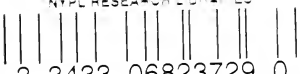
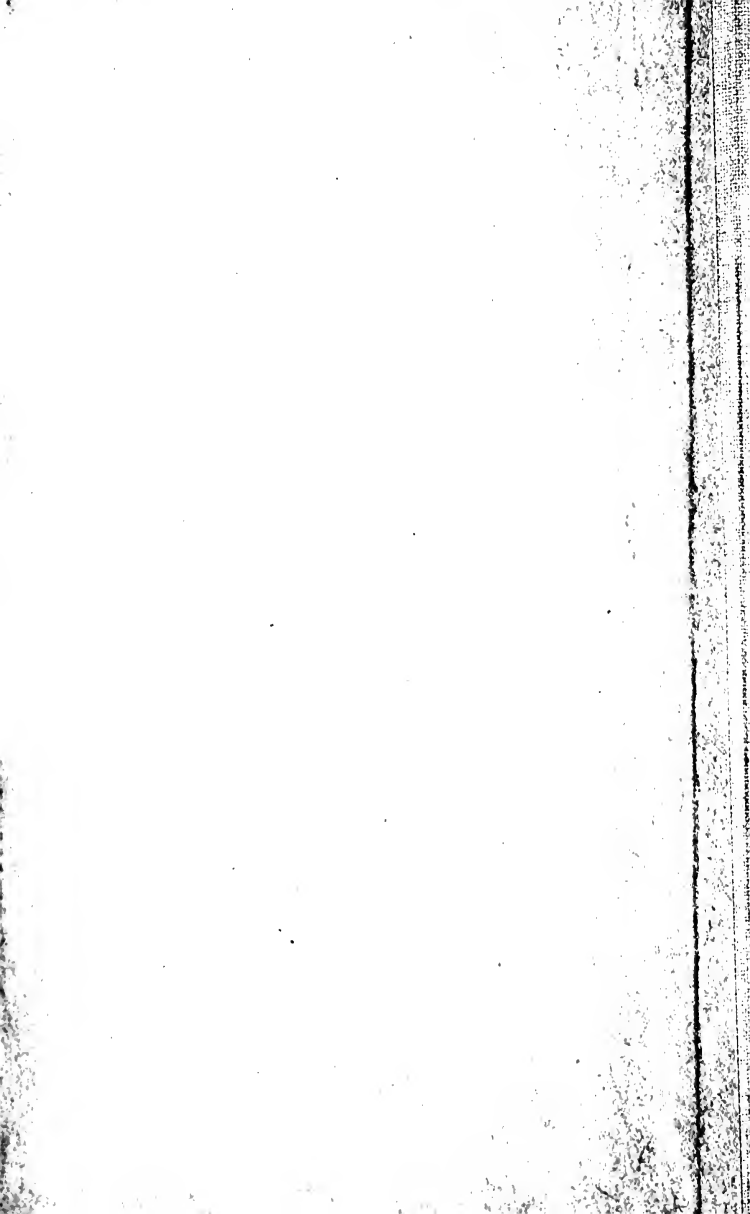


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TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

A constant reader of your remarkable paper would be glad to contribute an occasional religious nut for your prosy, long-winded Sunday communicants to crack, but more especially for the unbiassed and deep-thinking religious community and the ministry in general, were he sure that you were entirely impartial and that your columns were open to all contributors believing in God, but disbelieving the dogmas and foundation of Christianity and respectfully sends this article as a pioneer to obtain that knowledge, and will promise, if the privilege is granted, that his communications will always be short, to the point and adhering to the text and authority of the Bible only.

NCT NO. 1, dedicated to H. Q., Jr., of the two Resurrections published in your columns of Sunday last:—

Genesis iii., 19—"Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

Ecclesiastes xiii., 7—"Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it."

QUESTION.—If the body goes to dust and the spirit returns to God, what part of us is it that is resurrected and plunged into hell?—

Where there is weeping and wailing  
And gnashing of teeth,  
And millions of years can bring no relief;  
But for time everlasting, so the Christian priests say,  
We'll be roasted alive, but we can't burn away.  
Consolation for sinners, if this should be true,  
In hell there'll be many, in heaven but few.

DEIST.

PROPHET.—"Who was Malachi, the last of the prophets, what was his origin, and from whence did he come?" The word malachi meant an angel or messenger, and was no doubt applied to Ezra, who was considered the second Moses, for he revived and re-established the laws of Moses, which were almost lost in the Babylonish captivity. Ezra was therefore the second founder of the law, and was called Malachi because he was dispatched by God to restore the Jewish religion and to settle it upon the foundation of the law and the prophets, and he gave the correct copy of the Holy Scriptures.

JUSTIN.—"How am I to understand certain passages in the New Testament, such as 'If any one smites you on one cheek, turn the other also to him; if a man deprives you by law of your coat, give him your cloak also?' When a disciple asked permission to bury his dead father, Christ is represented to have said—'Let the dead bury the dead: follow me.' Also, that 'no rich man can enter the kingdom of God.' Are these allegorical or are they to be considered as literal?" The safest and the most reasonable way is not to believe that they ever were said by Jesus, but are mere inventions of the early teachers, which are numerous. It is not possible to believe that he recommended anything inconsistent with humanity or with natural laws. His preaching and teaching were in precepts, short emphatic rules, maxims, and reflections. Why should heaven be closed to a rich man? Why should a child be denied the duty of performing the last sad offices for his father? What is the meaning of "let the dead bury the dead?" We do not understand it, and it is not allegorical.

GESENIUS.—"Can you give me the literal translation of the 14th, 15th, and 16th verses of the 7th chapter of Isaiah, and their interpretation?" When Ahaz, who was iniquitous and incredulous, was dissatisfied with what the Lord said of Pekah and Syria, and told him to ask a celestial or terrestrial sign in confirmation, he said he would neither ask, nor tempt God. Isaiah said, in reproving him, that God would give him a sign without asking, and the true translation is as follows—"Behold, the YOUNG WOMAN is pregnant and bears a son, and thou shalt call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and select the good; for before the boy (YOUTH) shall know to detest in the evil and select in the good, the land thou art uneasy about shall be quitted by her two kings." The "young woman" was the wife of the prophet Isaiah. The text is (GALMA—"young woman," married or single—not BETULAH, which means "virgin." The wife of the prophet, being pregnant, would bear a son, who, among other qualifications, would deliver the land from two powerful enemies, Rezin Pekah. That child was King Hezekiah, who performed all acts, which gave to him the titles of "wonderful," "counsel," "prince of peace," &c. &c., for the text is in the past tense: unto us a child was born, unto us a child was given," &c. and not in the future.

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NATURE nursing in vain her warring children, benighted by the artifices of Priestcraft and Politics; Philosophy consumes their screen in order to display the universality of transmutations :

For Self and Nature link'd in one great frame,  
 Shows true Self-love and Nature's as the same.  
 Eternal matter to one centre brings  
 Men changed to beasts, and insects changed to kings  
 Who dares with force on Nature's chain to strike,  
 On man or insects, jars the chain alike  
 On Self, which changing never quits the chain  
 In life or death, transmits or joy or pain.

THE  
BIBLE OF NATURE,

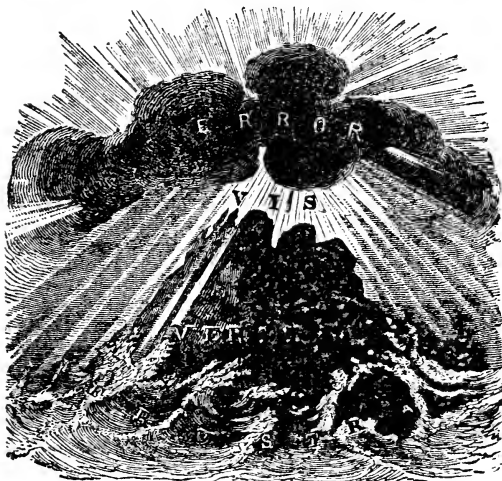
AND

SUBSTANCE OF VIRTUE.

*John Stewart*

CONDENSED FROM THE SCRIPTURES

OF EMINENT COSMIANS, PANTHEISTS AND PHYSIPHILAN  
THROPISTS, OF VARIOUS AGES AND CLIMES.



SUPER HANC PETRAM ÆDIFICABO.

Ἴνα ἢ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

Illustrated with Engravings.

SECOND EDITION.

WITH THE FORMER EDITION DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED.

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Πολις και Πατρις, ως μεν Αντωνινω μοι η Ρωμη, ως δε Ανθρωπω,  
 ο Κοσμος. *M. A. Antoninus.*

Ψυχης αγαθης Πατρις ο Συμπας Κοσμος. *Democritus.*

Τι γαρ εστιν Ανθρωπος; μερος πολως, της μεγαλης και της  
 μικρας. *Epictetus.*

Socrates did not style himself an Athenian or a Grecian,  
 but a Cosmian, that is, a citizen of the world. *Plutarch.*

Unus interitus est hominis et jumentorum, æqua utrius-  
 que conditio. *Ecclesiastes.*

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto. *Terence.*

Spiritus intus alit, et magno se corpore miscet. *Virgil.*

Virtus est nihil aliud quam in se perfecta, et ad summum  
 perduct a Natura. *Cicero.*

De nihilo nil, in nihilum nil posse reverti. *Persius.*

Non sibi, sed toto genitum se credere mundo. *Lucan.*

The whole World is man's country, and humanity never  
 wants materials. *Seneca.*

The suppressor of a useful truth, is as guilty as the prop-  
 agator of an injurious falsehood. *St. Augustine.*

Nature is made better by no mean,

But Nature makes that mean;—

Art does mend Nature, change it rather;

But the art itself is Nature.

*Shakespeare.*

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,

Whose body Nature is, and God the soul. *Pope.*

Art is only Nature acting with the tools that she has  
 made. *D'Holback.*

The greatest good, of the greatest number, for the greatest  
 length of time. *Bentham.*

My country is the World, my religion is to do good. *Paine.*

Action and reaction are equal in the moral as in the na-  
 tural world. *Clarkson.*

Le triomphe de la lumière sera toujours favorable à la  
 grandeur et à l'amélioration de l'espèce humaine.

*Mme de Stael.*

Nulle erreur ne peut être utile, comme nulle vérité ne  
 peut nuire. *De Maistre.*

Il n'y a dans la Nature ni nobles, ni parias; ni maîtres  
 ni esclaves; ni Français, ni Allemands, ni Anglais: il y a des  
 hommes! Notre âme embrasse le monde, et s'élance encore  
 au-delà. *L. Aime-Martin.*

[Bible means book, Scripture means writing ; Nature, the aggregate of things and their powers. This Bible of Nature concentrates the rays of some of the chief mental and moral lights of the world. Its various themes are not limited to times, persons, or places, but are of general utility and application ; including nearly every important branch of morals, and of reform in the inequalities arising from birth, sex, wealth, faith, race, caste, and color. Little is introduced of technical science or literature ; works on these subjects abound, and they are merely subsidiary to the great cause of freedom and happiness.

Selections only, have been made from each author, and to avoid repetition the word "from" is omitted at the title of each piece. Those from living writers are rare and brief. In a few instances verbal alterations have been deemed necessary ; the words in brackets [ ] throughout are additions. John Stewart's writings are extensively introduced, being less known and accessible than the others, and also more original and important. The order is mainly chronological. Reference may be made to Combe's Moral Philosophy, Torrey's Moral Instructor, Branagan's Beauties of Philanthropy, the Spirit of Humanity, and Legion of Liberty, for more ample views of these respective topics.

This compilation, chiefly from scarce and valuable works, will be useful as a book of reference for facts and arguments on its various important subjects. If its facts are assumptions let them be disproved, if its arguments are fallacious let them be refuted. The stereotype plates will be sold at cost, or gratuitously loaned to any liberal publisher. The price is moderate to enable all to obtain a copy, and those who are able to purchase a number for circulation. Should this work receive encouragement, a new edition will contain additions from Confucius, Epictetus, Averroes, Spinoza's Ethics, D'Holbach's System of Nature, Voltaire's Dictionary, Hume's Essays, Gibbon, Toulmin's Eternity of the Universe, Bentham, a translation of Aime Martin, Liebig, Combe, Strauss, the Modern German Philosophers, Chamber's Vestiges, &c., with some new engravings.]

Generation passeth away, and generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north: it whirleth about continually; and the wind returneth again according to his circuits. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done: and no new thing under the sun. No remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labor, it is the gift of God.

I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth? Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better, than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion; for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?

Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.

The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.

## JESUS CHRIST'S

## GOSPEL.

Blessed are the meek ; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness ; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful ; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart ; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers ; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake ; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Therefore when thou doest alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth ; that thine alms may be in secret ; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites ; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged ; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye ? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother ; Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye ; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye ? Thou hypocrite ! first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye. Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine ; lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you. Ask, and it shall be given you ; seek, and ye shall find ; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.

Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles ? Even so every good



tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what this meaneth; I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. For I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath-day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath-days.

Wo unto the world because of offences! For it must needs be that offences come; but wo to that man by whom the offence cometh!

Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Honor thy father and mother; and; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor; and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.

But wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in, neither suffer them that are entering to go in. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin; and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides! which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel! Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and ~~covetousness~~.

Thou blind Pharisee ! cleanse first that within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! for you are like unto whitened sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat ; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink ; I was a stranger, and ye took me in ; naked, and ye clothed me ; I was sick, and ye visited me ; I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.—*St. Matthew.*

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me ; because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves ; and they stripped him of his raiment and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way ; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was ; and when he saw him, he had compassion. Which now of these three, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves ? "He that showed mercy on him." Go, and do thou likewise.

Give alms of such things as ye have ; and behold, all things are clean unto you. But wo unto you, Pharisees ! for ye tithe mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs ; and pass over judgment and the love of God. Wo unto you also, lawyers ! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.



## THE PYTHAGOREAN PHILOSOPHY.

FROM DRYDEN'S OVID.

Souls to which Destiny 'portions new mutable bodies,  
 Imbibe the Lethæan oblivion of prior existence.  
 A spirit-internal supports all—earth, ocean and ether,  
 Flies to the moon's lucid orb, stars distant and sunlike,  
 The mind, through each member diffused, all matter enlivens;  
 Thence men and animals sprung, birds, insects and fishes.

*Virgil, En. VI.*

PYTHAGORAS divine, him Samos bore,  
 But since self-banished from his native shore,  
 Because he hated tyrants, nor could bear  
 The chains, which none but servile souls will wear:  
 The crowd with silent admiration stand,  
 And heard him as they heard their god's command;  
 While he discours'd of heav'n's mysterious laws,  
 The world's original, and Nature's cause.

He first the taste of flesh from tables drove,  
And argu'd well, if arguments could move :

“ O mortals, from your fellows' blood abstain,  
Nor taint your bodies with a food profane :  
While corn and pulse by nature are bestow'd,  
And planted orchards bend their willing load ;  
While labour'd gardens wholesome herbs produce,  
And teeming vines afford their gen'rous juice ;  
Nor tardier fruits of cruder kinds are lost,  
But tam'd with fire, or mellow'd by the frost ;  
While kine to pails distended udders bring,  
And bees their honey, redolent of spring ;  
While earth not only can your needs supply,  
But, lavish of her store, provides for luxury ;  
A guiltless feast administers with ease,  
And without blood is prodigal to please.  
Wild beasts their maws with their slain brethren fill ;  
And yet not all, for some refuse to kill :  
Sheep, goats, and oxen, and the nobler steed,  
On browse, and corn, and flow'ry meadows, feed.  
Bears, tigers, wolves, the lion's angry brood,  
Whom heav'n endu'd with principles of blood,  
He wisely sunder'd from the rest to yell  
In forests, and in lonely caves to dwell ;  
Where stronger beasts oppress the weak by might,  
And all in prey, and purple feasts delight.

O impious use ! to Nature's laws oppos'd,  
Where bowels are in others bowels clos'd ;  
Where, fatten'd by their fellow's fat, they thrive ;  
Maintain'd by murder, and by death they live.  
'Tis then for nought that mother Earth provides  
The stores of all she shows, and all she hides,  
If men with fleshy morsels must be fed,  
And chew, with bloody teeth, the breathing bread ;  
What else is this, but to devour our guests,  
And barb'rously renew Cyclopean feasts !  
We, by destroying life, our life sustain ;  
And gorge th' ungodly maw with meats obscene.

Not so the Golden Age, who fed on fruit,  
Nor durst with bloody meals their mouths pollute.

Then birds in airy space might safely move,  
 And tim'rous hares on heaths securely rove  
 Nor needed fish the guileful hooks to fear,  
 For all was peaceful; and that peace sincere.  
 Whoever was the wretch, (and curs'd be he  
 That envy'd first our food's simplicity!)  
 Th' essay of bloody feasts on brutes began,  
 And after forg'd the sword to murder man.  
 Had he the sharpen'd steel alone employ'd  
 On beasts of prey, that other beasts destroy'd  
 Or man invaded with their fangs, and paws,  
 This had been justified by nature's laws,  
 And self-defence: But who did feasts begin  
 Of flesh, he stretch'd necessity to sin.  
 To kill man-killers, man has lawful pow'r,  
 But not th' extended license to devour.

Ill habits gather by unseen degrees,  
 As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas.  
 The sow, with her broad snout, for rooting up  
 Th' intrusted seed, was judg'd to spoil the crop,  
 And intercept the sweating farmer's hope:  
 The cov'tous churl, of unforgiving kind,  
 Th' offender to the bloody priest resign'd:  
 Her hunger was no plea: For that she died.  
 The goat came next in order, to be tried;  
 The goat had cropt the tendrils of the vine:  
 In vengeance laity and clergy join,  
 Where one had lost his profit, one his wine:  
 Here was, at least, some shadow of offence:  
 The sheep was sacrific'd on no pretence,  
 But meek, and unresisting innocence:  
 A patient, useful creature, born to bear  
 The warm and woolly fleece, that cloth'd her murderer,  
 And daily to give down the milk she bred,  
 A tribute for the grass on which she fed.  
 Living, both food and raiment she supplies,  
 And is of least advantage when she dies.  
 How did the toiling ox his death deserve,  
 A downright simple drudge, and born to serve?  
 O tyrant! with what justice canst thou hope  
 The promise of the year, a plenteous crop,

When thou destroy'st thy lab'ring steer, who till'd  
 And plough'd with pains, thy else ungrateful field?  
 From his yet reeking neck to draw the yoke,  
 That neck, with which the surly clods he broke;  
 And to the hatchet yield thy husbandman,  
 Who finish'd Autumn, and the Spring began!

Nor this alone! but Heav'n itself to bribe,  
 We to the gods our impious acts ascribe:  
 First recompense with death their creatures' toil;  
 Then call the bless'd above to share the spoil:  
 The fairest victim must the pow'rs appease,  
 (So fatal 'tis sometimes too much to please!)  
 A purple fillet his broad brows adorns,  
 With flow'ry garlands crown'd, and gilded horns;  
 He hears the murd'rous pray'r the priest prefers,  
 But understands not 'tis his doom he hears:  
 Beholds the meal betwixt his temples cast,  
 (The fruit and product of his labours past);  
 And in the water views perhaps the knife  
 Uplifted, to deprive him of his life;  
 Then broken up alive, his entrails sees  
 Torn out, for priests t' inspect the gods' decrees.

From whence, O mortal man, this gust of blood  
 Have you deriv'd, and interdicted food?  
 Be taught by me this dire delight to shun,  
 Warn'd by my precepts, by my practice won:  
 And when you eat the well-deserving beast,  
 Think, on the lab'rer of your field you feast!

“All I would teach, and by right reason bring  
 To think of death, as but an idle thing.  
 Why thus affrighted at an empty name,  
 A dream of darkness, and fictitious flame?  
 Vain themes of wit, which but in poems pass,  
 And fables of a world, that never was!  
 What feels the body, when the soul expires,  
 By time corrupted, or consum'd by fires?  
 Nor dies the spirit, but new life repeats  
 In other forms, and only changes seats.

Then Death, so call'd, is but old matter drest  
 In some new figure, and a varied vest:

Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies ;  
 And here and there th' unbodied spirit flies,  
 By time, or force, or sickness disposses't,  
 And lodges, where it lights, in man or beast ;  
 Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,  
 And actuates those according to their kind ;  
 From tenement to tenement is tost,  
 The soul is still the same, the figure only lost :  
 And as the soften'd wax new seals receives,  
 This face assumes, and that impression leaves ;  
 Now call'd by one, now by another name ;  
 The form is only chang'd, the wax is still the same :  
 So Death, so call'd, can but the form deface ;  
 Th' immortal soul flies out in empty space,  
 To seek her fortune in some other place.

This let me further add, that Nature knows  
 No stedfast station, but, or ebbs or flows :  
 Ever in motion ; she destroys her old,  
 And casts new figures in another mould.  
 E'en times are in perpetual flux, and run,  
 Like rivers from their fountain, rolling on.  
 For time, no more than streams, is at a stay ;  
 The flying hour is ever on her way :  
 And as the fountain still supplies her store,  
 The wave behind impels the wave before ;  
 Thus in successive course the minutes run,  
 And urge their predecessor minutes on,  
 Still moving, ever new : For, former things  
 Are set aside, like abdicated kings ;  
 And ev'ry moment alters what is done,  
 And innovates some act till then unknown.

E'en our own bodies daily change receive,  
 Some part of what was theirs before, they leave ;  
 Nor are to-day what yesterday they were ;  
 Nor the whole same to morrow will appear.  
 Time was when we were sow'd, and just began,  
 From some few fruitful drops, the promise of a man :  
 Then Nature's hand (fermented as it was)  
 Moulded to shape the soft, coagulated mass ;  
 And when the little man was fully form'd,  
 The breathless embryo with a spirit warm'd ;

But when the mother's throes begin to come,  
 The creature, pent within the narrow room,  
 Breaks his blind prison, pushing to repair  
 His stifled breath, and draw the living air ;  
 Cast on the margin of the world he lies,  
 A helpless babe, but he by instinct cries.  
 He next essays to walk, but downward prest,  
 On four feet, imitates his brother beast :  
 By slow degrees he gathers from the ground  
 His legs, and to the rolling chair is bound ;  
 Then walks alone ; a horseman now become,  
 He rides a stick, and travels round the room.  
 In time he vaunts among his youthful peers,  
 Strong-bon'd, and strung with nerves, in pride of years.  
 He runs with mettle his first merry stage,  
 Maintains the next, abated of his rage,  
 But manages his strength, and spares his age.  
 Heavy the third, and stiff he sinks apace,  
 And, tho' 'tis down-hill all, but creeps along the race.  
 Now, sapless, on the verge of death he stands,  
 Contemplating his former feet and hands.

Thy teeth, devouring Time, thine, envious Age,  
 On things below still exercise your rage ;  
 With venom'd grinders you corrupt your meat,  
 And then, at lingering meals, the morsels eat.  
 Nor those, which element we call, abide,  
 Nor to this figure, nor to that are tied :  
 For this eternal world is said of old,  
 But four prolific principles to hold,  
 Four diff'rent bodies ; two to heav'n ascend,  
 And other two down to the centre tend :  
 Fire first, with wings expanded, mounts on high,  
 Pure, void of weight, and dwells in upper sky ;  
 Then air, because unclogg'd in empty space,  
 Flies after fire, and claims the second place ;  
 But weighty water, as her nature guides,  
 Lies on the lap of earth ; and mother earth subsides.  
 All things are mix'd of these, which all contain,  
 And into these are all resolv'd again :  
 Thus are their figures never at a stand,  
 But chang'd by Nature's innovating hand ;



All things are alter'd, nothing is destroy'd,  
The shifted scene for some new show employ'd.

Then, to be born, is to begin to be  
Some other thing we were not formerly :  
And what we call to die, is not t' appear,  
Nor be the thing that formerly we were.  
Those very elements, which we partake,  
Alive, when dead some other bodies make ;  
Translated grow, have sense, or can discourse ;  
But death on deathless substance has no force.

That forms are chang'd, I grant ; that nothing can  
Continue in the figure it began ;  
The golden age, to silver was debas'd ;  
To copper that ; our metal came at last.

The face of places, and their forms, decay ;  
And that is solid earth, that once was sea ;  
Seas, in their turn, retreating from the shore,  
Make solid land, what ocean was before ;  
And far from strands are shells of fishes found,  
And rusty anchors fix'd on mountain ground :  
And what were fields before, now wash'd and worn  
By falling floods from high, to valleys turn  
And crumbling still descend to level lands ;  
And lakes and trembling bogs are barren sands :  
And the parch'd desert floats in streams unknown ;  
Wond'ring to drink of waters not her own.

All changing species should my song recite ;  
Before I ceas'd would change the day to night.  
Nations and empires flourish and decay,  
By turns command, and in their turns obey ;  
Time softens hardy people ; time again  
Hardens to war a soft, unwarlike train.  
And, therefore, I conclude, whatever lies,  
In earth, or flits in air, or fills the skies,  
All suffer change ; and we, that are of soul  
And body mix'd, are members of the whole.  
Then when our sires, or grandsires, shall forsake  
The forms of men, and brutal figures take,  
Thus hous'd, securely let their spirits rest,  
Nor violate thy father in the beast,  
Thy friend, thy brother, any of thy kin,

If none of these, yet there's a man\* within.  
 O spare to make a Thyestæin meal,  
 T' inclose his body, and his soul expel.  
 — Ill customs by degrees to habits rise,  
 Ill habits soon become exalted vice :  
 What more advance can mortals make in sin  
 So near perfection who with blood begin ?  
 Deaf to the calf, that lies beneath the knife,  
 Looks up, and from her butcher begs her life :  
 Deaf to the harmless kid, that ere he dies,  
 All methods to procure thy mercy tries,  
 And imitates, in vain, thy children's cries.  
 Where will he stop, who feeds with household bread,  
 Then eats the poultry which before he fed ?  
 Let plough thy steers ; that, when they lose their breath,  
 To Nature, not to thee, they may impute their death.  
 Let goats for food their loaded udders lend,  
 And sheep from winter-cold thy sides defend ;  
 But neither springes, nets, nor snares employ,  
 And be no more ingenious to destroy.  
 Free as in air let birds on earth remain,  
 Nor let insidious glue their wings constrain :  
 Nor op'ning hounds the trembling stag affright,  
 Nor purple feathers intercept his flight ;  
 Nor hooks conceal'd in baits for fish prepare,  
 Nor lines to heave 'm twinkling up in air.  
 Take not away that life you cannot give,  
 For all things have an equal right to live.  
 Kill noxious creatures, where 'tis sin to save ;  
 This only just prerogative we have :  
 But nourish life with vegetable food,  
 And shun the sacrilegious taste of blood."

These precepts by the Samian sage were taught,  
 Which godlike Numa to the Sabines brought,  
 And thence transferr'd to Rome, by gift his own :  
 A willing people, and an offer'd throne.  
 O happy monarch, sent by heav'n to bless  
 A savage nation with soft arts of peace !

\* Portions of the elements of former men.

## FROM PLUTARCH'S MORALS.

Pythagoras taught in certain enigmatical sentences, which I shall here relate and expound, as being greatly useful to further virtuous inclinations, such as these ;

“Taste not of creatures that have black tails :”—That is, converse not with men that are smutted with vicious qualities.

“Stride not over the beam of a pair of scales :”—Wherein he teaches us the regard we ought to have for justice, so as not to go beyond its measures.

“Sit not on a bushel :”—Wherein he forbids sloth, and requires us to take care to provide ourselves of necessaries for a livelihood.

“Do not strike hands with every man :”—He means that we ought not to be over-hasty to make acquaintances or friendships with others.

“Wear not a strait ring :”—That is, we are to labor after a free and undepending way of living, and not be indebted to others.

“Stir not up the fire with a sword :”—Signifying that we ought not to provoke one more, who is angry already, (as being an act of great indecency,) but rather comply with them while their passion is in its heat.

“Eat not of an heart :”—Which forbids to afflict our souls, and spend our spirits with vexatious cares.

“Abstain from beans :”—That is keep out of public offices ; for anciently, new magistrates were chosen, and the old discharged by suffrages, numbered by beans.

“Put not food in a chamber pot :”—Wherein he declares the unsuitableness of a good discourse, (such as is fit to nourish the mind,) to one whose mind is prepossessed with vicious habits ; as that which is endangered to defilement from such men.

“When men are arrived at the goal, they should not return back again :”—That is, those who are near the end of their days, and see the period of their lives approaching, ought to entertain it contentedly, and not be grieved at it.

According to his system, the purpose of philosophy is to free the mind from all incumbrances, and elevate it to the study of immutable truth, and the knowledge of Nature; and the end of wisdom is, to assimilate the human mind to the divine, which can only be done by the practice of beneficence and truth. This beneficence he extended to all animals, and the better to ensure its practice, he even recommended total abstinence from their flesh. His maxims, from their intrinsic value, and their being arranged in numbers, were called "Golden Verses;" the following are a specimen:

"Do that which you think to be right, whatever the vulgar may think of you; if you despise their praise, disregard also their censure. Be not intimidated by vain threats; let them not divert you from your laudable purpose. Let uprightness influence you in all your actions, and be sincere in whatever you say. Do nothing mean in the presence of others, nor in secret; but let it be your chief law, to respect yourself. It is better that others should respect you, than that they should fear you; for esteem accompanies respect, but fear is attended by hatred. To give a child the best education, send it to live in a well regulated state. Let youth be instructed in the best course of life, and habit will render it the most pleasant. Reproof and correction, are only useful when accompanied with evident marks of the affection of the parent or teacher. Sobriety or temperance is the real strength of mind; for it preserves reason unclouded by passion. No man is free, who has not the command over himself, but submits himself to the tyranny of his passions."

Let not soft slumbers close your eyes,  
 Before you've recollected thrice  
 Your train of actions through the day,  
 And where your thoughts have trac'd their way.  
 What know I more, that's worth the knowing?  
 What have I done, that's worth the doing?  
 What have I sought, that I should shun?  
 What duty have I left undone?  
 Or into what new follies run?

## THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY.

FROM CREECH'S LUCRETIUS.

KIND VENUS, glory of the blest abodes,  
 Parent of Rome, and joy of men and gods ;  
 Delight of all, comfort of sea and earth ;  
 To whose kind powers all creatures owe their birth.  
 At thy approach, great Goddess, straight remove  
 Whate'er are rough, and enemies to love ;  
 The clouds disperse, the winds do swiftly waste,  
 And reverently in murmurs breathe their last :  
 The earth with various art (for thy warm powers  
 That dull mass feels) puts forth her gaudy flowers :  
 For thee doth subtle luxury prepare  
 The choicest stores of earth, of sea, and air ,  
 To welcome thee, she comes profusely drest  
 With all the spices of the wanton east ;  
 To pleasure thee, e'en lazy luxury toils,  
 The roughest sea puts on smooth looks, and smiles :  
 The well-pleas'd heaven assumes a brighter ray  
 At thy approach, and makes a double day.

When first the gentle spring begins t' inspire  
 Melting thoughts, soft wishes, gay desire,  
 And warm Favonius fans the amorous fire ;  
 First through the birds the active flame doth move ;  
 Who with their mates sit down, and sing, and love ;  
 They gratefully their tuneful voice employ  
 At thy approach, the author of their joy.  
 Each beast forgets his rage, and entertains  
 A softer fury, through the flowry plains,  
 Through rapid streams, through woods, and silent groves,  
 With wanton play they run to meet their loves :  
 Whole NATURE yields unto your charms, the ways  
 You lead, pursues, and eagerly obeys.  
 Acted by those kind principles you infuse,  
 Each bird and beast endeavors to produce  
 His kind, and the decaying world renews.

Thee, Nature's powerful ruler, without whom  
 Nothing that's lovely, nothing gay can come  
 From darksome Chaos' deep and ugly womb ;

Thee, now I sing of NATURE, I must choose  
 A patron to my verse, be thou my muse ;  
 And make my lines, whilst I to Memmius write,  
 Thy choice, thy most deserving favorite :  
 Inspire my breast with an unusual flame,  
 Sprightly as his wit, immortal as his fame.  
 Let war's tumultuous noise and labors cease,  
 Let earth and sea enjoy a solid peace.  
 For 'midst rough wars how can verse smoothly flow,  
 Or 'midst such storms the learned laurel grow ?

I treat of things abstruse, the deity,  
 The vast and steady motions of the sky ;  
 The rise of things, how curious Nature joins  
 The various seed, and in one mass combines  
 The jarring principles : what new supplies  
 Bring nourishment and strength : how she unties  
 The Gordian knot, and the poor compound dies :  
 Of what she makes, to what she breaks the frame,  
 Call'd seeds or principles ; though either name  
 We use promiscuously, the thing's the same.  
 For whatsoever's divine, must live in peace,  
 In undisturb'd and everlasting ease :

Long time men lay opprest with slavish fear,  
 Religion's tyranny did domineer,  
 Which being plac'd in heaven look'd proudly down,  
 And frighted abject spirits with her frown.  
 At length a mighty one of Greece began  
 T' assert the natural liberty of man,  
 By senseless terrors and vain fancies led  
 To slavery ; straight the conquer'd Phantoms fled.  
 Not the fam'd stories of the deity,  
 Not all the thunder of the threatening sky  
 Could stop his rising soul ; through all he past  
 The strongest bounds that powerful Nature cast ;  
 His vigorous and active mind was hurl'd  
 Beyond the flaming limits of this world  
 Into the mighty space, and there did see  
 How things begin, what can, what cannot be ;  
 How all must die, all yield to fatal force,  
 What steady limits bound their natural course :  
 He saw all this, and brought it back to us

Wherefore by his success our right we gain,  
Religion is our subject, and we reign.

We knew not yet how is our soul produc'd,  
Whether with body born, or else infus'd ;  
Whether in death breath'd out into the air,  
She doth confus'dly mix and perish there ;  
Or through vast shades, and horrid silence go  
To visit brimstone caves, and pools below  
Or into beasts retires—

These fears, that darkness that o'erspreads our souls,  
Day can't disperse, but those eternal rules  
Which from firm premises true reason draws,  
And a deep insight into Nature's laws.

Well, then, let this as the first rule be laid,  
Nothing was by the gods of nothing made.  
But this once prov'd, it gives an open way  
To Nature's secrets, and we walk in day.  
If nothing can be fertile, what law binds  
All beings still to generate their own kinds ?  
Why do not all things variously proceed  
From every thing ? what use of similar seed ?  
Why do not birds and fishes rise from earth ?  
And men and trees from water take their birth ?  
Why do not herds and flocks drop down from air ?  
Wild creatures and untam'd spring every where ?  
Nought fixt and constant be, but every year  
Whole Nature change, and all things all things bear ?  
But now, since constant Nature all things breeds,  
From matter fitly join'd with proper seeds,  
Their various shapes, their different properties,  
Is the plain cause why all from all can't rise.  
Wherefore 'tis better to conclude there are  
Many first common bodies every where,  
Which join'd, as letters words, do things compose,  
Than that from nothing any thing arose.

Wherefore, as nothing Nature's power creates,  
So death dissolves, but not annihilates :  
For could the substances of bodies die,  
They presently would vanish from our eye ;  
And without force dissolving perish all,  
And silently into their nothing fall :

But now since things from seeds eternal rise,  
 Their parts well join'd and fitted, nothing dies,  
 Unless some force break off the natural ties.

Besides, if e'er whatever years prevail,  
 Should wholly perish, and its matter fail,  
 How could the powers of all kind Venus breed  
 A constant race of animals to succeed?  
 Or how the earth eternally supply  
 With proper food each their necessity?  
 For whatsoe'er could into nothing waste  
 That infinite space of time already past  
 Had quite consum'd—

But if those bodies which compose this all  
 Could for so many ages past endure,  
 They are immortal, and from death secure,  
 And therefore cannot into nothing fall.  
 For death dissolves alone, he breaks the chain,  
 And scatters things to their first seeds again.  
 And therefore bodies cannot fall to nought,  
 Since one thing still is from another brought  
 By provident Nature; who lets nothing rise,  
 And be, unless from something else that dies.

Now, since we have by various reasons taught  
 That nothing rises from, or falls to nought,  
 Lest you dissent, because these seeds must lie  
 Beyond the ken e'en of the sharpest eye;  
 Know, there are bodies which no eye can see,  
 But yet from their effects must grant to be.  
 For first the winds disturb the seas, and tear  
 The stoutest ships, and chase clouds through the air;  
 Sometimes through humble plains their violent course  
 They take, and bear down trees with mighty force.

Those numerous odors, too, whose smells delight  
 And please the nose, are all too thin for sight.  
 We view not heat, nor sharpest colds, which wound  
 The tender nerves, nor can we see a sound.  
 Yet these are bodies, for they move the sense,  
 And straight sweet pleasures, or quick pains commence,  
 They shake the nerves; now whatsoe'er doth touch,  
 Or can be touch'd, that must be granted such.  
 Drops hollow stones; and whilst we plough, the share



Grows less ; the streets by often treading wear.  
 Besides, none, not the sharpest eye, e'er sees  
 What parts to make things grow by just degrees  
 Nature doth add, nor what she takes away,  
 When age steals softly on, and things decay.

Though free from pores and solid, things appear,  
 Yet many reasons prove them to be rare :  
 For drops distil, and subtle moisture creeps  
 Through hardest rocks, and even marble weeps :  
 Juice drawn from food, unto the head doth climb,  
 Then falls to th' feet, and visits every limb :  
 Trees grow, and at due seasons yield their fruit,  
 Because the juice drawn by the laboring root  
 Doth rise i'th' trunk, and through the branches shoot.  
 Lastly, if from four elements all things rose,  
 And all again by death dissolv'd to those ;  
 What reason we should rather fondly deem  
 Those principles of things, than things of them ?  
 For they alternately are chang'd and show  
 Each other's figure, and their nature too.

Blind, wretched man ! In what dark paths of strife  
 We walk this little journey of our life !  
 Whilst frugal Nature seeks for only ease,  
 A body free from pains, free from disease,  
 A mind from cares and jealousies at peace.  
 How little is required to maintain  
 The body sound in health and free from pain ;  
 No delicates, but such as may supply  
 Contented Nature's thrifty luxury ;  
 Yes, underneath a loving myrtle's shade,  
 Just by a purling stream supinely laid,  
 When spring with fragrant flowers the earth hath spread,  
 And sweetest roses grow around our head,  
 Envied by wealth and power, with small expense,  
 We may enjoy the sweet delights of sense.  
 Who ever heard a fever tamer grown  
 In clothes embroider'd o'er, and beds of down,  
 Than in coarse rags ? Since, then, such toys as these  
 Contribute nothing to the body's ease,  
 As honor, wealth, and nobleness of blood ;  
 'Tis plain, they likewise do our mind no good.

