affect the lively and amusing rather than the pompous and the perplexing : instead of laboring to find mysteries in everything, we divert ourselves with turning everything into jest ; and have gotten the knack of making a trifle of whatever would naturally be most affecting to the imagination. And because our forefathers multiplied words until they confounded themselves, we are so afraid of falling into their dulness that we place reason in smartness of expression, and expect to have every difficult point decided in a single sentence. Those to whom terrors would be most serviceable, being persons of strong spirits, sanguine complexions, and hardy constitutions, able to bear a bang or a burn without flinching, are little touched with bodily pains : and being generally of unlucky dispositions, they delight in broils and squabbles, finding themselves able to make their party good whatever adversary they have to cope with, and being used to abuse others and receive abuse themselves, care not what company they fall into. By foisting in the word *Little*, they can reduce any pain to a bearable size ; for what signifies a little scorching or a little flogging ? and by familiarizing themselves to the term *Damnation*, they can wear away all meaning belonging to it, so that it becomes a harmless sound, like the chirping of a sparrow. Then for the worm of conscience, they have provided an effectual remedy against him, for they have seared up his mouth with a hot iron that he cannot bite. And the sooty countenance, horns, and cloven feet of *Satan*, make him the odder figure ; so he passes for an arch comical droll, that hates to be confined by rules, and plays any mischievous tricks for fun and merriment : therefore he and his imps bear a part in our pantomimes, and we can sit an hour together to divert ourselves with their surprising cunning and feats of dexterity.

22. But if we could once catch those people in a sober mood, and prevail on them to lay aside for a moment their all-healing epithet *Little*, they might then learn to see a difference between the sharpest pains they have experienced, and the violence of unquenchable flames ; between temporary squabbles they can laugh at when over, and endless contests with a superior adversary who will leave them no respite nor inclination for laughing. And if they have a thought of the divine power, in whose hand all the sources of good and evil lie, they must see that ; besides outward hurts and injuries they may be tormented with inward pains of stone, or joint-racking rheums, or other excruciating distempers ; with intolerable thirsts, insatiable cravings, the horrors of melancholy, and all dreadful disorders of mind. Nor are they sure of

carrying with them that hardness of constitution they so much depend upon : for they must leave their solid bones, their tough-strung muscles, their strong-bounding blood, that vigorous flow of animal spirits, the support of their present bravery, to perish in the grave ; and may be born into new life with the fearful weakness of a woman or helpless tenderness of a child, apt to be terrified at a word, to shudder at a shadow, and unable to bear the scratch of a needle.

But if they be so immersed in sensitive ideas of what they see and feel, that they cannot conceive themselves ever to become different creatures from what they are ; let us suppose, for argument's sake, they shall preserve the same sturdy constitution and temper they possess at present ; and as they have little notion of God, we may talk to them more intelligibly of the Devil. Perhaps they may have been taught by some of those who are singly wiser than convocations and synods, that there is no such species of Beings in nature : but this will avail them little, for they may have met or heard of characters among the human species excellently well qualified for the office of a tormentor ; and it will not much mend the matter, if they be put into the hands of a savage Canadian, a barbarous Algerine, or unrelenting Spanish inquisitor bred up in the science of torturing and taking cruelty for his ruling principle of action.

But whatever race the Arch-fiend be descended from, they must not expect to find him the frolic gamesome droll they have seen upon Covent Garden theatre : but a solemn melancholy tormentor loving mischief for mischief's sake, going to work with deliberate malice, inveterate rancor, and insatiable cruelty. Nor will he show them fair play in boxing, but take all cowardly advantages, not letting them get up when fallen, nor giving them time to breathe when fainting, but calling in his imps to hold their arms while he pommels them. And if he have horns or cloven hoofs, they are not for the oddity of his figure, but to punch their eyes or mouths or other tender parts.

And even supposing what cannot well be supposed, that they are so stout as to value all this no more than a flea bite, he will then take some other course with them : for he is a devilish cunning fellow, knows how to find every one's weak side and what will plague them effectually. Therefore if he perceives them insensible of pain, he will not throw away his brimstone and his scourges upon them, but take some other method that shall make them heartily sick of his company. He will tantalize them with scenes of exquisite viands and delicious liquors, frothing in the pot or sparkling in the glass, raise intolerable thirsts and cravings, and not

suffer them to touch a drop or a morsel. With a whirl of his Faustus wand, he will conjure up a bevy of buxom lasses, to tempt them with all lascivious allurements, and cram them with apples from the tree of knowledge, which shall raise desire to its utmost pitch of burning fury; but take especial care that it shall meet with no gratification. He will lay in their way treasures of gold and jewels carried by helpless children, whom when they go to murder for the booty, their arm shall wither up, so that they may strike and strike again without effect. He will represent the Deity as an angry revengeful tyrant, resolved to have his Will upon them for trifling offences; foreshow them the particular sufferings it is his Will to inflict, and how themselves are continually made instrumental to bring on those sufferings; whereby he will raise a worm of resentment, vexation, and despair, whose bite is severer than that of conscience they had stifled. If he finds them of delicate tempers, he will plunge them into filth and ordure: if courtly, he will consort them among savages and Hottentots: if musical, he will din their ears all day long with shrieks and howlings, scratching of knives upon one another, and the crash of broken beams: if proud, he will force them to servile drudgeries under command of persons they despised, and to receive insults, contemptuous language, and cutting reproaches. Or if they have antipathies against particular animals or things, he will accordingly tie them round with knots of vipers, wrap them up in webs for a prey to monstrous spiders, shut them close among enormous toads, or cats, or stuff their mouths with carrion or rotten cheese.

I do not recommend these last images to be used in assemblies, because what might affect one man strongly, might appear a joke to others who have not the same antipathy. But there is no man without some distastes and aversions he cannot think on without horror: let him then figure to himself the situation he should most vehemently dislike, and he may be assured there are punishments in nature which would afflict him as sorely. But there is no doubt they will be sharp enough to overcome his obduracy at last: therefore he had better get rid of it while he can upon cheaper terms, for the more inveterate it grows, the severer remedies will be requisite. Or if they be applied just below the measure sufficient for working a cure, this will be an increase of vengeance by prolonging the continuance of that evil disposition whose removal would render punishment needless.

## CHAP. XXX.

## DURATION OF PUNISHMENT.

If the doctrine of equality maintained in the foregoing Chapters, shall appear a novel and heterodox opinion, I hope the candid Reader will do me the justice to believe, it was not upon that account I offered it to his consideration. For I have constantly professed, and I think have all along preserved, a tenderness for prevailing sentiments, and though in the exercise of that sober freedom which is the natural right of every thinking man, I may have departed from them for a while, it has been only to return again into the beaten road, and to take what seemed to me the surest method of arriving at the practical conclusions commonly drawn from them. Nor am I so fond of novelty, or the credit of making discoveries that have escaped others, as to purchase it at the expense of Religion or good manners. If I have any desire of reputation, it is that arising from the character of a discreet and well-applied industry in the service of mankind. Therefore, notwithstanding this equality appears to me to follow as demonstratively as any conclusion we can draw concerning things invisible, from experience of human nature acting constantly upon motives suggested, from the universal dominion of Providence, governing even free-will by means of those motives, and from the unlimited mercy and bounty of God, extending over all his creatures without partiality or arbitrary proceeding; which I hope will be counted orthodox tenets: nevertheless I should have kept it concealed within myself for fear of disgusting the weakly righteous, whether great scholars or illiterate, if I had not found it a necessary foundation, and indeed the only one I could discern by the light of reason, whereon to place that general interest from whence I apprehend may be deduced the practical rules of life, as well those relating to religion, as to morality or common prudence.

For how much soever we may flatter ourselves with the notion of noble and generous innate principles, there always lies Self at bottom in everything we do; and all men constantly pursue their own happiness, though by very various ways. One places it in distant good, another in present pleasure, another in riches, or title, or superiority, or humor, or self-approbation; but whatever, whether real or fantastical, each man apprehends for the present most satisfactory to him, that is the object to which he directs his powers. Therefore if we could touch this universal

spring of action, by showing clearly to every one's apprehension that his private interest stands connected with the general, nothing could more effectually inspire men with a hearty zeal for promoting one another's benefit, or help to rectify their sentiments of virtue. Because the Generality consisting of individuals, whatever proves beneficial to any one, is an addition of good among the Whole : and because every genuine virtue tends to procure benefit to the whole, or a part of it, or some individual contained therein, without more endamaging any other ; and whatever does not do so, either immediately or remotely, is no virtue, but may be pronounced spurious. Yet it must be owned, our equality, which we have labored to cultivate in hopes of bearing such excellent fruits, has one inconvenience attending it : that it is incompatible with an absolute perpetuity of punishment. But as this may be thought of pernicious tendency, by taking off the discouragement against evil-doing ; a consequence I should be very sorry to have given a handle for drawing, I have appropriated this Chapter to obviate the mischief, by showing that nothing before contained can be justly construed to lessen the discouragement.

2. But before I enter upon this task, I shall take the liberty to observe an objection that lies against the perpetuity of punishment, in the phenomena whereof we have experience. Justice, in the received idea of it, requires an exact distribution according to the character of every individual. It is not enough that reward be given to the good, and punishment to the wicked, but the proportion of each must be measured out among the persons of either class, according to their respective degree of goodness or badness. Accordingly we are taught to expect a difference, not only between the good and the bad, but between the good and the better, the bad and the worse : for that the righteous shall rise above one another, as one star differeth from another star in glory ; and of disobedient servants, he that offendeth much shall be beaten with many stripes, and he that offendeth little with fewer stripes. Since then there is an exact proportion observed, corresponding with every little variation among individuals, and the difference between everlasting bliss and everlasting misery is immense, it follows that there must be the like immense difference of character between the good and the wicked ; for else the rule of justice would be violated. But this we do not find true in experience : for there are all gradations of character, falling by imperceptible degrees, from the most perfect man that ever lived down to the most abandoned villain.

It may be said we cannot penetrate into the secrets of the heart, nor discern all the depravity lurking there. This I ac-

knowledge we cannot do with any exactness, yet there are none of us who do not undertake to pronounce some persons righteous and others wicked : so that we can make a judgment where the case is glaring, though we cannot always do it critically. Therefore it would be no wonder if we were only puzzled in comparing two good men, to determine which was the best ; or two bad men, which was the worst : but we are often egregiously deceived in our opinion of good and bad, taking the one for the other, nor can we pronounce upon many persons we know, to which class they belong : that is, we cannot distinguish between characters as wide asunder as heaven is from hell. For the smallest portion of eternal happiness is infinitely preferable to the mildest of eternal sufferings ; and the step from the topmost summit of hell to the lowest seat in heaven, infinitely greater than from thence to the seat immediately above, or perhaps I might say, to any seat reserved for human soul. Nor would it much mend the matter if we were to suppose a purgatory : for any finite punishment followed by endless bliss, is still infinitely more desirable than endless torment.

Thus there is an exact proportion of justice between the individuals of either class, but between the two classes there lies an immeasurable gap : which would destroy all proportion, unless there be the like immeasurable gap somewhere among the characters of mankind, which we may presume must be so obvious as to strike every eye ; so that none could ever fail in distinguishing the classes, however they might mistake in the particular centuries under each. Nor does the fallibility of human judgment concerning the real character of particular persons remove our objection : for I defy any man to draw, much more any two men to agree in drawing, the character of a sinner, whether real or fictitious, who if he were ever so little better, would be admitted to a portion in eternal glory : or of a righteous person, who if he were one degree less righteous, would become a sinner reserved to eternal sufferings. Besides, as the best among us have their failings, and we are all sinners, for there is none that doeth good, no not one : there cannot be that vast difference between the most opposite characters upon earth, between the greatest of sinners and the least, as is supposed to be made in the recompenses respectively allotted them.

3. And those who place salvation in faith alone remain liable to the same difficulty : for a saving faith must be right, and it must be strong : but there are degrees of rectitude and of strength in faith, as well as any other virtue. Will any man assert that every little error in matters of belief, and every falling short of the in-

vincible confidence of a tortured martyr, shall exclude from heaven : or every faint and inconsiderate assent to the orthodox faith secure a place in it? Thus there are degrees of faith and infidelity as well as of morality and immorality. Yet how have doctors differed upon the articles of faith? what endless disputes have they carried on in settling the list of fundamentals? And one of the most sensible among them, Chillingworth, has shown that fundamentals are relative; that article being such to one man which is not so to another, according to their several lights and capacities. And I think it very happy for the world this matter was never settled; because if men knew what was just enough to carry them to heaven, they would not do a stitch more than absolutely necessary: whereas being left in uncertainty they must use all their diligence, for fear a part of it should not be sufficient to make them safe.

But supposing the articles settled, there would still continue the like uncertainty with respect to the strength of persuasion in them, requisite to make a saving faith. How many pious Christians labor under cruel anxieties upon this head? They receive all the doctrines of their Church without reserve, so their doubt is not upon the rectitude but the liveliness of their faith. If they go to the Protestant Vicar or Popish Confessor, the latter may give them absolution upon their paying for it, or the former tell them they want no absolution upon this account: but neither can instruct them how to know at all times, when they have proved deficient and when not. For who can assign the just measure of assent that distinguishes between a dead and a lively faith? or mark out the exact line of separation between the believer and the infidel? so that whoso passes it, enters the state of salvation; and whoso falls a hair's breadth short, remains a child of perdition. Which yet, if we regard the distribution made by justice between the two, ought to be, not a mathematical line, but a spacious gulph, like that which separated Dives from Abraham.

But it is said that justice has no concern in this part of the distribution: for all have sinned and all become obnoxious to her never-ending severity, until mercy interposed to rescue a certain number. What then, are not all the Attributes infinite? Is the arm of mercy shorter or weaker than that of justice? Or does our God, as was fabled of the heathen Jupiter, distribute his mercies out of a gaugeable tun, which when empty, he must stop at the next man standing close to him who last received invaluable treasures therefrom? No, but justice is a debt, therefore requires an exact apportionment to the desert of every particular person: whereas mercy is matter of mere favor, therefore subject to no

rules; for God may extend his favors as far as he pleases and stop where he pleases, and consequently by the interposition of his free mercy, may throw an immeasurable gap between persons whom justice would have treated nearly alike. I shall not deny he may do so, for who can hinder him? but if it be inferred from thence alone, that he does do so, this is building upon hypothesis; for what may be, may as well not be: nor have we reason to conclude for either branch of the disjunction unless we can find something in our idea of the Attributes to cast the balance between two things equally possible.

Therefore nothing can be gathered from what he may do, until it be known in what sense the word is understood: for it has been shown in CHAP. XXVI. that May, Can, and Possible, are equivocal terms, as relating either to power or contingency. In the former sense it is certain God may show mercy to whom he will, and withhold it from whom he will. This nobody doubts: for we are all in his hands, and he has full right and authority to deal with us as he pleases. But so he may distribute justice too without rule or measure: for who shall withstand his power? what restraint or obligation hangs over him? or who shall say to him, Why dost thou this? If then we say he cannot deal unjustly by his creatures, we found the assertion upon our idea of his nature, inclining him to govern invariably with perfect righteousness: and what we say, amounts to no more than an assurance that he never will.

Now let us apply the expression the same way to mercy, and we shall find it hard to comprehend that he may show infinite mercy to whom he pleases, and withhold every spark of it from whom he pleases, without any other rule or reason than his own mere pleasure. For mercy is as much in his nature as justice, nor is one less infinite than the other is perfect: neither does he proceed arbitrarily in either, but both are guided by the rules of infinite wisdom. Therefore mercy never tires in dispensing her inexhaustible treasures, nor ever stops when come to a certain point of delinquency, until wisdom represents that the offender could not be spared without damage to the creation: and then it would be mischief, not mercy, to pass the line of separation. Thus we find the sinner who wants the just measure of righteousness or saving faith, is doomed to everlasting flames, while another but little better is rewarded with everlasting bliss: not because God has not mercy enough to save both, but because it is expedient that one should perish for the benefit of the creation.

Can we then persuade ourselves that the common father of all should so severely sacrifice some of his children to the good of



the rest, without reserving to himself a time wherein his mercy may make a compensation? Or what rule of reason will permit that the heaviest burdens of public service should lie forever upon the same persons? Nor does there want an argument that they do not, taken from facts within the reach of our observation; which are, the daily departure of persons dying in their sins. For where any collection or number receive a continual increase, it is a presumptive evidence of their having continually a proportionable discharge. To what purpose then are fresh additions made, unless to supply fresh vacancies, where the number is already full? as we must conclude it always to have been ever since there were creatures existent. For can we conceive that God would permit the requisite examples of suffering ever to be wanting in the universe? or that he will permit them ever to abound more than wanting? or what ground have we to imagine a greater quantity of evil necessary now than was two thousand years ago? What then shall we say to those countless multitudes that your pious Christians assert have been cast into everlasting flames in that time? Have they all perished gratis, without any benefit to the world, which might have done as well without their punishment, having samples enow of it before? Is it not more natural to conclude they go to occupy the places of others, who from time to time have obtained their deliverance? Thus we see the doctrine of endless punishment has no foundation in human reason, and we must have recourse to the inspired writings for proofs to support it: if such proofs are there to be found, which I shall offer some reasons to question.

4. If I were to imitate some of our profound doctors, who run to the original text for a word wherein they may find a sense unthought of before, to support their particular opinions: I might insist that the term translated Everlasting ought to be preserved untranslated, as a kind of technical term, and called Aionian. I might then lay down that as the age of man contains that space of time passing between his birth and his death, so the Aion, or greater age, contains the whole length of his journey through matter. Therefore Aionian punishment is a state of suffering to last from his death until he shall get wholly clear of all corporeal organization. I might observe likewise it is remarkable that in speaking of God, whose eternity everybody must allow to be absolute, it is said that he shall endure, not simply to the Aion, that is, forever, but to the Aion of Aions, that is, forever and ever: which marks a visible difference between the duration of punishment and absolute eternity.

But I am not fond of this kind of argumentation, which is better calculated to stop an adversary's mouth than to convince him. I hold it more expedient to consider fairly what are the ideas intended to be conveyed by the expressions in the text. Now we are told the gospel was preached to the poor, that is, the ignorant and unrefined, therefore is best expounded in the sense wherein such would naturally understand it: nor are we warranted to look for scholastic or philosophical notions in anything contained there. Mankind in the earliest ages, of which we know little more than what stands recorded in the books of Moses, seem to have had no notion of anything beyond this world: therefore the rewards and punishments proposed to them were all of the temporal kind, or at most such as related to their posterity and the remembrance of their names here upon earth. I shall not deny that some thinking persons did very early entertain an opinion of a life to come, and by degrees introduced it among the vulgar. But in the latter at least it amounted to no more than a persuasion that the soul should survive the body, without considering for how long continuance, yet without setting any limitation to it or thinking of anything beyond; wherefore they applied to it the epithet Everlasting. And so in common discourse we speak of an immense desert, a boundless ocean, an endless prospect; because neither the eye nor the imagination can find an end: and we talk of a man purchasing an estate to him and his heirs forever; not that we believe the earth, or the lands whereinto it is apportioned, eternal; but because no limitation is set to the possession.

In these cases we are something like those Indians of whom it is said they can count no further than twenty, and for all higher numbers point to the hairs of their head: so if you were to tell them of a flock of a hundred sheep, you can only point to the hairs: if of a thousand, it is the same; or if you talk of the immensity of space or infinitude of time, still you can do no more than refer to the hairs. In like manner we use the term Forever to express every length of time whereto we set no measure, nor consider anything beyond. Nor is it denied the Scripture sometimes employs this term for durations which cannot be supposed endless, and if it employs the same for such as are so, it is because none other of higher import was to be found in common language: therefore this being an equivocal term, requires something else to determine which way it is to be understood upon every particular occasion.

It has been alleged indeed that there is this something else: because the continuance of punishment is expressed in the same tenor of language with that of the reward promised the righteous, which

everybody allows to be endless. But why everybody should allow this, I do not know; unless for want of distinguishing that the blessings of God are of two sorts: those which are given as a reward of obedience, and those which are given of his pure unmerited bounty, without regard to anything past, but flowing directly from infinite goodness. The bliss of the final state I have all along supposed eternal in the utmost extent of the word: which it may well be, notwithstanding a few excursions into mortality, that make little gaps, or rather imperceptible crevices in it, but do not limit its duration. Just as if a man were promised immortality and perpetual happiness here upon earth, he would not think it a falsification of the prophecy that he lost a part of every night in sleep, or passed an uneasy day once in twenty years. Now this bliss is the free gift and sole effect of bounty, extending to all alike, and requiring none other qualification than the capacity of receiving it. But it is the Aionian life and Aionian death, to continue during the journey through matter, that makes the conditions of men different, and depends upon their behavior here below. Therefore this Aionian difference of conditions was all needful to be inculcated for serving the purposes of Religion and morality: and this the vulgar would naturally understand of an unlimited duration, the utmost extent of their ideas, beyond which they would not think of looking for anything further.

For the distinction between a time whereto the thought can set no bounds and an absolute eternity, between the words Indefinite and Infinite, attempted in our Chapter on the divisibility of matter, were the refinements of modern ages; wherein men have dived deeper into the abyss of thought than their forefathers could do, by improving upon their labors. Now it would have done mischief to the vulgar to have perplexed them with these subtilities, which therefore are left open to the decision of human reason: nor would it have done service to anybody to have decided them; because reason, with all her refinements, cannot lessen the discouragement there lies against evil doing. As I shall now endeavor to manifest, by resuming the main purpose of this Chapter, from which I have hitherto digressed.

5. Whoever will take pains in practising the method recommended at the close of the last Chapter, by figuring to himself a situation he should most vehemently dislike; whether of scorching flames, cruel scourgings, slavish drudgeries, ghastly spectres, dreadful casualties, inward pains, nauseous diseases, intolerable thirsts, cutting affronts, contemptuous insults, incessant vexations, or whatever else he finds most shocking to his thought, and from thence taking his estimation of future punishments, which how-

ever different in kind, we have given reasons to show, will exceed them in degree; may presently see that nothing in this world can make it worth his while to incur them. For let him compute all the pleasures of vice and folly that the longest life, with the most uninterrupted success, and his most sanguine hopes can promise him, and he will find the utmost amount of them immeasurably outweighed by an extremity of torment, though it were to last no longer than for a twelvemonth: and yet he must not expect to come off for so short a reckoning.

If he flatter himself that he shall become familiarized to his sufferings by long endurance until they lose their anguish; because the like sometimes happens here; this is a vain imagination which he has no ground to build upon. Pain and labor abate of their grievousness here; because our bodily organs abate of their sensibility by frequent use, as our flesh becomes callous by continual pressing: but we do not find the like relief in disorders of the mind, unless those whereon the body has an immediate influence. Time may cure them by introducing other habits giving imagination a contrary turn, but can never cure an old habit merely by wearing it out. Boys begin to want money as soon as they know the use of it, and this want grows with their years; so that covetousness is observed to be the predominant vice of old age. Those who have given way to anger and resentment in their youth, grow more touchy and revengeful the longer they live. And though carnal concupiscence take rise from the body, yet when the infection has been suffered to catch strong hold on the mental organization, it continues to plague the old lecher with the cravings and filthiness of debauchery, after he is past all capacity of the pleasures. Inasmuch that Plato and many others have supposed the punishment of the wicked to consist of such insatiable desires as cannot find gratification for want of the corporeal instruments left behind. However this be, we have no reason, from anything within our own experience, but to think that whatever pains or inconveniences arise from a disorder or infirmity in our mental organization, when disjoined from the body, shall continue so long as the mind continues in that Aion, or form of Being, and so shall be properly an Aionian punishment.