But now I'll sing, do you attend, how seed  
 Doth move to make, and to dissolve things made.  
 'Tis certain now no seed to seed adheres,  
 Unmov'd, and fixt; for every thing appears  
 Worn out and wasted by devouring years;  
 Still wasting, till it vanishes away,  
 And yet the mass of things feels no decay.  
 For whence those bodies part, those things grow less,  
 And old, and those do flourish and increase  
 To which they join, thence too they fly away;  
 So things by turns increase, by turns decay;  
 Like racers, bear the lamp of life and live,  
 And their race done, their lamp to others give:  
 And so the mass renews, few years deface  
 One kind, and straight another takes the place.  
 But if you think the seeds can rest and make  
 A change by rest, how great is the mistake!  
 For Nature's fixt, and steady laws decreed  
 That nothing should be chang'd, that nought should breed  
 Without a combination of the seed.  
 And thus without the limbs no sense can rise,  
 It cannot be, before the body is;  
 Because the seeds lie scatter'd every where,  
 In heaven, in earth, and water, flame, and air;  
 Not yet combin'd to make an animal,  
 Nor sense, that guide and governor of all.

But now attend, I'll teach thee something new  
 'Tis strange, but yet 'tis reason, and 'tis true.  
 E'en what we now with greatest ease receive,  
 Seem'd strange at first, and we could scarce believe,  
 And what we wonder at, as years increase,  
 Will seem more plain, and all our wonder cease.  
 For look, the heaven, the stars, the sun, and moon,  
 If on a sudden unto mortals shown,  
 Discover'd now, and never seen before,  
 What could have rais'd the people's wonder more?  
 But *now*, all cloy'd with these, scarce cast an eye,  
 Or think it worth the pains to view the sky  
 Wherefore, fly no opinion, 'cause 'tis *new*,  
 But strictly search, and after careful view,  
 Reject, if *false*; embrace it, if 'tis *true*.

First, then, the mind, in which the reason lies,  
 Is part of man, as hands, and feet, and eyes,  
 Are parts of animals; though some have taught,  
 And those philosophers, that sense, and thought  
 Do no particular seat, and part control,  
 But are a vital habit of the whole;  
 In Greek call'd harmony, and that from thence  
 Flows all our reason, life, and thought, and sense;  
 But often when these visible limbs do smart,  
 Brisk joy's still created in some unseen part,  
 And so o'th' contrary, when minds opprest  
 Sink under cares, their bodies are at rest.  
 So, often, whilst the hand or foot complains,  
 The head is vigorous, and free from pains.  
 Beside, when charms of sleep have clos'd our eyes,  
 Languid and void of sense the body lies;  
 Yet even then, some part of mind appears  
 Disturb'd with hope, with joy, and empty fears.

Next, then, I must affirm the soul and mind\*  
 Make up one single Nature closely join'd,  
 But the inferior part, the soul, confin'd  
 To all the limbs, obeys the ruling mind,  
 And moves as that directs; for only that  
 Can of itself rejoice, or fear or hate;  
 Passion and thought belong to that alone,  
 For soul and limbs are capable of none.

But, to enlarge the instance more, this proves  
 The mind material too, because it moves,  
 And shakes the limbs, makes them look pale and wan.  
 In short, directs and governs the whole man;  
 All which is done by touch, and whate'er touch  
 Are bodies, then the mind and soul are such.  
 Nor can the soul and body, separate,  
 Perceive, or think in their divided state;  
 For the first stroke is by the nerves convey'd,  
 And sense, from the joint motions of both, made.  
 Besides, the body is not born alone,  
 Nor grows, nor lives, when mind and soul are gone.

[\* *Soul*, the principle of *Life*, and *Mind*, of *Sense*.]

Now, then, my lovely youth, to let thee know  
 That souls and minds are born and mortal too,  
 (Both words in this dispute express the same :)  
 So that, for instance, when the soul you find  
 Prov'd mortal, think I likewise mean the mind,  
 Since both do make but one, two natures join'd.  
 And first 'tis plain, that souls are born and grow,  
 And all by age decay as bodies do.  
 To prove this truth: In infants, minds appear  
 Infirm and tender as their bodies are:  
 In man, the mind is strong; when age prevails,  
 And the quick vigor of each member fails,  
 The mind's powers too decrease, and waste apace,  
 And grave and reverend folly takes the place:  
 'Tis likely then the soul and mind must die;  
 Like smoke in air, its scatter'd atoms fly.  
 Sometimes when violent fevers vex the brains,  
 The mind grows mad, and raves with equal pains:  
 Sometimes when dull and death-like lethargy,  
 And lasting sleep sits heavy on the eye,  
 The soul is lull'd; and neither knows, nor hears  
 His friend's kind voice, nor sees the falling tears,  
 Whilst they with pious care about him weep,  
 And strive to rouse him from his death of sleep.  
 Since, then, the limbs' disease affects the mind,  
 That must be mortal too; for still we find  
 By thousand instances diseases wait  
 On death, as the sad messengers of fate.

Besides, when wine's quick force hath pierc't the brain,  
 And the brisk heat's diffus'd through every vein,  
 Why do the members all grow dull and weak?  
 The tongue not with its usual swiftness speak?  
 The eye-balls swim, the legs not firm and straight,  
 But bend beneath the body's natural weight;  
 Unmanly quarrels, noise and sobs deface  
 The powers of reason, and usurp their place?  
 How could this be, did not the precious juice  
 Affect the mind itself, and spoil its use?  
 Now things that can be thus disturb'd, that cease  
 From usual actions, by such lets as these,  
 Would die, suppose the force or strokes increase.

And since our minds as well as bodies feel  
 The powers of medicines, that change or heal,  
 They must be mortal, for to change the soul,  
 You must or change the order of the whole ;  
 Take off some old, or add some parts anew—  
 Now what's immortal, common sense hath told,  
 Can gain not one new part, nor lose one old ;  
 For whatsoever suffers change, unties  
 Its union, is not what it was, but dies :  
 Therefore the mind, or by diseases griev'd,  
 Or by the power of medicines, reliev'd,  
 Shews herself mortal.

But if you think the soul, by fate opprest,  
 Can to one limb retire, and leave the rest ;  
 That part, where so much soul hath residence,  
 A greater must enjoy, and quicker sense :  
 But since none such appears, 'tis plain it flies  
 By piece-meal through the air, and therefore dies.  
 But grant, what's false the soul can backward fly,  
 And huddled up within one member lie,  
 Yet this infers the soul's mortality.  
 For what's the difference, if by latest breath  
 Expell'd or huddled up, 'tis crush't to death ?  
 Whilst from the limbs the senses steal away,  
 And by degrees the powers of life decay.

And since the soul is part, and since it lies  
 Fixt in one certain place, as ears, or eyes ;  
 So like as those when from the body gone,  
 Perceive not, nor endure, but perish soon ;  
 The mind can't live divided from the whole,  
 The limbs, which seem the vessel of the soul.

Again, both soul and body join'd perceive,  
 Exert their natural powers, endure, and live ;  
 Nor can the soul without the limbs dispense  
 Her vital powers, nor limbs without the soul have sense :  
 For as the eye grows stiff, and dark, and blind,  
 When torn from off her seat ; so soul and mind  
 Lose all their powers, when from the limbs disjoin'd ;  
 Because 'tis spread o'er all, and there preserves  
 Her life, by vital union with the nerves.

And if the soul's immortal, if she lives  
 Divided from the body, if perceives,  
 She must enjoy five senses still; for who  
 Can fancy how the soul can live below,  
 Unless 'tis thus endow'd? Thus painters please,  
 And poets too, to draw their souls with these.  
 But as without the soul, nor eye, nor ear,  
 Nor either hand, can touch, or see, or hear;  
 So neither can this soul, this mind perceive,  
 Without these hands, these eyes, these ears, nor live.

Besides, our vital sense is spread o'er all;  
 The whole composure makes one animal:  
 So that if sudden violent strokes divide  
 This whole, and cast the parts on either side,  
 The soul and mind too suffer the same fate,  
 And part remains in this, and part in that.  
 Now what can be divided, what can lie  
 And waste in several parts, can likewise die.

Besides, were souls immortal, ne'er began,  
 But crept into the limbs to make up man,  
 Why cannot they remember what was done  
 In former times? Why all their memory gone?  
 Now, if the mind's frail powers so far can waste,  
 As to forget those numerous actions past,  
 'Tis almost dead, and sure can die at last.

Well, then, the former soul must needs be dead,  
 And that which now informs us, newly made.

But when the body's made, when we begin  
 To view the light, if then the soul crept in,  
 How is it likely it should seem to grow,  
 Increase and flourish, as the members do?

No, it would live confin'd to her close cage,  
 With powers as great in infancy, as age.

But if they say, that souls expell'd by fate,  
 To other bodies of like kind retreat;

Then tell me why, Why doth the wisest soul,  
 When crept into a child, become a fool?

Why cannot new-born colts perform the course  
 With equal cunning as a full grown horse?

But that the souls are born, increase, and grow,  
 And rise mature, as all their bodies do.

Besides, come tell me why a soul should grow,  
 And rise mature, as all the members do,  
 If 'twere not born? When feeble age comes on,  
 Why is't in haste, and eager to be gone?  
 What does it fear, it makes such haste away,  
 To be imprison'd in the stinking clay?  
 What doth it fear the aged heap's decay?

'Tis fond to think, that whilst wild beasts beget,  
 Or bear their young, a thousand souls should wait,  
 Expect the falling body, fight and strive,  
 Which first shall enter in, and make it live.

But now suppose the soul, when separate,  
 Could live, and think, in a divided state:  
 Yet what is that to us, who are the whole,  
 A frame compos'd of body, join'd with soul?  
 Nay, grant the scatter'd ashes of our urn  
 Be join'd again, and life and sense return;  
 Yet how can that concern us, when 'tis done,  
 Since all the memory of past life is gone?  
 Now we ne'er joy, nor grieve, to think that we  
 Were heretofore, nor what those things will be,  
 Which fram'd from us, the following age shall see.  
 When we revolve, how numerous years have run,  
 How oft the east beheld the rising sun  
 E'er we began, and how the atoms move,  
 How the unthinking seed forever strove;  
 'Tis probable, and reason's laws allow,  
 These seeds of ours were once combin'd as now;  
 Yet now who minds, who knows his former state?  
 The interim of death, the hand of fate,  
 Or stopt the seeds, or made them all commence  
 Such motions, as destroy'd the former sense.

He that is miserable, must perceive  
 Whilst he is so, he then must be and live;  
 But now since death permits to feel no more  
 Those cares, those troubles, which we felt before,  
 It follows too, that when we die again,  
 We need not fear; for he must live, that lives in pain:  
 But now the dead, though they should all return  
 To life again, should grieve no more, nor mourn  
 For evils past, than if they ne'er were born.

For rising beings still the old pursue,  
 And take their place, old die, and frame the new :  
 But nothing sinks to hell, and sulphurous flames,  
 The seeds remain to make the future frames :  
 All which shall yield to fate as well as thou,  
 And things fell heretofore e'en just as now.  
 And still decaying things shall new produce ;  
 For life's not given to possess, but use.

Besides, what dreadful things in death appear,  
 What tolerable cause for all our fear ?  
 What sad, what dismal thoughts do bid us weep ?  
 Is't not a quiet state, and soft as sleep.

The furies, Cerberus, black hell, and flames,  
 Are airy fancies all, mere empty names.  
 But whilst we live, the fear of dreadful pains  
 For wicked deeds, the prison, scourge, and chains,  
 The wheel, the block, the fire, affright the mind,  
 Strike deep, and leave a constant sting behind.

Nay, those not felt ; the guilty soul presents  
 These dreadful shapes, and still herself torments,  
 Scourges, and stings ; nor doth she seem to know  
 An end of these, but fears more fierce below,  
 Eternal all. Thus fancied pains we feel,  
 And live as wretched here, as if in hell.

Consider, mighty kings in pomp and state,  
 Fall, and ingloriously submit to fate.  
 Scipio, that scourge of Carthage, now the grave  
 Keeps prisoner, like the meanest common slave.

Nay, greatest wits, and poets too, that give  
 Eternity to others, cease to live.  
 Homer, their prince, is nothing now but fame,  
 A lasting, far diffus'd, but empty name.

Nay, Epicurus' race of life is run,  
 The man of wit, who other men out-shone,  
 As far as meaner stars the mid-day sun.  
 Then how dar'st thou repine to die, and grieve,  
 Thou meaner soul, thou dead, e'en whilst alive ?  
 That sleep'st and dream'st the most of life away :  
 Thy night is full as rational as thy day ;  
 Still vext with cares, who never understood  
 The principles of ill, nor use of good.



Our life must once have end, in vain we fly  
From following fate; e'en now, e'en now we die.

He that says, nothing can be known, o'erthrows  
His own opinion, for he nothing knows,  
So knows not that: What need of long dispute,  
These maxims kill themselves, themselves confute.

Besides, that seas, that rivers waste and die,  
And still increase by constant new supply,  
What need of proofs? This streams themselves do show  
And in soft murmurs babble as they flow.

But lest the mass of waters prove too great,  
The sun drinks some, to quench his natural heat;  
And some the winds brush off: with wanton play  
They dip their wings, and bear some parts away:  
Some passes through the earth, diffus'd all o'er,  
And leaves its salt behind in every pore;  
For all returns through narrow channels spread,  
And joins where'er the fountain shews her head;  
And thence sweet streams in fair meanders play,  
And through the valleys cut their liquid way;  
And herbs, and flowers on every side bestow,  
The fields all smile with flowers where'er they flow.

But more, the air through all the mighty frame  
Is chang'd each hour, we breathe not twice the same:  
Because as all things waste, the parts must fly  
To the vast sea of air; they mount on high,  
And softly wander in the lower sky.  
Now did not this the wasting thing repair,  
All had been long ago dissolv'd, all air.  
Well, then, since all things waste, their vital chain  
Dissolv'd, how can the frame of air remain?  
It rises from, and makes up things again.

Besides, the sun, that constant spring of light,  
Still cuts the heaven with streams of shining white,  
And the decaying old, with new supplies,  
For every portion of the beam that flies;  
Nor should we see, but all lie blind in night,  
Unless new streams flow'd from the spring of light.

Again, the strongest rocks, and towers do feel the rage  
Of powerful time, e'en temples wast by age:

Nor can the gods themselves prolong their date,  
 Change Nature's law, or get reprieve from fate.  
 E'en tombs grow old and waste, by years o'rethrown ;  
 Men's graves, before, but now become their own.

Lastly, look round, view that vast tract of sky,  
 In whose embrace our earth and waters lie,  
 Whence all things rise, to which they all return,  
 As some discourse, the same both womb and urn ;  
 'Tis surely mortal all : for that which breeds,  
 That which gives birth to other things, or feeds,  
 Must lose some parts ; and when those things do cease  
 It gets some new again, and must increase.  
 But Phœbus gather'd up the scatter'd ray,  
 And brought to heaven again the falling day :  
 Such streams of rays from father Sun still rise,  
 As cherish all with heat, and fill the skies.  
 And fruitful Parent Earth doth justly bear  
 The name of *mother*, since all rose from her.  
 When both were young, when both in Nature's pride,  
 A lusty bridegroom he, and she the bride.  
 Then men content with the poor easy store  
 That sun and earth bestow'd, they wish no more.  
 Soft acorns were their first and chiefest food,  
 And those red apples that adorn the wood,  
 And make pale winter blush ; such Nature bore  
 More numerous then, beside a thousand more,  
 Which all supplie'd poor man with ample store.  
 When thirsty, then did purling streams invite  
 To satisfy their eager appetite :  
 As now in murmurs loud, the headlong floods  
 Invite the thirsty creatures of the woods.

Besides, by night they took their rest in caves,  
 Where little streams roll on with silent waves,  
 They bubble through the stones, and softly creep,  
 As fearful to disturb the nymphs that sleep.

Then to renew frail man's decaying race,  
 Or mutual lust did prompt them to embrace.

Then strong and swift they did the beasts pursue,  
 Their arms were stones and clubs, and some they slew,  
 And some they fled ; from those they fear'd to fight  
 They ran, and ow'd their safety to their flight.

But then no armies fell at once, no plain  
 Grew red, no rivers swell'd with thousands slain ;  
 None plough'd the floods, none ship wreck'd made their  
 graves

In th' sea, none drank cold death among the waves.

Then want, now surfeits bring a hasty death,  
 Our bellies swell so much they stop our breath.  
 Then poisonous herbs, when plucked by chance, did kill,  
 Now pois'ning 's grown an art, improved by skill.

Then neighbors, by degrees familiar grown,  
 Made leagues, and bonds, and each secur'd his own :  
 And then by signs, and broken words agreed,  
 That they would keep, preserve, defend, and feed  
 Defenceless infants, and the women too,  
 As natural pity prompted them to do.

Kind Nature power of framing sounds affords  
 To man, and then convenience taught us words.  
 As infants now, for want of words, devise  
 Expressive signs, they speak with hands and eyes ;  
 Their speaking hand the want of words supplies.

And then since beasts, and birds, tho' dumb, commence  
 As various voices, as their various sense ;  
 How easy was it then for men to frame,  
 And give each different thing a different name ?

Now for the rise of fire : swift thunder thrown  
 From broken sulphurous clouds, first brought it down ;  
 Or the sun first taught them to prepare their meat ;  
 Because they had observ'd his quickning heat.  
 But when once *gold* was found, the powerful ore  
 Saw light, and man gap'd after glittering store ;  
 Then *wit* and *beauty* were esteem'd no more :  
 But *wealth* enjoy'd their *honor*, seiz'd their place,  
*The wise and beauteous bow to fortune's ass.*  
 But if *men* would live up to *reason's* rules,  
 They would not scrape and cringe to *wealthy* fools :  
 For 'tis the *greatest wealth to live content*  
*With little*, such the greatest joy present.  
 But wealth and power men often strive to gain,  
 As that could bring them ease, or make a chain  
 To fix unsteady fortune, all in vain.

For often when they climb the tedious way,  
 And now in th' reach of top where honors lay,  
 Quick strokes from envy, as from thunder thrown  
 Tumble the bold aspiring wretches down ;  
 They find a grave, who strove to reach a crown.  
 Thus monarchy was lost.——

That sun once set, a thousand little stars  
 Gave a dim light to jealousies and wars,  
 Whilst each among the many sought the throne,  
 And thought no head like his deserv'd the crown.  
 This made them seek for laws, this led their choice  
 To rulers ; power was given by public voice.  
 For men worn out, and tir'd by constant strife,  
 At last began to wish an easy life,  
 And so submitted of their own accord  
 To rigid laws, and their elected lord.  
 For when each single man, led on by rage,  
 Grew bloody in revenge, and strove t' engage  
 His enemy ; 't was an unpleasant age.  
 Hence men grew weary of continual wars,  
 Which sour'd the sweet of life with constant fears ;  
 Because diffusive wrong can spread o'er all,  
 No state secure, nay oft the wrongs recoil,  
 With double force on the contrivers fall :  
 Nor can those men expect to live at ease,  
 Who violate the common bonds of peace.  
 Though now they lie concealed from man and god,  
 They still must fear 'twill sometimes come abroad.

Why all do bow to somewhat as divine ?  
 Why every nation hath its proper shrine ?  
 Why all do temples build, why altars raise ?  
 And why all sacrifice on sacred days ?  
 How this diffus'd, this lasting fame was spread  
 Of powers above ? Whence came that awful dread ?  
 In heaven they placed their seat, their stately throne ;  
 For there the sun, the stars, and various moon,  
 And day, and night, their constant courses run.  
 And hail, and rain, and through a broken cloud  
 Swift lightning flies, and thunder roars aloud.

Unhappy man, who taught, the gods engage  
 In these, that they are subject unto rage,

A curse to their's, to our's and future age.  
 What grief they brought themselves, to us what fears,  
 To poor posterity what sighs, what tears?  
 Alas, what piety! Alas, 'tis none  
 To bend all cover'd to a senseless stone,  
 Lie prostrate, or to visit every shrine,  
 Or with spread arms invoke the powers divine  
 Before their temples; whilst the altar flows  
 With blood of beasts, and we make vows on vows.

But sure 'tis piety to view the whole,  
 And search all Nature with a quiet soul.  
 For when we view the heavens, and how the sun,  
 And moon, and stars, their constant courses run;  
 Then doubts, that lay opprest with other cares,  
 Begin to raise their head, and bring new fears.  
 We doubt; what are there gods that rule above,  
 At whose direction the bright stars do move?  
 Why do not tyrants then, and mighty lords,  
 Recall their wicked deeds, and boasting words,  
 And fear that now revenge is surely come?  
 Do not they tremble at approaching doom?

Besides, when winds grow high, when storms increas'  
 And scatter warlike navies through the seas;  
 When men for battle arm'd, must now engage  
 A stronger foe, and fight the water's rage:  
 Doth not the trembling general prostrate fall,  
 And beg a calm o' th' gods, or prosperous gale?  
 In vain—The storms drive on, no offering saves;  
 All, shipwreck'd, drink cold death among the waves.  
 And hence we fancy unseen powers in things,  
 Whose force and will such strange confusion brings,  
 And spurns, and overthrows our greatest kings.  
 Again, when earthquakes shake this mighty ball,  
 And tottering cities fall, or seem to fall;  
 What then if men, defenceless men, despise  
 Their own weak selves, and look with anxious eyes  
 For present help, and pity from the skies?  
 What wonder if they think some powers control,  
 And gods with mighty force do rule the whole?  
 Wherefore that darkness, that o'erspreads our souls,  
 Day can't disperse, but those eternal rules,

Which from firm premises true reason draws,  
And a deep insight into Nature's laws.

But now to chase these phantoms out of sight  
By the plain magic of true reason's light.  
How thunder, storm, and how swift lightning flies,  
Singeing with fiery wings the wounded skies;  
Lest superstitious you observe the flame,  
If those quick fires from lucky quarters came,  
Or with sad omen fell, and how they burn  
Through closest stones, and waste, and then return.  
'Tis then, the dreadful thunder roars aloud,  
When fighting winds drive heavy cloud on cloud.

But if these bolts were thrown by gods above  
Or if they were the proper arms of Jove,  
Why do the daring wicked still provoke,  
Why still sin on secure from thunder's stroke?  
Why are not such shot through, and plac'd on high,  
As sad examples of impiety,  
That men may sin no more, no more defy?  
And why doth heedless lightning blast the good,  
And break his bones, or curdle all his blood?  
Why good and pious men these bolts endure?  
And villains live, and see their fall secure!  
Why do they throw them o'er a desert plain,  
Why through the empty woods, and toil in vain?  
Why strike the floods? what mean such bolts as these?  
What, is't to check the fury of the seas?  
Besides, why doth he beat the temples down,  
Those of his fellow gods, and of his own,  
Why doth he hurt, and break the sacred stone?

## THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

FROM THE MEDITATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS,  
TRANSLATED BY R. GRAVES.

The whole period of human life is a mere point; our being frail and transient, our perception obscure, the whole frame of our body tending to putrefaction. The soul itself is the sport of passions. The freaks of fortune not subject to calculation or conjecture, fame is undistinguishing and capricious: in a word, every thing relating to our body is fleeting, and glides away like a stream, and the reveries of the soul are a vapor and a dream. Indeed, life itself is a continual warfare, and a pilgrimage in a strange country: and posthumous fame is near akin to oblivion. What then can conduct us safely on this journey of life? nothing but true wisdom or philosophy. Now this consists in cultivating and preserving from injury and disgrace that good genius within us, our soul, undisturbed and superior to pleasure and pain, not acting at random or doing any thing in vain, or with falsehood and dissimulation; to do or leave undone whatever we please, without being influenced by the will or the opinion of other men. Moreover, to acquiesce in whatever comes to pass, either by accident or the decrees of fate, as proceeding from the same cause whence we ourselves are derived. On the whole, philosophy will teach us to wait for death with calmness and equanimity, as being no more than the dissolution of those elements of which every animal is composed. Now if no damage accrues to those several elements in their continual changes or migrations from one body to another, why should any one be apprehensive of an injury from the change of the whole? It is agreeable to the course of Nature; and what is such, cannot be evil.

We are all born for our mutual assistance; as the hands and feet and every part of the human body, are for the service of the whole; to thwart and injure each other, therefore, is contrary to [enlightened] Nature.

This whole person of mine, whatever I may think of it, consists only of a body, the vital spirit, and the rational soul or governing principle. This body or material substance is

a mass of putrefaction, consisting of a few bones, and a network or complication of nerves, veins, and arteries. The vital spirit is only a small portion of air, (and that not always the same but every hour drawn in fresh, and again expelled by the action of the lungs. But the third part is the rational soul or governing principle—here make a pause!

Even those events ascribed to fortune or chance are subject to the laws of Nature, and to that complicated series of things established by Fate, and administered by Providence. From this source all things are derived. Indeed every thing is thus fixed and ordered, as necessary for the good of the whole, of which you are a part. Now that which conduces to the good of the whole system of Nature, and to its preservation, must also be good to every part of the universe. Yet this world itself subsists by continual changes, not only of the elements, but of those things which are composed of those elements, in a perpetual circle of successive generation and corruption.

You have a fixed period assigned you, which if you do not improve to calm your passage and procure the tranquillity of your mind, it will be past, never to return, and you yourself will be no more. Take care always to perform strenuously the business in hand, as becomes a man and a Roman, with attention and unaffected gravity, with humanity, liberality, and justice; and call off your thoughts, for the time, from every other object. This you will do, if you perform every action as if it were the last of your life; if you act without levity or dissimulation, free from selfishness and from every passion inimical to right reason; and lastly from peevishness and dissatisfaction at those events, which are necessarily connected with our lot. You see how few things are necessary to a happy and almost godlike state of life.

You will hardly find any man unhappy from being ignorant of what passes in the thoughts of other people; but he that does not attend to the regulation of his own thoughts, must necessarily be miserable. We ought frequently to reflect on the nature of the universe, and on our own nature; and what that *whole* is of which we are a part, and how the latter is regulated with regard to the former. We ought further to reflect, that nothing can prevent us from acting and speaking agreeably to that universal Nature, of which we are a part



For the Universal Nature or First Cause would, neither through ignorance or want of power, or want of skill to prevent or correct what was wrong, be guilty of such an error, as to suffer good and evil to fall promiscuously and in equal proportion to the good and to the bad. Now life and death, glory and obscurity, pain and pleasure, riches and poverty, all these things are equally the lot of the virtuous and of the wicked; and being intrinsically neither honorable nor base, are consequently neither good nor evil. How rapidly do all mortal things vanish and disappear! the things themselves absorbed into the immensity of the universe, and the memory of them, by the lapse of time sunk in oblivion.

What is it to die? If we view it in itself, and stripped of those imaginary terrors in which our fears have dressed it, we shall find it to be nothing more than the mere work of Nature; but it is a childish folly to be afraid of what is natural. Nay, it is not only the *work* of Nature, but is conducive to the good of the universe, which subsists by change. Finally, a wise man should consider, how *man* is connected with the *Deity*, and which part of him is thus connected; and how that rational part of his being will be disposed of when separated from the body.

These things, then, it may be worth while to attend to; first, that as the course of Nature has been the same from all eternity, and every thing comes round in a circle; whether we behold this same scene for one hundred or one hundred thousand years, it comes to much the same thing. Second, that he who lives the longest, and he who dies the earliest when they *do* die, their loss is equal. For they are only deprived of the present moment, which is all they have to lose. Every thing depends on opinion.

Again; when we take an aversion to any one, and thwart him on every occasion, with an intention to do him some injury; which is generally the case with people that indulge their resentment. Thirdly; a man evidently debases himself, when he becomes a slave to pleasure, or is subdued by pain. Fourthly; when he acts with dissimulation or fraud, or does or says any thing contrary to truth. Lastly; when a man acts without thought or design, and exerts himself at random, without any regard to the consequence; whereas every, the most minute, action ought to be directed to some end or use-

ful purpose. Now the chief end of every rational being is to be governed by the laws of the Universe, the oldest and most venerable of all communities.

It is of importance to reflect, not only that our life is continually wearing away, and that every day a still smaller portion of it remains; but likewise that, although it should be prolonged to a more distant period, it is yet uncertain, whether the same vigor of understanding will be afforded us, to comprehend and transact the common affairs of life, or to contemplate accurately the nature of things human and divine. He, then, who has a taste for these speculations, and a capacity to penetrate more deeply into the works of Nature, will discover that there is hardly any thing, which considered in that light, does not form a beautiful harmony and connection with the whole. Such a one will behold, for instance, the extended jaws of savage beasts with no less pleasure in real life, than when represented by the most skilful statuary or painter. Even the marks of mature old age in man or woman, and the tempting bloom of youth will afford equal pleasure to a discerning spectator of this turn.

He rarely, and never without reference to the good of the community, interferes in other people's concerns; confining his whole attention to his own moral improvement, yet considering the duties which arise from his connection with the universal system of Nature, as the first and most sacred obligations. For that which is allotted to every one by fate, is intended to conduce to the happiness of the whole and of every individual. He likewise reflects that all rational beings are in some sense allied to each other; and that kindness and *Humanity* to our fellow creatures are essential to the nature of man. However, that the good opinion of every one, indiscriminately, is not worth our attention, but only of those who live in a manner that becomes the dignity of their nature.

If you have discovered any thing in human life preferable to truth, justice, temperance, or fortitude; in short, any thing more excellent than a mind satisfied with itself, and sufficient to its own happiness; and whilst it acts conformably to right reason, acquiesces in whatever, without its own choice, is allotted it by fate;—if, I say, you have discovered any thin

superior to these virtues, pursue it with your utmost effort, and enjoy your discovery.

Can you be solicitous about your slender share of fame, when you reflect with what a fatal speed all things are tending to oblivion, to that immense chaos of infinite duration, past and to come? Consider also the emptiness and vanity of applause, and how undistinguishing is the judgment of those who are to bestow it, and to what narrow limits it is confined. For this whole globe is, comparatively, but a mere point, and how small a portion of it is inhabited! and of these inhabitants, how small a number of them, and how contemptible a set of creatures they are, upon whom you must be dependant for your applause! remember therefore to retire into this little recess in your own bosom; and above all things, do not distract your thoughts, nor be too intent on any worldly pursuit, but preserve your freedom, and consider things as a man of spirit, as a member of society, as a creature destined to mortality.

This whole scene of things which we now behold will very shortly be shifted and exist no more. And indeed you should bear in mind, how many changes you yourself have already been witness to. The Universe subsists by perpetual changes, and the happiness of life itself depends on opinion. If the intellectual faculty be common to all mankind, then reason, from which we are denominated rational creatures, must be common likewise: and, if so, we must all have the same principle of action and the same law. If this be granted, we are all fellow-citizens of the same commonwealth, and of course the whole Universe is one body politic.

As the earthly particles of my body are imparted to me from the earth, and the watery, the aerial, and the fiery particles are derived from their respective elements, (for nothing which now exists can proceed from nothing, nor be resolved into non-existence,) so likewise the intellectual faculty must proceed from some other cause of its own kind. Our death and our birth are equally the mysterious work of Nature. Death is the dissolution of those elements which at our birth composed our frame. There is nothing in this affair which we need be ashamed of; as there is nothing in it repugnant to the nature of an intellectual being, nor any thing but what is the result of his structure and constitution.

You have subsisted as a distinct part of the universe ; but you will in a short time disappear, and return to that general mass from whence you were produced, or rather be again returned into that prolific soul of the world from which you were derived. In your oblations at the altar, one grain of frankincense may fall in and be consumed before another, out the distance of time is inconsiderable.

Do not form your plan of life as if you had a thousand years to live. Death is at hand ; but live a good life while you do live, and it is in your power.

The man who is so anxious about a posthumous fame, does not consider, that every one of those, who are to preserve his memory, will themselves in a few years be no more ; and in like manner their successors, till after passing through a series of his admirers, they and his very memory will be extinct.

Whatever is really good and beautiful is such from itself, and terminates in itself, and owes no part of its excellence to the applause of the world ; being neither better nor worse on that account. And this is applicable to those things which in a popular sense are called beautiful, as all material objects and works of art. Much less do those things which are intrinsically beautiful want any foreign addition, such as justice, truth, benevolence, and modesty. What virtue of this kind is more amiable for being applauded, or less so for being censured ? Is an emerald less beautiful in itself for being praised ? The same may be said of gold, of ivory, of purple ; and in short, of the flowers and shrubs, and of all the other productions of nature or of art.

If our souls exist after death, how can the heavens contain such a number as have had existence from all eternity ? A similar question may be asked in relation to our bodies ; how can the earth contain the infinite number, which have been buried in it, from so immense a space of duration ? But as in the latter case, those bodies which have remained some time in the earth, are changed and dissolved into or make room for other bodies ; so our souls, when conveyed into the regions of the air, after some time undergo a change ; and are either dispersed or rekindled and resorbed into the seminal spirit or soul of the universe, whence they were originally derived ; and thus make room for others to succeed them. This, I trust, is a sufficient answer, upon a

supposition that our souls survive our bodies. But we should likewise consider not only the multitude of human bodies thus buried in the earth, but those also of other animals daily eaten by us, or devoured by wild beasts. For what a number is thus consumed, and as it were buried in our stomachs; yet there is sufficient room for them, as they are converted into blood or changed into fire or air, those elements of which they were at first composed.

Whatever is agreeable and consonant to thy system, O Universe! is so to me. Nothing is either premature or too late, in my apprehension of things, which is seasonable to Nature, and conducive to the good of the whole. I esteem every thing as advantageous to me which the seasons of Nature produce. Every thing is from her, subsists by her power, and returns into her again. "O city, beloved of Cecrops!" says the poet, speaking of Athens. And why may not we say, O thou favorite city of Jupiter! when we speak of the Universe.

Upon the whole, life is short; make the best of the present opportunity with prudence and justice; and even in your amusements, be upon your guard, and act with vigilance and sobriety. This world is either the effect of design, or it is a confused fortuitous mass; yet it is a beautiful system. Can you discern a symmetry and order in your own person, and yet believe, that the Universe is a mere chaos, where every thing is thus harmonized and conducive to the good of the whole?

He is a mere excrescence of the world, and separates himself from the general system of Nature, who complains of the common accidents of life. For the same universal Nature or First Cause which produced him, produced also the event which he complains of. In short, he is a kind of voluntary exile from the community, who sets up a separate interest from the society of rational beings. I see one man, a philosopher, without a coat, another without books, nay another half naked. "I have not bread to eat," says one, "yet I will remain firm to the dictates of reason." "I do not get a livelihood by my lectures on philosophy," says another, "yet I persist in my profession." Let *me* then persevere in the noble art in which I have been instructed, acquiesce in it, and be happy.

All things subsist by change ; and that Nature delights in nothing more than to renew the face of the world by such transmutations. The things which now exist are, as it were, the seeds and prolific causes of future existences. (I will not suppose you so ignorant, as to imagine there are no seeds but those which are sown in the womb of the earth.)

The world or Universe is one animated system, including one material substance and one spirit, and that all things have a reference to this one spirit, which pervades and actuates the whole. You should reflect, also, that all Nature acts with an united force, and all things concur reciprocally in producing all things ; and lastly, what connection and dependence subsists between them. As to your being, "It is a living soul, that bears about with it a lifeless carcass," as Epictetus expresses it.

Consider how many physicians have died, after having with contracted eye-brows and great solemnity pronounced the death of so many patients :—how many astrologers, who thought it a great matter to foretell the fate of others :—how many philosophers, after all their disputes about death and immortality :—how many heroes, renowned for slaughter :—how many tyrants, after exercising their power of life and death with the most ferocious insolence, as if they themselves were immortal ! Nay, how many cities (if I may be allowed the expression) are *dead* and *buried* in their own ruins ! Helice, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, and others without number.

A wise man should stand as firm as the promontory, against which the waves are continually dashing, yet it remains unmoved, and resists and composes the rage of the ocean that swells around it. "Unhappy as I am," cries one, "to be exposed to such an accident." By no means ; you should rather say, "How happy am I, who, in spite of such an accident, remain unconcerned, neither dejected by the present, nor apprehensive of the future."

Always go the shortest way to the end proposed. Now the most compendious road to our chief end is that prescribed by Nature. In all your words and actions therefore pursue the plain direct path, and that will secure you from the trouble and the necessity of using stratagems, temporizing, craft, and dissimulation.

Know your own consequence, and be not ashamed to say or do any thing which you think agreeable to Nature and reason ; and be not deterred from acting properly, on every occasion, by the censure or remarks of other people. But whatever appears to you fit and honorable to be said or done, do not demean yourself by shrinking from the performance. For my own part, I will proceed, in every instance, conformably to Nature, till my frail body sinks down to rest : and when I thus expire, I will return my breath to that air, from whence I daily draw it in ; and my body to that earth, which has supplied my parents with their animal substance, and my nurse with her milk, and me, for so many years, with my daily food.

Let the man, then, who has done a beneficent action, not look for applause ; but repeat it the first opportunity ; as the vine again yields its fruit at the proper season. We ought therefore to imitate those worthies, who bestow their benefactions unobserved, and almost unconscious to themselves of their good deeds.

The whole Universe is one harmonious system : and as, from the various material bodies united into one, this world is framed ; so, from the concurrence of the various second causes, is formed that supreme, universal cause, which we call Fate.

Be not disgusted, nor discouraged, nor fret, if you do not always succeed in acting conformably to your good principles. But, though repulsed, renew the charge, and perform with complacency all the duties of humanity ; and do not return with reluctance to your philosophy, like a boy to school. Philosophy exacts nothing of you but what Nature requires ; though you yourself are always inclined to thwart and act contrary to Nature. But which of these is most friendly to our real interests ? does not pleasure itself often impose upon us, under the very pretence of being agreeable to Nature ? But consider with yourself, whether any thing can be more delightful than magnanimity, freedom of soul, simplicity, candor, and sanctity of manners. Indeed what can be more friendly to our interest than the cardinal virtue of prudence ? which, by furnishing us with knowledge, founded on just principles, secures us from error, and renders the course of our lives prosperous, and free from disappointment.

My whole being consists of an active principle, and a material substance; that is, of a soul and body: neither of which can be annihilated, or reduced to *nothing*, as they were not produced from nothing. Every part of me, therefore, will again take its place, after a certain change, as some part of the Universe; and that again will be transferred to another part of the system: and thus in an infinite succession. From the like change, I myself came into existence, and my parents before me; and so on backwards to all eternity. For thus, I think, we may speak; though the world be really limited to certain fixed periods and stated revolutions. Reason is a faculty which is sufficient for its own purposes. Its operations originate from itself, and proceed *directly* to the end proposed; whence those actions, which are directed by this faculty of reason, are called right actions, as expressive of that *rectitude* and simplicity with which they are performed.

As you intend to live, if you could retire from public life, it is equally in your power to live, in your present situation. But if any unavoidable impediments prevent this, it is at least in your power entirely to quit this life; yet without considering what you suffer in this world or your departing out of it, as any real evil. The room smokes, and I leave it: why should you deem this a matter of any moment? In the mean time, as nothing can *compel* me to act thus, I still maintain my freedom; and no one can prevent me from doing what I please.

In what a short space of time will you be reduced to ashes, or to a mere skeleton; and a name only (perhaps not that) survive you! And what is a name? a mere sound, and an echo! Indeed, all those things which are so highly valued in the world are empty, transient, and unimportant; and the contests about them like the snarling of puppy-dogs, or the quarrels of children at play; one moment laughing, the next moment crying, on the most trifling occasions.

It might check the appetite of a luxurious epicure, to consider the dishes which are set before him, as undisguised by cookery: that this, for instance, is the carcass of a fish or of a bird; this, some part of a *dead pig*. Again, that this wine, which we call Falernian, or by any other fine name, is only the juice squeezed from a grape; this purple robe,



the wool of a sheep, tinged with the blood of a shell-fish. And that even the commerce of the sexes, so highly exalted by fancy, is a mere animal function of the lowest kind. This sort of reflection penetrates beyond the surface to the very essence of things, and exhibits them in their native simplicity, and in their true colors.

He who respects rational Nature, as such, and in its social capacity, will pay little attention to any thing else, but to preserve his own mind in its rational and social state, and to coöperate with that being who presides over the Universe, and to whom he himself is by Nature allied. Some things are rushing into existence, others hastening to dissolution; and of those which now exist, some parts are already flung off and vanished. The world is renewed by continual change and fluctuation, as time is by perpetual succession. Who then would set any great value on things thus floating down the stream, and of which we cannot for a moment secure the possession? One might as well fall in love with a sparrow, which flies by us, and is instantly gone out of sight. Such is the life of every man: a mere vapor exhaled from the blood, a momentary breath of air drawn in by the lungs. And as our *life* consists in thus drawing in and breathing out the air by respiration, which we incessantly perform; so *death* is no more than restoring that power of breathing, which we received at our birth, to the source from whence we derived it.

Alexander of Macedon, and his groom, after their deaths, were reduced to the same level; for they were either resorbed into the prolific soul of the Universe, or were dispersed amongst the elementary atoms without distinction.

It is a species of cruelty not to suffer men to pursue those means which they think conducive to their pleasure or advantage. This you are in some measure guilty of, when you are angry with a man for acting foolishly, for he acts thus under a notion, that what he does will conduce in some sense to his interest. "But," you will say, "it is not really so." Do you therefore inform him better, and show him his error, but without anger or ill-humor.

Now, as the Emperor Antoninus, Rome is my city, and my country, but, as a man, I am the citizen of the world. For this world, though comprehending all things, is but

*one* ; as there is *one* God that pervades all things ; *one* mass of matter out of which all things are formed ; *one* law, the common reason of all intelligent creatures ; *one* truth and perfection of all beings of the same kind and partaking of the same rational nature. With a rational creature, to act according to Nature and according to reason, is the same thing ; and act, therefore, in such a manner, that you may appear to have been *naturally* upright. Consider yourself as a necessary and essential *member* of the rational system, and and not merely as an unconnected *part* : for, in the latter case you will not love mankind so cordially as you ought, nor do a generous action with the same disinterested satisfaction, but merely from a regard to decency, and not from the pleasure of doing good, and adding to your own happiness.

That plastic Nature, which pervades and governs the Universe, models a part, for instance, into the shape of an horse, which being dissolved is transformed into a tree ; then, perhaps, into an human creature or any other form ; each of which, however, subsists but for a short space of time. Now there is nothing more formidable in the dissolution of this frame of ours than in its first construction. How soon will the great Governor of the Universe change the present face of all things which you now behold, and from the same materials form other objects ! and others again from those materials : so that the world may be perpetually renewed.

A stern and angry look is extremely ugly ; and if often assumed, will by degrees settle into an habit, and entirely destroy the beauty of the countenance, to such a degree as never to be recovered. This alone is sufficient to shew how unreasonable it is to indulge the passion of anger. If any one has used you ill upon any occasion, consider immediately with what ideas of right and wrong he has probably acted thus. For when you have discovered that, you will pity him, and neither wonder at his conduct nor resent it.

Do not suffer your imagination to dwell upon the things which you want, but upon the advantages which you possess. And of these advantages, select those which afford you the greatest pleasure ; and consider how earnestly you would wish for them, if they were not in your possession. Wrap up yourself in your own virtue, and be independent. For a rational mind, that acts always with justice and integrity, is

sufficient to its own happiness, and will enjoy a perpetual calm.

A saying of Antisthenes—"It is truly royal to *do* good, though you are abused for it." It is shameful that the countenance should be obsequious to the will, conform to its dictates, and regulate itself as the mind directs; and yet that the mind itself should not be under the control, and be regulated by its own powers.

Survey the history of former ages, and the revolutions of so many empires, and you will be able, with some probability, to foretell all future events. For all things are of a similar kind, and cannot possibly exceed the measure and standard of those that are past. Forty years, therefore, are as fair a specimen of human life as ten thousand. For what can you see more than you have already seen?

"Whate'er has sprung from earth, to earth returns:

"And heav'nly things resume their native seat."

And this is effected, either by dissolving the union by which the atoms are connected; or by dispersing the lifeless elements into the mass of the Universe.

Now, the first and principal duty of man is to cultivate society, and promote the common interest. The second is, not brutishly to yield to the corporeal appetites. For the intellectual principle justly claims the sovereignty, and ought not to submit to the appetites and passions; which were intended by Nature for her service. The third privilege of a rational creature is, to be free from error and deception.

It is observed by Plato, "that every one is unwilling to be debarred the truth." The same may be applied to justice, temperance, benevolence, and to most of the moral virtues. This you should particularly bear in mind, which would make you more indulgent towards all men.

When you have done a favor to any one, and he has profited by your kindness, why should you (as some silly people do) look any further; either for the reputation of having done a generous action, or for a return from the person whom you have obliged? No one is ever weary of receiving favors from their friends. Now it is doing yourself a favor to act conformably to the dictates of Nature. Be not weary, therefore, of doing good to others, when, by that means, you are really serving yourself.

What are Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Pompey, compared to Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Socrates? These philosophers saw things as they really were; understood their causes, their natures, and essences; and acted upon those principles. As for those great heroes, what a variety of affairs were they solicitous about! and what slaves were they to their exalted rank and their ambition.

Let it be a principal part of your philosophy to preserve your tranquillity: for all things come to pass by the direction of Providence. And, in a few years, you yourself must leave this world, as Hadrian and Augustus have done before you. Your whole business here is to be a good man. Whatever the nature of man therefore requires of you, perform it strenuously and with assiduity; and whatever justice dictates, on every occasion, speak it boldly, but with good nature, modesty, and sincerity. Providence, or the Universal Nature, seems continually employed in varying the face of things; transferring its favours from one object to another, and metamorphosing the material world into different forms. All things subsist by change; yet these changes are so uniform in their progress, that you need not fear lest any thing unprecedented should be *your* particular lot; for all things are administered with the utmost equity and impartiality. Every being is contented, when employed in the duties, and in possession of the prosperity and perfection which belong to its Nature.

Our rational soul is a part of the Universe, as a leaf is a part of the tree which produced it, with this difference only, that a leaf is a part of Nature, void of sense and of reason, and liable to be obstructed in its operation; whereas the soul of man is a part of an independent, intelligent and just being; a being, who allots to every creature a due proportion of time, of substance, of force, of fortunate circumstances, according to its dignity and rank in the creation. Of this you will be sensible, not by considering any one object separately, in any one respect, but by comparing the whole of one object collectively, with the whole of any other. You wish to be a *philosopher*, you say, but have not leisure to *read*. But it is in your power not to behave haughtily or injuriously to any one. It is in your power to be superior to the blandish

ments of pleasure, or the sense of pain; to look down with contempt on fame and glory.

In general, to shew the vanity of all human distinctions, the time is speedily approaching, when the panegyrist, and the subject of his encomiums—he that records, and he that performs great exploits—will be buried in oblivion. Consider likewise, that these celebrated transactions are confined to this little corner of the world. Neither here are all of the the same opinion concerning these things, nor any one man consistently so. Indeed, this whole globe is but a mere point. Give your whole attention to the affair now in hand; whether it be any opinion, or any action, or any speech that is delivered. By a neglect of this kind you deservedly suffer; because, instead of correcting your error to-day, you chose to defer it till to-morrow. Shall I do this? Yes, I certainly will do it, if it be conducive to the welfare of mankind. Does any uncommon accident befall me? I acquiesce in it, as being the appointment of the Gods, the original of all things, and as connected with the chain of events established by Fate.

Remember, therefore, the fate of all men, and be assured that your corporeal frame will be dissolved by death, and reduced to its original elements; and your spiritual part either extinguished, or translated to some other state of existence. The chief happiness of man consists in performing the duties peculiar to man. Now, some of the principal of these are, benevolence towards our fellow-creatures; a command over our sensual appetites; the distinguishing plausible appearances from truth; and the contemplation of Nature and her operations. We all stand in three principal relations: the first regards our personal conduct; the second, the Divine Nature (the original cause of all events); the third, our intercourse with our fellow-creatures.

He that acts unjustly, acts impiously. For God, or the Universal Nature, having produced all rational creatures to be mutually serviceable to each other, according to their respective merits, and by no means to injure each other; he who violates this first principle of Nature, profanely insults the most ancient of all Deities. For this Universal Nature is the cause of all things that exist; which are connected with each other by mutual friendship and alliance. This

Nature is likewise sometimes styled *truth*, being the cause and original of all truths. He, therefore, that tells a wilful lie, acts also impiously, as he acts unjustly in deceiving his neighbor; and even he who violates the truth through ignorance, is, in some measure, liable to the same charge; as he departs from Nature's intention, and, as far as is in his power, breaks in upon the order and harmony of the Universe, and promotes the interest of error, in opposition to truth; and by neglecting those talents which he had received from Nature, he can hardly distinguish truth from falsehood.

He that commits a crime, is guilty of an offence against his own interest; and he that acts unjustly, injures himself: to make himself a bad man is an essential injury. A man is as often guilty of injustice by omitting to do what he ought, as by doing what he ought not to do.

All brute animals partake of the same vital soul, as all rational creatures do of the same intelligent soul. And all terrestrial bodies have one common earth; and all that are capable of sight and vital existence, enjoy the same light, and breathe the same air; so that all *are equally in possession of the great privileges of Nature.*

Instruct mankind better, if you can: if not, remember, that patience and kindness were given you for this purpose.

All things subsist by change; and you yourself are in a continual state of alteration, and, in some respect, of corruption; and so indeed is the whole Universe. Leave the sins of others to their own consciences. The cessation of any action, the suppression of any violent appetite, or the change of any opinion, which is (as it were) the death of them, is not really evil. Proceed next to the different ages of man; his childhood, his youth, his manhood, and his old age. Now every *change* of these periods may be called their death: is there any thing formidable in this? Pass on then to the life of your grandfather, of your mother, of your father; and when you consider these, and many other vicissitudes, changes, and cessations; ask yourself, whether there is any thing formidable in all this? If there is not, neither is there in the entire termination, extinction, or change, which will take place in your own life.

As you yourself are a component part of some social system, so every action of yours should tend to promote the

happiness of society. Every action, therefore, which has not that end, either immediately or remotely at least, in view, disturbs the order, and breaks in upon that union which ought to subsist in civil life, and may with as much propriety be termed seditious as that of a man who joins a faction, and destroys the peace and harmony of the commonwealth.

Whether the world subsists by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, or an Intelligent Nature presides over it, let this be laid down as a maxim, that I am a part of a whole, governed by its own nature, whatever that is; and, in the next place, that I have a social connection with those parts of this whole.

If things are so formed or *constituted*, how ridiculous is it at the same time to say, "that the parts of the Universe were originally formed with a tendency to change," and yet to wonder, and be out of humor, as if these changes happened contrary to Nature? Especially, as the dissolution of every thing is into those principles, of which it was formed: for it is either a dispersion of those elements, of which it was composed, or it is a change of the solid parts into earth; or of the spirituous parts into air.

A poor spider triumphs when she has ensnared a fly; a sportsman when he has caught an hare; a fisherman, when he has got a gudgeon in his net; one man exults in taking a wild boar, or a bear; and another, in having surprised a party of the poor barbarous Sarmatians. Now, if you examine the motives on which they proceed, are not all these equally to be styled robbers?

Make it the constant subject of your contemplation, in what manner things are perpetually changing from one mode of existence into another; and exercise yourself frequently in speculations of this kind. For nothing contributes more to greatness of mind, and to elevate and abstract it, as it were, from the gross appetites of the body, than to reflect how soon you are to leave this world, and mankind its inhabitants.

The unripe grape, the ripe cluster, and the dried grape, these are all changes of the same thing; not into *nothing*, but into what does not yet exist in that form.

If a thing be not *proper*, do not do it; if it be not true, do not speak it. Let this be your invariable maxim.

Do nothing at random, or without some good end in view;

and, in the second place, let your actions have nothing in view but the good of mankind. Reflect, that after a short time you yourself will be no more; neither will any of those things which you now behold, nor those persons who are now alive, long survive you: for all things were intended by Nature to change, to be converted into other forms and to perish; that other things may be produced in perpetual succession. Every thing depends on opinion; and that is in your own power.

There is but one and the same light of the sun; though divided by the interposition of buildings, mountains, and innumerable other [opaque] objects. There is but one common material substance, though distributed amongst myriads of different individual bodies. There is but one vital spirit, though it pervades ten thousand different beings circumscribed by their specific limitations; but one intellectual soul, though it may seem infinitely divided. As for the other inanimate parts of this Universe, which we have spoken of, consisting merely of matter and form, though void of sensation, or any common social affection; yet they are held together by the same intellectual Being, and by an attractive force or gravitation converge towards each other. But all intellectual or thinking beings have a peculiar tendency to unite with their own species.

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FROM HORACE.

The man, whose mind on virtue bent,  
 Pursues some greatly good intent,  
 With undivided aim,  
 Serene, beholds the angry crowd,  
 No tyrants' clamors fierce and loud,  
 His stubborn spirit tame.

Nor storms, that ocean's waves control,  
 Nor Jove's dread bolt that shakes the pole;  
 His firmer mind can sway;  
 His courage time and fate defies,  
 Nought but the wreck of earth or skies  
 Obstructs his purpos'd way.



## MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO'S

## OFFICES OR DUTIES.

These studies cherish youth; delight age; are an ornament in prosperity; a refuge and solace in adversity; agreeable, at home, and no incumbrance abroad, they are companions in travelling, in midnight and in rural retirement.

Precepts about *offices* or *duties*, seem of the largest extent and comprehension; for they take in every part of our lives, so that whatever we go about, whether of public or private affairs, whether at home or abroad, whether considered barely by ourselves, or as we stand in relation to other people, we lie constantly under an obligation to some duties.

He that makes any thing his chief good, wherein justice or virtue does not bear a part, and sets up profit, not honesty for the measure of his happiness; as long as he acts in conformity with his own principles, and is not overruled by the mere dictates of reason and humanity, can never do the offices of friendship, justice, or liberality. Nor can he be ever a man of courage, who thinks that pain is the greatest evil; or he of temperance, who imagines pleasure to be the sovereign good.

Nothing is more agreeable and suited to the nature and minds of men, than undisguised openness, truth, and sincerity. Next to this love and affection for truth, there follows in the soul an impatient desire and inclination to rule; so that whoever has the genuine nature of man in him, will never endure to be subject to another, unless he be one that instructs or advises, or is invested with a just and lawful authority for the benefit of the public. Whence there arises a greatness of soul, which sets it above all the petty concerns, and trifling enjoyments of this present world. It is another, and that too no mean prerogative of our reasonable nature, that man alone can discern all the beauties of order and decency, and knows how to govern his words and actions in conformity to them. It is he alone, that of all the creatures, observes and is pleased with the beauty, gracefulness and symmetry of parts in the objects of sense; which Nature and reason observing in them, thence take occasion to apply the same

also to those of the mind; and conclude that beauty, consistency, and regularity, should be much more kept up in our words and actions.

*Honesty*, could she be seen in her full beauty with mortal eye, would make the whole world in love with wisdom. It comprises four heads; Firstly, a sagacious inquiry and observation for the finding out of truth, which may be called by the general name of *Prudence*. Secondly, a care to maintain that society and mutual intercourse which is between men; to render to every man what is his due; and to stand to one's words in all promises and bargains; which we call *Justice*. Thirdly, the greatness and unshaken resolution of a truly brave and invincible mind; which goes by the name of magnanimity or *Fortitude*. And lastly, a keeping of our words and actions within the due limits of order and decency; under which are comprehended *Temperance* and moderation. Now every one of these several heads, though they all have a mutual connexion and dependence on one another, has yet its particular class, and respective set of duties arising from it.

*Prudence*, is wholly taken up in the knowledge of truth, and has the nearest affinity of any with the reasonable nature of man. For how are we all of us drawn and enticed with the desire of wisdom? How noble and glorious a thing do we imagine it to excel in knowledge? And how mean and reproachful do we count it on the other hand, to slip, to be in an error, to be ignorant, or to be imposed upon?

The general aim and design of our thought, and application of mind, is either the attainment of such things as are honest, and tend to a virtuous and happy way of life; or else the improvement of our reason and understanding in wisdom and knowledge.

The virtue which consists in upholding society, and keeping up mutual love and good nature among mankind, seems of the largest and most diffusive extent. It comprehends, *Justice*, which is much the most glorious and splendid of all virtues, and entitles us to the name and appellation of good men; with beneficence, which may also be called either bounty or liberality. Now the first

thing that justice requires is this ; that no one should do any hurt to another, unless by way of reasonable and just retribution for some injury received from him : and whatever belongs either to all in common, or to particular persons as their own property, should not be altered, but made use of accordingly.

We are not born for ourselves alone ; but our native country, our friends and relations, have a just claim and title to some part of us ; and as what is created on earth, was designed (as the stoics will have it) for the service of men ; and men themselves for the service, good, and assistance of one another : we certainly in this should be followers of Nature, and second her intentions ; and by producing all that lies within the reach of our power for the general interest, by mutually giving and receiving good turns, by our knowledge, industry, riches, or other means, should endeavor to keep up that love and society, which should exist among men. Now the great foundation of justice is fidelity, which consists in being constantly firm to your word, and a conscientious performance of all compacts and bargains.

Injustice consists in the actual doing an injury to another ; or in tamely looking on while he is injured, and not helping and defending him, though we are able. For he that injuriously falls upon another, whether prompted by rage, or other violent passion, does, as it were leap at the throat of his companion ; and he that refuses to help him when injured, and to ward off the wrong, if it lies in his power, is as plainly guilty of baseness and injustice, as though he had deserted his father, his friends, or his native country.

An action, though honest, is not therefore truly virtuous, unless it be done out of choice, and with a good will. There are some, who out of a desire of improving their own estates, or else a morose and unsociable sort of temper, cry, " they meddle with nobody's business but their own," that so they may seem to be men of strict honesty, and to injure nobody ; and they do indeed avoid the one sort of injustice, but directly run into the other ; for they desert the common good and society of mankind,

while they bestow neither study, pains, nor money toward its preservation.

The ground and foundation of all justice is, First, That no injury be done to any other; and, Second, That we make it our earnest endeavor to promote the good and interest of all mankind: so that our duty is not always the same, but various according to the variety of circumstances. There may be a contract or promise, for instance, the performance of which would bring very great damage, either to the person himself that made it, or the other party to whom it was made.

There are two modes of disputing in the world, the one by reason, and the other by open force; and the former being agreeable to the nature of man, and the latter to that of brutes; when we cannot obtain our right by the one, we must even of necessity have recourse to the other. 'Tis allowable therefore to undertake wars, but it must always be with design of obtaining a secure peace. And when we have the better of our enemies, we should rest content with the victory alone, and show ourselves merciful and kind to them afterwards; unless they are such as have been very cruel, and committed inhuman barbarities in the war.

It is always our duty to do what we can for a fair and safe peace; in which respect, if people would have listened to me, we might at this time have seen the republic, if not flourishing, yet certainly, not as at present, entirely subverted and fallen into ruins. And as we are bound to be merciful to those we have actually conquered; so should those also be received into favor, who have laid down their arms, and thrown themselves wholly upon the general's mercy; and that even though the breach be made in their city walls. Our good forefathers were most strictly just in this particular; the custom of those times making him the Patron of a conquered city or people, who first received them into the faith and allegiance of the people of Rome. In short, the whole right and all the duties of war are most religiously set down in the feacial laws; out of which it is manifest, that never any war can be justly undertaken, unless satisfaction have been first

demand, and proclamation of it made publicly beforehand.

One part of justice ought by no means to be forgotten. I mean that towards the lowest and meanest sort of people: and these are more especially those we call our slaves; in relation to whom, it is a very good rule that is given by some men, that we should use them no otherwise than we do our day-laborers; make them first do their work, and then pay them honestly what they have earned. There are two ways whereby one man may injure or oppress another; the one is fraud or subtlety, the other open force or violence; the former of which is held the part of a fox, and the latter of a lion; both of them certainly very unworthy of a reasonable creature, though fraud, I think, is the more odious of the two. But of all injustice, theirs is certainly of the deepest dye, who make it their business to appear honest men, even whilst they are practising the greatest villanies.

In bounty and liberality, than which there is nothing more nearly allied to the nature of man, we must observe these cautions; First, that we take care in all acts of bounty, that they be not prejudicial to those we would oblige by them, nor to any other person. Secondly, That we do not in our bounty and liberality go beyond our estates. And, Thirdly, That we duly proportion our kindness according to every man's merit or deserts.

He who pretending to do one a kindness, does that which is really a prejudice to him, is indeed so far from being kind and obliging, that he ought to be counted a most pernicious flatterer; and to do any manner of injury to one, that you may show your generosity and bounty to another, is the same sort of roguery and injustice, as to enrich yourself by the spoils of your neighbor. Yet this is the fault of a great many people, especially those who are desirous of glory, to take away from some, that which justly belongs to them, that thus they may have to bestow upon others; and they are apt to think themselves extremely bountiful, if they enrich their adherents by any means.

Our bounty should not exceed our abilities; for they who give more than their estates will allow of, are injurious

to their own relations, by spending that wealth upon other people, which should rather have been given or left to them.

Many people take a sort of pride in being counted magnificent, and give very plentifully, not from any generous principle in their natures, but only to appear great in the eyes of the world; so that all their bounty is resolved into nothing but mere outside and pretence, and is nearer of kin to vanity and folly, than to either liberality or honesty. Our bounty should be proportioned to the merits of the receiver: in judging of which, we are to consider the man's honesty or manners; the good-will he bears towards us; the nearness of relation, or society that is between us; and the benefits we have formerly received from him.

- Of all the societies and unions amongst men, there is none more excellent or more closely knit, than when such as are men of real virtue and honesty, from a certain agreement and likeness of their manners, contract a familiarity and friendship one with another. For virtue or goodness of necessity moves us wherever we see it, and makes us all have a love and respect for that person in whom we discover it. And as every virtue thus wins upon our hearts, and even forces us to love those we take to possess it, so more especially do justice and beneficence. But when several persons are all like one another in honesty and good manners, then no society can ever be more loving, or more closely united.

That sort of courage exhibited in the dangers and fatigues of war, unless a man be governed by the rules of justice, and fight for the safety and good of the public, and not for particular ends of his own, is altogether blameable, and so far from being a part of true virtue, it is indeed a piece of the most barbarous inhumanity. Fortitude is therefore, very well defined by the stoic philosophers: when they call it, a virtue contending for justice and honesty.

PLATO admirably said, "That sort of knowledge, which is not directed by the rules of justice, ought rather to have the name of design and subtilty, than wisdom and prudence; just as that rash and adventurous mind, which is

hurried by the stream of its own passions, and not for the good and advantage of the public, should rather have the name of fool-hardy and reckless, than brave and courageous." The first thing requisite of a truly courageous man is, that he be a follower of goodness and fair dealing, of truth and sincerity; which are the principal and constituent parts of justice.

Ambitious demagogues will not yield in any debates, or be overruled by the laws and constitutions of the public; but make it their business by factions and bribery to get a strong party and interest in the republic, and rather choose to be uppermost by force and injustice, than equal to others by fair and upright dealing. But no sort of case or circumstance whatever, can excuse any man for being guilty of injustice. Those are therefore your truly brave and courageous men, not who rob, plunder, and injure others, but those who secure and protect them from injuries. But that greatness of mind which is truly such, and under the direction of wisdom and prudence, makes that honor and credit, which we naturally desire, not consist in the outward imaginary applause, but in the real intrinsic goodness of its actions; and is not so eager of appearing to be greater and better than others, as of really being so. For he that is so mean as to depend upon the giddy and ignorant multitude, ought never to be accounted of a truly great and exalted spirit, and there is nothing that so easily draws men to acts of injustice, as haughtiness, when joined with this foolish desire of applause.

For what can more discover a man of a brave and heroic spirit, than to make no account in the world, of those things which seem so glorious and dazzling to the generality of mankind; but wholly to despise them, not from any vain and fantastic humor, but from solid and firm principles of reason and judgment? Or what can show more a robust mind, and unshaken constancy, than to bear those heavy and numerous calamities, which are incident to mankind in this life, with such a firm temper and fixedness of soul, as never to offend against nature and right reason, or do any thing that is unworthy the dignity and character of a wise man? Now it would not at al

be consistent or agreeable, that he who bore up so courageously against fear, should be afterwards unable to resist desire; or that he who could never be conquered by pain, should suffer himself to be captivated by pleasure. These things therefore, should well be considered, and of all desires, that of money should be avoided; for nothing is a greater sign of a narrow, mean, and sordid spirit, than to dote upon riches; nor is any thing on the contrary more creditable and magnificent than to contemn wealth, if you have it not; and if you have it, to lay it out freely in acts of bounty and liberality. The desire of glory ought also to be avoided: for it robs a man wholly of his freedom and independence, which generous spirits ought of all things in the world to maintain and contend for. Neither ought places of power to be sought after; but at some times rather to be refused when offered; at others, be laid down if they can conveniently. We should free ourselves, in short, from all vehement passions and disorders of mind, not only those of desire and fear, but also of sorrow, of joy, and anger; that so the state of the mind may be calm and undisturbed, which will make the whole life become graceful and uniform. Now there both are and have been many, who, to gain this repose of which I am speaking, have betaken themselves to a life of retirement, and wholly withdrawn from all business of the public. Among these are the noblest and most eminent of the philosophers.

Reproof and chastisement, should be always free from contumelious language, and not inflicted for the sake of the person chastising or reproving another, but the good and advantage of the whole republic. Diligent care should be taken, that the penalty be proportioned to the nature of the crime; and that some do not pass without ever being questioned, while others are punished for the same misdemeanors. But of all things, anger should be excluded in punishing; for whoever comes to this work in a passion, will never observe that due mediocrity, which equally abstains from too much and too little, so strictly required by the peripatetic schools.

A private estate should be got honestly, not by any base, scandalous, or invidious way of gaining: then let it be



distributed to the uses and necessities of as many as possible, provided they are worthy and deserving people; and let it be increased by such ordinary methods of saving and good husbandry, as are agreeable to the dictates of reason and prudence: and lastly, let none of it be spent in debauchery and luxurious living, but in acts of munificence and liberality towards others.

The good that men enjoy, and the evil they suffer, proceed for the most part from men themselves; I lay down this as one principal part of virtue, to procure the good liking and favor of men, and so to engage their endeavors and affections, as to make them still ready to do us any kindness.

Now of all those methods, which tend to the advancement and maintenance of our interest, there is none more proper and convenient than love, and none more improper and inconvenient than fear. For, as it is very well observed by ENNIUS, "Whom men fear, they also hate; and whom they hate, they wish out of the world." But no force of power or greatness whatsoever, can bear up long against a stream of public hate.

Liberty, after she has been chained up a while, is always more fierce, and sets her teeth in deeper, than she would otherwise have done if she had never been restrained. Let us therefore embrace and adhere to that method, which is of the most universal influence, and serves not only to secure us what we have, but moreover to enlarge our power and authority: that is, in short, let us rather endeavor to be loved than feared, which is certainly the best way to make us successful, as well in our private as our public business. For those who desire to have others afraid of them, must needs be afraid of those others in their turn.

Honesty possesses such universal influence, that those who live upon villanies and wickedness, can never subsist without some degree of justice: for should any thief steal from another that belonged to the same confederacy, he would immediately be expelled, as unfit to be a member even of a society of robbers; and should the leader himself not distribute their booty, according to the measures of justice and honesty, he would either be murdered or

deserted by his company: nay, it is said that **your** robbers have some certain statutes, which they **are all** of them bound to observe among themselves.

Of those who give largely, there are two classes; the prodigal and the liberal. The prodigal consume vast sums in making public feasts, and distributing portions of meat to the people; or in providing gladiators to fight with one another, or with wild beasts in the theatres; or in making preparation for other such sports and recreations of the multitude: things that are forgotten in a very short time, if ever at all thought on, after once they are over. But the liberal are those, who dispose of their money in redeeming poor prisoners; in helping their friends and acquaintance out of debt; in assisting them toward the marrying their daughters; or putting them into some method of making, or increasing their fortunes.

THEMISTOCLES being asked, how he would marry his daughter, whether to one that was poor, but honest; or to one that was rich, but of an ill reputation? made answer, "I had rather have a man without an estate, than have an estate without a man." But the mighty respect, which is paid to riches, has wholly depraved and corrupted our manners. And yet what does it signify to any one of us, that such or such a person has got a plentiful fortune?

Care ought to be taken before hand, to keep people from running so much into debt, as may bring any damage or inconvenience to the public: and not, when they are in, to make the creditors lose what is their own, and let the debtors gain what in justice is another's: for nothing so cements and holds together in union all the parts of a society, as faith or credit; which can never be kept up, unless men are under some force and necessity of honestly paying what they owe to one another.

The elder CARO being asked, what he conceived most profitable in the management of an estate? said, to feed cattle well. And what the second? to feed cattle pretty well. And what the third? to feed cattle, though but poorly. And what the fourth? to till the ground.

But to return to our general rule or measure: there is nothing on earth more contrary to nature, neither death, nor

poverty, nor pain, nor whatever other evil can befall a man, either in his body or fortune, than to take away any thing wrongfully from another, and do one's self a kindness by injuring one's neighbor. For, in the first place, it ruins all manner of society and intercourse amongst men; since it is plain, that if once men arrive at such a pass, as to plunder and injure the rest of their neighbors, out of hopes to procure some advantage to themselves, there must follow of course a dissolution of that society, which of all things in the world, is most agreeable to nature.

The great law imprinted in the hearts of all men is to love the public good, and the members of the common society as themselves. This love of order is supreme justice, and this justice is amiable for its own sake. To love it only for the advantages it produces us, may be politic, but there is little of goodness in it. It is the highest injustice to love justice only for the sake of recompense. In a word, the universal, immutable and eternal law of all intelligent beings, is to promote the happiness of one another like children of the same father.

According to the opinion of the wisest and greatest men, the law is not an invention of human understanding, or the arbitrary constitution of men, but flows from the eternal reason that governs the Universe. The rape which Tarquin committed upon Lucretia, was not less criminal in its nature, because there was not at that time any written law at Rome against such sort of violence. The tyrant was guilty of a breach of the eternal law, the obligation whereof did not commence from the time it was written, but from the moment it was made. Now its origin is as ancient as the divine intellect: for the true, the primitive, and the supreme law is nothing else but the sovereign reason of the great Jove.

This law is universal, eternal, immutable. It does not vary according to times and places. It is not different now from what it was formerly. The same immortal law is a rule to all nations, because it has no author but the one only God who brought it forth and promulgated it.

## LUCIUS ANNEUS SENECA'S

## MORALS.

ALL, says Epicurus, we are to ascribe to Nature. And, why not to God? as if they were not both of them one and the same power, working in the whole, and in every part of it. If you call him the Almighty Jupiter, the Thunderer; the Creator and Preserver of us all; it comes to the same issue: some will express him under the notion of Fate; which is only a connection of causes, and himself the uppermost and original, upon which all the rest depend. The stoics represent the several functions of the Almighty power under several appellations. When they speak of him as the Father, and the fountain of all beings, they call him Bacchus: under the name of Hercules, they denote him to be indefatigable and invincible: and in the contemplation of him in the reason, order, proportion, and wisdom of his proceedings, they call him Mercury: so that which way soever they look, and under what name soever they couch their meaning, they never fail of finding him: for he is every where, and fills his own work.

The wisdom of heaven does all things with a regard to the good of the Universe, and the blessings of Nature are granted in common to the worst, as well as to the best of men; for they live promiscuously together.

If a good man, and a wicked man, sail in the same vessels, it is impossible that the same wind, which favors the one, should cross the other. The common benefits of laws, privileges, communities, letters and medicines are permitted to the bad, as well as to the good; and no man ever yet suppressed a sovereign remedy, for fear a wicked man might be cured with it. Cities are built for both sorts, and the same remedy works upon both alike.

Socrates places all philosophy in morals; and wisdom in the distinguishing of good and evil. It is the art and law of life, and it teaches us what to do in all cases, and like good marksmen, to hit the white at any distance.

The physician may prescribe diet and exercise, and accommodate his rule and medicine to the disease; but it is

philosophy that must bring us to a contempt of death, which is the remedy of all diseases. In poverty, it gives us riches, or such a state of mind as makes them superfluous to us. It arms us against all difficulties: one man is pressed with death, another with poverty, some with envy, others are offended at providence, and unsatisfied with the condition of mankind. But philosophy prompts us to relieve the prisoner, the infirm, the necessitous, the condemned; to show the ignorant their errors, and rectify their affections. It makes us inspect and govern our manners; it rouses us where we are faint and drowsy; it binds up what is loose, and humbles in us that which is contumacious: it delivers the mind from the bondage of the body, and raises it up to the contemplation of its divine origin. Honors, monuments, and all the works of vanity and ambition are demolished and destroyed by time, but the reputation of wisdom is venerable to posterity; and those that were envied or neglected in their lives, are adored in their memories, and exempted from the very laws of created nature, which has set bounds to all other things. The very shadow of glory carries a man of honor upon all dangers, to the contempt of fire and sword; and it were a shame, if right reason should not inspire as generous resolutions into a man of virtue.

It is the bounty of Nature that we live, but of philosophy that we live well; which is in truth a greater benefit than life itself. Philosophy inspires a veneration for God; a charity for our neighbor; teaches us our duty to heaven, and exhorts us to an agreement one with another: it unmask things that are terrible to us, assuages our lusts, refutes our errors, restrains our luxury, reprovés avarice, and works strangely upon tender natures.

Now to show you how much more earnest my entrance upon philosophy was than my progress; my tutor Sotion gave me a wonderful kindness for Pythagoras; and after him for Sextius: the former forebode shedding of blood, upon his metempsychosis, and put men in fear of it, lest they should offer violence to the souls of some of their departed friends and relations. Whether, (says he) there be a transmigration or not; if it be true, there is no hurt in it; if false, there is frugality: and nothing is gotten by

cruelty neither, but the cozening a wolf, perhaps, or a vulture, of a supper. Now Sextius abstained upon another account; which was, that he would not have men inured to hardness of heart, by the laceration and tormenting of living creatures; besides that nature had sufficiently provided for the sustenance of mankind, without blood. This wrought so far upon me, that I gave over eating of flesh; and in one year made it not only easy to me, but pleasant; my mind methought was more at liberty, (and I am still of the same opinion) but I gave it over nevertheless, and the reason was this; it was imputed as a superstition to the Jews the forbearance of some sorts of flesh, and my father brought me back again to my old custom, that I might not be thought tainted with superstition. Nay, and I had much ado to prevail upon myself to suffer it too. I make use of this instance to show the aptness of youth to take good impressions, if there be a friend at hand to press them. Philosophers are the tutors of mankind; if they have found out remedies for the mind, it must be our part to apply them.

The wise man studies rather to fill his mind than his coffers; and he knows that gold and silver were mingled with dirt, until avarice or ambition parted them. His life is orderly, fearless, equal, secure; he stands firm in all extremities, and bears the lot of his humanity with a divine temper. There is a great difference betwixt the splendor of philosophy, and of fortune; the one shines with an original light, the other with a borrowed one; besides, that it makes us happy and immortal.


A good conscience is the testimony of a good life, and its reward. This is it that fortifies the mind against fortune, when a man has obtained the mastery of his passions; placed his treasure and his security within himself; learned to be content with his condition; and that death is no evil in itself, but only the end of man. He that has dedicated his mind to virtue, and to the good of human society, of which he is a member, has consummated all that is either profitable or necessary for him to know, or to do, toward the establishment of his peace. Every man has a judge and witness within himself, of all the good and ill that he does; which inspires us with great thoughts

and administers to us wholesome counsels. We have a veneration for all the works of Nature, the heads of rivers, and the spring of medicinal waters: the horrors of groves and of caves, strike us with an impression of religion and worship. To see a man fearless in danger, untainted with lusts, happy in adversity, composed in a tumult, and laughing at those things which are generally either coveted or feared; all men must acknowledge, that this can be nothing else but a beam of divinity that influences a mortal body.

A great, a good, and a right mind, is a kind of divinity lodged in flesh, and may be the blessing of a slave as well as of a prince; it came from heaven, and to heaven it must return; and it is a kind of heavenly felicity, which a pure and virtuous mind enjoys, in some degree, even upon earth: whereas temples of honor are but empty names, which probably owe their beginning either to ambition, or to violence.

All the good and ill we do, is under the dominion of the mind; a clear conscience establishes us in an inviolable peace: and, thus the greatest blessing in Nature, is that which every honest man may be bestow upon himself.

Provided we look to our consciences, no matter for opinion: let me deserve well, though I hear ill. The common people mistake pluck and audacity, for the marks of magnanimity, and honor; and, if a man be mild and modest, they look upon him as an easy fool: but when they come once to observe the dignity of his mind, in the equality and firmness of his actions; and that his external quiet is founded upon internal peace, the very same people have him in esteem and admiration. For, there is no man but approves of virtue, though but few pursue it; we see where it is, but we dare not venture to come at it: and the reason is, we over value that which we must quit to obtain it. A good conscience fears no witnesses, but a guilty conscience is solicitous even in solitude. If we do nothing but what is honest, let all the world know it; but if otherwise, what does it signify to have no body else know it, so long as I know it myself? miserable is he that slights that witness! wickedness, it is true, may escape the law, but not the conscience: for



a private conviction is the first, and the greatest punishment of offenders ; so that the sin plagues itself ; and the fear of vengeance pursues even those that escape the stroke of it. It were ill for good men that iniquity may so easily evade law, the judge, and the execution, if Nature had not set up torments and gibbets, in the consciences of transgressors. He that is guilty, lives in perpetual terrors, and while he expects to be punished, he punishes himself ; and whoever deserves it, expects it. What if he be not detected ? he is still in apprehension yet, that he may be so. His sleeps are painful, and never secure ; and he cannot speak of another man's wickedness, without thinking of his own ; whereas a good conscience is a continual feast. Those are the only certain and profitable delights, which arise from the conscience of a well acted life : no matter for noise abroad, so long as we are quiet within : but if our passions be seditious, that is enough to keep us waking, without any other tumult. It is not the posture of the body, or the composure of the bed, that will give rest to an uneasy mind.

There is not in the scale of Nature, a more inseparable connection of cause and effect, than in the case of happiness and virtue : nor any thing that can more naturally produce the one, or more necessarily presupposes the other. For, what is it to be happy, but for a man to content himself with his lot, in a cheerful and quiet resignation to the appointments of God ? All the actions of our lives ought to be governed with a respect to good and evil : and it is only reason that distinguishes : by which reason we are in such a manner influenced, as if a ray of the Divinity were dipt in a mortal body ; and that is the perfection of mankind.