6. How long this continuance may be, there is nobody can undertake to determine: for we have no light from the Attributes, because we know not what limitation must be set to evil to bring it consistent with infinite goodness. It seems not unlikely, what some have imagined before, that the mind does not get clear of all corporeal mixture ever the sooner for obtaining a quick discharge from her present habitation: but that there is a certain length of

passage assigned her through matter. Wherefore, as a man who is to perform a journey in a certain time, if he makes his first stage very short, must travel so many more miles the next: so if she stays but little while in this life, she must abide so much the longer in that which is to follow, that the sum of both added together may complete the appointed length. Upon this supposition we must conclude that every man's Aion exceeds the difference between the age at which he died, and that of the oldest man who ever lived: I say, exceeds, because there must have been an Aion reserved for the longest liver, both of the righteous and of the wicked, wherein they might receive the respective recompense of their deeds. Now if we can take Moses' word, the human body was built originally to stand near a thousand years: so that all the deaths appearing upon our present bills of mortality must be counted hasty and premature; nor can we, such men as live in these degenerate days, expect a shorter Aion than that space of time.

But since it is not the fashion with everybody to take Moses' word, let us argue with them, by parity of reason, from facts obvious to their experience, whose word it may be hoped they will take. The acorn lies ripening in the tree a part only of the summer, but the oak to grow from thence may last for ages. The embryo animal grows in the dam a few weeks or a few months, but comes from thence to live for years. The child is formed and fashioned in three quarters of a year, but when born may hold out to fourscore or a hundred. Thus we see that state, whether of animal or vegetative life, which nature employs as the introduction to another, bears a small proportion to the date of that whereto it is introductory. But it has been shown upon several former occasions, that our present life is preparatory to the next; and that the mental organization, vulgarly called the rational soul, lies like a little foetus within us, continually forming and fashioning by our behavior and the occurrences befalling us here: from whence it may be presumed that all this provision is not made for effects of a short continuance, but the state for which we are preparing shall exceed our present in as high proportion as our date of life, barring accidents, would have exceeded our time of gestation in the womb: which will extend the Aion far beyond the thousand years before assumed.

7. Let us suppose then we could know for certain that the duration of future punishment were precisely one thousand years: what encouragement could this give to the sinner? Is not this length far greater than that of any enjoyment he can expect to get by sinning? Let him consider what it is to pass a day, a week, a month, in exquisite tortures, and he will soon find a less time than

that we have specified sufficient to discourage him effectually from running the hazard. Suppose a wicked man talked to by the Parson of the parish, who terrifies him with the dread of everlasting flames, into the resolution of amendment. You come in afterwards and bid him not mind the parson, for you know better than all of them put together, and can assure him there is no such thing as everlasting flames. Ay ! says the man, I am heartily glad of that, for then I may take my pleasure without fear of an after-reckoning. No, no, you say, I cannot engage for so much neither ; you must expect to smart, but it will be but for a while, only a thousand years and all will be well again. What comfort could this give him ? Must it not rather damp his spirits, and the naming so vast a length, increase his terrors more than the limitation to that term abate them ?

For both choice and evidence have their certain weight to render them complete : while below this pitch, you may increase them by adding to the weights ; but when once arrived at it, all further addition is superfluous. For in moral arithmetic, as observed before under the article of pleasure, the same rules do not hold good as in the common ; nor does two and two always make four. If I hear an unlikely fact related by somebody I know little of, I shall not heed him much : if another confirms what he said, I may begin to doubt : two or three more agreeing in the same story may make me think it probable : but if twenty persons of approved honor and veracity asserted it upon their own knowledge, I should give an unreserved assent ; nor could I do more though a hundred of the same character were to come in. So were a man offered a long life of pleasure for a month's future sufferings, perhaps he might be stout enough to accept the condition : were they increased to a year, he might hesitate : but were they multiplied to a thousand years, he could not delay his choice a moment, if he had any consideration at all. Where demonstration will not convince, nor things beyond all comparison determine the choice, it proves an insensibility in the mind which no further outward application can cure. If those who hear not Moses and the Prophets would not believe though one rose from the dead ; neither would he that is not touched with a thousand years of severest punishment, be moved with an eternity. For it is plain the present wholly engrosses his imagination : he has no regard for the future : and you may as well make a blind man see by lighting up more candles, or a mortified limb, that has utterly lost its sensation, feel by laying on more stripes, as affect him by any future sufferings whatsoever.

Therefore since a mind that has any feeling of futurity will be filled with as much terror by the length above specified as it is capable of receiving, you cannot lessen the discouragement by paring off what lies beyond : and one that has no sense of anything further than this present life, will not be affected by all you can say concerning an Hereafter ; so you cannot lessen the discouragement where there was none. Besides, for a man to pretend he should have paid a due regard to his future state if I had not persuaded him it was finite, would be contradicting himself in the same breath : for why does he make nothing of a limited term, unless because he conceives it fifty or threescore years distant ? How absurd then is it to tell me he sets no value upon a reversion after threescore years, yet should value one extremely after a thousand years ? He that makes this excuse either is not in earnest or deceives himself egregiously, and only catches hold of a specious argument to cover his thorough attachment to present pleasures.

8. Nevertheless, if any think a longer duration will work more upon men's minds, let them please to remember that though I have offered considerations to make it probable the punishment will continue so long, I have not offered a single one to prove it will continue no longer. It may be rather inferred from the second argument I have employed, drawn from the analogy of seeds and embryos, that the length ought to be extended much further : for if you fix the life of man at seventy years, that term will be the mean proportion between the time of his gestation in the womb, and his Aion : then seek that proportion by the Rule of Three, and you will find that as nine months are to seventy years, so are seventy years to six thousand five hundred thirtythree years and four months. But I do not pretend to ascertain this matter by arithmetical calculations, nor indeed to set any certain limitation whatever thereto ; all I can say with assurance is this, that it will be for so long as to answer the purpose intended by it : if a thousand years will not do, it shall be for ten thousand : if ten thousand will not do, it shall be for a hundred thousand. Be sure the unrepenting sinner shall suffer long enough to make it strikingly clear to the dullest apprehension and most stony heart, that he has made a foolish and a fatal bargain. And as it may be presumed one intention is to overcome his obduracy, if ever he shall be permitted to deliver himself, it must be by the same self-denials by which he might have escaped his punishment ; therefore he had better practise them voluntarily now, than stay till compelled to it by extremity of tortures.

After all that has been suggested, if any considerate person should happen to come into my notion upon this article, I think he

could not be induced thereby to become a whit the less careful of his future concerns : and for the inconsiderate, they are not likely to meddle with my speculations. But if any of them should be hurt, it may be attributed to the common practice of expatiating with all the powers of Oratory upon the word *Eternal* : which carries a tacit implication, that if punishment were not eternal, it would not be worth minding. This seems to be inuring men never to stir unless upon the strongest inducement : perhaps it might be more expedient to bring them into a habit of answering the gentlest call of judgment. It has been remarked that a trader never grows rich who despises little gains : and it might as justly be said, that a man never grows happy or prudent who despises little advantages, although large enough to be visible. The mind has been often compared to a fine balance, and we know the excellence of a balance lies in its turning with a hair : so the excellence of judgment lies in discerning the minutest difference ; and the excellence of disposition, in pursuing measures readily upon view of the slightest preference.

Yet every innovation, even of a word, in the received form of doctrine, though not affecting the main purpose of Religion, that of making men better, is looked upon as dangerous ; and I cannot help owning, with reason. Because the bulk of mankind, too lazy to think for themselves, take what they do take, upon the credit of their teachers : and if they find that credit shaken in any single instance, very hastily infer that everything else taught them was mere invention or mistake. Therefore to avoid giving a handle whereby such pernicious consequence might be drawn, I shall proceed to make out, that the punishments of a future life may still be eternal. I doubt not this will be thought a contradiction to that equality I have been laboring to establish : but before men pronounce things contradictory, let them be sure they have a clear and adequate notion of the terms whereby they are expressed.

9. What else is eternity besides an infinite length of time ? and this we may think we have a clear apprehension of because we know what we say when we use the epithet *Infinite* : but the consequence does not follow ; for though we have a clear idea of infinity, we have none of an infinite quantity. I need not be at the pains to prove this paradox too, Mr. Locke having done it before me : for he tells us the idea of infinity is that of being able to add perpetually without ever coming to an end. So that the infinitude of a quantity is its exceeding all our methods of computation, a circumstance we can easily comprehend belonging to it : but what does so exceed them cannot be the object of our



comprehension, because whatever number we can clearly conceive, we might express exactly by figures; therefore it is no rule that there can be nothing beyond what is infinite, nor that all infinite must be equal. To the Indians mentioned some time ago, who could count no further than twenty, number twentyone must be infinite, so must fifty, so must a hundred, and a thousand: yet we who can count further, know these are different numbers, which may be subtracted from one another and still leave what to those savages shall remain infinite, expressible only by the hairs of their head. Much the same it is with ourselves, we can run prodigious lengths with our millions and billions and trillions, but we cannot run on forever: our powers of numeration have their certain bounds, which whatever surpasses, so as that we might add and add without end yet without ever reaching it, we call infinite; nor have we any other name for all quantities surpassing our utmost numeration. So because we call them all by one name, we suppose them all the same thing. Yet there may be great varieties among them, and they may contain one another many times over without our being able to find a difference between them: for they rank under the class of incomprehensibles, concerning which we can form no clear or adequate conception.

But I am gotten into the wilds of abstraction, and shall be better understood by recurring to cases where we may have sensible objects to assist us. Draw two lines across one another at right angles; describe circles, as many as you please, upon the point of intersection, whose centres lie behind each other upon one of the lines; then turn the central foot of your compass to the opposite side of the same line, and draw the like number of circles respectively equal to the former, all touching in the same point. Now mathematicians will tell you that the external angles between all the circles, and those made by the transverse line with them all, are infinitely small: that the said transverse or tangential line cuts the angle between each pair of equal circles into two halves; and the angle between the two least circles contains all the rest as parts of a whole. So you see here is one infinite which contains many others within it, each of them divisible into two infinites a piece.

Lay down a shilling upon the table, and there lies an infinite space directly over it; for all the Solar and Stellar vortices, all the vast expanse containing the visible universe, if squeezed into the diameter of the shilling, would not fill up the cylinder; they could raise it only to a determinate height computable by the rules of arithmetic. Place another shilling close to the former, and there

stands the like infinite space over that too. Draw a line across the two shillings through their point of contact and produce it in imagination as far as you can to the right hand; as it passes along it will continually cut superficies capable of containing other shillings, each having the like cylinder over it; but as you can never find an end of your line, you must conclude there runs an infinite row of columns on the right side of your shillings. So here we have the square of infinitude, that is, an infinite number of infinite spaces. You may likewise imagine another row running side by side beyond the former, another beyond that, and so on without limitation: which gives you an infinite number of rows, or the cube of infinitude. Then we may consider that there hangs the like cylinder under each shilling as rises above it; that the line might be produced on the left hand as well as on the right; and rows run along on the hither side of the first row as endlessly as on the further side: so that we have double infinities, quadruple squares, and octuple cubes of infinitude; and all these together compose the immensity of space, which we can express by no higher term than still to call it infinite.

With respect to infinite time, or eternity, we cannot find squares and cubes there; yet every common eye may see that it consists of two eternities, that which is past and that which is still to come: the one continually receiving addition, yet without increase of quantity, the other continually perishing, yet without diminution, by the successive efflux of years and ages. This cannot happen in finite periods, where the part behind constantly gathers ground in proportion upon the part before: Methusaleh at the age of thirty, was ten years older and had ten less to live than at the age of twenty: but who will say God is older now than in the beginning, when the earth was without form and void? or that either he, or the human soul, has less time to exist now, than at the instant when he called her forth into Being?