Why do we not as well commend a horse for his gorgeous trappings, as a man for his pompous additions ? How much a braver creature is a lion (which by nature ought to be fierce and terrible,) how much braver in his natural horror, than in his chains ? so that every thing in its pure Nature pleases us best. It is not health, nobility, riches, that can justify a wicked man ; nor is it the want of all these that can discredit a good one. This is the sovereign blessing which makes the possessor of it



valuable without any thing else, and him that wants it contemptible, though he had all the world besides. It is not the painting, gilding, or carving, that makes a good ship: but if she be a nimble sailor, tight and strong, to endure the seas, that is her excellency. It is the edge and temper of the blade, that makes a good sword; not the richness of the scabbard: and so it is not money, or possessions, that make a man considerable, but his virtue.

It is every man's duty to make himself profitable to mankind: if he can, to many; if not, to fewer: if not so neither, to his neighbors; but at all events to himself. There are two republics; a great one, which is human nature; and a less, which is the place where we were born: some serve both at a time; some only the greater, and some again only the less: the greater may be served in privacy, solitude, contemplation, and perchance that way better than any other; but it was the intent of Nature, however, that we should serve both. A good man may serve the public, his friend, and himself in any station: if he be not for the sword, let him take the gown; if the bar does not agree with him, let him try the pulpit; if he be silenced abroad, let him give counsel at home; and discharge the part of a faithful friend, and a temperate companion. When he is no longer a citizen, he is yet a man; but the whole world is his country, and human nature never wants matter to work upon.

Whoever observes the World, and its order, will find all its motions to be only vicissitude of falling and rising: nothing is extinguished, and even those things which seem to us to perish, are in truth but changed. The seasons go, and return; day and night follow in their courses; the heavens roll, and Nature goes on with her work. All things succeed in their turns; storms and calms; the law of Nature will have it so, which we must follow, and obey, accounting all things that are done, to be well done: so that what we cannot mend we must suffer, and wait on destiny without repining.

Better for a man to live an exile abroad, than to be massacred at home. In suffering for virtue, it is not the torment, but the cause that we are to consider; and the more pain the more renown. When any hardship befalls us

we must look upon it as an act of Providence, which many times suffers particulars to be wounded for the preservation of the whole. .

It is a shame for a man to place his felicity in those entertainments and appetites, that are stronger in brutes. Do not beasts eat with a better stomach? have they not more satisfaction in their lusts? and they have not only a quicker relish of their pleasures, but they enjoy them without either scandal or remorse. If sensuality were happiness, beasts were happier than men; but human felicity is lodged in the soul, not in the flesh. They that deliver themselves up to luxury are still either tormented with too little, or oppressed with too much; and equally miserable by being either deserted, or overwhelmed.

The more in number, and the greater they are, the more general and absolute a slave is the servant of them. Let the common people pronounce him as happy as they please, he pays his liberty for his delights, and sells himself for what he buys.

Let any man take a view of our kitchens; the number of our cooks, and the variety of our meats: will he not wonder to see so much provision made for one belly? we have as many diseases as we have cooks, or meats; and the service of the appetite is a study now in vogue. To say nothing of our train of lacqueys, and other troops of caterers and victuallers. Great Jove! that ever one belly should employ so many people. How nauseous and fulsome are the surfeits that follow these excesses? simple meats are out of fashion; and all are collected into one; so that the cook does the office of the stomach; nay, and of the teeth too, for the meat looks as if it were chewed before hand; here is the luxury of all tastes in one dish, and more like a vomit than a soup. From these compounded dishes arise compounded diseases, which require compounded medicines. It is the same with our minds, as with our tables; simple vices are curable by simple counsels, but a general dissolution of manners is hardly overcome: we are overrun with public as well as with private madness. The physicians of old understood little more than the virtue of some herbs to stop blood, or heal a wound: and their firm and healthful bodies needed lit-

tle more, before they were corrupted by luxury and pleasure ; and when it came to that once, their business was not to allay hunger, but to provoke it by a thousand inventions and sauces. That which was aliment to a craving stomach, is become a burden to a full one. From hence come paleness, trembling ; and worse effects from crudities, than famine : a weakness in the joints, the belly stretched, suffusion of choler ; the torpor of the nerves, and a palpitation of the heart. To say nothing of megrims, torments of the eyes, and ears ; head-ache, gout, scurvy ; several sorts of fevers, and putrid ulcers ; with other diseases, that are but the punishment of luxury. So long as our bodies were hardened with labor, or trained with exercise, our food was plain and simple ; many dishes have made many diseases.

It is an ill thing for a man not to know the measure of his stomach, (his own guage,) nor to consider, that men do many things in their drink that they are ashamed of sober ; drunkenness being nothing else but a voluntary madness. It emboldens men to do all sorts of mischiefs : it both irritates wickedness and uncovers it ; it does not make men vicious, but it shows them to be so : it was in a drunken fit that Alexander slew Clytus. It makes him that is insolent, prouder ; him that is cruel, fiercer ; it takes away all shame. He that is peevish, breaks out presently into ill words, and blows. The lecher, is without any regard to decency, or scandal. A man's tongue trips, his head turns round ; he staggers in his pace. To say nothing of the crudities and diseases that follow upon this distemper. Consider the public mischiefs it has done. How many warlike nations, and strong cities that have stood invincible to attacks and sieges, has drunkenness overcome ? is it not a great honor to drink the company dead ? a magnificent virtue to swallow more wine than the rest, and yet at last to be outdone by a cask or hog's-head ? what shall we say of those men that invert the offices of day and night ? as if our eyes were only given us to make use of in the dark. Is it day ? "it is time to go to bed." Is it night ? "it is time to rise." Is it towards morning ? "let us go to supper." When other people lie down, they rise ; and lie till the next night to digest the

debauch of the day before. It is an argument of vulgarity, to do as other people do. Luxury steals upon us by degrees; first it shows itself in a more than ordinary care of our bodies; it slips next into the furniture of our houses; and it gets then into the fabric, curiosity, and expense of the house itself. It appears, lastly, in the fantastic excesses of our tables. We change and shuffle our meats; confound our sauces; serve that in first, that uses to be the last; and value our dishes, not for the taste, but for the rarity. Nay, we are so delicious, that we must be told when we are to eat or drink; when we are hungry, or weary; and we cherish some vices as proofs and arguments of our happiness. The most miserable mortals are they that deliver themselves up to their palates, or to their lusts: the pleasure is short, and turns presently nauseous, and the end of it is either shame or repentance. It is a brutal entertainment, and unworthy of a man to place his felicity in the service of his senses.

What madness is it for a man to lay out an estate upon a table, or a cabinet; a patrimony upon a pair of pendants, and to inflame the price of curiosities, according to the hazard of either breaking or losing them? to wear garments that will neither defend a woman's body, nor her modesty; so thin, that one would make a conscience of swearing she were not naked? for she hardly shows more in the privacies of her amour, than in public. How long shall we covet, and oppress; enlarge our possessions; and account that too little for one man, which was formerly enough for a nation? and our luxury is as insatiable as our avarice. Where is that lake, that sea, that forest, that spot of land, that is not ransacked to gratify our palate. The very earth is burdened with our buildings; not a river nor a mountain escapes us. Oh that there should be such boundless desires in our little bodies! would not fewer lodgings serve us? we lie but in one, and where we are not, that is not properly ours. What with our hooks, snares, nets, dogs, &c. we are at war with all living creatures; and nothing comes amiss but that which is either too cheap or too common; and all that is to gratify a fantastic palate. Our avarice, our ambition, our lusts, are insatiable; we enlarge our possessions;

swell our families ; we rifle sea and land for matter of ornament and luxury. A bull contents himself with one meadow : and one forest is enough for a thousand elephants ; but the little body of a man devours more than all other living creatures. We do not eat to satisfy hunger, but ambition ; we are dead while we are alive, and our houses are so much our tombs, that a man might write our epitaphs upon our very doors.

Throw a crust of bread to a dog ; he takes it open-mouthed, swallows it whole, and presently gapes for more : just so do we with the gifts of fortune ; down they go without chewing ; and we are immediately ready for another chop. But what has avarice now to do with gold and silver, which are so much out done by curiosities of a far greater value ? let us no longer complain, that there was not a heavier load laid upon those precious metals ; or that they were not buried deep enough ; when we have found out ways by wax and parchments, and by cruel usurious contracts, to undo one another. It is remarkable, that providence has given us all things for our advantage near at hand : but iron, gold and silver, (being both the instruments of blood and slaughter, and the price of it) Nature has hidden in the bowels of the earth.

It is true, the stomach craves, and calls upon us, but then a small matter contents it : a little bread and water is sufficient, and all the rest is superfluous. He that lives according to reason, shall never be poor : and he that governs his life by opinion shall never be rich : for Nature is limited, but fancy is boundless. As for meat, clothes, and lodging, a little feeds the body, and as little covers it : so that if mankind would only attend human nature, without gaping at superfluities, a cook would be found as needless as a soldier : for we may have necessaries upon very easy terms ; whereas we put ourselves to great pains for excesses. When we are cold, we may cover ourselves with skins of beasts ; and against violent heat, we have natural grottos ; or with a few osiers, and a little clay, we may defend ourselves against all seasons. Providence has been kinder to us than to leave us to live by our wits, and to stand in need of invention and arts : it is only pride and curiosity that involves us in difficulties : if noth-

ing will serve a man but rich clothes and furniture, statues and plate, a numerous train of servants, and the rarities of all nations, it is not fortune's fault, but his own, that he is not satisfied : for his desires are insatiable, and this is not a thirst, but a disease ; and if he were master of the whole world, he would be still a beggar. It is the mind that makes us rich and happy, in what condition soever we are ; and money signifies no more to it than it does to the gods : if the religion be sincere, no matter for the ornaments : it is only luxury and avarice that makes poverty grievous to us ; for it is a very small matter that does our business ; and when we have provided against cold, hunger and thirst, all the rest is but vanity and excess.

While Nature lay in common, and all her benefits were promiscuously enjoyed, what could be happier than the state of mankind, when people lived without avarice, or envy ? what could be richer, than when there was not a poor man to be found in the world. So soon as this impartial bounty of providence came to be restrained, by covetousness ; and that particulars appropriated that to themselves which was intended for all ; then did poverty creep into the world ; when some men by desiring more than came to their share, lost their title to the rest. A loss never to be repaired ; for though we may come yet to get much, we once had all. The fruits of the earth were in those days divided among the inhabitants of it, without either want or excess. So long as men contented themselves with their lot, there was no violence ; no engrossing, or hiding of those benefits for particular advantages, which were appointed for the community ; but every man had as much care for his neighbor, as for himself. No arms, or bloodshed ; no war but with wild beasts : but under the protection of a wood or a cave, they spent their days without cares, and their nights without groans ; their innocence was their security, and their protection. There were as yet, no beds of state, no ornaments of pearl, or embroidery, nor any of those remorses that attend them : but the heavens were their canopy ; and the glories of them their spectacle.

Happy is that man that eats only for hunger, and drinks only for thirst ; that stands upon his own legs, and lives

by reason, not by example ; and provides for use and necessity, not for ostentation and pomp. Let us curb our appetites, encourage virtue, and rather be beholden to ourselves for riches than to fortune, who when a man draws himself into a narrow compass, has the least mark at him. Let my bed be plain and clean, and my clothes so too : my meat without much expense, or many waiters ; and neither a burden to my purse, nor to my body ; nor to go out the same way it came in. That which is too little for luxury, is abundantly enough for Nature. The end of eating and drinking is satiety ; now, what matters it though one eats and drinks more, and another less, so long as the one is not a hungry, nor the other a thirst ? Epicurus, who limits pleasure to Nature, as the Stoics do virtue, is undoubtedly in the right.

We cry out, " What law have we transgressed ? " As if the letter of the law were the sum of our duty, and piety, humanity, liberty, justice and faith, were things beside our business. No, no, the rule of human duty is of a greater latitude ; and we have many obligations upon us, that are not to be found in the statute books. And yet we fall short of the exactness, even of that legal innocence. We have intended one thing, and done another ; wherein only the want of success has kept us from being criminals. This very thing, should make us more favorable to delinquents, and to forgive not only ourselves, but the gods too ; of whom we seem to have harder thoughts, in taking that to be a particular evil directed to us, that befalls us only by the common law of mortality. No man living can absolve himself to his conscience, though to the world, perhaps he may. It is true, that we are also condemned to pains and diseases, and to death too, which is no more than the quitting of the soul's house. But, why should any man complain of bondage, that wheresoever he looks has his way open to liberty ? That precipice, that sea, that river, that well, there is freedom at the bottom of each. It hangs upon every crooked bough ; and not only a man's throat, or his heart, but every artery in his body opens a passage to it.

To destroy a single man, may be dangerous ; but to murder whole nations, is only a more glorious wickedness.

Private avarice and rigor are condemned: but oppression, when it comes to be authorized by an act of state, and to be publicly commanded, though particularly forbidden, becomes a point of dignity and honor. What a shame is it for men to enterworry one another, when yet the fiercest even of beasts are at peace with those of their own kind? This brutal fury puts philosophy itself to a stand. The drunkard, the glutton, the covetous, may be reduced; nay, the mischief of it is, that no vice keeps itself within its proper bounds. Luxury runs into avarice, and when the reverence of virtue is extinguished, men will stick at nothing that produces profit.

Among the memorable detestable speeches, I know none worse than that impudent and tyrannical maxim, "Let them hate me, so they fear me," not considering that those that are kept in obedience by fear, are both malicious and mercenary, and only wait for an opportunity to change their master. Besides, who ever is terrible to others, is likewise afraid of himself. What is more ordinary, than for a tyrant to be destroyed by his own guards? which is no more than the putting those crimes into practice which they learned of their masters. How many slaves have revenged themselves of their cruel oppressors, though they were sure to die for it? but when it comes once to a popular tyranny, whole nations conspire against it. For he who threatens all, is in danger of all; and the cruelty of a prince increases the number of his enemies, even by destroying some of them; for it entails an hereditary hatred upon the friends and relations of those that are taken away. And then it has this misfortune, that a man must be wicked upon necessity; for there is no going back: so that he must betake himself to arms, and yet he lives in fears. He can neither trust to the faith of his friends, nor to the piety of his children; he both dreads death, and wishes it; and becomes a greater terror to himself than he is to his people. Nay, if there were nothing else to make cruelty detestable, it were enough, that it passes all bounds both of custom and humanity; and is followed upon the heel, with sword and poison.

How horrid a madness is it to be ever raging and kill-



ling ; to have the rattling of chains always in our ears ; bloody spectacles before our eyes ; and to carry terror and dismay wherever we go ? If we had lions and serpents to rule over us, this would be the manner of their government ; except that they agree better among themselves. It passes for a mark of greatness, to burn cities, and lay whole kingdoms waste ; nor is it for the honor of a prince, to appoint this or that single man to be killed, unless they have whole troops or legions to work upon. But, it is not the spoils of war, and bloody trophies, that make a prince glorious, but the divine power of preserving unity and peace. Ruin without distinction, is more properly the business of a general deluge, or a conflagration. Neither does a fierce and inexorable anger become the supreme magistrate ; greatness of mind is always meek and humble ; but cruelty is a mark and an effect of weakness ; and brings down a governor to the level of a competitor.

Our forefathers thought it necessary to keep wicked people in awe, by the apprehension of a superior power ; and to fright them into their good behavior, by the fear of an armed and avenging justice over their heads. But how comes it, that the lightning which comes from Jupiter himself should be said to be harmless ; and that which he casts on counsel and advice, to be dangerous and mortal ? the moral of it is this, that all kings should have Jupiter's example, do all good by themselves ; and when severity is necessary, permit that to be done by others : besides, as crimes are unequal, so should also be the punishments. Neither did they believe that Jupiter to be the thunderer, whose image was worshipped in the capitol, and in other places ; but intended it for the Maker and Governor of the Universe, by what name soever we call him. Now, in truth, Jupiter does not immediately cast the lightning himself, but leaves Nature to her ordinary method of operation ; so that what he does not immediately by himself, he does yet cause to be done : for, whatsoever Nature does, God does. There may be something gathered out of all things, that are either said, or done, that a man may be the better for ; and he does a greater thing that masters the fear of thunder, than he

that discovers the reason of it. We are surrounded and beset with ill accidents ; and since we cannot avoid the stroke of them, let us provide ourselves honestly to bear them. But, how must that be ? by the contempt of death we do also contemn all things in the way to it : as wounds, shipwrecks, the fury of wild beasts, or any other violence what ever ; which, at the worst, can but part the soul and the body.

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*From B. F. Powell's Bible of Reason.*

### XENOPHANES.

The infinite Universe cannot have emanated from nothing ; something must necessarily have existed eternally, or that which exists must have been produced by nothing : if ever there could have been a time when nothing existed, then there could never have been any such thing as existence. The universal state of being has not been derived from any prior principle : Nature is one, eternal and without limit.

That which is one alone, is consequently fixed and unalterable ; for if it could change in situation, it could not be infinite, but contained in an infinity ; and if it could undergo change of nature, something then would become existing which could cause this alteration, and which had not existed previously ; that which is, would cease to be ; and that which was nothing would become something.

The one infinite, eternal, and homogeneous Universe, or world of Nature, can alone possess the attribute of immutability : individual objects alone change, but the generic chain of modification is permanent and unalterable. In nature there is no origin either of mode or material ; there is no real production or annihilation : there is no such thing as passing from non-entity to entity, or the reverse.

### ZENO.

Universal matter is necessarily eternal, not admitting of increase nor decrease : there is no real existence which is not corporeal. The parts or forms, tend toward a dissolution, but the infinity remains immutably the same.

## PLUTARCH'S MORALS.

No man should keep company with his wife for issue sake, but when he is sober ; for they usually prove wine-bibbers and drunkards, whose parents beget them when they were drunk : wherefore Diogenes said to a stripling somewhat crack-brained and half-witted : “ surely young man thy father begot thee when he was drunk.”

If Nature be not improved by learning, it is blind ; if learning be not assisted by Nature, it is maimed ; and if exercise fail of the assistance of both, it is imperfect, to the attainment of its end. And as in husbandry, it is first requisite that the soil be fertile, next that the husbandman be skilful, and lastly, that the seed he sows be good ; so here Nature resembles the soil, the instructor of youth the husbandman, and the rational principles and precepts, which are taught, the seed.

Children are rather to be won to follow their studies by exhortations and rational motives, than forced by whipping, or any other contumelious punishments. For they, when thus handled, are dulled and discouraged from the performance of their tasks ; partly, by the smart of their stripes, and partly, by the disgrace. But praises and re-proofs are more effectual.

Those parents are to be blamed, who when they have committed their sons to the instruction of teachers or school-masters, seldom or never see them perform their tasks, or hear them give an account of their lessons ; wherein they fail much of their duty. For they ought ever, to make trial of their children's proficiency : and not intrust their hopes of them only to the conduct of a mercenary. For even that sort of men will take more care of the children, when they know themselves so to be called to account. Whereto the saying of that King's Groom, is agreeable, who told his master, “ that nothing so much made his horse fat, as his *eye*.”

We are to accustom children to speak the truth, and to account it, as indeed it is, a matter of religion so to do. For lying is a servile quality, deserving the hatred of all mankind.

It is best to accustom one's self to eat no flesh at all,

for the earth affords plenty enough of things, not only fit for nourishment, but for delight and enjoyment; some of which you may eat without much preparation, and others you may make pleasant, by adding other things to them. But since custom is so far from being preternatural, that it is almost a second nature; we ought not when we eat flesh, to do it to the cloying of our appetites, like wolves or lions; but only to lay as it were a foundation, and bulwark for our nourishment, and then to use other food.

Medicinal vomits and purges, which are the bitter relief of gluttony, are not to be attempted without great necessity. The manner of many is to fill themselves, because they are empty; and again, because they are full, to empty themselves contrary to Nature; being no less tormented with being full, than being empty; and are troubled at their fulness, as being a hindrance of their pleasure.

If Pythagoras was highly esteemed for instructing his disciples to avoid all manner of cruelty against beasts themselves; so that he himself would redeem them out of their captivity, either out of the net of the fowler, or the fisherman; if he forbade his followers to kill any creature, it is much better, sure, and more manly in our differences with men, to show ourselves generous, just, and detesters of all falsehood; to moderate and correct all base, unworthy and hurtful passions; that in all our conversation we may be open-hearted, and that we may not seek to over-reach or deceive others in any of our dealings.

As they who are afraid of being drunk, pour not their wine upon the ground, but dilute it with water, so neither do they who fear any violent commotion of their passions, go about utterly to destroy and eradicate, but rather wisely to temper and moderate them. And as they who use to break horses and oxen, do not go about to take away their goings, or to render them unfit for labor and service, but only strive to cure them of their unluckiness and flinging up their heels, and to bring them to be patient of the bit and yoke, so as to become useful; in the same manner, reason makes very good use of the passions, after they are well subdued and made gentle, with-

out either tearing in pieces or over-much weakening that part of the soul which was made to be obedient to her.

Thus, moderate anger is of admirable use to courage or fortitude; hatred and aversion for ill men, promotes the execution of justice; and a just indignation against those who are prosperous beyond what they deserve, is then both convenient, and even necessary, when, with pride and insolence their minds are so swollen and elated, that they need to be repressed and taken down. Neither by any means can a man, though he never so much desire it, be able to separate himself from friendship, indulgence, and a natural propension to affection; from humanity and good nature, tenderness and commiseration; nor from true benevolence, a mutual participation of joy and grief. And if they run into an error who would take away all love, that they may destroy mad and wanton passions, neither can those be in the right, who for the sake of covetousness condemn all other appetites and desires: which is full as ridiculous as if one should always refuse to run, because one time or other he may chance to catch a fall; or to shoot, because he may sometimes happen to miss the mark; or should forbear all singing, because a discord or a jar is offensive to the ear.

The virtue of a man and woman, is one and the same. For example, in the art of painting we can produce pictures drawn by women, similar to those of Apelles, Zeuxis, and Nicomachus. In the poetic or histrionic art, we may compare Sappho's verses with Anacreon's, and the oracles of Sibil, with those of Bacchus. Thus we cannot better or more truly learn the relation of feminine to virile virtue, than by comparing the lives, exploits, and works of art of each sex; the magnanimity of Semiramis, with that of Sesostris, the address of Tanaquil with that of king Servius, the discretion of Portia with that of Brutus.

The newly married couple should avoid the first occasion of discord, as vessels newly formed are more easily put out of shape than when the materials are hardened by time.

Empedocles, held that Nature is nothing but the mixture and separation of the elements. Anaxagoras is of

the same opinion, that nature is coalition and separation, and thus are generation and corruption.

Democritus, Epicurus, and those philosophers who introduced atoms and a vacuum, affirm, that the world is not an animal, nor governed by any wise Providence, but that it is managed by Nature, which is void of reason; the other philosophers affirm that the world is informed with a soul, and governed by reason and Providence.

Pythagoras and Plato, held that the world was framed by God, and in being corporeal, is obvious to the senses, and in its own Nature is obnoxious to destruction, but it shall never perish, it being preserved by the Providence of God. Epicurus, that the world had a beginning, so shall have an end, like as plants and animals have. Zeno-phanes, that the world never had a beginning, is eternal and incorruptible. Aristotle, that part of the world which is sublunary is obnoxious to passions, and their terrestrial beings find a decay.

Plato and Pythagoras, that the soul is immortal when it departs out of the body, it retreats to the soul of the world, which is a being of the same Nature with it. Epicurus and Democritus, that the soul is mortal and it perishes with the body.

They say that Pythagoras bought a draught of fishes, and presently commanded the fishers to let them all out of the net, and this shows, that he did not hate fishes, or consider them as things of another kind and destructive to man, but that they were his dearly beloved creatures, since he paid a ransom for their freedom. Therefore the tenderness and humanity of those philosophers, suggest a quite contrary reason, and I am apt to believe, that they spare fishes to instruct men, or to accustom themselves to acts of justice, for other creatures generally give men cause to afflict them, but fishes neither do, or are capable of doing us any harm. And it is easy to show both from the writings and religion of the ancients, that they thought it a great sin not only to eat, but to kill an animal that did them no harm. But afterwards being necessitated by the spreading multitude of men, and commanded (as they say) by the Delphic oracle to prevent the total decay of corn and fruit, they began to sacrifice, yet

they were so disturbed and concerned at the action, that they call it *herdein* and *rezein* as if they did some strange thing in killing an animal; and they are very careful not to kill the beast, before the wine and salt thrown upon his head; he nods in token of consent. So very cautious are they of injustice.

The water animals, neither consuming any part of our air or water or devouring the fruit, but as it were, encompassed by another world, and having their own proper bounds, which it is death for them to pass, they afford our belly no pretence at all for their destruction; and therefore to catch or be greedy after fish is mere luxury.

The Pythagoreans confining themselves, not only by the law which forbids them to injure men, but also by Nature, which commands them to do violence to nothing, fed on fish very little, or rather not at all. But suppose there were no injustice in this case, yet to delight in fish, would argue daintiness and luxury.

You ask of me then for what reason it was that Pythagoras abstained from eating of flesh. I for my part do much admire in what humor, with what soul, or reason the first man with his mouth touched slaughter, and reached to his lips, the flesh of a dead animate; and having set before people courses of ghastly corpses and ghosts could give those parts the names of meat and victuals, that but a little before lowed, cried, moved and saw; how his sight could endure the blood of slaughtered, slayed and mangled bodies; how his smell could bear their scent; and how the very nastiness happened not to offend the taste.

Whence is it that a certain ravenousness and frenzy drives you in these happy days to pollute yourselves with blood, since you have such an abundance of things necessary for your subsistence? why do you belie the earth as unable to maintain you? why do you profane the law-giver Ceres, and shame the mild and gentle Bacchus, as not furnishing you with sufficiency? are you not ashamed to mix tame fruits with blood and slaughter? you are indeed wont to call serpents, leopards, and lions savage creatures, but yet yourselves are defiled with blood: and come nothing behind them in cruelty. What they kill, is

their ordinary nourishment, but what you kill indeed is your better fare. For we eat not lions and wolves by way of revenge; but let those go, and catch the harmless, and tame sort, and such as have neither stings nor teeth to bite with, and slay them; which so may jove help us, that Nature seems to us to have produced for their beauty and comeliness only.\*

But we are nothing put out of countenance, either by the beauteous gaiety of the colors, or by the charmingness of the musical voices, or by the rare sagacity of the intellects, or by the cleanliness and neatness of diet, or by the rare discretion and prudence of these poor unfortunate animals; but for the sake of some little mouthful of flesh, deprive a soul of the sun and light, and of that proportion of life and time it had been born into the world to enjoy. And then we fancy that the voices it utters and screams forth to us are nothing else but certain inarticulate sounds and noises, and not the several deprecations, entreaties and pleadings of each of them as it were saying thus, to us; I deprecate not thy necessity, (if such there be) but thy wantonness; kill me for thy feeding: but do not take me off for thy better feeding. O horrible cruelty! it is truly an affecting sight to see the very table of rich people laid before them, who keep their cooks and caterers to furnish them with dead corpses for their daily fare; but it is yet more affecting to see it taken away, for there is more left than was eaten. These therefore were slain to no purpose.

From the smoothness of the tongue, and the slowness of the stomach to digest, our Nature seems to disclaim all pretence to fleshy victuals. But if you will contend that yourself was born to an inclination for such food, you have now a mind to eat; do you then yourself kill, what you would eat. But do it your own self; without the help of a chopping knife, mallet or axe; as wolves, bears, and lions do, who kill and eat at once. Rend an ox with thy teeth, worry a hog with thy mouth, tear a lamb or a hare in pieces, and fall on and eat it alive as they do.

\* [The swine excepted, which Pythagoras allowed to be eaten, perhaps from its assimilation to the biped breed.]



But if thou hadst rather stay until what thou eatest is become dead, and if thou are loath to force a soul out of its body, why then dost thou against Nature eat an animate thing? nay there is no body that is willing to eat even a lifeless and a dead thing as it is, but they boil it and roast it, and alter it by fire and medicines, as if were changing and quenching the slaughtered gore with thousands of sweet sauces, that the palate being thereby deceived, may admit of such uncouth fare. It was indeed a witty expression of a Lacedemonian, who having purchased a small fish in a certain inn, delivered it to his landlord to be dressed; and as he demanded cheese, and vinegar, and oil to make sauce, he replied, if I had had those, I would not have bought the fish. But we are grown so wanton in our bloody luxury, that we have bestowed upon flesh the name of meat, and then require other meat (food) to this same flesh, mixing oil, wine, honey, pickle, vinegar, and spices, as though we really meant to embalm it after its decease. Indeed when things are dissolved, and made thus tender and soft, and are as it were turned into a sort of a carrionly corruption, it must needs be a great difficulty for concoction to master them, and when it hath mastered them, they must needs cause grievous oppressions, and qualmy indigestions.

But to pass by these considerations, is not accustoming one's self to mildness and an humane temper of mind an admirable thing? for who could wrong or injure a man that is so sweetly and humanely disposed with respect to the ills of strangers that are not of his kind? But we are more sensible of what is done against custom than against Nature.

It is indeed a severe and difficult task to undertake (as Cato once said) to dispute with men's bellies that have no ears; since most have already drunk that draught of custom, which is like that of Circe, of groans and frauds and sorcery complete.

It would indeed be a good action, if as the Egyptians draw out the stomach of a dead body, and cut it open and expose it to the sun, as the cause of all its evil actions; so we could by cutting out our gluttony and blood-shedding, purify and cleanse the remainder of our lives. For

the stomach itself is not guilty of bloodshed, but is involuntarily polluted by our intemperance. But if this may not be, and we are ashamed by reason of custom to live unblamably, let us at least sin with discretion: let us eat flesh, but let it be for hunger, and not for wantonness. Let us kill an animal, but let us do it with sorrow and pity, and not abusing and tormenting it, as many do.

And what meal is not expensive, for which an animal is put to death? shall we reckon a soul to be a small expense? (I will not say perhaps of a mother, or a father, or of some friend, or child, as Empedocles did;) but one participating of feeling, of seeing, of hearing, of imagination and of intellection; which each of them hath received from Nature for the acquiring of what is agreeable to it, and the avoiding what is disagreeable. Which sort of philosophers render us most gentle and civilized, they who bid people to feed on their kindred as if they were dead; or Pythagoras and Empedocles, who accustom men to be just towards all the other members of the creation?

In the beginning some wild and mischievous beast was killed and eaten, and then some little bird or fish was entrapped. And conquest being first experimented and exercised in these, at last passed even to the laboring ox, and the sheep that clothes us, and to the poor cock that keeps the house; until by little and little, unsatiableness being strengthened by use, men came to the slaughter of men, to bloodshed and wars. Now if one cannot demonstrate and make out that souls in their regenerations make a promiscuous use of all bodies, and that which is now rational will at another time be irrational, and that again tame which is now wild (for that Nature changes and transmutes every thing; with different fleshy coats new clothing all;) this thing should be sufficient to change a man that hath taken up an intemperate and luxurious life, that it brings sickness and heaviness upon the body, and that it inclines the mind more brutishly to warm bloodshed and destruction. When we have once accustomed ourselves neither to entertain a guest, nor keep a wedding, nor to treat our friends, without blood and slaughter.

## MICHAEL MONTAIGNE'S

## ESSAYS.

It always gives me pain to see a harmless beast, which is incapable of making its defence, and gives us no offence, pursued and worried to death: and, as it often happens, that the stag, when hunted till it has lost its breath and strength, finding no other remedy, falls on its back, and surrenders itself to its pursuers, seeming, with tears, to beg for mercy,

—quæstûque cruentus atque imploranti similis.

I ever thought it a very unpleasant sight: I scarce take any beast alive, but I turn it abroad again: Pythagoras purchased fish and fowls alive for the same purpose. They that thirst for the blood of beasts discover a natural inclination to cruelty. After they had accustomed themselves, at Rome, to spectacles of the slaughter of animals, they proceeded to that of men, and the combats of gladiators. We are enjoined to have some pity for animals by theology itself: and, considering that one and the same master has lodged us in this world for his service, and that they are of his family as well as we, it had reason to command us to show some regard and affection for them.

We ought to be ashamed, that, in all the human sects, there never was a man, notwithstanding the absurdity and novelty of the doctrine which he maintained, but conformed his manner of life to christianity in some measure; and that so divine and heavenly an institution should only distinguish christians by the appellation. Would you see a proof of this? Compare our manners to those of a Mahometan or Pagan: you will after all come short of them in that very point where, in regard to the advantage of our religion, we ought to outshine them beyond all comparison; and it must be said, are they so good, so just, so charitable? They are therefore christians. All other appearances are common to all religions: hope, trust, events, ceremonies, Penances, Martyrdoms, &c. The peculiar characteristic of our truth ought to be our virtue, as it is also the most celestial and difficult mark, and the most worthy product of truth.

Pythagoras borrowed the doctrine of the metempsychosis

from the Egyptians; but it was afterwards received by several nations, and particularly by our Druids.

The priests of our ancient Gauls maintained, that souls, being eternal, never ceased to remove and shift their stations from one body to another; mixing, moreover, with this fancy, some consideration of the divine justice; for, according as the soul had behaved whilst it had been in Alexander, they said, that God ordered it to inhabit another body, more or less uneasy, and suitable to its condition.

Plutarch says, that it was not the cat nor the ox that the Egyptians adored, but that, in those brutes, they revered some image of the divine faculties. In the ox, patience and profit; in the cat, vivacity, or, like our neighbors, the Burgundians, with all the Germans, an impatience to see itself shut in, by which they represented the liberty they loved and adored beyond every other faculty; and so of the others. But when, amongst the more moderate opinions, I meet with arguments that endeavor to demonstrate the near resemblance betwixt us and animals, and what a share they have in our greatest privileges, and with what probability they are compared to us, it really very much abates my presumption, and I am ready to resign that imaginary royalty which is ascribed to us over the other creatures.

Be all this as it will, there is nevertheless, a certain kind of respect, and a general obligation of humanity, which attaches us, not only to the beasts that have life and a sense of feeling, but also to trees and plants. We owe justice to men, and favor and good usage to other creatures that are susceptible of it. There is a certain correspondence, and a mutual obligation betwixt them and us; I fear not to declare the tenderness of my nature to be so puerile that I cannot well refuse to play with my dog when he caresses me, or desires it, though it be out of season.

The Turks have alms-houses and hospitals for beasts. The Romans made public provision for the nourishment of geese, after the watchfulness of one of them had saved their capitol. The Athenians made a decree, that the mules which had been employed in the building of the temple, called Hecatompedon, should be free, and allowed to graze

any where without molestation. 'Twas the common practice of the Agrigentines to give solemn interment to their favorite beasts, as horses of some rare qualities, dogs, and birds, which they made a profit of, and even such as had served for the diversion of their children: and the magnificence which they commonly displayed in all other things, appeared particularly in the number of costly monuments erected to this very purpose, which remained for a show several ages after. The Egyptians interred wolves, bears, crocodiles, dogs, and cats in sacred places, embalmed their bodies, and wore mourning at their death. Cimon gave an honorable burial to the mares with which he had won three prizes at the Olympic races. Old Xanthippus caused his dog to be buried on a promontory, near the sea-side, which has, ever since, retained its name. And Plutarch says, that he made conscience of selling and sending to the shambles, for a small profit, an ox that had served him a good while.

NOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS RESPECTING GOD:

*From Cicero de Natura Deorum, etc.*

Thales, who was the first that inquired into things of this nature, thought God to be a spirit, that made all things of water. Anaximander, that the gods were, at different and distant seasons, dying and entering into life, and that there was an infinite number of worlds. Anaximenes, that the air was God, that he was immense, infinite, and always in motion. Anaxagoras was the first man who believed, that the description and manner of all things were conducted by the power and reason of an infinite spirit. Alcmaeon ascribed divinity to the sun, the moon, the stars, and the soul. Pythagoras has made God to be a spirit, diffused through the Nature of all things, from whence our souls are extracted. Parmenides, a circle surrounding heaven, and supporting the world by its heat and light. Empedocles pronounced the four elements, of which all things are composed, to be God. Protagoras had nothing to say, whether there were gods or not, or what they were. Democritus was one while of opinion, that the images and their circui-tions were gods; at another time, he deified that Nature, which darts out those savages; and, at another time, he

pays this attribute to our knowledge and understanding. Plato puts his opinion into various lights. He says, in his *Timæus*, that the father of the world cannot be named; and, in his book of laws, that he thinks men ought not to inquire into his being: and elsewhere, in the very same book, he makes the world, the heaven, the stars, the earth, and our souls, gods, admitting, moreover, those which have been received by ancient institution in every republic. Xenophon reports a like perplexity in the doctrine of Socrates; one while that men are not to inquire into the form of God, and presently makes him maintain that the sun is God, and the soul God: one while, he says, he maintains there is but one god, and afterwards, that there are many gods. Speusippus, Plato's nephew, makes God to be a certain power governing all things, and that it is an animal. Aristotle one while says, it is the soul, and another while the world: one while he gives this world another master, and at another time makes God the ardor of heaven. Xenocrates makes the gods to be eight in number, of whom five were among the planets; the sixth consisted of all the fixed stars, as so many of its members; the seventh and eighth the sun and moon. Heraclides Ponticus is of a wavering opinion, and finally deprives God of sense, and make him shift from one form to another, and afterwards says, it is heaven and earth. Theophrastus wanders in the same uncertainty among all his fancies, one while ascribing the superintendency of the world to the understanding, at another time to heaven, and one while also to the stars. Strato will have it to be Nature, having the power of generation, augmentation and diminution, but without form and sentiment. Zeno makes it to be the law of Nature, commanding good and forbidding evil, which law is an animal, and takes away the accustomed gods, Jupiter, Juno, Vesta, &c. Diogenes Apolloniates ascribes the deity to air. Xenophanes makes God round, seeing and hearing, but not breathing, nor having any thing in common with the nature of man. Aristo thinks the form of God to be incomprehensible, deprives him of sense, and knows not whether he be an animal or something else. Cleanthes one while supposes him to be reason, another while the world; sometimes the soul of Nature, at other times the supreme heat, called æther, rolling

about and encompassing all. Perseus, the disciple of Zeno, was of opinion, that men who have been remarkably useful, and profitable to human life, are surnamed gods. Chrysippus made a confused collection of all the foregoing opinions, and reckons men also, who are immortalized among a thousand forms, which he makes of gods. Diagoras and Theodorus flatly deny that there were ever any gods at all. Epicurus makes the gods shining, transparent, and perflable, lodged betwixt the two worlds, as betwixt two groves, secure from shocks, invested with a human figure, and the members that we have, but which are to them of no use.

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### EPICETETUS.

What is man? A part or member of a community; in the first instance, of that great or general community which consists of Gods and men, the world at large; and in the second, of that city or state which is locally near him, to which he immediately belongs, and which is a petty imitation or miniature of the Universal community.

Where are you going? It cannot be into a place of sufferings; you will only return to the place whence you came; you are going to be again peaceably associated with the elements from which you have parted. That which in your composition is of the nature of fire, will return to the element of fire; that which is of the nature of earth is going to rejoin itself to the earth; that which is air is going to re-unite itself to air; that which is water is going to resolve itself into water; there is no hell.

The hour of death approaches; but do not aggravate your evils nor render things worse than they are; represent them to yourself under their true point of view. The time is come, when the materials of which are composed, go to be dissolved into the elements whence they were originally borrowed. What is there that is terrible or grievous in that? Is there any thing in the world which totally perishes?

## RALPH CUDWORTH'S

## INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE.

Stobæus first declared, that the Pythagoric monads were corporeal,—i. e. atoms. And this is further confirmed from what Aristotle himself writes of these Pythagoreans and their monads, “they suppose their monads to have magnitude.” And from that he elsewhere makes monads and atoms to mean the same thing; “it is all one to say monades or small corpuseula.”—And Gassendus hath observed out of the Greek epigrammatist, that Epicurus’s atoms were sometimes called monads too.”

But to pass from Pythagoras himself; that Empedocles, who was a Pythagorean also, did physiologize atomically, is a thing that could hardly be doubted of, though there were no more proof for it than that one passage of his in his philosophic poems: “Nature is nothing but the mixture and separation of things mingled;” or thus, “There is no production of any thing anew, but only mixture and separation of things mingled.”—Which is not only to be understood of animals, according to the Pythagoric doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but also, as himself expounds it, universally of all bodies, that their generation and corruption is nothing but mixture and separation; or, as Aristotle expresses it, concretion and secretion of parts, together with change of figure and order. It may perhaps be objected, that Empedocles held four elements, out of which he would have all other bodies to be compounded; and that as Aristotle affirms, he made those elements not to be transmutable into one another neither. To which we reply, that he did indeed make four elements, as the first general concretion of atoms, and therein he did no more than Democritus himself, who, as Laertius writes, did from atoms moving round in a vortex: “generate all concretions, fire, water, air, and earth, these being systems made out of certain atoms.”—And Plato further confirms the same; for in his book *De Legibus* he describes, as I suppose, that very atheistical hypothesis of Democritus, though without mentioning his name, representing it in this manner; that by the fortuitous motion of senseless matter, were first made those four elements, and then out of them afterward sun,



moon, stars, and earth. Now both Plutarch and Stobæus testify, that Empedocles compounded the four elements themselves out of atoms; "Empedocles makes the elements to be compounded of other small corpuscula, which are the least, and as it were the elements of the elements."

Empedocles did, in the same manner as Pythagoras before him, and Plato after him, hold the transmigration of souls, and consequently both their future immortality and preëxistence; and therefore must needs assert their incorporeity: Plutarch rightly declaring this to have been his opinion; "That as well those who are yet unborn, as those that are dead, have a being."

The matter of the Universe is always substantially the same, nor neither more nor less, but only Proteanly transformed into different shapes. Thus we see, that the generation of all inanimate bodies is nothing but the change of accidents and modifications, the substance being really the same, both before and after. But in the generations of men and animals, besides the new disposition of the parts of matter and its organization, there is also the acquisition and conjunction of another real entity or substance distinct from the matter, which could not be generated out of it, but must needs come into it some other way. Though there be no substantial difference between a stately house or palace standing, and all the materials of the same ruined and demolished, but only a difference of accidents and modifications; yet, between a living man and a dead carcass, there is, besides the accidental modification of the body, another substantial difference, there being a substantial soul and incorporeal inhabitant dwelling in the one and acting of it, which the other is now deserted of.

And the generation and corruption of animals is likewise nothing but the conjunction of souls together with such particular bodies, and the separation of them again from one another,—and so as it were the anagrammatical transposition of them in the Universe. That soul and life, that is now fled and gone from a lifeless carcass, is only a loss to that particular body or compages of matter, which by means thereof is now disanimated; but it is no loss to the whole, it being but transposed in the Universe, and lodged somewhere else.

It is also further evident, that this same principle, which thus led the ancients to hold the soul's immortality, or its future permanency after death, must needs determine them likewise to maintain its preëxistence, and consequently its transmigration. For that which did preëxist before the generation of any animal, and was then somewhere else, must needs transmigrate into the body of that animal where now it is. But as for that other transmigration of human souls into the bodies of brutes, though it cannot be denied but that many of these ancients admitted it also, yet, Timæus Locrus, and divers others of the Pythagoreans, rejected it, any otherwise than as it might be taken for an allegorical description of that beastly transformation that is made of men's souls by vice.

The doctrine of the ancient Atomists concerning the immateriality and the immortality, the pre and post-existence of souls, was not confined by them to human souls only, but extended universally to all souls and lives whatsoever; it being a thing that was hardly ever called into doubt or question by any before Cartesius, whether the souls of brutes had any sense, cogitation, or consciousness in them or not. Now all life, sense, and cogitation was undoubtedly concluded by them to be an entity really distinct from the substance of body, and not the mere modification, motion, or mechanism of it; life and mechanism being two distinct ideas of the mind, which cannot be confounded together. Wherefore they resolved, that all lives and souls whatsoever, which now are in the world, ever were from the beginning of it, and ever will be; that there will be no new ones produced, which are not already, and have not always been, nor any of those, which now are, destroyed, any more than the substance of any matter will be created or annihilated. So that the whole system of the created Universe, consisting of body, and particular incorporeal substances or souls, in the successive generations and corruptions, or deaths of men and other animals, was, according to them, really nothing else but one and the same thing perpetually anagrammatized, or but like many different syllables and words variously and successively composed out of the same preëxistent elements or letters.

All those ancient philosophers who insisted so much

upon this principle; "that no real entity is either generated or corrupted,"—did therein at once drive at these two things: first, the establishing of the immortality of all souls, their pre and post-existence, for as much as being entities really distinct from the body, they could neither be generated nor corrupted; and secondly, the making of corporeal forms and qualities to be no real entities distinct from the body and mechanism thereof, because they are things generated and corrupted, and have no pre and post-existence.

And now we have made it sufficiently evident, that the doctrine of the incorporeity and immortality of souls, we might add also, of their pre-existence and transmigration, had the same original, and stood upon the same basis with the Atomical physiology; and therefore it ought not at all to be wondered at (what we affirmed before) that the same philosophers and Pythagoreans asserted both those doctrines, and that the ancient Atomists were both Theists and Incorporealists.

But if there be any such, who, rather than they would allow a future immortality or post-existence to all souls, and therefore to those of brutes, which consequently must have their successive transmigrations, would conclude the souls of all brutes, as likewise the sensitive soul in man, to be corporeal, and only allow the rational soul to be distinct from matter; to these we have only thus much to say, that they, who will attribute life, sense, cogitation, consciousness, and self-enjoyment, not without some footsteps of reason many times, to blood and brains, or mere organized bodies in brutes, will never be able clearly to defend the incorporeity and immortality of human souls, as most probably they do not intend any such thing. For either all conscious and cogitative beings are incorporeal, or else nothing can be proved to be incorporeal. From whence it would follow also, that there is no Deity distinct from the corporeal world. But though there seem to be no very great reason,\* why it should be thought absurd, to grant perpetuity of duration to the souls of brutes, any more than to every atom of matter, or particle of dust that is in the whole world; yet we shall endeavor to suggest something towards

who are so much burthened with this difficulty ; viz. that they may, if they please, suppose the souls of brutes, being but so many particular eradiations or effluxes from that source of life above, whensoever and wheresoever there is any fitly prepared matter capable to receive them, and to be actuated by them, to have a sense and fruition of themselves in it, so long as it continues such ; but as soon as ever those organized bodies of theirs, by reason of their indisposition, become incapable of being further acted upon by them, then to be resumed again and retracted back to their original head and fountain.

As for the bodies of animals, Aristotle first resolves in general, that nature in them is either the whole soul, or else some part of it ; " Nature, as the moving principle, or as that which acts artificially for ends (so far as concerns the bodies of animals,) is either the whole soul, or else some part of it."

And that there is plastic Nature in the souls of animals, he elsewhere affirms and proves after this manner ; " What is that, which, in the bodies of animals, holds together such things as, of their own nature, would otherwise move contrary ways, and fly asunder, as fire and earth, which would be distracted and dissipated, the one tending upwards, the other downwards, were there not something to hinder them ? Now if there be any such thing, this must be the soul, which is also the cause of nourishment and augmentation."

Besides this plastic Nature, which is in animals, forming their several bodies artificially, as so many microcosms, or little worlds, there must be also a general plastic Nature in the macrocosm, the whole corporeal Universe, that which makes all things thus to conspire every where, and agree together into one harmony. Concerning which plastic nature of the Universe, Aristotle says ; " It seemeth, that as there is art in artificial things, so in the things of Nature there is another such like principle or cause, which we ourselves partake of ; in the same manner as we do of heat and cold, from the Universe. Wherefore it is more probable, that the whole world was at first made by such a cause as this (if at least it were made) and that it is still conserved by the same, than that

mortal animal should be so ; for there is much more of order and determinate regularity in the heavenly bodies than in ourselves ; but more of fortuitousness and inconstant irregularity among these mortal things. Wherefore, it is manifest, that there is some such thing as that which we call Nature ;"—that is, that there is not only an artificial, methodical, and plastic Nature in animals, by which their respective bodies are framed and conserved ; but also, that there is such a general plastic Nature likewise in the Universe, by which the heavens and whole world are thus artificially ordered and disposed.

Now as Aristotle, in the forecited words, tells us, that we partake of life and understanding from that in the Universe, after the same manner as we partake of heat and cold from that heat and cold that is in the Universe ; it is observable, that this was a notion borrowed from Socrates (as we understand both from Xenophon and Plato ; ) that philosopher having used it as an argumentation to prove a Deity.

Aristotle thus sums up : "It hath been delivered down to us from very ancient times, that the stars are gods also ; besides that supreme Deity, which contains the whole Nature. But all the other things were fabulously added hereunto, for the better persuasion of the multitude, and for utility of human life and political ends, to keep men in obedience to civil laws. As, for example, that these gods are of human form, or like to other animals ; with such other things as are consequent hereupon.

## DR. GLEIG'S

## NOTION OF THE SOUL BY ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.

*From the Encyclopedia Britannica; Ed. III. Art. Metaphysics.*

None of the Philosophers of ancient Greece appear to have believed a creation possible; for it was a maxim universally received among them,

*De nihilo nihil fit, in nil posse reverti;*

Nothing can come from nonentity, or go to nonentity. For instance, when Aristotle writes of Parmenides and Melissus, "they say that no real entity is either made or destroyed;" what can be his meaning, but that those philosophers taught that nothing could be either created or annihilated? He testifies the same thing of Xenophanes and Xeno, when he says that it was a fundamental principle of their philosophy, "that it is impossible that any thing should be made out of nothing". And of Empedocles, also, "that he acknowledges the very same thing with other philosophers, viz. that it is impossible that any thing should be made out of nothing." But it is needless to multiply quotations respecting the opinions of single philosophers. Of all the physiologers before himself and Plato, Aristotle says, without exception, "That they agree in this opinion, that it is impossible that any thing should be made out of nothing;" and he calls this the common principle of naturalists; plainly intimating, that they consider it as the greatest absurdity to suppose that any real entity in Nature could either be brought from nothing or reduced to nothing.

Those who maintained that the world was uncreated, maintained upon the same principle that their souls were uncreated likewise; and as they conceived all bodies to be formed of one first matter, so they conceived all souls to be either emanations from the one first mind, or dissected parts of it. Aristotle, who distinguishes between the intellectual and sensitive souls, says expressly of the former, that "it enters from without, and is divine;" adding this reason for his opinion, that, its "energy is not blended with that of the body." As to the Stoics, Cleanthes held (as Stobæus informs us,) that, "every thing was made out of one, and would be again resolved

into one." But let Seneca speak for them all: "Why should you not believe something to be divine in him, who is indeed part of God? That whole in which we are contained in one, and that one is God; we being his companions and members." Epictetus says, "The souls of men have the nearest relation to God, as being parts or fragments of him, discerpted and torn from his substance." Plato writes to the very same purpose, when, without any softening, he frequently calls the soul God, and part of God. And Plutarch says, that "Pythagoras and Plato held the soul to be immortal; for that, launching out into the soul of the Universe, it returns to its parent and original." Plutarch declares his own opinion to be, that "the soul is not so much the work and production of God, as a part of him; nor is it made by him, but from him, and out of him." But it is needless to multiply quotations. Cicero delivers the common sentiments of his Greek masters on this head, when he says, "As it has appeared to the most learned and most wise men, we have our souls drawn, or torn, or poured out from the nature of the Gods." "The human soul, discerpted or separated from the divine, can be compared with nothing but God himself."

Whilst the philosophers were thus unanimous in maintaining the soul to be a part of the self-existent substance, they differ in opinion, or at least expressed themselves differently, as to the mode of its separation from its divine parent. Cicero and the Stoics talk as if the supreme mind were extended, and as if the human soul were a part literally torn from that mind, as a limb can be torn from the body. The Pythagoreans and Platonists seem to have considered all souls as emanations from the divine substance rather than as parts torn from it, much in the same way as rays of light are emanations from the sun. Plato, in particular, believed in two self-existent principles, God and matter. The former he considered as the supreme intelligence, incorporeal, without beginning, end, or change; and distinguished it by the appellation of *to agathon*, the Good. Matter, as subsisting from eternity, he considered as without any one form or quality whatever, and as having a natural tendency to

disorder. Of this chaotic mass, God formed a perfect world, after the eternal pattern in his own mind, and endowed it with a soul or emanation from himself. In the language of Plato, therefore, the Universe being animated by a soul which proceeds from God, is called the son of God; and several parts of Nature, particularly the heavenly bodies, are gods. The human soul, according to him, is derived by emanation from God, through the intervention of this soul of the world; and receding farther from the first intelligence, it is inferior in perfection to the soul of the world, though even that soul is debased by some material admixture.

Aristotle taught, in terms equally expressive, that the human soul is a part of God, and of course that its substance is of eternal and necessary existence. Some of his followers, indeed, although they acknowledged two first principles, the active and the passive, yet held, with the Stoics, but one substance in the Universe; and to reconcile these two contradictory propositions, they were obliged to suppose matter to be both active and passive. Their doctrine on this subject is thus delivered by Cicero; "They divided Nature into two things, as the first principle; one whereof is the efficient or artificer, the other that which offers itself to him for things to be made out of it. In the efficient principle, they acknowledged active force; in the passive, a certain matter; but so, that in each, both of these were together; forasmuch as neither the matter could cohere together unless it were contained by some active force, nor the active force subsist of itself without matter; because that is nothing which may not be compelled to be somewhere. Agreeably to this strange doctrine, Arrian, the interpreter of Epictetus, says of himself, "I am a man (a part of the to pan or Universe,) as an hour is part of the day."

Aristotle himself is generally supposed to have believed in the eternal existence of two substances, mind and matter; but treating of the generation of animals, he says, "In the Universe there is a certain animal heat, so as that after a manner, all things are full of mind; wherefore they are quickly completed (or made complete animals) when they have received a portion of that heat."



This heat, from which, according to Cicero, the Stagyrite derived all souls, has, it must be confessed, a very material appearance; insomuch that the learned Mosheim seems to have been doubtful whether he admitted of any immaterial principle in man; but for this doubt, there appears to us to be no solid foundation. Aristotle expressly declares, that "this heat is not fire nor any such power, but a spirit which is in the seeds or elementary principles of bodies."

He believed, that the supreme mind himself is the soul of the world, and that the human souls are immediately derived from him. The genuine Stoics, acknowledging but one substance, of necessity considered both the souls and bodies of men as portions of that substance, which they called "*to en*," though still they affected to make some unintelligible distinction between body and mind. But however the various schools differed as to those points, they were unanimous as to the soul's being a part of the self-existing substance; and Cicero gives their whole system from Pacuvianus in words which cannot be misunderstood:

Quicquid est hoc, omnia animat format, alit, auget, creat,  
Sepelit, recipitque in sese omnia, omniumque idem est Pater;  
Indidemque eadem, quæ oriuntur de integro, atque eodem occidunt.

What ever this be, it ALL, animates, forms, nourishes, increases, creates, buries, and receives all in itself, and of all is the same Parent; and thence, from the same whole they proceed, and thither they settle.

But when the ancients attribute a proper eternity to the soul, we must not suppose that they understood it to be eternal in its distinct and personal existence. They believed that it proceeded or was discerpted in time from the substance of God, and would in time be again resolved into that substance. This they explained by a closed vessel filled with sea-water; which swimming a while upon the ocean, does, on the vessel's breaking, flow in again, and mingle with the common mass. They only differed about the time of this reunion; the greater part holding it to be at death; but the Pythagoreans not till after many transmigrations. The Platonists went between these two opinions; and rejoined pure and unpolluted

souls immediately to the Universal Spirit ; but those which had contracted much defilement, were sent into a succession of other bodies, to be purged and purified, before they returned to their parent substance.

A doctrine similar to this of Plato, has been held from time immemorial by the Bramins in India, whose sacred books teach, "That intellect is a portion of the great soul of the Universe, breathed into all creatures, to animate them for a certain time ; that after death it animates other bodies, or returns like a drop into that unbounded ocean from which it first arose ; that the souls of men are distinguished from those of other animals, by being endowed with reason and with a consciousness of right and wrong ; and that the soul of him who adheres to right as far as his powers extend, is at death absorbed into that divine essence, never more to reanimate flesh. On the other hand, the souls of those who do evil, are not at death disengaged from all the elements ; but are immediately clothed with a body of fire, air, and akash (a kind of celestial element, through which, the planets move, and which makes no resistance) in which they are for a time punished in hell. After the season of their grief is over, they reanimate other bodies ; and when they arrive through these transmigrations at a state of purity, they are absorbed into God, where all passions are utterly unknown, and where consciousness is lost in bliss."

Whether the Greeks derived their notions of the divinity and transmigration of souls from the east, or whether both they and the Bramins brought the same doctrines at different periods from Egypt, it is foreign from the purpose of this article to inquire. Certain it is, that the philosophers of Greece and India argued in the very same manner, and upon the very same principles, for the natural immortality of the soul ; and that the immortality which they taught was wholly incompatible with God's moral government of the world, and with a future state of rewards and punishments. That this is true of the doctrine of the Bramins, is evident from the last quoted sentence : for if the soul, when absorbed into the Divine essence, loses all consciousness of what it did and suffered in the body, it cannot possibly be rewarded for its virtues

practised upon earth. That the philosophers of Greece taught the same cessation of consciousness, might be inferred with the utmost certainty, even though we had not Aristotle's express declaration to that purpose: for as they all believed their souls to have existed before they were infused into their bodies, and as each must have been conscious that he remembered nothing of his former state, it was impossible to avoid concluding, that in the future state of his soul as little would be remembered of the present. Accordingly Aristotle teaches, that "the agent intellect only is immortal and eternal, but the passive corruptible;" and Warburton has completely proved, that by the agent intellect is meant the substance of the soul, and by the passive its particular perceptions.

But because the human soul may, for any thing that we see to the contrary, subsist, and think, and act, in a separate state, it does not therefore necessarily follow that it will do so; and every thing that we know of its nature and its energies leads us to think, that without some kind of body by which to act as by an instrument, all its powers would continue dormant. There is not the shadow of a reason to suppose that it existed and was conscious in a prior state; and as its memory at present unquestionably depends upon the state of the brain, there is all the evidence of which the case will admit, that if it should subsist in a future state divested of all body, though it might be endowed with new and enlarged powers of perception, it could have no recollection of what it did and suffered in this world, and therefore would not be a fit object either of reward or of punishment. This consideration has compelled many thinking men, both Pagans and Christians, to suppose that at death the soul carries with it a fine material vehicle, which is its immediate sensorium in this world, and continues to be the seat of his recollection in the next. Such, we have seen, was the opinion of Mr. Wollaston and Dr. Hartley; it was likewise the opinion of Cudworth and Locke, who held that the Supreme Being alone is the only mind wholly separated from matter; and it is an opinion which even Dr. Clarke, one of the ablest advocates for immaterialism, would not venture positively to deny.

SIAM. The Siamese maintain the doctrine of transmigration, believing in a preëxistent state, and that they shall pass into other bodies till they are sufficiently purified to be received into Paradise. That the soul is material but not subject to the touch; that no man will be eternally punished; that the good, after several transmigrations, will enjoy perpetual happiness; but that those who are not reformed, will transmigrate to all eternity.

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## FRANCIS BACON,

### ON SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such a man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch, that would eat his children as soon as they were born;" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men; therefore atheism did never perturb states: for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times: but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order.

## THOMAS MORE'S

## UTOPIA, OR THE HAPPY REPUBLIC.

They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to Nature, and think that we are made by God for that end. They do believe that a man does then follow the dictates of Nature, when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason: they say, that the first dictate of reason is, the kindling in us a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free of passion, and as cheerful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavors to help forward the happiness of all other persons; for there was never any man that was such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, and such an enemy to pleasure, that though he set hard rules to men to undergo much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could in order to the relieving and easing such people as were miserable; and did not represent it as a mark of a laudable temper, that it was gentle and good natured; and they infer from thence, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free them from trouble and anxiety in furnishing them with the comforts of life, that consist in pleasure; Nature does much more vigorously lead him to do all this for himself. A life of pleasure is either a real evil, and in that case we ought not only not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is hurtful and deadly to them; or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himself? Since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another, than after his own; for Nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus as they define virtue to be a living according to Nature, so

they reckon that Nature sets all people on to seek after pleasure as the end of all they do.

They do also observe, that in order to the supporting the pleasures of life, Nature inclines us to enter into society ; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind, that he should be the only favorite of Nature, which on the contrary seems to have levelled all those together that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly, that thereby he should prejudice others ; and therefore they think that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, but likewise that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniences of life which afford us all our pleasures.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety to prefer the public good to one's private concerns ; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for his own pleasure, by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others ; and that by so doing, a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another ; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that one makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, give the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself.

Thus upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness : and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which Nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. And thus they cautiously limit pleasure, only to those appetites to which Nature leads us ; for they reckon that Nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as

sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person, nor let go greater pleasures for it, and which do not draw troubles on us after them: but they look upon those delights which men, by a foolish, though common mistake, call pleasure, as if they could change the nature of things as well as the use of words, as things that not only do not advance our happiness, but do rather obstruct it very much, because they do so entirely possess the minds of those that once go into them with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for truer and purer pleasures.

And yet that sort of men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe it wholly to their mistakes, look big, and seem to fancy themselves to be the more valuable on that account, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have pretended if they had been more meanly clothed; and they resent it as an affront if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with these outward marks of respect which signify nothing; for what true or real pleasure can one find in this, that another man stands bare, or makes legs to him? Will the bending another man's thighs give you any ease? And will his head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and that they have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure they reckon all those that delight in hunting, or birding, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure it is that men can find in throwing the dice? For, if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a surfeit of it.

If the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, when a weak, harmless, and fearful hare is devoured by a strong, fierce,

and cruel dog. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those are all slaves, as was formerly said; and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work; for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, which a huntsman proposes to himself, can only attract him with the false show of pleasure; for it is of so little use to him. They look on the desire of the bloodshed even of beasts as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure must degenerate into it.

They do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken fighting against them; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of the slaves of other nations. The slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for some crime that they had committed, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they redeem sometimes at low rates; and in other places they have them for nothing, and so they fetch them away.

With what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health! and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and make their lives as comfortable as may be: they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily. But when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, and are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, so that they have really outlived themselves, they would no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but would choose rather to die, since they cannot live, but in much misery; being assured, that if they either deliver themselves from their prison and torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall



be happy after their deaths: and since by their dying thus, they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life, they think they act not only reasonably in so doing, but religiously and piously, because they follow the advices that are given them by the priests, who are the expounders of the will of God to them. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, do either starve themselves of their own accord, or they take opium, and so they die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, they do not for that fail in their attendance and care of them.

In the way of choosing of their wives, they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but is constantly observed among them, and accounted a wise and good rule. Before marriage, some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as a very indecent thing. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious, that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle, and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid that which may be contagious, as well as loathsome.

None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, because of any great calamity that may have fallen on their person; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons, when they need most the tender care of their consort; and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it falls often out, that when a married couple do not agree well together, they by mutual consent separate, and

find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily. Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the senate, which never admits of a divorce, but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it proceeds; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they reckon that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages would very much shake the kindness of married persons.

For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth, than the killing them outright; since as their labor is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men, than that which would be given by their death.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. They do very much condemn other nations whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws that are both of such a bulk and so dark that they cannot be read or understood by every one of the subjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters as well as to wrest laws; and, therefore, they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as well as in other places the client does it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays and find out truth more certainly; for, after the parties have laid open the merits of their cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-meaning persons whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down; and thus they avoid those evils which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labor under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law, for

as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and, therefore, the plainest and most obvious sense of the words is that which must be put on them.

They detest war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men than any sort of beasts: and they, against the custom of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war. And, therefore, though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises, and the discipline of war, in which not only their men but their women likewise are trained up, that so, in cases of necessity, they may not be quite useless; Yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves or their friends from any unjust aggressors; or out of good nature, or in compassion to an oppressed nation, that they assist them to the shaking off the yoke of tyranny.

If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies' country waste, nor burn their corn; and even in their marches they take all possible care, that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man that they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that oppose the rendering it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves; but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt.

Utopus thought it was a very indecent and foolish thing for any man to frighten and threaten other men to believe anything because it seemed true to him; and in case that one religion were certainly true, and all the rest false, he reckoned that the native force of truth would break forth at last, and shine bright, if it were managed only by the strength of argument, and with a winning gentleness; whereas, if such matters were carried on by violence and

tumults, then, as the wickedest sort of men are always the most obstinate, so the holiest and best religion in the world might be overlaid with so much foolish superstition, that it would be quite choked with it, as corn is with briars and thorns; therefore he left men wholly to their liberty in this matter, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause.

They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their death, or the offering up their blood. They burn incense, and other sweet odours, and have a great number of wax-lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add anything to the Divine nature, for even prayers do not that; but, as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God.

In all other places it is visible that whereas people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men do zealously pursue the good of the public; and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently, for in other commonwealths every man knows that, unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to every thing, they do all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want any thing; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, nor in any necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren.

to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily, since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labor, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere for these that continue still at it. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them, with that which is among all other nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, or a banker, or any other man that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor upon that which is so ill-acquired, and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors that are so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year to an end without them, can yet be able to earn so poor a livelihood out of it, and must lead so miserable a life in it.

Therefore I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the richer sort, who, on pretence of managing the public, do only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts that they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poorer sort to toil and labor for them at as low rates as is possible, and oppress them as much as they please; and if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws; and yet these wicked men, after they have by a most insatiable covetousness divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians; for the use, as well as the desire of money being extinguished, there is much anxiety and great occasions of mischief cut off with it. And who does not see that frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, that are indeed rather

punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off if money were not any more valued by the world?

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they know well how much a greater happiness it were to want nothing that were necessary than to abound in many superfluities; and to be rescued out of so much wealth. And I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, and the authority of Christ's commands, who, as he was infinitely wise, and so knew what was best, so was no less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that is the source of so much misery, did not hinder it; which does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult; and thinks its own happiness shines the brighter by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons; that so, by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out; and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them; for they have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy that, as men live happy under it, so it is like to be of great continuance: for, they having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds, both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotion at home; which alone has been the ruin of many states that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighboring princes, who have often attempted their ruin, but in vain, will never be able to put their state into any commotion or disorder."

## DESIDERIUS ERASMUS'

## COMPLAINT OF PEACE.

O, shame to man! Devil with devil damn'd  
Firm concord holds; men only disagree.—*Milton.*

It was a favorite project, about the commencement of the sixteenth century, to assemble a Congress of kings at Cambray. It was to consist of Maximilian the Emperor, Francis the First king of France, Henry the Eighth of England, and Charles, the sovereign of the low countries; of which I am a native. They were to enter, in the most solemn manner, into mutual and indissoluble engagements to preserve Peace with each other, and consequently, Peace throughout Europe. This momentous business was very much promoted by a man of most excellent character, William A. Ciervia; and by one, who seemed to have been born to advance the happiness of his country, and of human nature, John Sylvagus, Chancellor of Burgundy. But certain persons, who get nothing by Peace, and a great deal by War, threw obstacles in the way, which prevented this truly kingly purpose from being carried into execution.

If Peace is glorified by the united praise of God and man, as the fountain, the parent, the nurse, the patroness, the guardian of every blessing which either heaven or earth can bestow; if, without her nothing is flourishing, nothing safe, nothing pure or holy, nothing pleasant to mortals, or grateful to the Supreme Being: if, on the contrary, War is one vast ocean, rushing on mankind, of all the united plagues and pestilences in nature; if, at its deadly approach, every blossom of happiness is instantly blasted, every thing that was improving gradually degenerates and dwindles away to nothing, every thing that was firmly supported totters on its foundation, every thing that was formed for long duration comes to a speedy end, and every thing that was sweet, by Nature, is turned into bitterness; if war is so unhallowed, that it becomes the deadliest bane of piety and religion; if there is nothing more calamitous to mortals, and more detestable to heaven, I ask, how in the name of God, can I believe those beings to be rational creatures; how can I believe

them to be otherwise than stark mad : who, with such a waste of treasure, with so ardent a zeal, with so great an effort, with so many arts, so much anxiety, and so much danger, endeavor to drive Peace away from them, and purchase endless misery and mischief at a price so high ?

Animals destitute of reason, live with their own kind in a state of social amity. Elephants herd together ; sheep and swine feed in flocks ; cranes and crows take their flight in troops ; storks have their public meetings to consult previously to their emigration, and feed their their parents when unable to feed themselves ; dolphins defend each other by mutual assistance ; and every body knows, that both ants and bees have respectively established, by general agreement, a little friendly community.

The most savage of the savage tribe, in the forest, live among each other in amity. Lions shew no fierceness to the lion race. The boar does not brandish his deadly tooth against his brother boar. The lynx lives in peace with the lynx. The serpent shews no venom in his intercourse with his fellow serpent ; and the loving kindness of wolf to wolf is proverbial.

But I will add a circumstance still more marvellous. The accursed Spirits, by whom the concord between heavenly and human beings was originally interrupted, and to this day continues interrupted, hold union with one another, and preserve their usurped power, such as it is, by humanity !

Even the common people, in the ordinary language of daily conversation, denominate whatever is connected with mutual good will, humane ; so that the word humanity no longer describes a man's nature, merely in a physical sense ; but signifies humane manners, or a behavior, worthy the nature of man, acting his proper part in civil society.

Thus, it appears in what various ways, Nature has taught man her first great lesson of love and union. Nor was she content to allure to benevolence, by the pleasurable sensations attending it ; nor did she think she had done enough, when she rendered friendship pleasant ; and, therefore, she determined to make it necessary



For this purpose, she so distributed among various men, different endowments of the mind and the body.

If you detest robbery and pillage, remember these are among the duties of war; and that, to learn how to commit them adroitly, is a part of military discipline. Do you shudder at the idea of murder? You cannot require to be told that, to commit it with despatch and by wholesale, constitutes the celebrated art of war. If murder were not learned by this art, how could a man, who would shudder to kill one individual even when provoked go, in cold blood, and cut the throats of many for a little paltry pay, and under no better authority than a commission from a mortal as weak, wicked, and wretched as himself, who does not, perhaps, know even his person, and would not care if both his body and soul were annihilated? If there cannot be a greater misfortune to the commonwealth, than a general neglect and disobedience of the laws, let it be considered as a certain truth, that the voice of law, divine or human, is never heard amid the clangor of arms, and the din of battle. If you deem debauchery, rapes, incest, and crimes of still greater turpitude than these, foul disgraces to human nature, depend upon it that war leads to all of them, in their most aggravated atrocity. If impiety or a total neglect of religion is the source of all villany, be assured that religion is always overwhelmed in the storms of war. If you think that to be the very worst possible condition of society, when the worst of men possess the greatest share of power, you may take it as an infallible observation, that the wickedest, most unprincipled and most unfeeling wretches, bear the greatest sway in a state of war; and that such as would come to the gallows in time of peace, are men of prime use and energy in the operations of a siege or a battle. For who can lead troops through secret ways more skilfully than an experienced robber, who has spent an apprenticeship to the art among thieves? Who will pull down a house or rob a church more dexterously, than one who has been trained to burglary and sacrilege? Who will plunge his bayonet into the enemy's heart, or rip up his bowels with more facility of execution, than a practised assassin or thorough-paced cut-

throat by profession? Who is better qualified to set fire to a village, or a city, or a ship, than a notorious incendiary? Who will brave the hardships and perils of the sea, better than a pirate long used to rob, sink, and destroy merchant vessels, inoffensively traversing the great waters? In short, if you would form an adequate idea of the villany of war, only observe by whom it is carried into actual execution.

Among all the Roman emperors, Antoninus Pius and Antoninus the philosopher were the only ones that were never attacked. From these two instances it appears, that no kings sit more firmly on their thrones, than they who show that they are ready at any time to quit them, when their resignation appears likely to benefit the public; and that their power is a trust resumable at will, reposed in them by the people for the good of the people, and not to gratify their own pride or avarice, by lavishing away other men's blood and money.

Now then view, with the eyes of your imagination, savage troops of men, horrible in their very visages and voices; men clad in steel, drawn up on every side in battle array, armed with weapons, frightful in their crash, and their very glitter; mark the horrid murmur of the confused multitude, their threatening eye-balls, the harsh jarring din of drums and clarions, the terrific sound of the trumpet, the thunder of the cannon, a noise not less formidable than the real thunder of heaven, and more hurtful; a mad shout like that of the shrieks of bedlamites, a furious onset, a cruel butchering of each other! See the slaughtered and the slaughtering! Heaps of dead bodies, fields flowing with blood, rivers reddened with human gore! It sometimes happens, that a brother falls by the hand of a brother, a kinsman upon his nearest kindred, a friend upon his friend, who, while both are actuated by this fit of insanity, plunges the sword into the heart of one by whom he was never offended, not even by a word of his mouth! So deep is the tragedy, that the bosom shudders even at the feeble description of it, and the hand of humanity drops the pencil while it paints the scene.

In the mean time I pass over, as comparatively trifling,

the corn-fields trodden down, peaceful cottages and rural mansions burnt to the ground, villages and towns reduced to ashes, the cattle driven from their pasture, innocent women violated, old men dragged into captivity, churches defaced and demolished, every thing laid waste, a prey to robbery, plunder and violence !

Not to mention the consequences which ensue to the people after a war, even the most fortunate in its event, and the justest in its principle : the poor, the unoffending common people, robbed of their little hard-earned property ; the great laden with taxes ; old people bereaved of their children ; more cruelly killed by the murder of their offspring than by the sword ; happier if the enemy had deprived them of the sense of their misfortune, and life itself, at the same moment ; women far advanced in age, left destitute, and more cruelly put to death, than if they had died at once by the point of the bayonet ; widowed mothers, orphan children, houses of mourning : and families, that once knew better days, reduced to extreme penury.

Hence is derived a contempt of piety, a neglect of law, a general corruption of principle, which hesitates at no villany. From this source rushes on society a torrent of thieves, robbers, sacrilegists, murderers, and what is the greatest misfortune of all, this destructive pestilence confines not itself within its own boundaries ; but originating in one corner of the world, spreads its contagious virulence, not only over the neighboring states, but draws the most remote regions, either by subsidies, by marriages among princes, or by political alliances, into the common tumult, the general whirlpool of mischief and confusion. One war sows the seeds of another. From a pretended war, arises a real one ; from an inconsiderable skirmish, hostilities of most important consequence.

War appears to deserve a worse epithet than brutal ; it is more than brutal, when men engage in the conflict of arms ; ministers of death to men ! Most of the brutes live in concord with their own kind, move together in flocks, and defend each other by mutual assistance. Indeed, all kinds of brutes are not inclined to fight even their enemies. There are harmless ones like the hare.

It is only the fiercest, such as lions, wolves, and tigers, that fight at all. A dog will not devour his own species, lions, with all their fierceness, are quiet among themselves; dragons are said to live in peace with dragons, and even venomous creatures with one another; but to man, no wild beast is more destructive than his fellow man.

Again, when the brutes fight, they fight with the weapons which Nature gave them; we arm ourselves for mutual slaughter, with weapons which nature never thought of, but which were invented by the contrivance of some accursed fiend, the enemy of human Nature that man might become the destroyer of man. Neither do the beasts break out in hostile rage for trifling causes; but either when hunger drives them to madness, or when they find themselves attacked, or when they are alarmed for the safety of their young. We, good heaven, on frivolous pretences, what tragedies do we act on the theatre of war! Under color of some obsolete and disputable claim to territory; in a childish passion for a mistress; for causes more ridiculous than these, we kindle the flames of war. Among the beasts the combat is, for the most part, only one against one, and for a very short space. And though the contest should be bloody, yet when one of them has received a wound, it is all over. Whoever heard, what is common among men in one campaign, that a hundred thousand beasts had fallen in battle by mutual butchery? Besides, as beasts have a natural hatred to some of a different kind, so are they united to others of a different kind, in a sincere and inviolable alliance. But man with man, and any man with any man, can find an everlasting cause for contest, and become what they call natural enemies; nor is any agreement or truce found sufficiently obligatory to bind man from attempting, on the appearance of the slightest pretexts, to commence hostilities after the most solemn convention.

Custom has such universal sway, that in some nations it has been deemed a virtuous act to knock a parent on the head, and to deprive him of life, from whom we received the precious gift; in others it has been held a duty of religion to eat the flesh even of near and dear departed friends who had been connected by affinity; it has been

thought a laudable act to prostitute virgins to the people in the temple of Venus; and custom has familiarized many other practices still more absurd.

From the slaughter of wild beasts, men proceed to eat them, to tear the flesh with their teeth, to drink their blood, and, as Ovid expresses it, to entomb dead animals in their own bowels. Custom and convenience soon reconciled the practice (animal slaughter and animal food) to the mildest disposition. The choicest dainties were made of animal food by the ingenuity of the culinary art; and men, tempted by their palate, advanced a step farther: from noxious animals, which alone they had at first slaughtered for food, they proceeded to the tame, the harmless, and the useful. The poor sheep fell a victim to this ferocious appetite, a guiltless, guileless animal. The hare was doomed also to die, because his flesh was a dainty viand: nor did they spare the gentle ox, who had long sustained the ungrateful family by his labors at the plough. No bird of the air, or fish of the waters, was suffered to escape; and the tyranny of the palate went such lengths, that no living creature on the face of the globe was safe from the cruelty of men. Custom so far prevailed, that no slaughter was thought cruel, while it was confined to any kind of animals, and so long as it abstained from shedding the blood of man.

Thus, after the human mind had been once initiated in shedding blood, anger soon suggested, that one man might attack another with the fist, a club, a stone, and destroy the life of enemy as easily as of a wild beast. To such obvious arms of offence, they had hitherto confined themselves; but they had learned from the habit of depriving cattle of life, that the life of man could be also taken away by the same means without difficulty. The cruel experiment was long restricted to single combat: one fell, and the battle was at an end: sometimes it happened that both fell: both, perhaps, proving themselves by this act unworthy of life.