Thus we see that infinites elude all our rules of arithmetic; if we add, multiply, square or cube, we cannot increase them: if we subtract, divide, extract the square or cube root, we cannot diminish them. Whatever we do, we can make no change from what they were before: for in every process where one quantity is infinite, what other soever we work it with, still the sum, remainder, product and quotient will always be infinite. But the Divine mathematician proceeds not by our arithmetic: he wants not comprehension to grasp the immensity of space, nor line of intelligence to measure the abyss of eternity. He sees distinctly what varieties of infinites lie contained within one another, and what proportion each bears to other. Nor can we take upon us

to deny that he may know there have been many eternities already past, and many still reserved in the bosom of futurity ; whereof he may assign one for the distribution of rewards and punishments, leaving ample room beyond for restoring equality by provisions made to bring the balance even between his particular creatures. If we cannot comprehend this, tell me what there is we can comprehend upon the article of Infinites ; and then I shall admit our non-comprehension a proof of the thing not being so.

And yet I think we may gather some illustration of this matter from a case put upon the two eternities whereof we have an idea. Nobody can deny that God has had the power of creating from everlasting, nor that, whatever has been done, he might have exercised that power from everlasting : therefore there might have been creatures who had existed eternally. Suppose then there were two men, one of whom had passed an eternity in a certain degree of uneasiness, the other in an equal degree of enjoyment ; and both were called to judgment to show cause why there should not be a change of conditions between them, to be never altered again. I doubt not the former would be ready enough to allege the equity of the exchange ; for that it was but reasonable that he who had been holden from all eternity in a state worse than non-entity, should be allotted a like continuance in a state as much better ; and if he prevailed, would think himself made amends for the unbeginning suffering he had endured, by the endless enjoyment he expected. Hence it appears an idea may be framed in speculation, of the weights hanging eternally on one side, yet the balance being brought even, and an equality subsisting if computed throughout the whole extent of existence.

10. Yet whatever limits be really set to the duration of future punishment, it will be the same to the sinner at his entrance upon it as if there were none : for if not endless it will be hopeless. For the future can affect us no otherwise than by our knowledge or idea of it : whatever good or evil fortune is to befall me tomorrow, whatever end shall then be put to my pleasures or afflictions, will give me neither joy nor sorrow while I have no suspicion of it. A man cast into a loathsome dungeon, or put on board a ship to be sent into banishment, while lamenting that he shall never see the light again, or his friends and country again, can receive no comfort from the Prince having resolved to revoke his doom, unless he be told it. In like manner when the wicked lies engulfed in the dreadful abyss of darkness, what consolation can he receive from a deliverance, however near, whereof he can have no knowledge ? Does he think to retain his present sanguine expectations ? They sprung from his partiality to sen-

sual pleasures, flattering him with the belief of whatever might prove an encouragement to follow them : therefore must necessarily vanish together with the root whereout they grew. Or even supposing them founded on clearest and calmest reasonings, is he sure of carrying with him his present ideas or the remembrance of anything he has discovered here ? Or what room will there be for clear and calm reasoning in the midst of tortures ? Or will not the Devils and his companions in misery, have cunning enough to frame crafty sophisms, that shall overthrow all his reasonings, and confound his understanding ? If they see souls delivered every day, be sure, they will let him know nothing of the matter : but urge all their topics, and use all their artifices to aggravate his despair. And as men are here too apt to murmur against God and charge him foolishly, when things go very much amiss with them : so the reprobate, who as such must have a perverse turn of mind, when fallen under the weight of divine vengeance, will behold in God a cruel oppressor, a furious irresistible monster, having no spark of mercy in his nature, and as incapable of relenting as time is of running backwards.

And here we may observe by the way, of how great importance it is to form our motions of the divine Attributes aright, and found them upon solid and consistent reason : they will then remain unshaken in all changes of situation and stand the test of adversity, to be our comfort when we need it most. Whereas if we flatter ourselves with an injudicious and ill-grounded idea of justice, and goodness, and indulgence, because it suits our present convenience, we shall see it wrested out of our hands some time or other; and then that will become an object of horror and despondency, which we used to look upon as our protection and license to take our pleasures without scruple.

11. As I should be very sorry to have my speculations do hurt to anybody, I shall not content myself with removing objections against them, but likewise endeavor to guard against every vain imagination that I can conceive might arise in men's minds from anything before offered, and might have a bad influence upon their conduct. Perhaps some who are ready to catch hold of any pretence to justify them in following their own inclinations, may allege, that since the periods and the several stages contained in them are fixed by divine appointment, they need not trouble themselves to be careful of their conduct : for whatever they do, they must run the course assigned them, and cannot alter what has been appointed by the Will of Heaven. Or possibly some, too selfishly righteous, may be backward in reclaiming others whom they see travelling the road of destruction, because since there are suffering

states which must be borne by somebody, they will be glad to find others ready to undertake them, as rendering their own chance of escaping the stronger. But there would be no room for these surmises, if it were remembered that I have all along disclaimed a fatality, compulsorily and unalterably fixing events dependent upon human agency: and that there being a secret Will makes no alteration in the justness and expedience of our measures; that Will being constantly fulfilled by the free choice of our own Wills in matters lying under our power, which remain as much the proper object of our deliberation and industry as if there were no foreknowledge or pre-appointment concerning them.

Yet the ideas of pre-causation and fatality, of certainty and necessity, are so strongly rivetted together in men's minds by custom, that it is not easy to keep them asunder, when once disjoined, without repeated efforts and placing things in various lights, one of which may chance to succeed where the others have failed. Wherefore it may not be amiss to make one more attempt for breaking the association: though what I have to offer will be little else in substance than what I have offered before. The appointment of all events, both great and small, being made no otherwise than by the provision of adequate causes to bring them forth, the most important and momentous will fall under the same rules with the most familiar and trifling. Let us consider then how the case stands with respect to the common transactions of life. If I have friends to dine with me to-morrow, and have settled my bill of fare of things I know are to be had in the house, or the yard, or the market; I may look upon the appearance of the dishes upon my table as a certain event comprised in the list of appointments, because I know all the causes are ready at hand requisite to produce it: and it was certain seven years ago, though I did not know it then, nor could anybody have foretold it. Nevertheless, how is it unalterable, but that how strongly soever I have resolved to have a turkey, it is still in my power to exchange it for a goose? What compulsion was I under either in making my determination, or in keeping it? Wherein does it render my cares unnecessary in giving orders to my servants for providing and preparing the meats? Or what alteration does the opinion of a pre-appointment make, so much as of a lettuce in the sallad, or a garnish upon the dish?

Perhaps I design to buy a horse for my riding, but have not any particular one in my eye: I know there are enow to be had in town, and the jockeys will cheat one egregiously: yet I am resolved to deal with them as well as I can. This too stands upon the roll of appointments, for there are causes in being,

dependent in a chain upon the operations of the First, which will direct me to one certain purchase: though I know not what will be the issue, yet I know it will depend partly upon my own management. Therefore what have I else to do than take the best care and get the best advice I can in the matter? And what could I do better if all things lay under the disposal of Chance, and there were neither order nor government in the universe?

So every man's future state, whether of reward or punishment, depends upon his tenor of behavior in life, and the provision of causes influencing him to hold it. He cannot indeed foresee the issue with absolute certainty, because he cannot certainly know what trials he may be put to, nor examine all the recesses of his own heart to see precisely what degrees of strength or weakness lie latent there: yet so far as he can discern these, he may rise to a proportionable degree of assurance; and for what uncertainties remain, he may know that a constant application of his judgment, and vigilance, and industry will diminish the hazard and add to his security. And what better could he augurate, or more effectual could he do, supposing God himself did not know what would become of him, or had made no appointment concerning him?

Then for the quantity of evil being ascertained, we may argue by the like parity of reason between greater evils and smaller. All the troubles, misfortunes, and disappointments of this world, are owing to a concurrence of circumstances and particular causes deriving their efficacy from the First: nor when he began the chain, can we suppose him ignorant or thoughtless of every minute effect that would ensue from his operation, even to the falling of a sparrow to the ground, or the shedding of a hair upon our heads. Neither can we imagine him so ill a contriver as not to have provided for as many of those casualties as were necessary for his wise and gracious purposes, or so regardless of his creatures as to permit a single one more to happen than were so necessary: for he ordains all things by number, weight, and measure.

Therefore we must conclude there is a certain number of bruises, broken bones, fires, losses, vexations and other sinister accidents, appointed to befall on earth. But what rule of conduct can we gather from hence, since we know not the number? For this belongs to the secret Will, which is no guide of our proceedings. Shall I foolishly run down a precipice, where it is a hundred to one but I fall and hurt myself grievously, because all things are appointed in number, weight, and measure? If I knew that I must have one tumble in my life and no more, I might as

well take it now as another time : or if I knew that some one, and but one, out of twenty of us, must have a tumble, it might be thought a fit of romantic generosity to venture my own neck to save the rest. But by what rule of logic can you prove, that I shall hurt myself ever the more or less hereafter for my falling now? or that it shall any ways affect the good or bad fortune of other people?

What disasters hang over us from causes out of our power, cannot be altered by anything we do; and what we may either bring upon ourselves or avoid, depends upon the causes suited to produce it, which in this case are our own actions. Here then we have it in our option to determine what shall be the appointed event lying in the secret Will; to add or subtract one among the number of disasters requisite, because we have the causes of it under command. Therefore if I can escape an impending danger by my care and good management, I shall look upon it as a clear gain, equally with those who hold the reality and dominion of chance : for the advantage is visible, but the damage to ensue I cannot discover upon any of my principles. In like manner the future states of men depend, not upon a fatality, but upon the natural causes, to wit, their respective manners of behavior here upon earth : and the number of either sort upon the number of persons who shall choose either course of life. Therefore he that saves himself or his neighbor from destruction, is so far from hurting anybody, that he does a signal service to the universe; by making one fewer suffering state requisite therein, than there would have been had he omitted his endeavors.

12. Now to conclude this whole article of equality, I hope nobody will take offence merely upon account of its novelty : for however novel it may be, it hurts none of the old tenets and precepts that have been employed to keep the world in order; nor lessens the expedience of being careful of our conduct in a single point. It leaves justice to proceed as before in the distribution of reward and punishment according to every man's deserts : particular care has been taken to provide against every notion that might be engrafted upon it, of dangerous consequence either to Religion or good morals : it has been applied as a persuasive to that humility and lowliness of mind, so strongly inculcated in our Sacred Writings : and as an encouragement, drawn from the fund of natural reason, to that unreserved and universal charity which is the grand precept both of sound philosophy and revealed Religion.

If it be said these doctrines are sufficiently recommended already upon the authority of the sacred oracles and interpretations of them by the Church, and that to lead men into another course of

evidence would only be drawing aside their attention from a surer guidance : I shall answer, that those who are so happy as to follow steadily this sure guidance, and find it supply all their uses, and satisfy every difficulty arising in their minds, will do well to adhere to it still, without heeding my speculations, as being not intended for them. But it has happened somehow, whether by an unlucky constitution of mind or a faulty education, or bad company, or injudicious management of some preachers, or absurdities engrafted by crafty pretenders to sanctify, that this surest guidance does not obtain the reserved credit with everybody. Is it not then acting agreeably to Christian charity, and the example of him who became all things to all men, if by any means he might gain some, to address these people in the way they will listen to, and attempt leading them into the same points whereto their proper guide would have conducted them, though by a different road wherein they may be prevailed upon to travel. And if they will be pleased to consider maturely what has been here suggested from experience and reason, together with what further their own thoughts may suggest, concerning the nature of the mind acting constantly upon motives, the dependence of effects upon causes, the universal government of Providence, the dispassionate and impartial nature of God : it seems to me as if they could not fail of seeing a solid foundation for this equality, and inferring from thence that there is no intrinsic excellence of one man above another, nor other than was the gift of Heaven ; and that there is a mutual connection of interests among the several members, as well of the creation as of every community contained in it, so that whoever procures any good for his neighbor, does in effect procure it for himself.