Then arose despotic government, of which there was none in any country, that was not procured by the copious effusion of human blood. Then followed continual successions of wars, while one tyrant drove another from

his throne, and claimed it for himself by right of conquest. Afterwards, when empire devolved to the most profligate of the human race, war was wantonly waged against any people, in any cause, to gratify the basest of passions; nor were those who deserved ill of the lordly despot chiefly exposed to the danger of his invasions, but those who were rich or prosperous, and capable of affording ample plunder. The object of a battle was no longer empty glory, but sordid lucre, or something still more execrably flagitious. And I have no doubt, but that the sagacious mind of Pythagoras foresaw all these evils, when, by his philosophical fiction of transmigration, he endeavored to deter the rude multitude from shedding the blood of animals; he saw it likely to happen, that a creature who, when provoked by no injury, should accustom himself to spill the blood of a harmless sheep, would not hesitate, when inflamed by anger, and stimulated by real injury, to kill a man.

Indeed, what is war but murder and theft, committed by great numbers on great numbers? The greatness of numbers not only not extenuating its malignity, but rendering it the more wicked, in proportion as it is thus more extended, in its effects and its influence.

But all this is laughed at as the dream of men unacquainted with the world, by the stupid, ignorant, unfeeling grandees of our time, who, though they possess nothing of man but the form, yet seem to themselves little less than earthly divinities.

Nation rises against nation; and what the Heathens would have reprobated as unnatural, relatives against their nearest kindred, brother against brother, son against father! More atrocious still; a christian against a man! And worst of all, a christian against a christian! And such is the blindness of human nature, that nobody feels astonishment at all this, nobody expresses detestation. There are thousands and tens of thousands ready to applaud it all, to extol it to the skies, to call transactions truly hellish, a holy war. There are many who spirit up princes to war, mad enough as they usually are of themselves; yet are there many who are always adding fuel to their fire. One man mounts the pulpit, and promises

remission of sins to all who will fight under the banner of his prince.

Amidst all the good this world affords, what is more delightful to the heart of man, what more beneficial to society, than love and amity? Nothing, surely. Yet what is peace, but love and amity subsisting between great numbers? And on the other hand, what is war, but hatred and enmity subsisting between great numbers? But it is the nature of all good, that the more it is extended, the greater the good becomes, the more benign its influence; therefore, if the amicable union of individuals is so sweet and so salutary, how much will the sum total of happiness be augmented, if kingdom with kingdom, and nation with nation, coalesce in this amicable union? On the other hand, it is the nature of all evil, that its malignity increases the more it is extended; and, therefore, if it is wretched, if it is wicked for one man to meet another with a sword pointed at his vitals, how much more wretched and more wicked, that thousands and tens of thousands should meet in the same manner? By union, little things are augmented to a respectable magnitude; by disunion, the greatest fall to insignificance and dissolution. Peace is, indeed, at once the mother and the nurse of all that is good for man. War on a sudden, and at one stroke, overwhelms, extinguishes, abolishes, whatever is cheerful, whatever is happy and beautiful, and pours a foul torrent of disasters on the life of mortals. Peace shines upon human affairs like the vernal sun. The fields are cultivated, the gardens bloom, the cattle feed upon a thousand hills, new buildings arise, ancient edifices are repaired, riches flow, pleasures smile, laws retain their vigor, the discipline of the police prevails, religion glows with ardor, justice bears sway, humanity and charity increase, arts and manufactures feel the genial warmth of encouragement, the gains of the poor are more plentiful, the opulence of the rich displays itself with additional splendor, liberal studies flourish, the young are well educated, the old enjoy their ease, marriages are happy, good men thrive, and the bad are kept under control. But no sooner does the storm of war begin to lower, than what a deluge of miseries and misfortunes seizes,

inundates, and overwhelms all things within the sphere of its action! The flocks are scattered, the harvest trampled, the husbandman butchered, villas and villages burnt, cities and states, that have been ages rising to their flourishing state, subverted by the fury of one tempest, the storm of war. So much easier is the task of doing harm than of doing good, of destroying than of building up! The earnings of honest industry, the wealth of quiet citizens are transferred to the pockets of execrable robbers and murderers. Private houses exhibit the dismal effects of fear, sorrow, and complaint; and all places resound with the voice of lamentation. The loom stands still; the trowel, the axe, and the hammer are silent; and the poor manufacturer must either starve, or have recourse to wicked practices for daily bread. The rich either deplore the diminution and loss of their property, or lie under terrible apprehension for what remains; in both circumstances rendered by war incapable of enjoying the common comforts of life. Marriages are few, or attended with distressful and fatal consequences. Matrons deserted by their husbands, now forced to the wars, pine at home in childless solitude. The laws are compelled to silence, charity is laughed at, justice has no dwelling-place, and religion becomes an object of scorn, till no distinction is left between the sacred and the profane. Youth is corrupted by every species of vice; old men lament their longevity; and their grey hairs descend with sorrow to the grave. No honor is paid to learning, sciences, arts, the elegant pursuits of liberal and honorable minds. In a word, more misery is felt from war than the eloquence of any man, much more than mine, is able to describe; yet it might be borne patiently, if war made us miserable only, and did not corrupt our morals, and involve us in guilt; if peace made us only happier, and not better. But the man who engages in war by choice, when he could have avoided it, that man, whoever he is, is a wicked man; he sins against Nature, against God, against man, and is guilty of the most aggravated and complicated impiety.

Who can enumerate the inconveniences and hardships which they who foolishly go to war, endure in a camp?



Deserving greater, because they voluntarily undergo all that they suffer. Food such as hogs would loath; beds which even the bugs would disdain; little sleep, and that little at the will of another; a tent exposed to every bitter blast that blows, and often not even a tent to shelter their cold limbs from the wind and the weather! They must continue all night, as well as day, in the open air; they must lie on the ground; they must stand in their arms; they must bear hunger, cold, heat, dust, rain; they must be in a state of abject slavery to their leaders, even beaten with canes! There is, indeed, no kind of slavery on earth more unworthy man, than the slavery of these poor wretches in unnecessary wars! After all these hardships, comes the dreadful signal for engagement! To death they must go! They must either slay without mercy, or fall without pity!

#### JOHN MILTON.

Cities of men, with lofty gates and tow'rs,  
 Concourse in arms, fierce faces threat'ning war;  
 With cruel tournament the squadrons join;  
 Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies  
 With carcasses and arms th' ensanguin'd field  
 Deserted: others to a city strong  
 Lay siege, encamp'd; by battery, scale, and mine,  
 Assaulting; others from the wall defend  
 With dart and javelin, stones and sulph'rous fire;  
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.  
 Of middle age, one rising, eminent  
 In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,  
 Of justice, of religion, truth and peace,  
 And judgment from above: him old and young  
 Exploded, and had seized with violent hands.  
 To overcome in battle, and subdue  
 Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite  
 Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch  
 Of human glory, and for glory done  
 Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors,  
 Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods;  
 Destroyers rightlier call'd and plagues of men.  
 Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth,  
 And what most merits fame, in silence hid.

## JOHN MILTON

## ON DIVORCE.

All sense and equity reclaim, that any law or covenant, how solemn or straight soever, either between God and man, or man and man, though of God's joining, should bind against a prime and principal scope of its own institution, and of both or either party covenanting.

He who marries, intends as little to conspire his own ruin, as he that swears allegiance; and as a whole people is in proportion to an ill government, so is one man to an ill marriage. If they, against any authority, covenant, or statute, may, by the sovereign edict of charity, save not only their lives, but honest liberties from unworthy bondage, as well may he against any private covenant, which he never entered to his mischief, redeem himself from unsupportable disturbances to honest peace, and just contentment.

Indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent.

No wise man but would sooner pardon the act of adultery once and again committed by a person worth pity and forgiveness, than to lead a wearisome life of unloving and unquiet conversation with one who neither affects nor is affected, much less with one who exercises all bitterness, and would commit adultery too, but for envy lest the persecuted should thereby get the benefit of his freedom.

Marriage is a covenant, the very being whereof consists not in a forced cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace. And of matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient sages was thus parabled: that Love, if he be not twin-born yet hath a brother wondrous like him, called Anteros, (Anti-Love.)

But if they find them neither fit helps nor tolerable society, what thing more natural, more original, and first in nature, than to depart from that which is irksome, griev-

ous, actively hateful, and injurious even to hostility, especially in a conjugal respect, wherein antipathies are invincible, and where the forced abiding of the one can be no true good, no real comfort to the other? For if he find no contentment from the other, how can he return it from himself? or no acceptance, how can he mutually accept? What more equal, more pious, than to untie a civil knot for a natural enmity held by violence from parting, to dissolve an accidental conjunction of this or that man and woman, for the most natural and most necessary disagreement of meet from unmeet, guilty from guiltless, contrary from contrary? It being certain, that the mystical and blessed unity of marriage can be no way more unhallowed and profaned, than by the forcible uniting of such disunions and separations. Which if we see oftimes they cannot join or piece up a common friendship, or to a willing conversation in the same house, how should they possibly agree to the most familiar and united amity of wedlock?

It is unjust that any ordinance, ordained to the good and comfort of man, where that end is missing, without his fault, should be forced upon him to an unsufferable misery and discomfort; if not commonly ruin. All ordinances are established in their end; the end of law is the virtue, is the righteousness of law: and, therefore, him we count an ill-expounder, who urges law against the intention thereof. The general end of every ordinance, of every severest, every divinist, is the good of man; yea, temporal good not excluded. But marriage is one of the benignest ordinances of God to man, whereof both the general and particular end is the peace and contentment of man's mind, as the institution declares. Contentment of body they grant, which if it be defrauded, the plea of frigidity shall divorce: but here lies the fathomless absurdity, that granting this for bodily defects, they will not grant it for any defect of the mind, any violation of religious or civil society.

As no ordinance, so no covenant, no not between God and man, much less between man and man, being, as all are, intended to the good of both parties, can hold to the deluding or making miserable of them both. For equity

is understood in every covenant, even between enemies, though the terms be not expressed. If equity therefore made it, extremity may dissolve it.

But in marriage, a league of love and willingness, if faith be not willingly kept, it scarce is worth the keeping; nor can be any delight to a generous mind with whom it is forcibly kept: and the question still supposes the one brought to an impossibility of keeping it as he ought by the other's default; and to keep it formally, not only with a thousand shifts and dissimulations, but with open anguish, perpetual sadness and disturbance, no willingness, no cheerfulness, no contentment, cannot be any good to a mind basely poor and shallow, with whom the contract of love is so kept. A covenant, therefore, brought to that pass, is on the unfaulty side without injury dissolved.

I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not securely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in marriage, being thereby disabled to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance, and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is not less grieved; that man ought even for love's sake and peace to move divorce upon good and liberal conditions to the divorced.

But marriage, they use to say, is the covenant of God. Undoubted: and so is any covenant frequently called in Scripture, wherein God is called to witness. So that this denomination adds nothing to the covenant of marriage, above any other civil and solemn contract: nor is it more indissoluble for this reason than any other against the end of its own ordination; nor is any vow or oath to God exacted with such a rigour, where superstition reigns not. For look how much divine the covenant is, so much the more equal, so much the more to be expected that every article thereof should be fairly made good; no false dealing or unperforming should be thrust upon men without redress, if the cove<sup>nant</sup> be divine.

## JOHN LOCKE'S

## HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

Since the precepts of Natural religion are plain, and very intelligible to all mankind, and seldom come to be converted ; and other revealed truths, which are conveyed to us by books and languages, are liable to the common and natural obscurities and difficulties incident to words ; methinks it would become us to be more careful and diligent in observing the former, and less magisterial, positive, and imperious, in opposing our own sense and interpretation of the latter.

How many men have no other ground for their tenets than the supposed honesty, or learning, or number of those of the same profession ? As if honest or bookish men could not err, or truth were to be established by the vote of the multitude ; yet this with most men serves the turn. The tenet has had the attestation of reverend antiquity, it comes to me with the passport of former ages, and therefore I am secure in the reception I give it : other men have been, and are of the same opinion (for that is all is said) and therefore it is reasonable for me to embrace it. A man may more justifiably throw up cross and pile for his opinions, than take them up by such measures.

There are not so many men in errors and wrong opinions, as is commonly supposed. Not that I think they embrace the truth ; but indeed, because concerning those doctrines they keep such a stir about, they have no thought, no opinion at all. For if any one should a little catechise the greatest part of the partizans of most of the sects in the world, he would not find, concerning those matters they are so zealous for, that they have any opinions of their own ; much less would he have reason to think, that they took them upon the examination of arguments, and appearance of probability. They are resolved to stick to a party, that education or interest has engaged them in ; and there, like the common soldiers of an army, show their courage and warmth as their leaders direct without ever examining or so much as knowing the cause they contend for. If a man's life shows that he has no serious regard for religion ; for what reason should we think that

he beats his head about the opinions of his church, and troubles himself to examine the grounds of this or that doctrine? It is enough for him to obey his leaders, to have his hand and his tongue ready for the support of the common cause, and thereby approve himself to those who can give him credit, preferment, or protection, in that society. Thus men become professors of, and combatants for, those opinions they were never convinced of, nor proselytes to; no, nor even had so much as floating in their heads: and though one cannot say there are fewer improbable or erroneous opinions in the world than there are; yet it is certain, there are fewer that actually assent to them, and mistake them for truths, than is imagined.

EDUCATION.—If the happiness of all mankind, as much as in each lies, were every one's persuasion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politics and morality by, the world would be much quieter and better natured than it is.

Some children, when they have possession of any poor creature, are apt to use it ill; they often torment and treat very roughly, young birds, butterflies, and such other poor animals as fall into their hands, and that with a seeming kind of pleasure. This should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such cruelty, they should be taught the contrary usage, for the custom of tormenting and killing of beasts will by degrees harden their minds even towards men, and they who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very complacent or benign to those of their own kind. Our [English laws] practice takes notice of this, in the exclusion of butchers from juries of life and death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing [needlessly,] and of tormenting any living creature, and be taught not to spoil or destroy any thing, unless it be for the preservation or advantage of some other that is nobler. I cannot but commend both the kindness and the prudence of a mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her children, when any of them desired dogs, squirrels, birds, or any such things young children use to be delighted with: but then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and

look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill used, for if they were negligent in their care of the animals, it was accounted a great fault, which often forfeited their possession, or at least they failed not to be rebuked for it, whereby they were really taught diligence and good nature. Indeed, people should be accustomed from their cradles, to be tender to all sensible creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing. Mischief means the spoiling of any thing to no purpose, but more especially the pleasure of putting any thing to pain that is capable of it; the delight they take in doing this, I cannot persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and acquired disposition; a habit bred from custom and conversation. People teach children to strike and laugh when they hurt, or see harm come to others; and they have the examples of most about them to confirm them in it. The entertainment of talk and history, consists principally of fighting and killing, and the honor and renown that is bestowed on conquerors, (who for the most part are the great butchers of mankind,) further mislead growing youths, who by this means come to think slaughter the laudable business of mankind, and the most heroic of virtues. By these steps, unnatural cruelty is planted in us, and what humanity abhors, custom reconciles and recommends to us by laying it in the way to honor. Thus by fashion and opinion, that comes to be a pleasure which in itself, neither is nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched and early to be remedied, so as to instil and cherish the contrary and more natural temper of benignity and compassion in the room of it, but still by the same gentle method.

We ought not to encroach upon truth in any conversation, but least of all with children, since if we play false with them, we not only deceive their expectations and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and by example, teach them the worst of vices. They easily perceive when they are slighted or deceived, and quickly learn the trick of neglect, dissimulation and falsehood, which they observe made use of by others.

## WILLIAM WOLLASTON'S

## RELIGION OF NATURE.

When a man cares not what sufferings he causes to others, and especially if he delights in other men's sufferings and makes them his sport, this is cruelty. And not to be affected with the sufferings of other people, though they proceed not from us, but from others, or from causes in which we are not concerned, is unmercifulness. Mercy and humanity are the reverse of these.

He, who religiously regards truth and Nature, will not only be not unjust, but (more) not unmerciful, and much less cruel. Not to be affected with the afflictions of others, so far as we know them, and in proportion to the several degrees of them, though we are not the causes of them, is the same as to consider the afflicted as persons not in affliction; that is, as being not what they are, or (which is the same) as being what they are not.

One can scarcely know the sufferings of another without having at least some image of them in his mind: nor can one have these images without being conscious of them, and as it were feeling them. Next to suffering itself is to carry the representation of it about with one. So that he, who is not affected with the calamities of others, so far as they fall within his knowledge, may be said to know and not to know; or at least to cancel his knowledge, and contradict his own conscience.

There is something in human nature resulting from our very make and constitution, while it retains its genuine form, and is not altered by vicious habits; not perverted by transports of revenge or fury, by ambition, company, or false philosophy; nor oppressed by stupidity and neglecting to observe what happens to others; I say, there is something which renders us obnoxious to the pains of others, causes us to sympathize with them, and almost comprehends us in their case. It is grievous to see or hear (and almost to hear of) any man, or even any animal whatever in torment. This compassion appears eminently in them, who upon other accounts are justly reckoned among the best of men: in some degree it appears in almost all; nay, even sometimes, when they more coolly



attend to things, in those hardened and execrable monsters of cruelty themselves, who seem just to retain only the least possible tincture of humanity. The Pheræan tyrant, [Alexander,] who had never wept over any of those murders he had caused among his own citizens, wept when he saw a tragedy but acted in the theatre: the reason was, his attention was caught here, and he more observed the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache, than ever he had those of the Pheræans; and more impartially, being no otherwise concerned in them but as a common spectator. Upon this occasion the principle of compassion, implanted in human nature, appeared, overcame his habits of cruelty, broke through his petrification, and would show that it could not be totally eradicated. It is therefore according to Nature to be affected with the sufferings of other people: and the contrary is inhuman and unnatural.

Such are the circumstances of mankind, that we cannot (or but very few of us, God knows) make our way through this world without encountering dangers and suffering many evils: and therefore since it is for the good of such as are so exposed, or actually smarting under pain or troubles, to receive comfort and assistance from others, without which they must commonly continue to be miserable, or perish, it is for the common good and welfare of the majority at least of mankind, that they should compassionate and help each other. To do the contrary must therefore be contrary to Nature, and wrong. And besides, it is by one's behavior and actions to affirm, that the circumstances of men in this world are not what they are; or that peace, and health, and happiness, and the like, are not what they are.

Let a man substitute himself into the room of some poor creatures dejected with invincible poverty, distracted with difficulties, or groaning under the pangs of some disease, or the anguish of some hurt or wound, and without help abandoned to want and pain. In this distress what reflections can he imagine he should have, if he found that every body neglected him, no body so much as pitying him, or vouchsafing to take notice of his calamitous and sad condition? It is certain, that what it would

be reasonable or unreasonable for others to do in respect of him, he must allow to be reasonable or unreasonable for him to do in respect of them, or deny a manifest truth.

If unmercifulness, as before defined, be wrong, no time need to be spent in proving that cruelty is so. For all that is culpable in unmercifulness is contained in cruelty, with additions and aggravations. Cruelty not only denies due regard to the sufferings of others, but causes them; or perhaps delights in them, and (which is the most insolent and cruel of all cruelties) makes them a jest and subject of raillery. If the one be a defect of humanity, the other is diametrically opposite to it. If the one does no good, the other does much evil. And no man, how cruel soever in reality he was, has ever liked to be reckoned a cruel man: such a confession of guilt does Nature extort; so universally doth it reject, condemn and abhor this character.

Hence may be deduced the heinousness of all such crimes, as murder, or even hurting the person of another any how, when our own necessary defence does not require it (it being not possible, that any thing should be more his, than his own person, life and limbs;) robbing, stealing, cheating, betraying, defamation, detraction, adultery, &c. with all the approaches and tendencies to them. For these are not only comprised within the definition of injustice, and are therefore violations of it; but commonly, and most of them always, come also within the description of cruelty.

Bodily inclinations and passions when they observe their due *subordination* to reason are of admirable use in life, and tend *many times* to noble ends. So far are they, if *rightly* managed, from being mere infirmities. And certainly the *philosopher* who pretends to absolute *apathy*, maims Nature and sets up for a half man or *I know not what*. When the stoics say that a wise man may relieve one who wants his help without pitying him; I own indeed he may, but I very much doubt whether he would. If he had not some compassion, and in some measure felt the ails or wants of the other, I scarce know how he should come to take him for an object of his charity.

Man must labor to improve his rational faculties by such means as are (fairly) practicable by him, and consistent with his circumstances. If it be a disadvantage to be obnoxious to *error* and act in the dark, it is an advantage to know such *truths* as may prevent this; if so, it is a greater advantage to know or to capable of knowing *more* such truths, and then again not to endeavor to improve those faculties by which these truths are apprehended, is to shut them out as being not what they are. No rational animal can act according to truth, the true nature of himself, and the idea of a crime, if he doth not endeavor not to commit it, and when it is committed to repair it if he can, or at least show himself to be penitent.

#### FRANCIS S. M. FENELON.

Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, joined the Knight Templars, in 1699; after him (1703) came Massillon, the prince, afterwards Frederic II, Dupuis, author of "the origin of all worship," M. Isambert, &c. It may not be useless here to quote the profession of faith relative to God, by the Templars.

"God is all that exists, each part of that which is, is a part of God, but it is not God. Unchangeable in his essence, God is changeable in his parts, which, after having existed under the laws of certain combinations, more or less complicated, revive under the laws of new combinations. All is uncreated."

A rigorous consequence of this definition is, that the order of Nature is immutable, consequently all the doctrines which we would support by a change of her laws, are founded only on error.—*Gregoire's Hist. of Rel. Sects, The Templars, Vol. 2, p. 401, 9.*

Fenelon, then, in joining the order of the Templars, acknowledged that the doctrine which as a Catholic priest, he preached, and in the name of which as a zealous catholic, he persecuted; a doctrine, to whose support he adduced miracles, was false. It is remarkable that in his "Treatise on the existence and attributes of God," Fenelon has defined "the Being," par excellence, in terms savoring of Pantheism.

“God is truly in himself, all that is real and positive in the mind, all that is real and positive in the body, all that is real and positive in the essences of all other possible creatures, of which I have not a distinct idea. He has all the existence of the body, without being limited to the body, all the existence of the spirit without being limited to the spirit, and the same of all other possible essences. He is all being, in such a way, that he has all the being of each creature; but in removing the boundary which restrains them. Remove all boundary, remove all difference which confines being in the species, and there remains the universality of being, and consequently the infinite perfection of being by itself. Hence it follows, that the infinite being, cannot be limited by any species. God is no more spirit than body, nor body than spirit; to speak properly, he is neither the one nor the other; for to say there are two sorts of substance, is to express a precise difference of being, and consequently a limit, which can never suit a universal being.”—*Treatise on the Being of God, Vol. I. Sect. 66.*

This passage which the preceding editors have thought it a duty to modify by discreet variations, the Sulpicians boast of having reëstablished, “from a copy revised and corrected in many places by Fenelon himself.”—*De Potter's History of Christianity. Vol. VIII. Page 309.*

## JOHN WILKINS'

## ESSAY ON A REAL CHARACTER AND PHILOSOPHICAL LANGUAGE.

Of the various desiderata, or things wanting for the advancement of learning, the Universal Character is one of the principal; and as one of the most useful, so is it one of the most feasible if properly prosecuted. But most attempters have erred, in framing such a character from a dictionary of words, according to some particular language, without reference to the Nature of things and the common notion of them by mankind.

In Numeration it would be more convenient to determine the first period or stand at the number *eight*, and not at ten, because bipartition is the most natural and easy kind of division, and eight is capable of this down to an unit, (also a unit in its fractions,) and according to this (octaval scale) should be the denominations of all kinds of measures, whether of capacity, gravity, value, or duration. So eight grains should make a scruple, eight scruples a dram, eight drams an ounce, eight ounces a pound, &c. Measures of magnitude or capacity, comprehend length, superficies, and solidity. The several nations of the world do not differ more in their languages, than in the various kinds and proportions of their measures. And it is not without great difficulty, that the measures observed by all those different nations who traffic together, are reduced to that which is commonly known or received by any one of them; which labor would be much abbreviated, if they were all of them fixed to any one certain standard. For which purpose it were most desirable to find out some natural standard or universal measure.

Men spoke before they wrote, and writing is the figure of speech, and subsequent to it, but in the order of Nature there is no priority; voice or sounds may as well be assigned to figure as figure to sounds.

All characters signify either naturally or by institution. Natural characters are either the pictures of things or their symbols, of which the application, though practicable to generals, yet to species would be difficult. It were desirable that the names of things might resemble their

natures, that their sense might be understood by the first hearing or sight of them. But as this cannot be done, the characters must be by institution. They require four properties. 1st. They should be of the most simple and easy form, to be described by one or at most by two strokes of the pen. 2d. They should be sufficiently distinguishable from one another to prevent mistake. 3d. Of a comely and graceful shape. 4th. They should be methodical; those of a similar nature having some resemblance with each other.

It doth not appear that any alphabet was invented at once, or by the rules of art, but rather taken up by imitation, and past by degrees through several changes, and hence they are less complete and liable to several exceptions. If men should agree upon the same mode of expression as they do upon the same notion, they would be freed from the curse of the confusion of tongues, and its unhappy consequences. An attempt is here made at a system whose facility and usefulness may invite and engage men in its adoption.

The vowels have priority in Nature, Necessity, and Dignity. If the order of these were to be regulated from the instruments of speech, then *u*, *o*, *oo*, should be first, as being Labial, and *a*, *e*, *i*, next, as Lingual, or Lingualpalatal, and *y* last, as being Guttural. Scaliger would have *A* and *O* to be acknowledged for the first vowels, as being most open. The next *E*, *I*, as being of a middle sound, and the last *U*, as being most obscure. That which to me seems the most proper method, is to reckon them up according to their degrees of apertion: only in conformity with the common alphabets, I begin with the Linguals, *a*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *oo*, *u*, *y*.

Of the consonants, the sonorous should precede, as approaching nearest to the nature of vowels. And among them, if those that are breathed through the nose precede, *M*, must be the first, as being Labial; *N* next, as being dental; and then *NG*, as being Lingualpalatal. Next, those that are breathed through the mouth, according to this order, *V*, *Dh*, *Gh*, *L*, *R*, *Z*, *Zh*. The first being Labial, the next Dental, the others Lingua-dental, or Lingua-palatal. Next should follow the spiritous conso-

nants that are mutes; and first those pronounced through the nose, HM, HN, HNG, then those pronounced through the mouth; F, TH, CH, hl, hr, S, Sh. Then the semi-spiritous consonants, B, D, G. And lastly, the non-spiritous, or breathless consonants, P, T, C.

The affinity of vowels each to other is not difficult to determine, *u* and *a* of a middle sound, *e* and *i* that of a more acute, *o* and *oo* of a more grave tone.

The affinity among the consonants most obvious is this, (M, HM) (N, HN,) (NG, HNG,) (V, F,) (Dh, Th,) (Gh, Ch,) (L, HL,) (R, HR,) (Z, S,) (Zh, Sh,) (B,P) (D,T) (G,C.)

The requisites of (vocal) language are similar to those of characters;

1. The words of it should be brief, not exceeding two or three syllables; the particles consisting but of one syllable.

2. They should be plain and facile to be taught and learnt.

3. They should be sufficiently distinguishable from one another, to prevent mistake and equivocation; and withal significant and copious, answerable to the conceits of our mind.

4. They should be euphonical, of a pleasant and graceful sound.

5. They should be methodical; those of an agreeable or opposite sense, having somewhat correspondent in the sounds of them. In the assigning of letters and sounds to characters, begin first with integrals, according to their several varieties, and then proceed to the particles.

The integrals may be considered, either as they are radicals, placed in the tables, either more direct, whether genus, difference, or species; or else laterally, either by way of affinity or opposition.

The first thing to be stated in such an institution, is to assign several letters and sounds for the forty genus's. It were not difficult to offer great variety of these; that which at present seems most convenient to me, is this:

Transcend.	{	General	Ba	Quantity	{	Magnitude	Pe
		Rel. mixed	Ba			Space	Pi
		Rel. of action	Be			Measure	Po
		Discourse	Bi			Power Nat.	Ta
		God	Da			Habit	Ta
		World	Da			Manners	Te
		Element	De			Quality sensible	Ti
		Stone	Di			Disease	To
		Metal	Do			Spiritual	Ca
		Herb consid. accord. to the	{			Leaf	Ga
Flower	Ga			Motion	Ce		
Seed vessel	Ge			Operation	Ci		
Shrub	Gi			Oecon.	Co		
Tree	Go			Possess.	Cy		
Animals	{	Exanguious	Za	Relation	{	Provis.	Sa
		Fish	Za			Civil	Sa
		Bird	Ze			Judicial	Se
		Beast	Zi			Military	Si
Parts	{	Peculiar	Pa			Naval	So
		General	Pa			Eccles.	SY

The differences under each of these genus's, may be expressed by these consonants { B, D, G, P, T, C, Z, S, N. in this order; } 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9.

The species may be expressed by putting one of the seven vowels after the consonant, for the difference; to which may be added (to make up the number) two of the diphthongs, according { a, a, e, i, o, s, y, yi, ys. to this order; } 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9.

For instance, if (De) signify *element*, then (Deb) must signify the first difference; which (according to the tables) is *fire*; and (Deba) will denote the first species, which is *flame*. (Det) will be the fifth difference under that genus, which is *Appearing Meteor*; (Deta) The first species, *viz. Rainbow*; (Deta) the second, *viz. Halo*.

Thus, if (Ti) signify the genus of *Sensible Quality*, then (Tid) must denote the second difference, which comprehends colors; and (Tida) must signify the second species under that difference, *viz. Redness*: (Tide) the third species, which is *Greenness*, &c.

Those radicals which are joined to others by way of *Affinity*, may be expressed; 1. In *Monosyllables*, by re-



peating the radical vowel before the consonant. For example, if (De) signifies *Element*, then (Ede) must signify that which is joined to it by way of affinity, *viz. Meteor*. If (Di) be *Stone*, then (Idi) will signify *Concretions*, &c.

2. In *Dissyllables*, by repeating the second radical consonant after the last vowel: Thus, if (Dade) be *Planet*, (Daded) will signify *Comet*. If (Dego) be *Ice*, (Degog) will signify *Snow*, &c.

*Adjectives* might be expressed by changing the first radical consonant, according to this establishment;

	{	B, D, G, P, T, C, Z, S, N.			
	{	V, Doo, Goo, F, Too, Coo, Zh, Sh, Ng.			
Thus, if	{	Da	{	God	
		De		{	<i>Element</i>
		Do		{	<i>Stone</i>
Then	{	Dooa	{	Divine.	
		Dooe		{	Elementary.
		Dooo		{	Stony.

*Adverbs* may be expressed by turning the first radical vowel into a diphthong.

Varro hath observed, that the inflexions of a Latin verb, through its several voices of active, passive, together with modes, tenses, &c. amount to about five hundred several cases of inflexion. Now there being four distinct ways of conjugating verbs, these variations may upon that account be reckoned to be two thousand, the learning of which (though all verbs were regular) would be no small labor and difficulty. But the vast multitude of anomalisms and exceptions in the inflexions of verbs, will more than double this difficulty and labor.

Of all other languages, the Greek is looked upon to be one of the most copious; the radices of which are esteemed to be about 3244. But then it doth exceedingly abound in composition, in which the Latin tongue being more sparing, must therefore upon that account have more radicals.

Now in the way here proposed, the words necessary for communication are not three thousand, and those so ordered by the help of Natural method, that they may be more easily learned and remembered than a thousand words otherwise disposed of; upon which account they

may be reckoned but as one thousand. And a man of an ordinary capacity may more easily learn to express himself this way in one month, than he can by the Latin in forty months; and I doubt not, that one of a good capacity and memory, may in one month's space attain to a good readiness of expressing his mind this way, either in the character or language.

## THOMAS HOBBS'

## LEVIATHAN.

Sense is the origin of all thoughts, for there is no conception in a man's mind, which hath not at first, totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense. The cause of sense is the external body or object which presseth the organ proper to each sense. All sensible qualities are, in the object that causeth them, but so many motions of the matter, by which it presseth our organs diversely. Neither in us that are pressed, are they any thing else but divers motions; for motion produceth nothing but motion.

Besides sense, thoughts, and the train of thoughts, the mind of man has no other motion; though by the help of speech and method, the same faculties may be improved to such a height as to distinguish men from all other living creatures. Man can have no thought representing a thing not subject to sense.

Fear of power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed, is religion; not allowed, superstition; and when the power imagined is truly such as we imagine, true religion.

When we believe that the scriptures are the word of God, having no immediate revelation from God himself, our belief, faith, and trust, is in the church; whose word we take and acquiesce therein. And they that believe that which a prophet relates unto them in the name of God, take the word of the prophet, do honor to him, and in him trust, and believe, touching the truth of what he relateth, whether he be a true or a false prophet. So that whatsoever we believe, upon no other reason than what is drawn from authority of men only, and their writings; whether they be sent from God or not, is faith in men only.

The opinion that spirits are incorporeal or immaterial, could never enter into the mind of any man by Nature; because, though men may put together words of contradictory signification, as "spirit" and "incorporeal;" yet they can never have the imagination of any thing answering to them; and therefore men that by their own med-

tation, arrive to the acknowledgment of one infinite, omnipotent, and eternal God, chose rather to confess that he is incomprehensible, and above their understanding, than to define his nature by "spirit incorporeal," and then confess their definition to be unintelligible.

Nature hath made men so equal in the faculties of the body and mind; as that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when all is reckoned together, the difference between man and man is not so considerable, that one man can claim to himself any benefit to which another may not pretend as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others that are in the same danger with himself.

And as to the faculties of the mind, setting aside the arts grounded upon words, called science; which very few have, and but in few things, as being not a native faculty, born with us, nor attained, as prudence; while we look after somewhat else, I find a greater equality among men than that of strength. For prudence is but experience; which equal time equally bestows on men in those things which they equally apply themselves unto. That which may perhaps make such equality incredible, is but a vain conceit of one's own wisdom, which almost all men think they have in a greater degree than the vulgar. There is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of any thing, than that every man is contented with his share.

The Right of Nature, *jus naturale*, is the liberty each man hath, to use his own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature.

Do not that to another which thou wouldst not have done to thyself; this showeth, that when weighing the actions of other men with his own, they seem too heavy, he should put them into the other part of the balance, and his own into their place; that his own passions and self love may add nothing to the weight. He that having sufficient security that others shall observe the same laws towards him, observes them not himself, seeketh not

peace, but war; and consequently the destruction of his nature by violence.

The Laws of Nature are immutable and eternal; for injustice, ingratitude, arrogance, pride, iniquity, exception of persons, and the rest, can never be made lawful. For it can never be, that war shall preserve life and peace destroy it.

The science of these is the true and only Moral Philosophy; the science of what is good and evil, in the conversation and society of mankind. Good and evil are names that signify our appetites and aversions, which in different tempers, customs, and doctrines of men are different. Peace is good, and therefore also the way or means of peace, as justice, gratitude, modesty, equity, mercy; and the other laws of Nature are good, that is to say, moral virtues; and their contrary vices, evil.

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## THOMAS CHUBB

### ON VIRTUE AND HAPPINESS.

Happiness is the desire of every *sensible creature*; and, therefore, it must be *cruel* causelessly to bar that from a creature, which is the natural desire of every living thing; and to *abound* in this is to be highly criminal, and worthy of a severe correction. And as all vicious persons have been envious at, or have indulged in themselves a disposition to cut off the happiness of others; so it is *just* and *reasonable* that they should be made to feel, in a sensible manner, what the want of happiness is.

As we are *nearer* and *dearer* to ourselves, than any other individual; and as we have an *equal title* to happiness with any other individual; so this in reason ought to determine our choice in favor of *ourselves*, when our own happiness and that of any other individual come in competition. Again, if the greater good be, in Nature and reason, preferable to the less, which surely must be allowed; then the consequences are unavoidable, that the public happiness is *preferable* to the happiness of any individual; and that a *more general happiness* is preferable to a less general.

As every individual pursues happiness for himself, so many lose what they seek for, by pursuing it *only* and *wholly* for themselves; and as the love and practice of virtue is the most likely way to happiness in *this life*, so it is the only sure way to the happiness of *another*.

Positive religious institutions leave men as they find them, in respect to their natural abilities, their natural tempers and constitutions, their appetites and passions, and whatever are the springs of action in them, and the natural consciousness of the good or evil of those actions, are the same, both with and without such positive religious institutions. And, consequently, the *probability* and the *presumption* arising from it lie on the other side of the question: that is, it may fairly be *presumed*, that men would generally be what they are, drunkards, or sober; honest or dishonest; virtuous, or vicious; both with and without such positive religious institutions. This, I think, is farther evident from experience; men, who are disposed to follow their vicious inclinations, do so, notwithstanding their being under such religious establishments. And, therefore, to *presume* that all others would be alike, or more vicious, were it not for the *establishment* of some religious positive institutions, is a *groundless supposition*, which has nothing in reason or experience to support it. Add to this, that positive religious institutions cannot possibly lay men under any reasonable restraint, which Natural religion does not lay them under.

Man's natural frame and composition, and his situation and condition in the world, show that he is designed and constituted for society, and to be happy in and with it; and he is hereby naturally and unavoidably led into it. His natural affections dispose him to society; his natural ability to convey his ideas to others by speech, the figure and parts of his body, and the endowments of his mind, qualify him for it; his indigence and dependence upon others, as being unable, in a single capacity, to procure the comforts, or guard against the evils of life, necessitate or force him into society; and his understanding shows him the fitness and reasonableness of so doing. And as man is thus naturally led into society, or to constitute a public interest, which is the same thing; so, in

reason, he has a right to claim from society protection from those injuries he is liable to, and which, in his single capacity, he is not qualified to guard against; and likewise to claim that assistance from society which his particular necessities call for, and which society is capable of, and, in reason, ought to afford him.

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## WILLIAM PITT

### ON SUPERSTITION.

Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this. to visit the Fatherless and Widows in their afflictions, and to keep one's self unspotted from the World.

Whoever takes a view of the world will find, that what the greatest part of mankind have agreed to call religion, has been only some outward exercise esteemed sufficient to work a reconciliation with God. It has moved them to build temples, slay victims, offer up sacrifices, to fast and feast, to petition and thank, to laugh and cry, to sing and sigh by turns: but it has not yet generally been found sufficient to induce them to break off an amour, to make restitution of ill-gotten wealth, or to bring the passions and appetites to a reasonable subjection. Differ as much as they may in opinion, concerning what they ought to believe, or after what manner they are to serve God, as they call it, yet they all agree in gratifying their appetites. The same passion reigns eternally in all countries and in all ages, Jew and Mahometan, the Christian and the Pagan, the Tartar and the Indian, all kinds of men who differ in almost every thing else, universally agree with regard to their passions; if there be any difference among them it is this, that the more superstitious they are, always the more vicious; and the more they believe, the less they practice. This is a melancholy consideration to a good mind; it is a truth, and certainly above all things, worth our while to inquire into. We will therefore probe the wounds, and search to the bottom; we will lay the axe to the root of the tree, and show you the true reason why men go on in sinning and repenting, and sinning again through the whole course of their lives: and the reason is, because they have been taught, most

wickedly taught, that religion and virtue are two things absolutely distinct; that the deficiency of the one might be supplied by the sufficiency of the other; and that what you want in virtue you must make up in religion. But this religion, so dishonorable to God, and so pernicious to men, is worse than Atheism, for Atheism, though it takes away one great motive to support virtue in distress, yet it furnishes no man with arguments to be vicious; but superstition, or what the world means by religion, is the greatest possible encouragement to vice, by setting up something as religion, which shall atone and commute for the want of virtue. This is establishing iniquity by a law, the highest law; by authority, the highest authority; that of God himself. We complain of the vices of the world, and of the wickedness of men, without searching into the true cause. It is not because they are wicked by Nature, for that is both false and impious; but because, to serve the purposes of their pretended soul-savers, they have been carefully taught that they are wicked by Nature, and cannot help continuing so. It would have been impossible for men to have been both religious and vicious, had religion been made to consist wherein alone it does consist; and had they been always taught that true religion is the practice of virtue in obedience to the will of God, who provides over all things, and will finally make every man happy who does his duty.

This single opinion in religion, that all things are so well made by the Deity, that virtue is its own reward, and that happiness will ever arise from acting according to the reason of things, or that God, ever wise and good, will provide some extraordinary happiness for those who suffer for virtue's sake, is enough to support a man under all difficulties, to keep him steady to his duty, and to enable him to stand as firm as a rock, amidst all the charms of applause, profit, and honor. But this religion of reason, which all men are capable of, has been neglected and condemned, and another set up, the natural consequences of which have puzzled men's understandings, and debauched their morals, more than all the lewd poets and atheistical philosophers that ever infested the world; for instead of being taught that religion consists in action, or obedience to the



eternal moral law of God, we have been most gravely and venerably told, that it consists in the belief of certain opinions, which we could form no idea of, or which were contrary to the clear perceptions of our minds, or which had no tendency to make us either wiser or better, or which is much worse, had a manifest tendency to make us wicked and immoral. And this belief, this impious belief, arising from imposition on one side, and from want of examination on the other; has been called by the sacred name of religion, whereas real and genuine religion consists in knowledge and obedience. We know there is a God, and we know his will, which is, that we should do all the good we can; and we are assured from his perfections, that we shall find our own good in so doing.

And what would we have more? are we, after such an inquiry, and in an age full of liberty, children still? and cannot we be quiet unless we have holy romances, sacred fables, and traditionary tales, to amuse us in an idle hour, and to give rest to our souls, when our follies and vices will not suffer us to rest?

You have been taught indeed, that right belief or orthodoxy, will, like charity, cover a multitude of sins; but be not deceived, belief of, or mere assent to the truth of propositions upon evidence is not a virtue, nor unbelief a vice: faith is not a voluntary act, it does not depend upon the will: every man must believe or disbelieve, whether he will or not, according as evidence appears to him. If, therefore, men, however dignified or distinguished, command us to believe, they are guilty of the highest folly and absurdity, because it is out of our power, but if they command us to believe, and annex rewards to belief, and severe penalties to unbelief, then are they most wicked and immoral, because they annex rewards and punishments to what is involuntary, and therefore neither rewardable or punishable. It appears then very plainly unreasonable and unjust, to command us to believe any doctrine, good or bad, wise or unwise; but when men command us to believe opinions, which have not only no tendency to promote virtue, but which are allowed to commute or atone for the want of it, then are they arrived at the utmost pitch of impiety; then is their iniquity full;

then have they finished the misery, and completed the destruction of poor mortal man, by betraying the interest of virtue; they have undermined and sapped the foundation of all human happiness: and how treacherously and dreadfully have they betrayed it! A gift, well applied, the chattering of some unintelligible sounds called creeds; an unfeigned assent and consent to whatever the church enjoins, religious worship and consecrated feasts; repenting on a death-bed; pardons rightly sued out; and absolution authoritatively given, have done more towards making and continuing men vicious than all the natural passions and infidelity put together, for infidelity can only take away the supernatural rewards of virtue; but these superstitious opinions and practices, have not only turned the scene, and made men lose sight of the natural rewards of it, but have induced them to think, that were there no hereafter, vice would be preferable to virtue, and that they increase in happiness as they increase in wickedness; and this they have been taught in several religious discourses and sermons, delivered by men whose authority was never doubted, particularly by a late Rev. prelate, I mean Bishop Atterbury, in his sermon on these words, "If in this life only be hope, then we are of all men most miserable," where vice and faith ride most lovingly and triumphantly together. But these doctrines of the natural excellency of vice, the efficacy of a right belief, the dignity of atonements and propitiations have, beside depriving us of the native beauty and charms of honesty, and thus cruelly stabbing virtue to the heart, raised and diffused among men a certain unnatural passion, which we shall call religious hatred; a hatred constant, deep-rooted, and immortal. All other passions rise and fall, die and revive again, but this of religious and pious hatred rises and grows every day stronger upon the mind as we grow more religious, because we hate for God's sake, and for the sake of those poor souls too, who have the misfortune not to believe as we do, and can we in so good a cause hate too much? the more thoroughly we hate, the better we are; and the more mischief we do to the bodies and estates of those Infidels and Heretics, the more do we show our love to God. This is religious

zeal, and this has been called divinity, but remember the only true Divinity is Humanity.—[*London Journal*, 1733.]

## JOSEPH BUTLER'S

### ANALOGY OF RELIGION AND NATURE.

We cannot argue from *the reason of the thing*, that death is the destruction of living agents, because we know not at all what death is in itself; but only some of its effects, such as the dissolution of flesh, skin, and bones: and these effects do in no wise appear to imply the destruction of a living agent. And, besides, as we are greatly in the dark upon what the exercise of our living powers depends, so we are wholly ignorant what the powers themselves depend upon; the powers themselves, as distinguished, not only from their actual exercise, but also from the present capacity of exercising them; and opposed to their destruction; for sleep, or however, a swoon, shows us, not only that these powers exist when they are not exercised, as the passive power of motion does in inanimate matter; but shows also that they exist when there is no present capacity of exercising them; or that the capacities of exercising them for the present, as well as the actual exercise of them, may be suspended, and yet the powers themselves remain undestroyed.

All presumption of death's being the destruction of living beings, must go upon supposition that they are compounded, and so discernible. But, since consciousness is a single and individual power, it should seem that the subject in which it resides, must be so too. [Why not the same of gravity?]

The bodies of all animals are in a constant flux, from that never ceasing attrition which there is in every part of them. Now, things of this kind unavoidably teach us to distinguish between these living agents, ourselves, and large quantities of matter, in which we are very nearly interested: since these may be alienated, and actually are in a daily course of succession, and changing their owners; whilst we are assured, that each living agent remains one and the same permanent being.

But it is said, these observations are equally applicable to brutes; and it is thought an insuperable difficulty, that they should be immortal, and, by consequence, capable of everlasting happiness. Now, a great part of the human species go out of the present world, before they come to the exercise of the rational capacities in any degree at all. The natural immortality of brutes does not in the least imply, that they are endued with any latent capacities of a rational or moral nature. And the economy of the Universe might require, that there should be living creatures without any capacities of this kind.

The voice of Nature in the conduct of Providence, plainly declaring itself for virtue, by way of distinction from vice, and preference to it. For, our being so constituted as that virtue and vice are thus naturally favored and discountenanced, rewarded and punished respectively as such, is an intuitive proof of the intent of Nature that it should be so; otherwise the constitution of our mind, from which it thus immediately and directly proceeds, would be absurd. But it cannot be said, because virtuous actions are sometimes punished, and vicious actions rewarded, that Nature intended it. For, though this great disorder is brought about, as all actions are done, by means of some natural passion, yet *this may be*, as it undoubtedly is, brought about by the perversion of such passion, implanted in us for other, and those very good purposes. And indeed these other and good purposes, even of every passion, may be clearly seen.

## DAVID HARTLEY'S

## OBSERVATIONS ON MAN.

External objects impressed upon the senses occasion, first in the nerves on which they are impressed, and then in the brain, vibrations of the small, and as one may say, infinitesimal, medullary particles.

Now that external objects impress vibratory motions upon the medullary substance of the nerves and brain; (which is the immediate instrument of sensation,) appears from the continuance of the sensations, since no motion, besides a vibratory one, can reside in any part for the least moment of time. External objects, being corporeal, can act upon the nerves and brain, which are also corporeal, by nothing but impressing motion on them. A vibrating motion may continue for a short time in the small medullary particles of the nerves and brain, without disturbing them, and after a short time would cease; and so would correspond to the above-mentioned short continuance of the sensations; and there seems to be no other species of motion that can correspond thereto.

The vibrations are excited, propagated, and kept up, partly by the æther, i. e. by a very subtle and elastic fluid, and partly by the uniformity, continuity, softness, and active powers of the medullary substance of the brain, spinal marrow, and nerves.

Brutes in general differ from, and are inferior to man, in intellectual capacities, on the following accounts:

First, The small proportional size of their brains.

Secondly, The imperfection of the matter of their brains, whereby it is less fitted for retaining a large number of miniatures, and combining them by association, than man's.

Thirdly, Their want of words, and such like symbols.

Fourthly, The instinctive powers which they bring into the world with them, or which rise up from internal causes, as they advance towards adult age.

Fifthly, The difference between the external impressions made on the brute creation, and on mankind.

The brute creatures prove their near relation to us, not only by the general resemblance of the body, but by that

of the mind also; inasmuch as many of them have most of the eminent passions in some imperfect degree; and as there is, perhaps, no passion belonging to human nature, which may not be found in some brute creature in a considerable degree.

It ought always to be remembered in speaking on this subject, that brutes have more reason than they can show, from their want of words, from our inattention, and from our ignorance of the import of those symbols, which they do use in giving intimations to one another, and to us.

We seem to be in the place of God to them, to be his vicegerents, and empowered to receive homage from them in his name. And we are obliged, by the same tenure, to be their guardians and benefactors.

That the soul is reduced to a state of inactivity by the deposition of the gross body, may be conjectured from its entire dependence upon the gross body for powers and faculties. It seems from hence, that neither the elementary body, nor the immaterial principle, which is generally supposed to preside over this, can exert themselves without a set of suitable organs. And the Scriptures of the New Testament, by speaking of the resurrection of the body as synonymous to a future life, favor this conjecture.

Secondly, The generation of benevolence, by the natural and necessary tendency of our frames, is a strong argument for the ultimate happiness of all mankind. It is inconsistent to suppose, that God should thus compel us to learn universal unlimited benevolence; and then not provide food for it. And as the benevolence of one part of the creation is thus an argument for the happiness of the other; so, since benevolence is itself happiness, a tendency to learn it in any being is also an argument for his own happiness. And, upon the whole, God has commanded his beloved sons, the good, to love and compassionate every being that comes within their cognizance, by the voice of their natures speaking within them.

The fall of the brute creation with Adam, the covenant made with them after the deluge, their serving as sacrifices for the sins of men, and as types and emblems in the prophecies, their being commanded to praise God (for every thing indced that hath breath is thus commanded, as

well as the Gentiles,) seem to intimate that there is mercy in store for them also, more than we may expect, to be revealed in due time. The Jews considered the Gentiles as dogs in comparison of themselves. And the brute creatures appear by the foregoing history of association to differ from us in degree, rather than in kind.

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## FRANCIS HUTCHESON

### ON THE PASSIONS AND VIRTUE.

The joy and gayety and happiness of any nature [being] of which we have formed no previous opinion, either favorable or unfavorable, nor obtained any other ideas than merely that it is *sensitive*, fill us with joy and delight. The apprehending the torments of any such sensitive nature gives us pain. When indeed we have received unfavorable apprehensions of any nature, as *cruel* and *savage*, we begin from our very public affections, to desire their misery, as far as it may be necessary to the protection of others.

But that the misery of another for its *own sake* is never grateful, we may all find by making this supposition: that we had the most savage tiger or crocodile, or some greater monster of our own kind, a Nero or Domitian, chained in some dungeon; that we were perfectly assured they should never have power of doing further injuries; that no mortal should ever know their fate or fortunes, nor be influenced by them; that the punishments inflicted on them would never restrain others by way of example, nor any example shown be discovered; and that the first heat of our resentment were allayed by time. No mortal in such a case would incline to torture such wretched natures, or keep them in continual agonies, without some prospect of good arising from their sufferings. On apprehending injury to ourselves or others, Nature wisely determines us to study defence not only for the present, but for the future. The uneasy sensations of anger arise, and this furious pain is allayed by the misery of the injurious. Our nature scarcely leads to any further resentment, when once the injurious seems to us fully seized with remorse, so that we fear no further evils from him, or when all his

power is gone. Who would not prefer safety from injury, to the having revenged an injury? Who can dwell upon a scene of tortures though practised on the vilest wretch, or can delight either in the sight or description of vengeance prolonged beyond all necessity of self-defence or public interest? "The pleasure of revenge, then; bears the same comparison to the pleasures of Humanity and Virtue, as the slaking of the incessant burning thirst of a fever, does to the natural enjoyments of grateful food in health."

The pursuits of the learned have often as much folly in them as any others, when studies are not valued according to their use in life, or their real pleasures but for their difficulty and obscurity, and consequently their rarity and distinction. Nay, an abuse may be made of the most noble and manly studies, even of morals, politics, and religion itself, if our admiration and desire terminate upon the knowledge itself, and not upon the possession of the dispositions and affections, which should be inculcated in these studies. No part of knowledge indeed can be called entirely useless; abstract mathematics, mythology, painting, music, architecture have their own pleasures; the only fault lies in letting any of those inferior tastes engross the whole man to the exclusion of other pursuits of virtue and humanity.

In governing our moral sense and desires of virtue, nothing is more necessary than to study the nature and tendency of human actions, and to extend our views to the whole species and to all sensitive natures, as far as they can be affected by our conduct. Our moral sense thus regulated and constantly followed in our actions, may be the most constant source of the most stable pleasure; and also, the most probable means of obtaining the pleasures of *honor*. The public good can never be opposed to private virtue, and had all men true opinions, honor could only be obtained by virtue or serving the public.

*Moral Good and Evil.*—The universal benevolence towards all men, we may compare to that principle of gravitation, which, perhaps, extends to all bodies in the Universe, but increases as the distance is diminished, and is *strongest* when bodies come to touch each other. Now



this increase upon nearer approach, is as necessary as that there should be any attraction at all. For a general attraction equal in all distances, would, by the contrariety of such multitudes of equal forces, put an end to all regularity of motion, and perhaps stop it altogether. Besides this general attraction, the learned in these subjects show us a great many other attractions among several sorts of bodies, answering to some particular sorts of passions, from some special causes. And that attraction or force by which the parts of each body cohere, may represent the self-love of each individual.

Every moral agent justly considers himself as a part of this rational system which may be useful to the whole; so that he may be, in part, an object of his own universal benevolence; and the preservation of the system requires every one to be innocently solicitous about himself. Benevolence denotes the internal spring of virtue; it may mean a calm extensive affection or good-will towards all beings capable of happiness or misery: or towards smaller systems, or to individuals, as patriotism and friendship; or the several kinds of particular passions, as love, pity, sympathy, and congratulation.

The morality of every agent consists of a compound proportion of his benevolence and abilities, and his goodness depends on these two jointly. In different agents, their abilities being equal, the quantity of good is proportioned to the goodness of temper or benevolence; and the goodness of temper being equal, the quantity of good is as the abilities. Virtue or goodness of temper, is, (other things being equal) directly as the amount of good, and inversely as the abilities; for where the ability is the greatest, there is evidently less virtue in the same amount of good. In most actions, self-love is another force, sometimes conspiring with, and sometimes opposing benevolence. Perfection of goodness or virtue is when the amount of good fully equals the abilities.

## HENRY ST. JOHN'S

## PHILOSOPHY.

Every event that happens in the course of human affairs, how contingent soever it may seem, has a real and peculiar cause. But when these causes are too remote, or too complicated, to be easily, or at all discerned by us, we call the event contingent, and the cause chance. Thus we endeavor to supply our want of ideas, to think with less confusion, to discourse more intelligibly, and to make up the sum with counters which we can not make up with money. But in this kind of payment there has been much abuse, and much deceit. Superstition attempted to make these counters pass for real money; and, instead of keeping the word chance to signify in its application nothing more than this, that the cause of an event was unknown, to make it pass for an actual cause and a positive Being, superstition impersonated it under the name of fortune.

The law of their Nature is the concern of all men alike. All men are, therefore, able alike to discover this law, and the constitution of things from which it is derived. All men do not discover it indeed alike, though all men, even the most savage and ignorant, have, as I believe, some imperfect notions of it, which observation and experience force into their minds.

Right reason consists in a conformity with truth, and truth in a conformity with nature. Nature, or the aggregate of things which are, is the great source from whence all the rivulets of real knowledge must be derived. When we can not go up, and as far as we cannot go up thither, we must remain in ignorance.

The great principles of moral truth are as much founded in the nature of things, as those of mathematical truth; and it is not a little less absurd to contradict the moral by our words or actions, than to deny the mathematical. We perceive the truth of both with equal evidence; but as the former are much more important to us than the latter, we may be ignorant of all mathematical, we cannot be so of all moral, truth. We discover one, the other discovers itself; it obtrudes itself on the mind, and the mind per-

ceives it with greater satisfaction. He who demonstrates that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, or that a square is double to a triangle of equal base and height, has a dry inward complacency. But he who contemplates the obvious advantages of benevolence and justice to society, and of society to mankind, will feel a pleasure much more sensible; and the same proportion will hold in all the progress the mind makes to discover mathematical and moral truth.

The phænomena of Nature, the greatest and the most minute, establish the doctrine of final causes, and, therefore, the intelligence of the first cause, by innumerable proofs, which are at all times obvious to our senses. Many of these proofs amount to geometrical certainty; since a multitude of things, which might be made in manners, and placed in positions almost infinite, are so made, so placed, so contrived, that they are visibly appropriated to the particular uses to which they serve, and to no other. If the scheme of particular providences was supported by proofs like these, no reasonable man could doubt of the truth of it. But it is not so supported.

The two assumed propositions, "that man is the final cause of the world," and that the communication of happiness to him is the final cause of his creation, are most certainly false, as the scheme of particular providences that force the laws of Nature, is no doubt, and as that may be which supposes these providences exercised in a manner agreeable to these laws. That the world is fitted in many respects to be the habitation of men, or that men are fitted for this habitation, is true. But will it follow, even from the first, that the world therefore was made for the sake of man, any more, than it will follow that it was made for any other species of animals, for all of whom, according to their several natures, it is equally well fitted, and for all of whom we may believe on this account very reasonably that it was made, as well as for us? It is as well fitted for Bounce (a dog) as for you, with respect to physical nature; and with respect to moral nature, he has little to do beyond hearkening to the still whispers, the secret suggestions, and the sudden influences of instinct. In the works of men, the most complicated schemes pro-

duce, very hardly and very uncertainly, one single effect. In the works of God, one single scheme produces a multitude of different effects, and answers an immense variety of purposes.

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## MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE'S

### LETTERS FROM TURKEY.

The Effendis, (that is, the learned men,) do very well deserve this name; they have no more faith in the inspiration of Mahomet, than in the infallibility of the pope. They make a frank profession of deism among themselves, or to those they can trust.

I know no European court, where the ladies would have behaved themselves in so polite a manner to such a stranger, as at the Turkish bagnio at Sophia. I was here convinced of the truth of a reflection I have often made, that, if it were the fashion to go naked, the face would be hardly observed. I perceived that the ladies of the most delicate skins and finest shapes had the greatest share of my admiration, though their faces were sometimes less beautiful than those of their companions. They would fain have undressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty. They being, however, all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well; for I saw they believed I was locked up in that machine, and that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband.

Those ladies that are rich have all their money in their own hands. Upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish women as the only free people in the empire; the divan pays a respect to them; and the grand seignior himself, when a pacha is executed, never violates the privileges of the haram, (or women's apartment) which remains unsearched and entire to the widow.

The small-pox, so fatal, and so general among us, is here entirely harmless, by the invention of ingrafting, which is the term they give it. I intend to try it on my dear little son. I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England, and I should

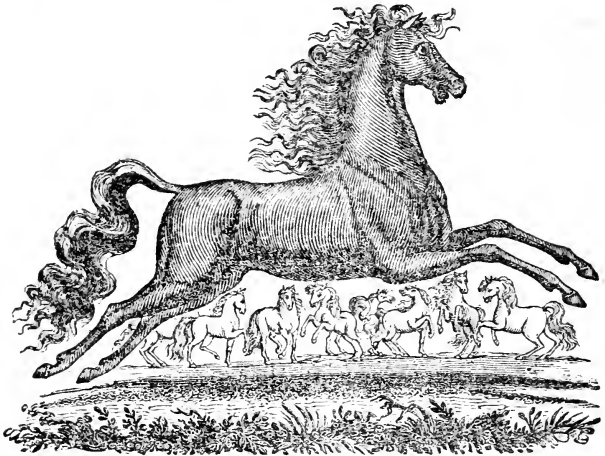
not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue, for the good of mankind.

My side-saddle is the first that was ever seen in this part of the world, and is gazed at with as much wonder as the ship of Columbus in the first discovery of America.

Our vulgar notion, that they don't own women to have any souls, is a mistake. 'Tis true they say they are not of so elevated a kind, and therefore must not hope to be admitted into the paradise appointed for the men, who are to be entertained by celestial beauties. But there is a place of happiness destined for the souls of the inferior order, where all good women are to be in eternal bliss. Many of them are very superstitious, and will not remain widows ten days, for fear of dying in the reprobate state of a useless creature. But those that like their liberty, and are not slaves to their religion, content themselves with marrying when they are afraid of dying. This paradise will be a separate place from that of their husbands; but I fancy the most part of them won't like it the worse for that, and that the regret of this separation will not render their paradise the less agreeable.

I am much pleased with the Turkish manners; a people, though ignorant, yet in my judgment extremely polite. A gallant convicted of having debauched a married woman is regarded as a pernicious being, and held in the same abhorrence as a prostitute with us. He is certain of never making his fortune, and they would deem it scandalous to confer any considerable employment on a man suspected of having committed such enormous injustice.

When the pachas travel, those oppressors are not content with eating all that is to be eaten belonging to the peasants; after they have crammed themselves and their numerous retinue, they have the impudence to exact what they call teeth-money, a contribution for the use of their teeth, worn with doing them the honor of devouring their meat. This is literally and exactly true, however extravagant it may seem; and such is the natural corruption of a military government, their religion not allowing of this barbarity, any more than ours does.



## JONATHAN SWIFT'S

### GULLIVER'S TRAVELS.

The word *Houyhnhnm*, in their tongue, signifies a *Horse*, and in its etymology, *the perfection of nature*. Several horses and mares of quality in the neighborhood, came often to our house, upon the report spread of "a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed, in his words and actions, to discover some glimmerings of reason." These delighted to converse with me; they were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face and hands. I therefore told my master, "that in the country whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with the hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency, as to avoid the inclemencies of air, both hot and cold. He said "my discourse was all very strange, for he could not understand, why Nature should teach us to conceal what Nature had given: that neither himself nor family were ashamed of any parts of their bodies; but, however, I might do as I pleased." I owned that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animal we had; that they

excelled us in strength and swiftness; but the common race of horses had not good fortune; being kept by farmers and carriers, and mean people who put them to great labor, and fed them worse. I described, as well as I could, our way of riding; the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip; of harness, shoes, and wheels. I added, "that our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for; and if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males, designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally castrated about two years after their birth, to take down their spirits, and make them more tame and gentle." But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* race; particularly after I had explained our manner and use, to hinder them from propagating their kind, and to render them more servile. He asked me "what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to War with another?" I answered, "they were innumerable; but I should mention only a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamor of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions has cost many millions of lives; for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine;\* whether whistling be a vice or a virtue;† whether it be better to kiss a post, or throw it into the fire;‡ what is the best color for a coat, whether black, white, red or grey; and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean; with many more.§ Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

\* Transubstantiation. † Church Music. ‡ Kissing a cross. § The color and make of sacred vestments, and different orders of popish ecclesiastics. H.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes, is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrels with another for fear the other should quarrel him. Sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes, because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbors want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince sends us forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honorable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage, is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel: poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud: and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honorable of all others; because a soldier is a Yahoo hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcasses, left for food to dogs



and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning and destroying. And to set forth the valor of my own dear countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.

I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said "whoever understood the nature of Yahoos, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might by degrees admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the Yahoos of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a gnnayh (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But, when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded, lest the corruption of that faculty, might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed therefore confident, that instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality, fitted to increase our natural vices; us the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shaped body, not only larger but more distorted."

He desired to be further satisfied what I meant by Law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country: because he thought Nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in showing us what he ought to do, and what to avoid.

I said, there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbor has a mind to my cow, he has a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire an-

other to defend my right, it being against all rules of law, that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages: first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is, for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary; and this, if it be skillfully done, will certainly bespeak the favor of the bench.

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever has been done before, may legally be done again; and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice, and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions, and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow; but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years, come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal

can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field, left me by my ancestors for six generations, belongs to me, or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, that when a Yahoo had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to, the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks; and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore, since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our Yahoos thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent, either to profusion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labor, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by laboring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully.

In order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, star-gazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like occupations; every one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.

That wine was not imported among us from foreign countries, to supply the want of water, or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid, which made us merry by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes, and banished our fears; suspended every

office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep; although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and dispirited; and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases, which made our lives uncomfortable and short.

I told him, that we fed on a thousand things, which operated contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors, without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion. That prostitute female Yahoos acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenness in the bones of those who fell into their embraces; that this, and many other diseases, were propagated from father to son; so that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them; that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies, for they could not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every limb and joint; in short, every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself. To remedy which, there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, or pretence, of curing the sick.

Their fundamental is, that all diseases arise from repletion; whence they conclude, that a great evacuation of the body is necessary, either through the natural passage, or upward at the mouth. Their next business is, from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, shells, salts, juices, seaweed, excrements, barks of trees, serpents, toads, frogs, spiders, dead men's flesh and bones, birds, beasts, and fishes, to form a composition, for smell and taste, the most abominable, nauseous, and detestable, they can possibly contrive, which the stomach immediate rejects with loathing, and this they call a vomit; or else, from the same storehouse, with some other poisonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice above or below (just as the physician then happens to be disposed,) a medicine equally annoying and disgusting to the bowels; which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a purge, or a clyster.

But, beside real diseases, we are subject to many that

are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures; these have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female Yahoos are always infested.

One great excellency in this tribe, is their skill at prognostics, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they rise to any degree of malignity, generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is not: and therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment, after they have pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world, by a seasonable dose. They are likewise of special use to husbands and wives who are grown weary of their mates; to eldest sons, to ministers of state, and often to princes.

I discoursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. I told him, that a first or chief minister of state, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger; at least, he makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his words to all uses, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth, but with an intent that you should take it for a lie; nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs, are in the surest way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath: after which, every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues among the Houyhnhnms: and these, not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race.

When the matron Houyhnhnms have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue by some casualty, which very seldom happens: but in such a case they meet again; or when the like accident befalls a person whose wife is past bearing, some other couple bestow on him one

of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. This caution is necessary to prevent the country from being overburdened with numbers.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes : and my master thought it monstrous in us, to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management ; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world.

I enjoyed here perfect health of body, and tranquility of mind ; I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favor of any great man, or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression ; here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune, [nor priest to damn my soul ;\*] no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire : here were no gibbers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, house-breakers, attornies, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuoes ; no leaders, or followers, of party and faction ; no encouragers to vice, by seducement or examples ; no dungeon, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories ; no cheating shopkeepers or mechanics ; no pride, vanity, or affectation ; no fops, bullies, drunkards, strolling whores, or poxes ; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives ; no stupid, proud pendants ; no importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions ; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it, on account of their virtues.

I wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe ; by teaching us the first principles of honor, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity. The names of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors ; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

Lands discovered by a subject belong to the crown, but I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither ; at length a boy discovers land from the top-mast ; they go on shore to rob and plunder ; they see a harmless people, are entertained with kindness ; they give the country a new name ; they take formal possession of it for their king ; they set up a rotten plank or a stone for a memorial ; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more, by force, for a sample, return home and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion acquired with a title by divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity ; the natives driven out or destroyed ; their princes tortured to discover their gold ; a free license given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants ; and this execrable crew of butchers, employed in so pious an expedition, is a modern colony, sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people.

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\*THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

A horrid vision seiz'd my head,  
 I saw the graves give up their dead !  
 Amaz'd, confus'd, its fate unknown,  
 The world stands trembling at the throne ;  
 While each pale sinner hung his head,  
 Jove, nodding, shook the heavens, and said :  
 " Offending race of human kind,  
 By nature, reason, learning, blind ;  
 You who, through frailty, stepp'd aside ;  
 And you who never fell from pride :  
 You who in different sects were sham'd,  
 And come to see each other damn'd :  
 (So some folk told you, but they knew  
 No more of Jove's designs than you)  
 —The world's mad business now is o'er,  
 And I resent these pranks no more.  
 —I to such blockheds set my wit !  
 I damn such fools !—Go, go, you're bit."

## BERNARD DE MANDEVILLE.

A luxury the poor enjoy, that is not looked upon as such, and which there is no doubt but the wealthiest in a golden age would abstain from, is their making use of the flesh of animals to eat. In what concerns the fashions and manners of the ages men live in, they never examine into the real worth or merit of the cause, and generally judge of things not as their reason, but as custom directs them. Time was when the funeral rites in the disposing of the dead, were performed by fire, and the carcasses of the greatest emperors were burnt to ashes.

If it was not for this tyranny which custom usurps over us, men of any tolerable good nature could never be reconciled to the killing of so many animals, for their daily food, as long as the bountiful earth so plentifully provides them with varieties of vegetable dainties. I know that reason excites our compassion but faintly, and therefore I would not wonder how men should so little commiserate such imperfect creatures as cray-fish, oysters, cockles, and indeed all fish in general: as they are mute, and their inward formation, as well as outward figure, vastly different from ours, they express themselves unintelligibly to us, and therefore it is not strange that their grief should not affect our understanding which it cannot reach; for nothing stirs us to pity so effectually, as when the symptoms of misery strike immediately upon our senses, and I have seen people moved at the noise a live lobster makes upon the spit, that could have killed half a dozen fowls with pleasure. But in such perfect animals as sheep and oxen, in whom the heart, the brain and nerves differ so little from ours, and in whom the separation of the spirits from the blood, the organs of sense, and consequently feeling itself, are the same as they are in human creatures; I cannot imagine how a man not hardened in blood and massacre, is able to see a violent death, and the pangs of it, without concern.

In answer to this, most people will think it sufficient to say, that all things being allowed to be made for the service of man, there can be no cruelty in putting creatures to the use they were designed for; but I have heard men make this reply, while their Nature within them has reproached them with the falsehood of the assertion. There is of all



the multitude not one man in ten but what will own, (if he was not brought up in a slaughter-house,) that of all trades he could never have been a butcher ; and I question whether ever any body so much as killed a chicken without reluctance the first time. Some people are not to be persuaded to taste of any creatures they have daily seen and been acquainted with, while they were alive ; others extend their scruple no further than to their own poultry, and refuse to eat what they fed and took care of themselves ; yet all of them will feed heartily and without remorse on beef, mutton, and fowls, when they are bought in the market. In this behaviour, methinks, there appears something like a consciousness of guilt, it looks as if they endeavored to save themselves from the imputation of a crime (which they know sticks somewhere) by removing the cause of it as far as they can from themselves ; and I can discover in it some strong remains of primitive pity and innocence, which all the arbitrary power of custom, and the violence of luxury, have not yet been able to conquer.

When to soften the flesh of male animals, we have by castration prevented the firmness their tendons, and every fibre would have come to without it, I confess, I think it ought to move a human creature, when he reflects upon the cruel care with which they are fattened for destruction. When a large and gentle bullock, after having resisted a ten times greater force of blows than would have killed his murderer, falls stunned at last, and his armed head is fastened to the ground with cords ; as soon as the wide wound is made, and the jugulars are cut asunder, what mortal can, without compassion, hear the painful bellowings intercepted by his blood, the bitter sighs that speak the sharpness of his anguish, and the deep sounding groans, with loud anxiety, fetched from the bottom of his strong and palpitating heart ; look on the trembling and violent convulsions of his limbs ; see, while his reeking gore streams from him, his eyes become dim and languid, and behold his strugglings, gasps, and last efforts for life, the certain signs of his approaching fate ? When a creature has given such convincing and undeniable proofs of the terrors upon him, and the pains and agonies he feels, is there a follower of Descartes so inured to blood, as not to refute, by his commiseration, the philosophy of that vain reasoner ?





*Justice recording the Voice of the People guided by Light Liberty and Truth.*

## WILLIAM HOGARTH'S

### PROGRESS OF CRUELTY.

These prints were engraved with the hope of in some degree correcting that barbarous treatment of animals, the very sight of which renders the streets of our metropolis so distressing to every feeling mind. If they have that effect in checking the progress of cruelty, I am more proud of being their author than I should be of having painted Raphael's Cartoons! *Hogarth.*

[The explanations are altered from those of John Trusler. A few additions to the plates are marked by brackets.]

Humanity is the distinguishing attribute of the human species, yet how common is reckless and even studied barbarity! The cruelty of some of our pastimes is fitting our old English ancestors, the Goths, and Scythians; does not the epicure even torture his fellow-animal, to pamper his voluptuous appetite? People called civilized are still sanguinary, at the expense of all that is rational, humane, and religious.

Here are seen children of various ages, engaged in different barbarous diversions; some solitary, some in groups. The wretch on the right-hand corner in front, is tying a bone to a dog's tail, in order to hurry it through the streets and enjoy its terror and pain; this cruel act is heightened by the affectionate creature's turning round and innocently attempting to lick the boy's hand. Next to him is a lad setting two cocks to fight; a refined amusement practised by full-grown children. On the left corner a dog is urged to worry and tear to pieces, one of the tabby kind, by a young master. Further back on the right of the plate is seen a fellow who is the hero of these plates, and was by Mr. Hogarth, named Nero, after the old Roman monster. He has deprived his dog of its ears, and is about cutting off its tail with his shears, one of his comrades securing and choking the animal with a rope round its neck. A youth returning from school, intercedes in behalf of the maimed, suffering creature, and even offers the other a book as a present, if he will release the dog. This shows not only the necessity of general instruction, but also that general humanity should always be an essential constituent of education, without which, both boys and men would be little better than savages and brutes. Behind Nero, an arch lad has drawn on the wall a criminal hanging on a gallows: the probable destiny of Nero and some of his wicked companions. On the rear of the wall a young mob are suspending two cats together, and enjoying their agonies; above these is an infant philosopher throwing a cat from a garret window in imitation of those adult sages, who connect useless animal suffering with experiments. [Additions to the plate are, the urchin who has robbed a bird's nest; the other swinging a buzzing insect impaled at the end of a string; and the poor, inoffensive, decrepit woman, insulted, hooted and pelted by a gang of mischievous children: for

“Cruelty is the coward's vice.”]



THE FIRST STAGE OF CRUELTY.

What various scenes of cruel sport  
 The infant race employ,  
 What future baseness, must import  
 The tyrant in the boy.

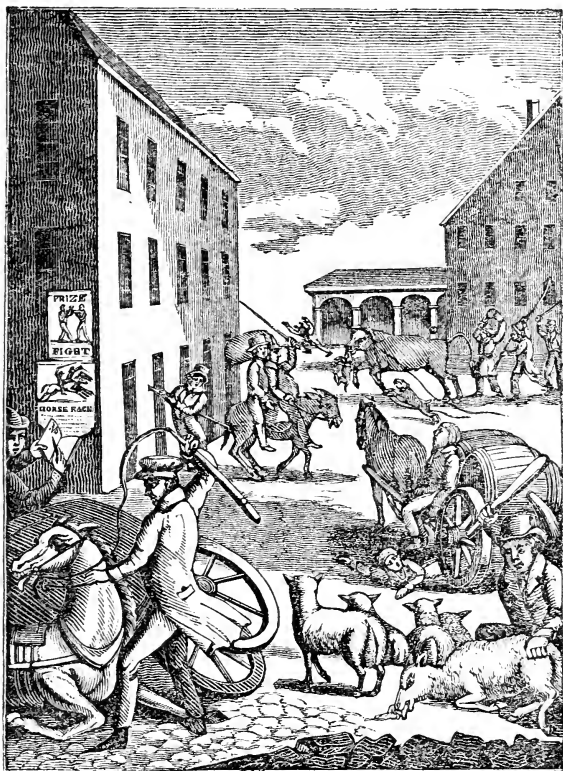
Behold a youth of gentler look,  
 To save the creature's pain,  
 'Oh take!' he cries, 'here take my book,'  
 But tears and book are vain

Learn from this fair example, you  
 Whom savage sports delight,  
 How cruelty disgusts the view,  
 While pity charms the sight

The spirit of inhumanity exhibited in the first plate as growing up in youth, is in this ripened in manhood. The hero of our piece has become a hackney coachman, a profession which affords him an opportunity of displaying his brutal disposition. He is here shown cruelly beating one of his horses for not rising, though in its fall by oversetting the coach it has had the misfortune to break its leg. The lean, galled and starved appearance of the afflicted creature, is manifest proof of the habitual unkindness of its master. Pity it is, that such barbarous wretches should be suffered to live at large, or at all events, to have any control over sentient beings. However, his behaviour attracts the attention of a passer by, who is taking the number of his coach in order to have him punished. The humane face of this man, opposed to the rigid one of other, affords a spirited contrast, and in some measure brightens the scene. On the right is seen one of those inhuman wretches, who are so often permitted to drive cattle to and from the slaughter-house and market. He is beating a tender, over-driven lamb with a club-stick for not going on, and the poor, faint creature is dying with the fatigue and blows, with its entrails issuing from its mouth. Further back is a dray-man or cartman drunk, riding on the shafts of his cart, the wheels of which are running over a child; while the contents of the casks he has in charge are being spilled; and for both of these accidents, occasioned by the criminal neglect of the cartman, the innocent horse will, as usual, be half murdered by his guilty driver. Still further back is a lubberly fellow riding upon an ass, and as if the beast was not sufficiently burthened, he has taken up a porter with a load upon his back, behind him. The overladen animal is ready to sink under the weight; the foremost rider beating, of course, while the man (brute) behind is goading him with a pitch-fork. In the back ground is seen a mob baiting and worrying a bull to the great terror and danger of the passengers.

Continued acts of barbarity are found in time to divest men of their natural feelings; for he that would not hesitate to torture and destroy a helpless, harmless animal, would not but through fear of the law, scruple to torture and murder a fellow creature.

PROGRESS OF CRUELTY.



THE SECOND STAGE OF CRUELTY.

"The generous steed in feeble age  
Subdued by labor lies,  
And mourns a cruel master's rage,  
While nature strength denies.