Should I be thought in some places to have run on too fire-spun argumentations, or in others drawn too strong-colored figures, for anybody's liking : let him be good-natured enough to suppose, that were we to discourse over this subject in private, and he would let me know his taste, I should endeavor to conform myself thereto. But as I know not who may deign to cast an eye upon my labors, I must accommodate them the best I can to different tastes, and provide against all attacks, as well of the subtle miner as the open assailant. If he be already intimately persuaded of the general interest being his own upon any other grounds whatever, he has my consent to think no more of the equality ; which I urged with none other aim than to work this persuasion. But whether self-interest be the real foundation of all our rules of conduct or not, it has certainly a powerful influence upon our motions : therefore it must be no small service to Religion and vir-



tue, to set this spring so as that it may assist in their operations. This is the point I have been driving at, and if we both agree in the same point, we need not quarrel about the different ways whereby we arrived at it : but may go on amicably the remainder of our journey, consulting together, as often as there may be occasion, upon the most effectual methods of pursuing what we have agreed to be the truest road to our own interest.

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## CHAP. XXXI.

### RE-ENLARGEMENT OF VIRTUE.

IN order to understand the title of this Chapter, we must recollect that of **CHAPTER XXXVI.** of the first Volume, which was entitled the Limitation of Virtue. I doubt not as many good people as have had patience to go through the argument pursued there, have condemned me for limiting her within shamefully narrow bounds : it is well if they were quieted for a while by the hint dropped in the two closing Sections, of what I am now going to do ; which is, to restore her to her ancient splendor, and the full glory she merits by her most arduous trials and most noble sacrifices. If they still blame me for leaving her so long under a cloud, let it be alleged in my excuse, that I could not clear up her rights sooner, having not gotten together the materials requisite for that purpose. If they urge that I ought to have prepared all my materials before I proceeded to build upon them : they may please to consider that my case is different from that of the divines. They are to make the proper use of an old science : I to lay the foundation of a new one.

For though Religion and morality be an ancient science, yet it has been placed upon so many various bottoms, the main supports of it made to bear so differently upon one another, and the whole fabric so disfigured with the additions of injudicious or ill-designing workmen, that it seemed no blamable attempt to reconstruct the whole afresh from the very ground : not with design to make alterations in the chambers or apartments, but to dispose them upon a more consistent plan, and render the passages of communication less intricate and abrupt between them. In prosecution of this scheme I could take nothing for known or acknowledged, but must work my way step by step as I could, and deduce my principles anew from the materials furnished by common experience. But it is the general and allowed practice of those

who trace other sciences from the beginning, to build what they can upon some of their first principles considered alone, before they proceed to collect other principles; though they know well enough their building will not stand in all its parts when these latter come to be employed likewise.

Your professors of natural philosophy do so in their lectures upon the five mechanical powers: if you go to apply their rules to common use you will not find them answer: but why? Because there is a roughness in all your instruments, that will hinder their operation in the manner you was taught to expect. This the professor was not ignorant of, but would not burden you with too many things at once, judging it expedient to instruct you thoroughly in all that his engines would perform supposing them perfectly smooth; and reserve for other lectures to examine the nature of friction, and what alteration that will make according to the degrees of it. Or if he be to read upon gravitation, he will tell you that falling bodies pass through spaces in their descent bearing a duplicate ratio to the times of their descending: that projectiles move in a regular parabola, forming exactly the same angle in their fall to the plane of the horizon, with which they were thrown up. Try the truth of this theory with a stone or whatever comes next to hand, and you will find it prove defective: but he will afterwards explain to you how, and in what proportion, this must necessarily happen from the resistance of air.

Now the foundation which seemed to me the first to be laid, as the only sure and stable one whereon the building I had taken in hand could be erected, was the knowledge of ourselves and of our own nature. For as it has been asked, how can a man love God whom he hath not seen, if he hate his brother whom he hath seen: so by parity of reason it might be asked, what can a man know of God or things invisible, which he cannot see, who knows nothing of himself, his own manner of acting and thinking, or operation of the things wherewith he is daily conversant? For the ideas we can frame of God are none other than what we gather by analogy from something found among ourselves: and Religion being designed for the uses of man, cannot be so explained nor applied as to serve his uses, without a knowledge of human nature. The want of this reflection, I am apt to think, has given rise to those involuntary errors which have been fallen into in the expositions and interpretations of it: as to the designed perversions, they were made by men who had studied human nature but too well, and served their own ends upon its weaknesses. So that in this respect the children of this world, the sons of ambition and avarice, have proved wiser than the children of light:

because the latter chose to remain always children, confining themselves to the tenets and abstractions taught them in their schools, without extending their observation to other things requisite to complete the perfect manhood of knowledge.

Such then being my principal foundation, it behoved me to work it well, before I proceeded to mark out any other ground, which would only interrupt our progress by dividing our attention : and having gathered what observations I could make upon the motions of the mind, and the manner wherein she stands affected by the common occurrences of life, I conceived it not inexpedient to try what scheme of conduct might be constructed upon this narrow basis alone. Induced thereto partly by what we often hear asserted from the pulpit, That if we regard the happiness of this life only, still the good will be found greatly to have the advantage over the wicked : which, though agreeing with my own sentiments, I resolved to give it a full and fair examination. Accordingly I pursued a train of consequences naturally resulting from the premises then in hand, whereby I found that virtue might be raised to a flourishing height, though planted upon none other ground than a due regard to our temporal happiness. And I flatter myself the divines will not think their assertion at all invalidated by what has been there done : for it has been made appear, that while we have a prospect of years to come, and which of us does not persuade himself he has such a prospect ? the surest road to a happy life lies through the practice of virtue.

But if I have failed in supporting her interests to the end, they need not be offended with me for an event, which, rightly considered, terminates more in their favor than if I had succeeded ; for there is not a word of God or another world to be found in the first Volume : therefore the doctrine there contained may be called the religion of an Atheist ; at least such unless I have been somewhere faulty in my deductions, as an Atheist might subscribe to. Now had it been possible to have framed a complete system of behavior upon Atheistical principles, it must have lessened the recommendation of Theology : which might then have been regarded as a matter fit only to amuse the curious in their leisure hours ; but of no avail in practice nor making any alteration in the duties of life.

2. Having apologized for my limitation of virtue, I may with better grace desire the like caution may be observed in perusing several other parts of my work : and that men will not be scandalized at anything they find in a single passage or a few pages detached from the rest, nor until they see what uses will be afterwards made of it. For the laws of philosophical disquisitions and

of sermons are very different: the latter being addressed to the populace, whose inattention seldom permits them to carry away more than a few separate scraps, care must be taken to deliver nothing that is not perfectly innocent to the tenderest digestion. The preacher must not do like our physicians, who often mingle antimony, mercury, solanum, opium, and other poisonous drugs in their prescriptions: because mankind is so perverse, they will be sure to pick up the poison and leave the correcting ingredients behind; if not to swallow it, at least to throw in his face, or bespatter his character.

But the former are addressed to the studious, who can follow a train of reasoning throughout, and distinguish between what is asserted as a certain truth, or only as a necessary consequence from the argument at present in hand. They will not be like the politely learned, reading only to shine in conversation: whose aversion to trouble makes them expect to have all difficulties cleared up in a single page, or a whole system explained while one sits prattling over a dish of tea. These are unreasonable expectations which I am sure I cannot, and believe no man alive can, undertake to answer. Therefore must beg leave to except against the procedure of all, who shall cite a passage or two, or give an abstract of some Chapter, and then with a confident air ask the gay circle around them, what they must think of that: as also against the judgment of any who shall pass it without hearing me through, or without having cognizance of the cause whereon they pronounce.

3. Had I been withholden by the awe of these partial examiners and hasty judges from concluding my last book in the manner I did, I could not have made it so apparent as I think it must be to every one who considers the arguments urged there, of how necessary importance Religion is, not only for keeping the vulgar and the giddy in order, but likewise for the refined and the deep-thinking. The glittering hopes and formidable terrors of another life might still have been thought useful to play off as engines, upon those who consulted only their passions, and had no further concern than for present pleasures: but wholly needless for such as had discernment enough to see, that a decent and orderly behavior was the proper way to attain serenity of mind, health of body, prosperity and security among mankind.

Nor indeed can it be denied there have been those who have passed through life very comfortably and even with applause, without looking at anything beyond. Epicurus, the grand apostle of infidelity, stands recorded in history for his exemplary sobriety and friendliness. Atticus appears to have been the most prudent man

among the Romans in his time, and to have possessed a large share even of Christian charity, doing service to all without distinction or mixture of party zeal, which then ran at the highest. And for the politicians of ancient days, many of whom proved excellent legislators and governors, it is pretty certain they did not believe in their country religion, nor does it appear what other religion or philosophy most of them had.

But we cannot conclude upon the tendency of principles from the practice of single persons; for no man can wrap himself up so entirely in his own notions, as not to take a tincture from others among whom he converses. For having from his childhood been used to hear the virtues constantly spoken of with honor, he will insensibly imbibe an esteem of them without knowing why: for though I cannot allow them innate, they are perhaps generally the growth of custom, our second nature. But were there a nation of Atheists, I apprehend they could not flourish long: for though they might find it expedient to bring up their children in sentiments of honor and probity, yet the thinking persons among them would quickly see so far into human nature as to discover, that each man's own happiness is the proper foundation whereon all his schemes of conduct are to be ultimately placed; that honor, justice, public spirit, benevolence and the like, are but props employed to strengthen the superstructure, where the visible connection with its original basis is wanting; that the fame of their names, after themselves have fallen into annihilation, is no object deserving their regard. Therefore upon finding themselves approach near their end, when by their long experience they are become most capable of contriving for the public, they will be most careless of her interests. Nay, it is well if they stay so long before they find occasions happen, wherein they will persuade themselves they may serve their private ends without ever being discovered, though to great damage of others or of the community: in which cases they will be sure to prefer their own advantage, whereby things must soon run to decay and ruin. Therefore it is incumbent upon every state to discourage the beginnings of infidelity, by all means consistent with humanity and the just rights of civil liberty.

4. And perhaps the world might still go on better, if the politicians of all countries would, as I hope those of our own already do, extend their views beyond this scene of sublunary affairs, and consider themselves as citizens of the universe. That they would not lay out their whole sagacity upon the methods of bringing their schemes to bear, but bestow a little of it upon the schemes themselves; examining why they esteem power, cred-

it, honor, riches, desirable at all : and if they can find none other Why than to make them happy, whether it becomes persons of their extensive understandings to think no further than the happiness to be had during the twenty or thirty years of their continuance in splendor here. I do not expect they will suffer themselves to be guided in their opinions by authority, nor put aside from their aims by the general estimation, nor does it behove them so to do : but then let them be sure they did not take any of them up upon the estimation of others, and those not of the soundest judgment, only because they were always told from their childhood by their nurse or their mother or everybody else they met with, how fine a thing it was to be great. For it becomes persons of their extraordinary abilities to judge for themselves, to cast aside youthful prejudices, to draw a plan of life upon the solid ground of reason, and go to the bottom of things for their foundation.

But because this is a science of itself, which those who are busied in other occupations may want leisure to pursue minutely ; I have attempted in this second Volume to trace a train of consequences from the contemplation of nature, which any one may judge of without aid of tradition or received tenets : whereby it appears that the universe lies under one completely regulated policy ; that the properties of bodies, the powers of animals, the talents of men, and all other provisions, are made with regard to the whole ; that the good of each particular depends upon the good of all : and whoever adds to the happiness of another, adds thereby to his own. From hence it follows that honesty is the best policy, and an unreserved attachment to the public benefit, the surest road to self-interest : and since persons whose judgment far exceeds others, have reason to prize the approbation of that above all popular applause, that the most noble sacrifice they can make, and for which they may most deservedly applaud themselves is, when they have preferred the public good before their own private interests, or whatever they had set their hearts upon most strongly.

5. Therefore now we may do ample justice to Regulus, whom we left under a sentence of folly for throwing away life with all its enjoyments for a phantom of honor. For he may allege that he had not a fair trial before, his principal evidence being out of the way, which having since collected in the course of this second book, he moves for a rehearing. For he will now plead that it was not a fantastic joy in the transports of rectitude, nor the stoical rhodomontade of a day spent in virtue containing more enjoyment than an age of bodily delights, nor his inability to bear a life of general odium and contempt, had his duty so required, which

fixed him in his resolution : but the prudence of the thing upon a full and calm deliberation. Because he considered himself as a citizen of the universe, whose interests are promoted and maintained by the particular members contributing their endeavors towards increasing the quantity of happiness, wherever possible, among others with whom they have connection and intercourse.

He saw that his business lay with his fellow-creatures of the same species, among whom a strict attachment to faith and honor was the principal bulwark of order and happiness, that a shameful conduct in his present conflict would tend to make a general weakening of this attachment, which might introduce disorders, rapines, violences, and injuries among multitudes, to far greater amount than his temporary tortures ; that if he behaved manfully, he should set a glorious example, which might occasion prosperities to be gained to his country and all belonging to her, overbalancing the weight of his sufferings, especially when alleviated by the balmy consciousness of acting right. He was persuaded likewise that all the good a man does, stands placed to his account, to be repaid him in full value when it will be most useful to him : so that whoever works for another, works for himself ; and by working for numbers, earns more than he could possibly do by working for himself alone. Therefore he acted like a thrifty merchant, who scruples not to advance considerable sums, and even to exhaust his coffers, for gaining a large profit to the common stock in partnership. Upon these allegations, supported by the testimony of far-sighted philosophy and confirmed in the material parts by heaven born Religion, I doubt not the jury will acquit him with flying colors, and the judge grant him a copy of the record, to make his proper use of, whenever he might be impeached or slandered hereafter.

6. It is not unlikely here that somebody may put me in mind of Saint Evremont, who attempted to write a tragedy, wherein Hippolitus was to be the principal character, but had not gone on far before he found his hero dwindled insensibly into a very Monsieur Saint Evremont, having the Frenchman's sentiments, making his reflections, and talking exactly in the same strain. And then ask me by what authority of history I prove that Regulus had any notion of the vehicles, the Aions, the balancing periods, the all-space-filling Mundane soul, the unessential nature of justice, her generation from expedience, the purchase of estates by unavoidable or virtuous suffering, the general partnership and universal bank of Ned Search. To this question I shall reply that it is not my business to make critical remarks upon history, nor have I anything to do with the person of Regulus, nor to penetrate the real

motives of his conduct. He stands with me as an ideal character, the representative of all persons who might come into his situation : and I was to show that prudential motives of true self-interest might be suggested to them, upon solid and substantial reasons, for acting in the manner he did.

Yet it is not necessary that whoever practises the like firmness of behavior, should be led into it by just the same train of reasoning as I have drawn out : for I am not so narrow-minded as to pronounce everything no more than a shining sin, which does not proceed precisely from the principles appearing truest to me. It is enough we have shown the action to be prudent, and whoever performs it as being right, deserves our approbation, though he may not discern wherein the prudence of it consists. Had it indeed been undertaken out of vanity, resentment, fondness of fame or any other selfish motive, though being beneficial to the universe, the performer might have shared the fruits in common with others ; yet this would have been an accidental benefit, nor would he have merited reward or commendation : but must have stood in the case of that Roman Master of the horse, who being strictly enjoined to avoid a battle during his Dictator's absence, nevertheless attacked the enemy and gained a complete victory ; for which the Dictator on his return gave him the honors usually conferred on a conqueror, and then punished him severely for his disobedience. But he who practices a self-denial or goes through a painful or perilous undertaking, which is beneficial, because esteeming it his duty, or recommended by all persons of approved judgment, or dictated by the moral sense, or upon any other of those motives comprehended under the name of conscience ; does, besides the accidental benefit he knows nothing of, bring himself within the verge of justice, and the stream of those rewards she distributes to well-doing.

7. For it is not to be expected that every one should trace the rectitude of his measures quite up to the fountain head. Some persons have not the talents, most conditions of life do not afford the leisure, nor do some ages or countries furnish the lights, necessary for that purpose. But God gives to every man the talents, the opportunities, the lights, sufficient for the work where-to he calls him : it is the creature's business to answer the call, whether coming by the voice of his own reason, or the general recommendation of the judicious, or the admonitions of his moral sense, or whatever other channel of conveyance his best judgment shall satisfy him brings it genuine. For by following steadily the best guidance he can get against the opposition of passion, danger, pain, and affliction, he shall become an object of



the Divine favor. And for such as can discern what courses of conduct are most extensively beneficial, they will act prudently by leading others into them by such methods as they can, whether of persuasion or exhortation or example or applause; which last we have already seen is there most deservedly belonging where it may be most usefully applied. For in so doing, they not only procure a general advantage, but place themselves and those they prevail upon within reach of that arm of justice wherewith she distributes her rewards.

Nor need they despise those expedients for their own private use; for no man, how much soever he may see in his closet, can carry the whole chart of it abroad with him when he enters upon action: therefore it behoves him to nourish up vigorous moral senses, and fix a strong approbation upon proper objects, to direct and actuate him upon every particular occasion; and what he does by their instigation will answer all purposes as effectually as if he could have run his eye along the whole line of expedience. And, after all, though one man may look further than another, there is none so piercing sighted as to see to the very end of the line: for it has been shown before, that the effect of our actions extends to distant times and regions, far beyond the reach of mortal ken. So that the wisest man can proceed only by rule and guidance, not by knowledge: taking the expedience of his conduct to the welfare of mankind, as an evidence of its being expedient to the invisible world.

8. But the necessity of rules and principles for our direction, gives rise to a new species of prudence, which could not have had Being, were we capable of taking all our measures upon a full knowledge of their expedience: for it is not enough to consider the usefulness of an action, but we must likewise take into account how far it may either confirm or weaken the influence of some wholesome rule; because more good or harm may be done that way than by any direct consequences of the thing we do. For there is a degree of sacredness belonging to all rules, proportionable to their importance and the authority whereon they rest, which must not be violated without very cogent and evident cause. Yet on the other hand, since no rule is without exception, there may be too strict an adherence to them, especially when some one becomes predominant, so as to work a disregard of all the rest: which is the case with your sectaries and very violent people of all denominations, who are so terrified at the barking dogs of Scylla that they run headlong upon Charibdis. Therefore this necessity we have been speaking of, does not supersede the use of private judgment, which may find employ-

ment enough in comparing rules and principles, in choosing whose guidance we shall trust to, in understanding the directions and applying them to particular occasions.

For it is not enough to follow the best authority without some caution had of the channels through which it passes, because these have been known sometimes totally to change the quality of the stream. It is reported of him who boasted of being the oldest and I trow the wisest king in Europe, that upon somebody humbly representing to him that he could not alter the laws without Parliament, Prithee! man, says he: do not I make the judges? Then I make the law. So there have been interpreters who have made the law, and the Gospel, and philosophy, and right reason, to be just what they pleased. Therefore it behoves us to be circumspect, not depending upon zeal alone without discretion, nor imitating the Papists, who if they get rid of so much money in what they call charity, no matter how applied, esteem it a sure draught on St. Peter: but though there be an universal Bank, unless we take the best care we can in our ability and the circumstances of the situation, that what we throw in be real sterling Good, it will make no figure upon our account. Yet no man need disturb himself for unavoidable errors or misguidings; but may trust the wisdom of Providence to bring good profit out of his foolishness.

9. But though invincible ignorance will justify an error, hastiness and passion will not: for there are religious passions as well as sensual and worldly, and the former are more dangerous than the latter by how much the best things corrupted become the worst. The most noble enterprizes have been achieved by a sedate and steady courage, not by a boisterous impetuosity. Especially when such sacrifices as that of Regulus are to be made, it requires the greatest calmness of judgment to examine and weigh all the motives for offering it. For life, health, ease, and fortune, are not to be thrown away lightly nor wantonly; they are the blessings of Heaven, well deserving our value and care to preserve them, nor is it justifiable to part with them unless on very weighty considerations; because the larger the price is to be paid, the more needful it becomes to examine well the value of the purchase and security of the title. Wherefore there is a due caution to be had in seeing that we have a warrant for what we undertake: because else, after putting ourselves to vast expense of toil and trouble, we may earn nothing beside reproof for having omitted a task we might have performed more easily.

When young people first acquire a liking to virtue, the fire of their blood sometimes lights up an ambition of attempting the most

arduous exercises, and gaining the topmost summit of it at once. But let them remember how they were led by degrees into the learning or profession they have knowledge of, being taught the rudiments completely first, and instructed in the lower branches before they were permitted to assist in the grand performances of art : in like manner let them study the duties of life lying every day in their way, and make themselves perfect in the common virtues, before they undertake the shining. But this knight-errant humor of seeking adventures and perilous encounters, quickly subsides, unless where fomented by enthusiasts with their incessant rantings ; whereby they fright or tease their followers into painful austerities, dangerous abstinences, tedious and fatiguing devotions, no ways conducive to make them more useful in their stations. Which is just as absurd as if a tailor or a shoemaker should live in a boat upon the salt water, to inure himself to the hardships of a sea voyage : or lie out whole nights in a ditch by way of using himself to a campaign or a seige, to neither of which services he is ever likely to be called. For Providence appoints to every man his station in this world : it is his business to consider what are the duties of it, and furnish himself with such qualifications as may carry him through those duties completely ; because this will carry him surest to all the happiness within his power to attain.

For even if faith be the saving principle, yet no man can have solid grounds to believe he has a saving faith, otherwise than by the fruits it bears : so that good works are either the one thing needful, or the sole evidence of that which is so. But good works are such only as may prove good for something, or from whence good may redound to mankind : and those are the best which tend to the most beneficial consequences in our power to produce, or in our skill to contrive. But whenever duty calls, provided all possible care and consideration be taken to know its voice, no man need fear that he shall be a loser by answering the call, whatever hard service or costly sacrifice he be put to : for if the fruits of his labor hang too remote to touch his notice, they will be brought nearer by the reward annexed to the performance.

10. Thus have I brought matters at last to an issue that I hope will scandalize nobody : and this may atone for the liberties taken in arriving at it by an unusual road ; for there is a Latin proverb which says, the end crowns the work. If I have seemed to deviate sometimes into the paths of freethinking, the orthodox know well there are persons who have an utter aversion against travelling in the beaten track : then they cannot take it amiss that, by mingling among stragglers, I have attempted to bring some in- to the very point whereto they would lead them. Nor can the

latter charge me with playing booty, or practising artifices upon them: for they may see I have proceeded all along with an unawed freedom, doing my utmost to cast all prejudices aside, and take every step in the way my best judgment should direct. I did indeed suspect at setting out that the roads of reason and Religion, rightly pursued, would conduct to the same end. For if God has given us any commands, as he has no ends of his own to answer by them, they must have been given for our benefit: therefore we are taught they all terminate in two principal aims: to bring us into a hearty desire of one another's happiness equally with our own, and to inspire us with such just sentiments of himself as conduce most to our happiness.

And though reason, whose office lies not in giving us an ultimate end of action, but in contriving the surest methods of attaining that suggested by appetite, can set out upon none other bottom than our own interest: yet we have seen how self-interest leads into disinterestedness, into an unreserved attachment to the general good, and into a constant dependence upon Providence; because were that away, we could find no certain cause of all we see happen around us, and if we lose sight of goodness, or esteem anything left to chance, the success of our best endeavors will be uncertain and our hopes become like castles in the air. So that whether we use the day-light or the candle of the Lord, provided we can keep our eyes clear from the films of passion and prejudice, we shall find objects presented in the same shapes and the same colors, though not always with equal lustre.