"The tender lamb o'er-drove and faint,  
Amidst expiring throes,  
Bleats forth its innocent complaint,  
And dies beneath the blows.

"Inhuman wretches ! whence proceeds  
This coward cruelty ?  
What interest springs from barbarous deeds ?  
What joy from misery !"

As a hackney coachman his barbarity did not pass unnoticed, his treatment of his horses became notorious and was attended with discharge from his place. [The skeleton, seen in the back ground, of one of his miserable victims, whom, we may imagine, he has murdered with starvation and ill-treatment, reminds us of this portion of his inhumanity.] Being therefore at a loss for maintenance, his wicked turn of mind soon led him to robbery upon the road, which is shewn by the pistols and watch found upon him. During this iniquitous career, he deceived and betrayed a young woman by his false protestations; for baseness and duplicity are a common form of cruelty. Having gained the affections of this unfortunate female, he wickedly prevails on her to desert her friends, take the plate and jewels, and elope with him at midnight. She keeps the assignation faithfully, laden with valuables. Having predetermined to screen himself from detection in the robbery, and also to rid himself of the consequences of his seduction, he consummates his crimes by her murder! She struggles for her life and her shrieks alarm the family from their peaceful slumbers. They rush to her assistance, but arrive not until the vital spark has fled; in time however to secure the assassin. In a letter found on him, which is seen lying on the ground, she says, "My conscience flies into my face, as often as I think of wronging my best friends; yet I am resolved to venture body and soul to do as you would have me." Her confidence was indeed awfully requited by the unfeeling hypocrite. By this fell act, however, she was prevented from enduring that immensity of wretchedness and despair, which she must have suffered, had she lived and become the wife of such a depraved ruffian.

Behold, here, him who had no feeling for others, compelled at last to feel for himself: Confounded by the bloody knife, the confiding letter and all the various manifest proofs of his atrocity, shuddering at the pallid, lifeless victim of his lust, avarice and reckless cruelty; astounded by the sights and cries of woe, from the agonized and horror-struck parents, relations and spectators. He is seized, bound and hurried to prison, to wait his trial, sentence and punishment, in all the horrors and dismay, which are the natural consequences of his atrocious crimes.



PROGRESS OF CRUELTY.



CRUELTY IN MAJORITY.

My conscience has a thousand several tongues,  
And every tongue brings in a several tale,  
And every tale condemns me for a villian;  
Cruelty, perjury, in the highest degree,  
Murder, stern murder in the direst degree,  
All several crimes, all us'd in each degree;  
Throng to the bar all crying, *Guilty! Guilty!!*  
I shall despair—There is no creature loves me:  
And, if I die, no soul shall pity me:  
Nay, wherefore should they?

*Shakespeare.*

CLAUDE ADRIAN HELVETIUS,  
ON PREJUDICE.

All men imagine, that on this globe there is no part of it, in this part of the earth no nation, in the nation no province, in the province no city, in the city no society comparable to their own. We, step by step, surprize ourselves into a secret persuasion that we are superior to all our acquaintance. If an oyster, confined within its shell, is acquainted with no more of the Universe than the rock on which it is fixed, and therefore cannot judge of its extent how can a man, in the midst of a small society, always surrounded by the same objects, and acquainted with only one train of thoughts, be able to form a proper estimate of merit without his own circle. Truth is never engendered or perceived but in the fermentation of contrary opinions. The Universe is only known to us in proportion as we become acquainted with it. Whoever confines himself to conversing with one set of companions, cannot avoid adopting their prejudices, especially if they flatter his pride. Who can separate himself from an error, when vanity, the companion of ignorance, has tied him to it, and rendered it dear to him?

It is the philosopher alone who contemplates the manners, laws, customs, religions, and the different passions that actuate mankind, that can become almost insensible both to the praise and satire of his cotemporaries; can break all the chains of prejudice, examine with modesty and indifference the various opinions which divide the human species; pass, without astonishment, from a seraglio to a cloister, reflect with pleasure on the extent of human folly, and see, with the same eye, Alcibiades cut off the tail of his dog, and Mahomet shut himself up in his cavern; the one to ridicule the folly of the Athenians, and the other to enjoy the adoration of the world. He knows, that our ideas necessarily proceed from the company we keep, the books we read, and the objects presented to our sight; and that a superior intelligence might divine our thoughts from the objects presented before us, and from our thoughts divine the number and nature of the objects offered to the mind. The Arab persuaded of the infalli-

bility of his Khalif, laughs at the credulity of the Tartar, who believes the Great Lama immortal. In Africa, the negro who pays his adorations to a root, the claw of a lobster, or the horn of an animal, sees nothing on the earth but an immense mass of deities, and laughs at the scarcity of gods among us; while the ill-informed Musselman accuses us of acknowledging three. If a sage should descend from heaven, and in his conduct consult only the light of reason, he would universally pass for a fool. All are so scrupulously attached to the interest of their own vanity, that the title of wise is only given to the fools of the common folly. The more foolish an opinion is, the more dangerous it is to prove its folly. Fontenelle was accustomed to say, that if he held every truth in his hand, he would take great care not to open it to show them to men.

In destroying prejudices, we ought to treat them with respect: like the doves from the ark, we ought to send some truths on the discovery, to see if the deluge of prejudices does not yet cover the face of the earth; if error begin to subside; and if there can be perceived here and there some isles, where virtue and truth may find rest for their feet, and communicate themselves to mankind.

All those virtues originate from prejudice, the exact observance of which does not in the least contribute to the public happiness; such as the austerities of those senseless Fakirs with which the Indies are peopled: virtues that, being often indifferent, and even prejudicial to the state, are the punishment of those who make vows for the performance of them. These false virtues in most nations (for many of them are to be found in every nation under heaven) are more honored than the true virtues; and those that practise them held in greater veneration than good citizens. Happy the people among whom the virtues which originate from prejudice and folly are only ridiculous, they are frequently extremely barbarous. In the capital of Cochin they bring up crocodiles; and whoever exposes himself to the fury of one of these animals, and is devoured, is reckoned among the elect. What is more barbarous than the institution of convents among the Papists? In Martemban, it is an act of virtue, on the day

when the idol is brought out, for the people to throw themselves under the wheels of his chariot; and whoever offers himself to this death, is reputed a saint. As there are virtues of prejudice, there are also vices of prejudice. It is one for a Bramin to marry a virgin. If, during the three months in which the people of Formosa are ordered to go naked, a man fastens upon him the smallest piece of linen, he wears, say they, a clothing unworthy of a man. The neglect, in Catholic countries, of fasts, confessions, penances, and pater nosters, is a crime of the first magnitude. And there is, perhaps, no country where the people have not a greater abhorrence of some of these crimes of prejudice, than for villanies the most atrocious, and the most injurious to society.

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## JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU'S

### POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Every people become in time what the government causes them to be. They are warriors, citizens, men, if it so pleases; or are merely populace, a vulgar mob, if so it requires them. Hence every prince who despises his subjects, dishonors himself, in confessing he knows not how to make them respectable. Form therefore, men, if you would command men: if you would have them obedient to the laws, order it so that they shall respect those laws, and then they will need only to know what is their duty to put it in practice. This was the great art of the ancient governments, in those early times when philosophers gave laws to mankind, and made use of their authority only to render them wise and happy.

What is most necessary, and perhaps the most difficult in government, is a rigid integrity in doing strict justice to all; and in particular to protect the poor against the tyranny of the rich. The greatest evil is already effected, when there are poor to be defended and rich to be restrained. It is on the middle people alone the whole force of the laws is exerted; being equally incapable to withstand the opulence of the rich and the penury of the poor. The first eludes them, and the second escapes them. The one breaks the snare and the other passes over it.

It is, therefore, one of the most important objects of the government, to prevent an extreme inequality of fortunes; not by taking away the wealth of the possessors, but in depriving them of means to accumulate them; not by building hospitals for the poor, but by preventing the citizens from becoming poor. The unequal distribution of the inhabitants of a country, some being thinly scattered over a large tract of land, while others are assembled together in crowds in cities; the encouragement of the agreeable, instead of the useful arts; the sacrificing agriculture to commerce; the mal-administration of the finances; and in short, that excess of venality which sets public esteem at a pecuniary value, and rates even virtue at a market price; these are all the most obvious causes of opulence and of poverty, of the public interest, the mutual hatred of the citizens, their indifference for the common cause, the corruption of the people, and the weakening all the springs of government.

One's country cannot subsist without liberty, nor liberty without virtue, nor virtue without citizens: you would have every thing by forming citizens—without that you will have nothing but wretched slaves, and the first of these will be the rulers of the state. Now to form citizens is not the work of a day; and in order to have men it is necessary to educate children.

A public education, therefore, under proper regulations prescribed by the government, and under magistrates appointed by the sovereign, is one of the fundamental maxims of popular or lawful government. If children are educated in common and as equals; if they are taught a respect for the laws and the maxims of the general will; if they are instructed to respect these above all things; if they are surrounded by examples and objects which are constantly reminding them of the tender mother which hath nourished them, of the love she bears them, of the inestimable value of what they have received from her, and of the return which is due to her; we cannot doubt that they would learn to cherish each other mutually as brothers, to will nothing contrary to the general will of the society, to substitute the actions of men and citizens in the place of the vain futile and babble of sophists, and to become in

time defenders and fathers of a country which so long has nourished them as her children.

The spirit of the laws, which the government ought to follow in their application to descent, is that of father to son, and from relation to relation, so that the estate of a family should go as little out of it and be as little alienated as possible. There is a very sensible reason for this in favor of children, to whom the right of property would be useless, if the father should leave them nothing, and who besides having often contributed to the acquisition of their father's wealth, are associates with him in his right of property.

No people are so oppressed and miserable as conquering nations; their successes abroad only increasing their misery at home. Did not history inform us, common sense would, that the greater a state grows, the more burthensome become its expenses in proportion: for it is necessary that every province should furnish its contingent to the general expences of government, and that beside this, it should be at the expense of its own particular administration, which is as great as if it was really independent. Add to this, that great fortunes are always acquired in one place and spent in another; which breaks through the equipoise of the product and consumption, and greatly impoverishes a whole country merely to enrich one town.

A peer of the realm has two legs as well as a cow-herd, and he has but one belly any more than the clown. The pretended necessities are really so little necessary with regard to rank, that if he should renounce them on any worthy occasion, he would only be the more honored and respected. The populace would be ready to adore a minister who should go to council on foot, because he had sold off his equipage to supply a pressing exigence of state.

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#### THE SOCIAL COMPACT.

Man is born free, and yet is universally enslaved. At the same time, an individual frequently conceives himself to be the lord and master over others, though only more eminently deprived of liberty. So long as a people are compelled to obey, they do well to be obedient; but as

soon as they are in a capacity to resist, they do better to throw off the yoke of restraint : for, in recovering their liberty on the same plea by which they lost it, either they have a just right to reassume it, or those could have none who deprived them of it.

The most ancient of all societies, and the only natural one, is that of a family. And even in this, children are no longer connected with their father, than while they stand in need of his assistance. When this becomes needless, the natural tie is of course dissolved, the children are exempted from the obedience they owe their father, and the father is equally so from the solicitude due from him to his children ; both assume a state of independence respecting each other. They may continue, indeed, to live together afterwards ; but their connection, in such a case, is no longer natural, but voluntary ; and even the family union is then maintained by mutual convention.

This liberty, which is common to all mankind, is the necessary consequence of our very nature ; whose first law being that of self preservation, our principal concerns are those which relate to ourselves ; no sooner, therefore, doth man arrive at years of discretion, than he becomes the only proper judge of the means of that preservation, and of course his own master.

In a family then, we may see the first model of political societies : their chief is represented by the father, and the people by his children, while all of them being free, and equal by birth, they cannot alienate their liberty, but for their common interest.

If there are any slaves, therefore, by nature, it is because they are slaves contrary to nature. Power first made slaves, and cowardice hath perpetuated them.

The strongest is not strong enough to continue always master, unless he transforms his power into the right of command, and obedience into duty. Hence is deduced the right of the strongest ; a right taken ironically in appearance, and laid down as an established principle in reality. But will this term never be rightly explained ? Force, in the simplest sense, is a physical power ; nor can I see what morality can result from its effects. To yield to superior force is an act of necessity, not of the will ; at

most it is but an act of prudence. And in what sense can this be called a duty?

As no man hath any natural authority over the rest of his species, and as power doth not confer right, the basis of all lawful authority is laid in mutual convention. Now a man who becomes the slave of another, doth not give himself away, but sells himself, at least for his subsistence; but why should a whole people sell themselves? So far is a king from furnishing his subjects subsistence, that they maintain him; and, as Rabelais says, a king doth not live on a little. Can subjects be supposed to give away their liberty, on condition that the receiver shall take their property along with it? After this, I really cannot see any thing they have left.

To say that a man can give himself away, is to talk unintelligibly and absurdly; such an act must necessarily be illegal and void, were it for no other reason, than that it argues insanity of mind in the agent. To say the same thing of a whole people therefore, is to suppose a whole nation can be at once out of their senses; but were it so, such madness could not confer right.

Were it possible also for a man to alienate himself, he could not, in the same manner, dispose of his children, who, as human beings, are born free; their freedom is their own, and nobody hath any right to dispose of it but themselves. Before they arrive at years of discretion, indeed, their father may, for their security, and in their name, stipulate the conditions of their preservation, but cannot unconditionally and irrevocably dispose of their persons; such a gift being contrary to the intention of nature, and exceeding the bounds of paternal authority.

To renounce one's natural liberty, is to renounce one's very being as a man, and the duties of humanity. And what possible indemnification can be made the man who thus gives up his all? Such a renunciation is incompatible with our very nature; for to deprive us of the liberty of the will, is to take away all morality from our actions. In a word, a convention, which stipulates on the one part absolute authority, and on the other implicit obedience, is, in itself, futile and contradictory. Is it not evident, that we can lie under no reciprocal obligation whatever to a



person, of whom we have a right to demand every thing ; and doth not this circumstance, against which he has no equivalent, necessarily infer such act of convention to be void ? For what claim can my slave have upon me, when he himself, and all that belongs to him, are mine ? His claims are of course my own, and to say those can be set up against me, is to talk absurdly

Even in a time of war, a just prince may make himself master, in an enemy's country, of whatever belongs to the public, but he will respect the persons and private properties of individuals ; he will respect those rights on which his own are founded. The design of war being the destruction of an hostile state, we have a right to kill its defenders, while they are in arms ; but as, in laying down their arms, they cease to be enemies, or instruments of hostility, they become, in that case, mere men, and we have not the least right to murder them. It is sometimes possible effectually to destroy a state, without killing even one of its members ; now war cannot confer any right or privilege which is not necessary to accomplish its end and design. It is true, these are not the principles of Grotius, nor are they founded on the authority of the poets ; but they are such as are deduced from the nature of things, and are founded on reason.

With regard to the right of conquest, it has no other foundation than that of force, the law of the strongest. But if war doth not give the victor a right to massacre the vanquished, this pretended right, which does not exist, cannot be the foundation of a right to enslave them. If we have no right to kill an enemy, unless we cannot by force reduce him to slavery, our right to make him a slave never can be founded on our right to kill him. It is, therefore, an iniquitous bargain, to make him purchase, at the expense of liberty, a life which we have no right to take away. In establishing thus a right of life and death over others, on that of enslaving them ; and, on the other hand, a right of enslaving them on that of life and death, we certainly fall into the absurdity of reasoning in a circle.

Thus, in whatever light we consider this subject, the right of making men slaves is null and void, not only because it is unjust, but because it is absurd and insignifi-

cant. The terms slavery and justice are contradictory and reciprocally exclusive of each other. Hence the following proposal would be equally ridiculous, whether made by one individual to another, or by a private man to a whole people. "I enter into an agreement with you, altogether at your own charge, and solely for my profit, which I will observe as long as I please, and which you are to observe also as long as I think proper."

Instead of annihilating the natural equality among mankind, the fundamental compact substitutes, on the contrary, a moral and legal equality, to make up for that natural and physical difference which prevails among individuals, who, though unequal in personal strength and mental abilities, become thus all equal by convention and right.

This equality, indeed, is under some governments merely apparent and delusive, serving only to keep the poor still in misery, and favor the oppression of the rich. And, in fact, the laws are always useful to persons of fortune, and hurtful to those who are destitute: whence it follows, that a state of society is advantageous to mankind in general, only when they all possess something, and none of them have any thing too much.

The frequency of executions is a sign of the weakness or indolence of government. There is no malefactor who might not be made good for something: nor ought any person to be put to death, even by way of example unless such as could not be preserved without endangering the community.

Whatever is right and conformable to order, is such from the nature of things, independent of all human conventions. All justice comes from God, who is its fountain; but could we receive it immediately from so sublime a source, we should stand in no need of government or laws. There is indeed an universal justice springing from reason alone; but, in order to admit this to take place among mankind, it should be reciprocal. To consider things as they appear, we find the maxims of justice among mankind to be vain and fruitless for want of a natural support; they tend only to the advantage of the wicked and the disadvantage of the just, while the latter

observes them in his behavior to others, but nobody regards them in their conduct to him. Laws and conventions, therefore, are necessary in order to unite duties with privileges, and confine justice to its proper objects.

The decemviri of Rome, never assumed the right of passing any law merely on their own authority. Nothing that we propose, said they to the people, can pass into a law without your consent. Be yourselves, ye Romans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness depends.

The legislator, who digests the laws, should have no right to make them pass for such; nor indeed can the people, though inclined to do it, deprive themselves of that incommunicable right: because, according to the fundamental compact, it is the general will only that is obligatory on individuals, and it is impossible to be assured that any particular will is conformable to the general, till it be submitted to on the free suffrage of the people.

In what consists precisely the greatest good, or what ought to be the end of every system of legislature? We find it reducible to two principal objects, Liberty and Equality; liberty, because all partial dependence deprives the whole body of the state of so much strength; equality, because liberty cannot subsist without it.

By equality, we are not to understand, that individuals should all absolutely possess the same degree of wealth and power; but only that, power should never be exercised contrary to good order and the laws; and that no one citizen should be rich enough to buy another, and that none should be so poor as to be obliged to sell himself. This supposes a moderation of possessions and credit on the side of the great, and a moderation of desires and covetousness on the part of the little.

Would you give a state consistency and strength, prevent the two extremes as much as possible; let there be no rich persons and no beggars. These two conditions, naturally inseparable, are equally destructive to the commonwealth: the one furnishes tyrants, and the other the supporters of tyranny. It is by these, the traffic of public liberty is carried on; the one buying, the other selling it.

This equality, they tell us, is a mere speculative chimera which cannot exist in practice; but though abuses are inevitable, does it thence follow they are not to be corrected? It is for the very reason that things always tend to destroy this equality, that the laws should be calculated to preserve it.

What renders the constitution of a state truly solid, and durable, is that agreement maintained therein between natural and social relations, which occasions the legislature always to act in concert with Nature, while the laws serve only to confirm and rectify, as it were, her dictates. But if the legislator, deceived in his object, should assume a principle different from that which arises from the nature of things; should the one tend to slavery and the other to liberty; one to riches, the other to population; one to peace, the other to war and conquests; the laws would insensibly lose their force, the constitution would alter, and the state continue to be agitated till it should be totally changed or destroyed, and Nature have resumed its empire.

Luxury must either be the effect of wealth, or it must make it necessary; it corrupts at once both rich and poor; the one by means of the possession of wealth, and the other by means of the want of it. Luxury makes a sacrifice of patriotism to indolence and vanity; it robs a state of its citizens by subjecting them to each other, and by subjecting all to the influence of public prejudice.

In a free state, all its force is exerted for the public utility; in a monarchy, the public interest of the state and the private interest of the prince are reciprocally opposed; the one increasing by the decrease of the other. In a word, instead of governing subjects in such a manner as to make them happy, despotism makes them miserable, in order to be able to govern them at all.

The sovereignty, cannot be represented, and for the same reason, it cannot be alienated. It consists essentially of the general will, and the will cannot be represented: it is either identically the same, or some other; there can be no mean term in the case. The deputies of the people, therefore, neither are nor can be their representatives, they are only mere commissioners, and can

conclude definitively on nothing. Every law that is not confirmed by the people in person is null and void ; it is not in fact a law.\* The English imagine they are a free people ; they are however mistaken :—they are such only during the election of members of parliament. When these are chosen, they become slaves again ; and indeed they make so bad a use of the few transitory moments of liberty, that they deserve to lose it.

The notion of representatives is modern ; descending to us from the feudal system, that most iniquitous and absurd form of government, by which human nature was so shamefully degraded. In the ancient republics, and even monarchies, the people had no representatives ; they were strangers to the term. It is even very singular that at Rome, where the Tribunes were so much revered, it was never imagined they could usurp the functions of the people ; and as strange that they never once attempted it.

Peace, concord, and equality are enemies to political refinements. When men are honest and simple, their very simplicity prevents their deception ; they are not to be imposed on by sophistry, but are too artless even to be duped. When it is known, that among the happiest people in the world, a number of peasants meet together under the shade of an oak, and regulate the affairs of state, with the most prudential economy, is it possible to forbear despising the refinements of other nations, who employ so much artifice and mystery to render themselves splendidly miserable ?

But when the bonds of society begin to relax, and the state to grow weak ; when the private interests of individuals begin to appear, and that of parties to influence the state, the objects of public good meet with opposition ; unanimity no longer presides in the assemblies of the people ; the general will is no longer the will of all ; contradictions and debates arise, and the most salutary course is not adopted without dispute.

\* [This elementary principle should be incorporated in all political institutions.]

## GEORGE LE CLERK BUFFON'S

## NATURAL HISTORY.

The surface of the earth, adorned with its verdure, is the common and inexhaustible source, from which man and other animals derive their subsistence. Every animated being in Nature is nourished by vegetables; and these, in their turn, are supported by the spoils of all that has lived or vegetated. Destruction is necessary to life: It is only by the destruction of beings, that animals can live and multiply. God, when he created the first individuals of each species of animal and vegetable, not only bestowed form on the dust of the earth, but gave it animation, by infusing into these individuals a greater or smaller quantity of active principles of living organic particles, which are indestructible, and common to an organized being. These particles pass from body to body, and are equally the causes of life, of the continuation of the species, and of growth and nutrition; after the dissolution of the body, after it is reduced to ashes, these organic particles upon which death has no influence, survive, circulate through the Universe, pass into other beings, and produce life and nourishment. Hence, every production, every renovation or increase by means of generation, of nutrition, or of growth, implies a preceding destruction, a conversion of substance, a translation of organic particles, which never multiply, but uniformly subsisting in equal number, render Nature always equally animated, the earth equally peopled, and equally resplendent with the original glory of that Being by whom it was created.

Taking being in general therefore, the total quantity of life remains always the same; and death, which seems to be an universal destroyer, annihilates no part of that primitive life, which is common to all organized bodies. Like all subordinate powers, Death attacks individuals only: His blows are confined to the surface. He destroys the form, but has no influence on the matter. He is unable to injure Nature; his strokes on the contrary make her shine with additional lustre, she permits him not to annihilate the species, but allows him successively to mow down individuals with a view to demonstrate her independen-

dence both of Death and of Time ; to give her an opportunity of exerting, at every instant, her power which is always active, and of manifesting the extent of her resources by her fertility, and by a perpetual renovation of beings, to make the Universe a theatre always filled with objects, which attract our attention, by their grandeur and novelty.

It is apparent, therefore, that a succession of beings cannot otherwise be effected than by mutual destruction. For the nourishment and subsistence of animals, vegetables, or other animals must be sacrificed. And as both before and after this destruction, the quantity of life remains always the same, Nature seems to be indifferent whether particular species be more or less consumed. Like an economical parent, however, in the midst of fullness and affluence, she fixes limits to her expense, and prevents any unnecessary waste, by bestowing on few animals the instinct of feeding on flesh, while she has multiplied, profusely, both the species and the individuals of those which live on plants. In the vegetable kingdom, she seems even to be prodigal of species, which are every where diffused, and endowed with an astonishing fecundity. Man, it is probable, has contributed not a little to promote the intentions of Nature, by maintaining, and even establishing, this order upon the earth ; for in the ocean, we actually perceive that indifference which we have supposed. Fishes of every kind are almost equally voracious. They live upon their own or different species, and perpetually devour each other, without annihilating any particular kind, because their fecundity is proportioned to the depredations they commit, and the whole consumption reverts to the advantage of reproduction.

Man knows how to exercise his power over animals. He selects those whose flesh is most agreeable to his palate, makes them his domestic slaves, and multiplies them far beyond what Nature could have done. By his industry in promoting their increase, he seems to have acquired a right to sacrifice them. But he extends this right farther than his necessities demand. He makes war against savage animals, birds, and fishes. He does not even limit himself to those of the climate he inhabits, but goes

to foreign nations, and to the midst of the ocean, in quest of new luxuries. All Nature seems to be insufficient to satisfy the intemperance and caprice of his appetite. Man alone, consumes more flesh than all the other carnivorous animals in the world. He is unquestionably the greatest destroyer; and he is so, more from abuse than necessity. Instead of enjoying, with moderation, the benefits presented to him, instead of dispensing them with equity, or making reparation in proportion to his waste, by renewing what he annihilates, the rich man places his chief glory in consuming at his table more in one day than would be sufficient to feed many families. His abuse is not confined to the animals, but extends to his fellow-men, many of whom languish with famine and misery, and labor only to satiate the vanity and luxurious appetite of the opulent, who kill the poor by famine, and put an end to their own existence by excess.

Man, notwithstanding, like some other animals, might live upon vegetables. Flesh, which appears so analogous to flesh, affords not better nourishment than grain or bread. That nutriment which contributes to the expansion, growth, and support of the body, consists not of the inert and visible matter of which the texture of flesh and of herbs is composed, but of the organic particles contained in both these substances.





## JOHN HOWARD'S

### STATE OF PRISONS.

*Parum est coercere improbos pœna, nisi probos efficias disciplina.*

It avails little to restrain the bad by punishment, unless you render them good by instruction.

Debtors and felons, as well as hostile foreigners, are men, and by men ought to be treated as men. Those who, when told of the misery of those in prison, reply, "let them take care then to keep out," forget the vicissitudes of human affairs, and the unexpected changes to which all men are liable, so that the affluent may in time become indigent, debtors, and prisoners.

In a well regulated prison, the first care is to find a good man for a jailer; one that is honest, active, sober and humane. The charge is too important to be left wholly to a jailer, paid indeed for his attendance, but often tempted by his passions or interest to fail in his duty. County prisons are under the immediate care of the magistrates or sheriffs, who have the power of inspection. The inspector should make his visit once a week, changing his days. He should see that every room is clean; hear the complaints of each prisoner, and immediately correct what he finds manifestly wrong. A good jailor would be pleased

with this scrutiny—it would do him honor, and confirm him in his station; in case of a less worthy jailor, the examination is more needful, that he may be reprimanded, and, if incorrigible, discharged. The inspector should act from the noble motive of doing justice to his prisoners and service to his country.

Dr. Young says, "If half the misery that is felt by some, were seen by others, it would shock them with horror;" and Fenelon makes this delicate remark: "The prosperous turn away their eyes from the miserable, not through insensibility, but because the sight is an interruption to their gayety." Surely the magistrates should act upon the more righteous principle of duty. Great care should be taken to prevent infection, to keep the rooms clean and well ventilated; the court yard should have a pump or other provision for water in plenty for the prisoners, they should be kept at work ten hours a day, meal-times included, and permitted to walk about when they have done working. Adhere to strict rules of sobriety and diligence, in order to correct their faults and make them for the future, useful to society. Gentle discipline is commonly more efficacious than severity; which should not be exercised but on such as will not be amended by lenity. These should be punished by solitary confinement on bread and water for a time proportioned to their fault. Endeavor to persuade the offender that he is corrected only for his own good. I know not any reason why a house of correction may not be as well conducted as any other house with an equally numerous family. Let the sober and diligent be distinguished by some preference in their diet and lodging, or by shortening their term of confinement, and giving them when discharged a good character. The notion that convicts are ungovernable is certainly erroneous. Some of the most desperate may be managed with ease to yourself and advantage to them. Many of them are shrewd and sensible, manage them with calmness yet with steadiness; show them that you have humanity, that you aim to make them useful members of society; let them know the rules of the prison, and that they are not defrauded of their provisions or clothes by contractors or jailors.

## S. J. PRATT'S

## HUMANITY OR THE RIGHTS OF NATURE.

'The muse is kneeling at Compassion's shrine,  
 Her opening lay, HUMANITY, be thine!  
 Thee she invokes, oh! soother of distress,  
 Who with our kindness wove our happiness;  
 For as thy circling virtues round us move,  
 From our best deeds thy brightest joys we prove;  
 And this great truth, shall ev'ry tyrant know,  
 THE WO HE GIVES, SHALL BE REPAID BY WO.

Why are sires torn from children and from wife,  
 Dragg'd at the Car of Trade, and chain'd for life;  
 And why do human hecatombs expire,  
 Smote by her mangling whip and murderous fire?  
 Those stripes, and killing shrieks that rend the air,  
 Ill fated AFRICA, thy wrongs declare.

NATURE and HABIT, human kind control,  
 The needle one, and one th' attractive pole;  
 And what, in Europe, we a grace may call,  
 Is found in Africa no grace at all;  
 And what, abhorr'd deformity we name,  
 In many a clime is dignified with fame.

Survey the various globe from shore to shore,  
 Weigh manners, customs, and be proud no more  
 Observe how all to fix'd opinion bow,  
 Or fond caprices, which no standards know;  
 Thou, who would'st fix her to thy pallid face,  
 Behold her beauty shift the ever changeful grace.  
 The beard must here, e'en to the girdle flow,  
 There, not a bristle must presume to grow.  
 The dazzling white is in this clime admir'd,  
 The glossy black in that is more desir'd.

O! thou proud Christian, aid Fair Nature's grace  
 And catch compassion from the Bramin race:  
 Their kind extremes, and vegetable fare,  
 Their tender maxims, all that breathes to spare,  
 Suit not thy cultur'd state, but thou shouldst know,  
 Like them to save unnecessary wo;  
 Like them to give each generous feeling birth,  
 And prove the friend, not tyrant, of the earth

O sweet HUMANITY! might pity sway,  
 All, all like Bramins would thy voice obey:  
 All need, alas! thy tender help below,  
 To heighten rapture and to solace wo.  
*One leans on all for aid, not all on one,*  
 What worm so feeble as proud man alone?  
 The veriest giant, by himself is found,  
 Frail as the reed that every breeze can wound  
 But even the pigmy with associates join'd,  
 Strong as the oak, can brave the rudest wind;  
 The Social Passion opens with our breath,  
 Pursues thro' life, and follows us to death.

Tyrants o'er brutes with ease extend the plan  
 And rise in cruelty from beast to man:  
 Their sordid policy each crime allows,  
 The flesh that quivers and the blood that flows,  
 The furious stripes that murder in a day,  
 Or torturing arts that kill by dire delay;  
 The fainting spirit, and the bursting vein  
 All, all are reconcil'd to Christian gain.

In cold barbarian apathy behold,  
 Sits the slave-agent bending o'er his gold;  
 That base contractor for the chain and rod,  
 Who buys and sells the image of his God.  
 Callous to ev'ry touch that Nature lends,  
 The bond that ties him to his kind he rends,  
 Robber at once and butcher of his slaves,  
 Nor grief, nor sickness, age nor sex, he saves.

Oh! Freedom, sacred Goddess! who inspires  
 Th' untutor'd Savage with sublimest fires,  
 Oft have their Chiefs o'er listed troops prevail'd,  
 And Nature's warriors sped where armies fail'd:  
 While the bought soldier in his trade of death,  
 With sordid contracts bargains for his breath,  
 And the poor Indian from his fetters broke  
 Ev'n Famine braves to feel no more the yoke.

What will not FREEDOM'S Heav'n-descended fire,  
 In cultur'd, or untutor'd Souls inspire?  
 The RIGHTS OF NATURE and of God to save,  
 Men scoop the rock and build upon the wave.

## Answers to Correspondents

S. C., JERSEY CITY.—“Isaiah, chapter x., 6th and 7th verses, is said to contain the strongest of the prophecies of the coming of our Saviour. I would ask how the Jews understand these verses?” We have frequently said, as a matter of truth, that a mistranslation of a verse changes its sense and its application. The above verses, as published in the King James translation, are as follows: 6th, “For unto us a child is born, a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.” 7th, “Of the increase of HIS government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment, and with justice, from henceforth, even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this.” The correct translation of these verses, as every Hebrew scholar knows, is as follows: 6th, “For unto us a child was born; unto us a child was given. The government shall be upon his shoulders, and he called his name Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, Father of Eternity, the Prince of Peace.” 7th, “To the increase of empire and peace there is no end upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom to arrange it, and to maintain it with justice and righteousness from henceforth for evermore. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this.” Now, who was the child thus referred to by the prophet Isaiah, in the past tense? It was King Hezekiah, son of Isaiah—for, after relating the destruction of Sennacherib’s camp by the angel referred to in verse fifth as having been accomplished by fire, the prophet says, “For unto us a child was born,” &c. The government was to be on his shoulders, as it was. The whole of the attributes “Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God,” &c., apply to God himself. The only title given to this child is SHER SHALOM, Prince of Peace—for the verse reads thus: “And HE called his name.” Who is HE? Why, HE, “Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, Father of Eternity, (who can these titles apply to but the Almighty Father, ruler of Heaven and Earth himself?) HE called his name THE PRINCE OF PEACE,” on account of the tranquillity of his reign. Why, in this case, were those peculiar attributes given to the Lord, (which by the early fathers of the Christian church were given to the child?) “Wonderful,” because in Hezekiah’s life time, the miracle occurred of the retrogradation of the sun’s shadow ten degrees. “COUNSELLOR,” because his counsel would be taken, and that of Sennacherib annulled. “THE MIGHTY GOD,” because the Lord exhibited his power in the overthrow of the immense army of Sennacherib. “FATHER OF ETERNITY:” who is he but God himself? But this title was here applied specially, because God, who, on account of the righteousness of King Hezekiah, added fifteen years to his life. Those titles and divine attributes, given by a change of the translation to the child, appertained to the Almighty alone, and he only called the child the “Prince of Peace.” The text says HE called his NAME, not NAMES, “Wonderful,” &c. The Almighty spoke of Hezekiah, then nine years old; and in saying “the kingdom of David is everlasting,” he said what has occurred. It is everlasting, for it has been given to no other person, and none other has filled that throne. Isaiah had three sons—SHER JASHUB—“The Remnant shall return;” EMANUEL—“God with us,” in reference to the delivery from the two Kings and Sennacherib; “MAHER-SHALAL-CHASH-BAS”—“Speed to the Booty—hasten to the prey,” in reference to the capture of the ten tribes. Therefore, Isaiah says, (viii., 18.) “Behold, I and the children the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel”—Emanuel, afterwards Hezekiah, King of Israel, the “Prince of Peace.” If, as our correspondent thinks, the verses in Isaiah (and we know him to be a good Christian) are the strongest of the prophecies of the coming of the Saviour, yet none of those prophecies could have been filled by his advent, they having occurred a thousand years previous to his birth.

JUNIUS.—“What was Adam’s first sin? Was the ‘forbidden fruit’ spoken of in the Bible figurative or not?” We should say yes. You have propounded a question that the most learned theologian could not answer positively and satisfactorily. We do not suppose that Adam’s first sin consisted in the literal eating of an apple, but in disobeying a command of his Maker, the precise nature of which is not explained, and can scarcely be surmised.

**JOEL.**—"You have quoted Isaiah and other prophets in proof that the Jews believed in the resurrection of the dead, but the strongest evidence of that fact is in the beautiful passage of Job—'For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; when I shall see for myself and mine eyes shall behold and not another.' Why did you omit this early and undeniable evidence of the resurrection?" Because that "beautiful passage" has been mutilated and mistranslated from the original so as to give an entire new meaning to it. The above words that we have marked in Roman are not found in the original. The true and evident construction of the original is—"I know well that I have a Redeemer now living; that before long he will appear and show himself upon the earth; nay, even after my bones have cut through shall this event nevertheless take place; and with some part of my body and flesh still left I shall behold God, whom I shall behold by myself alone, and my own eyes shall see the vision, but no stranger shall do it." It was the declaration of a poor, sick, feeble man, whose bones were cutting through his skin, that though he was in that perilous situation, he should see God before he died; and he did see God, who came at last to his succor, according to his own declaration (Job, xlii. 56)—"I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eyes seeth thee." The passage has not a remote affinity to the resurrection, though paraphrased to refer to that great event, which is substantially recognized and declared in several parts of the Bible.

**LEX SCRIPTA.**—"Will the new translation of the Bible be undertaken? Will it be a literal and true translation? Will the parties have the courage to publish a true translation, and what would be the effect of it on religion?" We always knew that the King James' edition of the Bible was full of mistranslations, but nevertheless was more smooth and poetic than any other now in use. If, however, truth is the object, and would be fearlessly maintained and boldly carried out, and that all idea of spiritualising the word of God would be abandoned, and the true meaning of the law and prophets was to be given to the world, we should say, go on with the new translation, which is greatly required. It is wicked to pervert the word of God or to allow it to be perverted by sectarian bias or doctrinal prejudices. An English Bible has been published in which it was declared there were twenty thousand emendations. Bishop Lowth's translation of Isaiah contains eight hundred corrections. Bishop Hurley's translation of Hosea has one hundred and twenty variations from the commonly received versions, and many of them are of great importance. There are sad corruptions throughout the English version of the holy Bible, produced by the change of the Nazarene to the Christian church. There will be no end to schismatical depravity until the Nazarene church shall be revived and a faithful reliance placed on the accuracy of the Old Testament canon on which the decision of the Jewish Sanhedrim has passed. But until men have the courage to avow what they do believe, very little currency will be given to a new version of the Bible.

#### Answers to Correspondents.

**ZADOK.**—"What was the difference between the Nazarene and the Christian Church, to which you refer in one of your answers?" The early followers of Jesus took the name of Nazarenes, intending, as the learned Seldon declares, to establish only "a reformed Judaism," as he openly announced his intention to cause all the laws of Moses to be faithfully observed. His preference was for the written and not the oral law. Seldon also states that, for seven years after the death of Jesus, none of the Gentiles embraced his doctrines, and after Cornelius was converted, himself and the other converts were called Nazarenes. The change was made by Paul, who speaks of the "heresy of the Nazarenes." All Christians in the early periods of the Church were called Nazarenes, and we have the authority of Irenus, Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Augustine, and Theodoret, that an entire change was made in the religion, because the Nazarenes, the early followers of Christ, "affirmed that Jesus was a mere man, as well by the father as the mother side—namely, the son of Joseph and Mary"—but that he was just, and wise, and excellent, above all other persons, meriting to be called the "Son of God" by reason of his most virtuous life and extraordinary endowments; and that they joined with their Christian profession the necessity of circumcision, of the observation of the Sabbath, and of the other Jewish ceremonies." This was the basis of the Nazarene Church, during the life of Jesus, which was changed by Paul and the early fathers to the present faith. Hence what is now called Christianity was not the religion originally adopted by Jesus.



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