11. This consideration may rescue philosophy from the imputation she has lain under with some righteous persons of being dangerous to Religion and piety; it was not uncommon for whoever professed to pursue the light of nature, to be presently suspected of unsoundness in his principles; of a secret design to undermine the belief of a Providence, if not that fundamental article of all religion, the Being of a God. Nor can it be denied there have been grounds for such suspicion: at least we must acknowledge that those who had such evil designs, have proceeded by undertaking to explain all phenomena around us by the powers of nature, and attempting to confine the attention of mankind to them alone. But the state of natural philosophy is not the same now as formerly: it is become an innocent inoffensive science, an useful minister in the temple of the Lord. In ancient times nature was esteemed an original source of Being distinct from the Almighty, matter was thought possessed of an existence which he never gave it, and even the elements to have their differences and qualities independent on him; the only province left him being

that of gathering them into forms and assortments, in order to generate thereby such habitable earths and plants and animals as they were respectively capable of producing. And though these notions have been since exploded, God being generally acknowledged the Creator as well as Makèr of all things visible and invisible; yet there still remains an opinion with many of an abstract, eternal, uncreated nature of things, which controls the measures and directs the wisdom of God, as well in the exercises of his creative power as in the administration of sublunary affairs. Thus, while there were two First Causes supposed to have a joint share in the production of all events, it is no wonder that such as were zealous for the glory of God, looked with a jealous eye upon every attempt to extend the province of nature, as being an encroachment upon the Divine prerogative and a certain mark of disloyalty.

But I have endeavored to exhibit nature in another aspect, not as an original cause, but an establishment of the Almighty: her abstract as well as sensible essences receiving their permanency, and her courses their stability, from the covenant or immutable Will of God; her substances, both material and spiritual, together with their primary as well as secondary qualities, their applications to one another, their mutual affections, all effects and events resulting therefrom, deriving primarily from none other source than the power, the wisdom, the goodness, the equity, and good pleasure of their Maker: and the chain of second causes producing them, being planned out with certain foreknowledge and exact intention of every particular it should bring forth. Therefore, I may hope to stand absolved from all suspicion of impiety, nor need I scruple the hazard of adding too largely to nature, for by giving to her I take nothing from God: because nature is the work of God, her acts are his acts, her productions his gifts, her every operation, as well necessary as fortuitous, an execution of his Will. I have nowhere denied that he may sometimes act immediately without the intervention of second causes, or to alter their courses: on the contrary have offered arguments in support of that opinion. Yet this does not hinder but that we may strive to account for everything we can by natural causes, and retain an averseness against multiplying interpositions: as believing that whenever made, they are made solely for manifestation of the Divine power to intelligent creatures, not from a necessity to correct errors in the first design, which were unforeseen or could not be provided against. Wherefore it may be presumed they happen very rarely, and then are so striking that all en-

deavors to avoid them will but convince us the more strongly of a divine operation.

12. Neither was the study of human nature regarded with a more favorable eye than that of the external: for there being a great deal of machinery in the human composition, those who applied to a close examination into the structure and workings of that, were apt to think too slightly of the spiritual part; insomuch that it was a current saying within these two hundred years, Wherever you see three physicians, you see too Atheists. But I do not apprehend them in the same sentiments now: I have dipped into some of their works to gather from thence materials suitable to my own science, and they appear to me as orthodox as any other class of people among us: nor do I seem at a loss to account for the change. The zeal of the spiritualists urged them to ascribe more to the spiritual part than belonged to it singly: this could not escape the observation of such whose studies had brought them intimately acquainted with the body. They saw that understanding might sometimes be restored to madmen by medicine: they knew their drugs and chymical preparations had a powerful effect upon the imagination, so as to warm with sanguine hope or chill with melancholy and despondency: they found that a delicacy of texture in the fibres of the brain, a briskness of circulation, a purity of the circulating juices, gave birth to the natural talents, and a predominancy in some one of the principal humors distinguished the characters of men: that an unnatural pressure or a little heterogeneous mixture in the medullary substance within the head, disabled the soul from exercising her functions: and that in general the tenor and color of our thoughts depended very much upon the present disposition of the body. From hence they thought it demonstrable that powers had been ascribed to the soul which really resided in the body; and might be tempted too hastily to conclude that she had none at all belonging to her, but that thought itself with all its varieties were nothing more than a lucky configuration and diversity of motions in matter.

But this temptation is now removed, for an exacter scrutiny into the properties of matter and motion, has now convinced the world that no assortment of corporeal particles, how nicely soever arranged, can form an intelligent Being. And the conviction is so general and so strong, that a late noble writer, whose ruling passion, after ambition had been torn from him, being that of running down the clergy and everything they taught, he would in mere spite to them have been an Atheist if he could, and did bring himself to be a thorough corporealist, ridiculing the doctrine of spiritual substance with the vile pun of calling it the pneumatic philosophy:

yet could never bring himself to believe sense and understanding a necessary result from the human machinery ; but taking hold of an expression dropped by Mr. Locke, insisted that the faculty of thinking was annexed by Almighty Power to the system of matter contained in our several compositions.

Thus the indiscretion of zealots has hurt the credit of the spiritual soul, by claiming more for her than was her due : and her interests are best supported by examining fairly what is her lawful property, and distinguishing it from those powers which he derives by conjunction with her partner the body. Under this apprehension I set out in my first Chapter with observing that there are faculties of the mind and faculties of the man. I have since proceeded to show that percipience, rationality, cogitation, study, and all species of thought, are faculties of the compound : the mind, or purely spiritual part, having only a capacity of receiving such perceptions as shall from time to time be excited in her, but what perceptions shall be so excited, depends entirely upon the action of corporeal substance wherewith she stands vitally united. Now the action and qualities of the corporeal agent must result from the position or arrangement and motion of the component particles whereof it consists : so that the thoughts and perceptions of the mind follow precisely according to the position and motion of the material corpuscles affecting her ; yet are they her own thoughts and perceptions, never having place in the matter which produced them.

The case here seems something similar to that of letters in a book ; a printer with the very same types can run ye off a bible, a Virgil, Newton's Optics, Lisle's Husbandry, Joe Millar's Jests, or Rochester's Poems. Those books will raise very different sentiments in the mind ; and the ideas of him that opens them follow precisely according to the position of the four-and-twenty letters in the page before him. Nevertheless the sentiments and perceptions are in the mind alone : the books themselves as they lie closed upon the shelves, have neither piety nor poetry nor philosophy nor ribaldry nor other sentiment belonging to them, nor can they produce any understanding or apprehension without a reader. In like manner the colors of bodies are holden to depend upon the pores in their surfaces, and their shapes upon the order and disposition of their parts ; so that you have the sight of red or blue, of round or square, according to the texture of pores or situation of parts in the objects you successively look upon : yet all the colors and figures in the world shut up by themselves, can never produce a sense of vision without an eye to behold them.

Thus let the corporealists insist as strongly as they please that the characters and thoughts of men result from their machinery and organization, we have a ready answer, that such result could not take place unless there were a perceptive spirit to receive the action of the machine: and for anybody to imagine otherwise would be as absurd as to suppose that a bible might raise a sentiment of Religion without a reader to peruse it, or the grass a sensation of green without an eye to discern it. Then as the mind has an activity too, by which she can turn to any page or object within her reach, fitted to exhibit particular ideas and appearances before her, and likewise some command over her mental organs to put them upon exciting particular trains of thought and meditation: there is no less room for prudence and good management in the exercise of this power than if, as formerly apprehended, she performed her cogitative functions wholly retired within herself without aid of any material instrument whatever.

13. There are some particulars not usually taken notice of, which I have been led to consider in my inquiry into the nature of the mind: as substance, individuality, an extent of presence, and the co-existence or contiguity of agent and patient in all immediate action. It is the fashion to pass over such subjects slightly as matters of mere curiosity and wanton speculation, to be remembered no further than for entertaining the company in conversation with the peculiar notions of such an author, without caring whether there is any truth in them or no. But I humbly conceive them to be matters of some moment: therefore wish they might be maturely weighed and ruminated upon by persons who have a talent that way. For I am not so confident of my own decisions as to desire they should be taken upon trust; I had rather every one would satisfy himself by the careful exercise of his own understanding, and discover any latent fallacy that may have escaped my penetration. To me it seems no trifling discovery to know that we are real substances, not merely qualities, either necessarily resulting from certain systems of organized matter, or annexed thereto by the arbitrary Will of our Maker. For our being substances seems the strongest evidence that can be had from natural reason, of our perpetual duration: because substances can never be destroyed by any operation of second causes, whereas secondary qualities resulting from composition cannot survive the dissolution of their compounds, and a quality annexed miraculously to some system must be presumed to cease as soon as the system is broken up. Then if the mind be substance it must be an individual: because if it were not, it would be a system of so many distinct substances as the parts it contains, and the percep-



tive and active faculties would be resulting or annexed qualities belonging to the system.

But the mind being a true individual, not consisting of parts whose various disposition among one another might produce a change of form or quality, must be always the same in herself that she ever was. And this individuality of the mind will help us to a clearer and steadier idea of personality, the identity of person constantly accompanying that of the perceptive individual: for though we vulgarly apprehend our whole human composition to be ourselves, and the body continually changes both in form and substance from the cradle to the grave, yet we esteem ourselves the same person all along; and whatever composition of quite different substance, size, and make, it may please God to cast us into in some future stage of our existence, while it serves for organs of perception and instruments of action to the same individual, we shall apprehend it to be our own persons. Nor, provided we remember our present state and know that we have been for some time disunited, shall doubt of its being a resurrection of the same body; as likewise its aptness of organization to serve for higher uses of intelligence and activity, will denominate it a spiritual body, in contradistinction to our present which is styled the natural or carnal. Add further that this individuality affords a strong presumption of our intrinsic equality, because all the difference of powers, faculties, understanding, and character, we know of among perceptive Beings, results from the compounds whereof they are respectively made ingredients, or the changes worked in them by the action of external objects; and every one is capable of exchanging conditions with every other, upon being vitally united to the same material organization and furnished with the same provision of externals.

The sphere of presence occupied by the mind, and contiguity in immediate action, depend upon one another: and here it will be proper to consider whether, in the most distant operation, there must not be a contact or co-existence in the same place, of the several media as they transmit the action; or whether the Postulatum I have assumed may be denied, to wit, that nothing can act or be acted upon while there is the least hair-breadth distance intervening, unless there be some medium passing between them, and then the medium must be contiguous to the agent on receiving, and to the patient on transmitting the impulse. A tower twenty miles off may strike a sensation upon us; but then the rays must fall upon the tower and be reflected from thence to our eyes, stopping at the retina: the vibrations they excite there are propagated along the optic nerves to some corpuscles lying with-

in, or contiguous to, the mind herself, from whose immediate action alone she receives her sensation. But since we receive sensations from more corpuscles together than can possibly come in contact with a mathematical point, it seems to follow demonstrably that the mind exists or is toti-present throughout a distinguishable portion of space, large enough for all those corpuscles to enter or stand round. Then, as the perceptions of the mind depend solely upon the action and modification of these corpuscles, it will be worth while to consider whether the like action and modification may not be produced by other objects than those fitted to strike upon our present gross corporeal organs, and shorter channels than those employed in our animal machinery; or nature may not have other ways of exciting perceptions in us than those we now experience.

14. As to the hypotheses, I never propounded them for articles of faith, therefore am under no temptation to think the less favorably of anybody for rejecting them; they are intended only to illustrate the possibility of a mutual relation between things seen and unseen, to the imaginations of such persons who are not thoroughly reconciled to the idea of heavy bodies like our own, of fleeting shadows, of winged angels and an eternity of psalm-singing, which have been so successfully employed upon the many as to render any other representation needless for common use; and who have so full a persuasion of the divine wisdom and entire command over all the powers of nature, as to believe that the sentences of the last judgment may be executed, reward and punishment administered, by certain stated laws established for governing the operation of second causes. Nevertheless, I must confess myself fond enough to fancy those hypotheses not confined to bare possibility, nor without a considerable degree of probability too: but then I would desire not to be mistaken in the grounds which this probability is built upon. I do not pretend to prove the reality of the little fœtus, forming and fashioning within us, by any experience of my own: I never felt it move nor had other sensible evidence of its existence, for I have not the knack of inward feelings, like the Methodists and the Quakers, though perhaps I have passed as many hours in silence and retirement within myself as either of them. Thus much, indeed, I think appears from the lectures of anatomists, that the last action of the machine traceable by their science, that is, the inner ends of our nerves, stretch over a much larger compass than the sphere of the mind's presence can be supposed to extend to: from whence it necessarily follows there must be some fine material organization, minuter than all the contrivances of anatomy can discover, between

the nerves and the mind, for transmitting their action onwards to her. And constant experience of our habits, our passions, inclinations, tastes, and various ways of thinking contracted by custom may convince us that our daily actions, discourses, and thoughts, have an effect upon the most internal part of our composition, so as to work a permanent change of form and disposition there.

But whether this organization be drawn out in such an ethereal cobweb as represented in the Chapter on the Vehicles, or whether upon death it shall detach from the nerves and fly off together with the spiritual inhabitant enclosed therein, or shall still continue diversely disposed in make and texture, according to what has passed with it during life, I do not undertake to decide by any branch of physiology: what I have offered upon those points I give only as hypothesis, whose probability must rest entirely upon such evidence as can be drawn in its favor from that sole fountain whence we can gather any conclusion concerning things unseen, namely, our idea of the divine Attributes and Administration of affairs throughout the moral world. But it being a generally received tenet that this life is a preparation for the next, the soul of the wicked going forth in a condition utterly unfit for heaven, so as that if admitted there, it could find no relish in the joys of the place; one cannot easily imagine how this could be the case, unless the soul were understood of an organized compound which might receive alteration by the habits contracted upon earth. For if there be an intrinsic difference among individuals, it must have been made in them at their creation, and continue in them so long as they continue in being: because a perceptive individual is capable of no change in form or quality, or other alteration than that momentary one of successive perceptions excited by the action of objects upon it. The same reason, joined to the belief that a good man may fall from his goodness and the wicked sincerely repent, will evince that the virtues and vices reside in the organization, not in the individual: and that the perceptive spirit of a reprobate is as fit to animate a glorified body, if divine justice could permit it entrance therein, as that of the most exemplary Christian.

The supposition of a Mundane Soul seems to fill imagination with the highest idea it can contain of the divine power and magnificence, leaving no part in the boundless empire uninhabited: to connect the whole host of material and spiritual Beings under one all-comprehensive polity: to suggest uses for the most distant bodies discoverable, and minutest particles conceivable: and best to reconcile the existence of evil with our notions of infinite good-

ness, by reducing it to a scarce perceptible proportion in comparison with the vast profusion of happiness abounding everywhere. All this I think might carry the force of demonstration, if it were not for one weak link in the chain, which is, that the plan of universal government must be executed by methods which we are capable of laying down upon the chart of our imagination: but I am so sensible of the narrowness of our faculties that I cannot lay any stress upon this assumption. Nevertheless, we are encouraged upon the best authorities to frame such ideas of the things unseen as we can imagine: and the good effects resulting from the hypotheses, may plead excuse for a favorable propensity towards them. For if any man should happen to entertain a strong persuasion of their being real truths, it must give him a grand opinion of the lot of his existence; abate his fondness for the paltry pleasures of this world; make him sensible of the intrinsic equality between fellow-creatures and mutual connexion of interests among them, that strongest cement of union and firmest support of universal hearty charity.

15 These consequences may serve for my apology with such as might charge me with drawing off men's attention from the light of the Gospel, by fixing it upon that of nature: for an endeavor to profit by the one, does by no means imply a slight of the other, because both rightly pursued, will for the most part conduct to the same points. I have introduced several texts in the course of my progress, to show the conformity of their dictates with the decisions of human reason: and the conclusions of the last section, which appear resulting from the main tenor of my design, are strongly inculcated in the sacred Scriptures. If that of intrinsic equality be thought otherwise at first sight, yet upon mature consideration it will be found to follow necessarily from that which I take to be a favorite doctrine of Scripture, namely, that it is God who giveth us both to will and to do: and whether he give them by his second causes of formation in the womb, of education, good examples and conversation, or by supernatural grace, all these lie under his absolute disposal and were settled by his eternal purpose before the foundation of the world. So that we are nothing in ourselves, no better one than another; our faith, our holiness, our zeal to good works and our virtues, being not originally our own, nor created with us, but derived solely from his bounty: and he could as easily have given them to Judas or Simon Magus as to John or Paul.

The study of nature is so far from being a mark of hostile disposition to the sacred records, that we cannot receive the full benefit from them, nor even enter into their true spirit without it:

they must have some interpreter, and if human reason be not employed, passion, or prejudice, or vanity, or peculiarity, or whimsy, or private interest, will intrude into the office, and what wild work they can make stands sufficiently manifested by fatal experience. There is scarce an absurdity that has not been proved by the Gospel. Papal tyranny stood upon the donation of the keys to Peter : the cruelties of persecution were authorized by the order, compel them to come in : the Romish legends, the rantings of methodism, Barclay's apology for the Quakers, the dreams of the Moravians, the treatises of all sectaries, appear thick stuck with texts : even Mahomet could find a prophecy of himself in the Comforter, who was to come and show us all things. Every one of these pretend that theirs is the genuine sense and all other interpretations a perversion of Scripture : but what likelier method can be taken for deciding among them, than by comparing them with that other code which God has written in legible characters upon his works? which comparison cannot be made without a careful, attentive perusal and competent knowledge of both.

The professed design of the whole Jewish and Christian dispensation was to restore Man to that perfection of his nature wherein he was created : therefore the doctrines, the precepts, the examples, the institutions recorded there, must be regarded as the *matéria medica* proper for a distempered constitution. For the commands of God are not arbitrary : he has made nothing our duty by his authority, which he had not before made our interest, by the circumstances of that nature, whereof he has permitted us to partake. Hence his rules of government for the brutes are often contrary to those enjoined to Man, because their natures are so : to the former he has said by his laws of instinct, Thou shalt do murder, Thou shalt commit adultery ; so the wolf makes it his business to worry the harmless sheep, the pike is taught to prey upon his own species, the bull has commerce with his mother, his sisters, and his daughters, he breaks fence into a neighboring farm, to drive away a weaker bull and seize upon his seraglio. But these practices must introduce continual disorder and confusion among men, and lose them the most valuable benefits of society : yet some might not see those consequences in particular instances, and more would be so intent upon present gratification as not to mind consequences at all. Therefore, God has issued his commands to Man, saying, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, and enforced them with rewards and punishments for a remedy against the shortsightedness and weakness of human nature : that they may serve as an instruction to the

prudent to warn him of an evil tendency he did not discern, and a powerful restraint upon the sensual to withhold him from running into mischiefs he would not have heeded at a distance.

Nor yet does it suffice that we have a complete dispensary of remedies without knowing how to apply them in particular cases : and for gaining the art of making proper application it behoves the physician to study, not only the *materia medica*, but likewise the constitution, the disorders incident thereto, the present habit of body in the patient, and in what condition of solids and humors a soundness of health consists. Now in the science of medicine respecting the mind, our foundation must be taken from the sensitivo-rational constitution of Man, by contemplation of which it will presently occur, that the perfection of our nature lies in an entire subjection of the sensitive faculties to the rational : it will then appear upon due consideration of the matter, that the rational faculty constantly prompts to pursue the general or greater good, in all actions which may anywise affect another person or number of persons ; and though many of our actions concern nobody beside ourselves, yet even here it will recommend our own general good, in preference to any particular pleasure that stands at present uppermost in the fancy.

This then is the perfect soundness of health and ought to be made the ultimate intention of all applications, namely, to have the inferior faculties so well disciplined as that they may stand always ready to assist the superior in a steady prosecution of that aim, the attainment of greater good preferably to the less. It will be requisite further to examine what particular disorders of the mind upon any occasion prevent the due subordination of her powers, to which of them the remedies prescribed are respectively applicable, what is their natural efficacy, and in what manner they operate : taking our measures from the nature of the medicine and nature of the distemper, not looking for an ideal abstract goodness or secret virtue transferable from the one to the other, nor supernatural powers annexed arbitrarily by the Will of God. Whereby we shall best learn how to administer the proper quantity and vary the several species according to the circumstances of the case : escaping the extravagance of zealots who think to do everything with one recipe, which like Tar water, is to cure all maladies and can never be poured down in too copious draughts.

16. But this general good for the most part lies too remote to be seen distinctly at a single glance, and the paths leading to it are too intricate and too much involved among one another for us to discern which is the properest to be pursued upon every pre-

sent occasion : for our own subsequent actions, those of other people, and the uncertain workings of external causes, will often interfere to change the effect of those we undertake, and render that inexpedient which appears eligible to our present apprehension. Therefore to make the wilderness practicable there must be passages worked out, particular rules and directions framed, by which a common man may find his way in every situation wherein he happens to stand ; and under-aims branched out conducting to the principal, which must be varied from time to time, according to the variation of circumstances occurring. For the greater good is sometimes attained by a close attention to ourselves and our private advantages, to making provision for the body as well as the mind, to diversions and pleasures for the recreation of both, to rivalry, contention, and artifice, to opposition, censure, and punishment of such as would bring damage upon ourselves or our neighbors.

But pleasures cannot be well enjoyed; nor contention and opposition carried on successfully, without a thorough engagement to the objects before us : for if the mind be drawn off by contemplation of distant prospects and consequences, she never can exert her efforts sufficiently to compass the business in hand. Now this occasional attachment to private emolument, to diversion, and present pleasure, to the means of disappointing, displeasing and hurting other persons, has a tendency to draw men from their principal aim ; induces many, who see the necessity of such attachment, to think a steady pursuit of the general good a romantic, impracticable scheme ; and raises the greatest difficulties to a scholar in the science of morality. Which difficulties must be removed, and the grounds laid down whereupon the general interest requires that we should turn our back upon it for a while, before a system can be stricken out that shall be practical or fit for common use : that shall neither mislead the serious into a plan of life utterly unfit for the world, nor the sanguine into an aversion against virtue as debarring them from all innocent enjoyment and the prosecution of their allowable desires.

This is what I do not pretend to have done, as being too much for one undertaking. My address is made to the few, and my aim extends no further than to suggest a clue by help whereof a performance, intended for the many, may be better calculated to answer its purpose. Which it seems likeliest to be when the operator abstains from the ideal world of abstract unsubstantial Beings, essential rectitude in rules, intrinsic goodness, holiness or merit in opinions or practices, and secret energies passing from things external into the mind itself ; whereby Religion and phi-

osophy have sometimes been made a mystery throughout, a tissue of unmeaning words filling the ear and raising whirlwinds in the imagination, but never touching the understanding, or turned into systems of occult quality and magic : but when instead of taking this rout, he bends his whole thoughts to examine everything by its natural tendency to the greater good, so as to explain when and why it is better that a man should turn the right cheek to him that has smitten the left, deny himself innocent pleasures, forego his private advantages, hazard his life, his health, and all his valuables, for the sake of other persons ; and when it is more for the general good that he should follow his pleasures or profit, take care of his health, his family, his estate, oppose or rival, thwart, censure, or punish ; for if none of these things were ever done by the virtuous, how would the world be the better as human nature stands circumstanced at present ? or if he cannot explain these points to every capacity, yet let him take care to understand them himself, and recommend nothing to another which he cannot explain the reasons of to his own satisfaction.

Therefore as I have not been able to run these profitable lengths, I cannot boast of great services to the public : but shall find my contentment upon the hope that my labors may prove the remote occasion of more extensive good being done to my compatriots, or perhaps to mankind in general.

END OF VOL. II.













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